Studies in the Urban Domestic Housing of Mid-Republican Sicily

(ca. 211 – 70 BC): Aspects of Cross-Cultural Contact

by

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Abstract

This study provides a systematic analysis of urban domestic housing in Sicily during the mid-Republican period (ca. 211 – 70 BC). It employs a methodological framework that is not grounded in traditional typologies, and instead uses relevant comparative and contextual models. The data are examined for the socio-cultural impact of Roman hegemony on Rome's first province. The aim is to gain a better understanding of the nature of cross-cultural contact in the region, and, where possible, to interpret developing Sicilian ideologies and identities during this period. It was found that the domestic architecture and their decorative pavements suggest a mixture of Greek, Punic, Roman, and regional Sicilian cultural influences, stimuli, and interactions along a variable scale, but more significantly that Sicily, which was geographically central, and culturally diverse, acted as a 'middle ground', and had an active role in the (re)interpretation and dissemination of many of these features across the Mediterranean. This is particularly true for the colonnaded courtyard, the western tradition of decorative pavements, and the communal domestic bath-suite. Further, it was recognised that variable responses are relative primarily to 1) house type; 2) location within the island (possibly related to ethnic or cultural affiliation); 3) social status; and 4) function. There is an apparent dichotomy within the houses between the more 'private' domestic spaces, which largely maintain more traditional Greek or Punic features, and the 'public' reception spaces, which, while they belong to a Mediterranean-wide *koine*, begin to incorporate features more common to the Roman west. All of these variables themselves were likely to have been interrelated. Sicily, being Rome's first province, is fundamental to any discussion about culture contact under Roman hegemony. The material manifestations of cross-cultural contact during the mid-Republican period as represented by the urban domestic architecture suggest a combination of multidirectional processes and multi-layered identities. This study represents a launch-point for further analyses of the impact of culture contact by illustrating some of the processes involved in the overarching practice of so-called 'Romanisation'. It also provides a worthwhile approach to analyse other material assemblages in Sicily, as well as in other 'new' Roman provinces.

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Bibliographical Abbreviations:

Primary source abbreviations follow the standard set by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Hornblower and Spawforth 2003). Secondary source abbreviations follow the standard set by the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Others include:

AISCOM	Associazione Italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico
AttiPalermo	Atti della accademia di scienze, lettere e arti di Palermo
BCASic	Beni culturali e ambientali, Sicilia
BTCGI	Nenci, G. and Vallet, G., eds. 1977-. *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*. 19 volumes. Pisa-Rome.
CIL	AA.VV., eds. 1893-. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarium*. Multiple vols. Berlin.
ILS	Dessau, H., ed. 1892-1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. 3 vols. Berlin.
Loeb	AA.VV. 1912-. *The Loeb classical library*. Multiple vols. Cambridge, MA..
Morgantina Studies	AA.VV. 1981-. *Morgantina studies*. 5 volumes. Princeton.
Pallas	Revue d'etudes antiques
QuadMessina	Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Facolta di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Messina
SEG	AA.VV., eds. 1923-. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Multiple vols. Leiden.
Seia	Seia. Quaderni dell'Istituto di storia antica. Università degli studi di Palermo
Studia Ietina	Isler, H.P., ed. 1976-. *Studia Ietina*. 8 volumes. Zürich.

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Sicily is an island… but I am not, and this dissertation would not have been possible without the support of countless individuals; only a few are mentioned here.

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Chapter 1:   Introduction – The Nature of the Evidence

What socio-cultural impact did Roman hegemony have on the new province of Sicily? This is the central question behind the following research. Through an examination of archaeological evidence the aim is to gain a better understanding of cross-cultural contact, specifically what cultural influences, stimuli, and interaction, were in play during the mid-Republican period in Sicily (ca. 211 – ca. 70 BC). Where possible, this study also interprets what the potential ideologies and identities among Sicilian communities and Sicilian individuals living within the young province were. The current research proposes that an examination of the extant remains of urban domestic architecture, along with the accompanying decorative pavements, combined with ancient textual sources, and interpreted within relevant comparative and contextual models, represents a useful framework for assessing these questions. The purpose of this opening chapter is not only to introduce the research question, but also to specify the approaches employed to answer this question (Section 1.1), and to review the discourse which it inherits (Section 1.2).

1.1   RESEARCH AIMS AND APPROACH

1.1.1   Aims: problems and prospects

The Hellenistic / mid-Republican period, despite being an important phase of cultural and political transformation and innovation throughout the Mediterranean world, is often neglected in modern scholarship, especially regarding archaeological approaches. This is particularly true for Sicily, and though Prag is optimistic about the direction that Sicilian scholarship is taking, the island has for a long time been seen and treated as a backwater.[1] If it is mentioned at all in standard works, it is rarely more than an endnote to show

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[1] Prag 2009a. For a similar critique to that outlined below see also Prag 2007, 69.

examples of the Greek 'other'.[2] Even when Sicily is the subject of the work, the main focus is usually on the Greek colonial settlements of the archaic and classical periods.[3] If the archaeology of the island is discussed at all during the Hellenistic period, the discussion is usually concentrated on Syracuse and the area within the kingdom of Hieron II.[4] The rest of the island is only briefly mentioned, and there is an almost complete vacuum concerning the second century BC. It is telling that despite smaller works having emerged in recent years, Wilson's 32-page background chapter to the archaeology of Sicily under the Roman Empire, published over 20 years ago, remains the best overview of the archaeology of the Republican province.[5] The problem is further magnified by the fact that even when the archaeology of this period is looked at, this information is either not widely published, or, more significantly, not published outside of Italy or in English, resulting in its being left 'off the radar' of many scholars.[6] It should not be surprising that Sicily in the second century BC is basically overlooked. It does not fall into the neat categories of either Greek or Roman archaeology, or part of the Hellenistic or Republican periods. How the ancient Mediterranean is studied and perceived needs to progress. The Hellenistic period in Sicily is an entity unto itself, and needs to be treated as such, but it must also be incorporated into a wider picture of Mediterranean studies, and not just the end and beginning of Greek and Roman studies respectively.

Fortunately, this change is happening. Over the last decade there has been an increase in studies of this period, with a recent trend to look at the processes of cultural

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[2] This is no clearer than in the standard textbook by Pedley 2002.
[3] See for example Holloway 1991.
[4] Prag 2009a, 133.
[5] Wilson 1990a; see now also Wilson in press (although half of this also concerns Hieronian Syracuse, rather than the Roman province in its entirety). For smaller works see in particular Perkins 2007.
[6] For a similar critique for Republican Italy in general see Colivicchi 2011, 9. For a recent collection of Italian papers concerning Hellenistic Sicily, many of which focus on the second century BC, see Osanna and Torelli 2006.

change in the west between Greeks, Romans, and the indigenous populations.[7] Further, in 2000 Wilson concluded that the sharp shift to Roman Sicily is not as clear as ancient authors suggest, and in his doctoral research Serrati has shown how Sicily influenced Roman policy and not the other way around.[8] The intent here is to continue the dialogue shaped by these and similar studies. Classical archaeology, as a discipline, has in the past often taken a culture-historical approach to the study of ancient societies. The current work, however, is an attempt at a more interdisciplinary, problem-based, analysis of material culture and practices within comparative and contextual models.

1.1.2   Approach

1.1.2.1   Domestic architecture

There are multiple classes of evidence available to help examine the socio-cultural impact of Rome and aspects of cross-cultural contact during the mid-Republican period in Sicily. This includes urbanism, countryside exploitation, material culture assemblages, and language. For this study urban domestic architecture has been selected as an example of how such a topic can be approached. There are several reasons for selection of this class of evidence. On a theoretical level it provides a good starting point. As Izzet states:

> … the ways in which a society builds its houses is never arbitrary; rather it is culturally and socially dictated by the choices of the builders and owners of the houses.[9]

There are also two levels of information that are integrated into the construction of an urban house. On the one hand it suggests priorities for private, day-to-day, activities; on the other hand it shows how the occupants wanted to be perceived publically. Furthermore, while similarities among houses can offer information about communal choices that are being

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[7] See for example Lomas 2000; D'Andria 2002; La Torre 2004b; Portale 2007; and Campagna 2011.
[8] Wilson 2000a; and Serrati 2001.
[9] Izzet 2001, 41, see also 42.

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made, differences between houses provide us with information about choices of the individual.

This is also a good starting point on a research and methodological level. Upwards of 100 houses from a multiple of sites across the island have been discovered, and therefore provide a good sample from which to work. While the plans of not even half of these houses are complete enough to allow for a sense of the overall organisation, the publication of all the evidence is limited, and the dates are often highly uncertain, there remains an abundance of material from the archaeological record in Sicily that could potentially allow such investigation.[10] Despite this, the domestic architecture of Hellenistic Sicily remains a relatively novel study, particularly outside of Italy, and inter-site examinations of the nature of the material are uncommon, unless they are being discussed as illustrations of a regional or temporal variant.[11] Further, rarely are the decorative elements of these houses discussed in their architectural context.[12]

In the majority of these discussions, Hellenistic Sicily is generalised as having a more-or-less homogenous group of Greek peristyle houses, with only minimal extra-Hellenic influence. They are depicted as following traditions from the Greek east, and largely

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[10] For detailed discussions see the Excavation and Publication, and Date sections for each of the case studies in Chapters 3 – 5.

[11] One of the earliest sustained discussions of domestic architecture of Sicily is Tsakirgis' 1984 unpublished dissertation on the houses of Morgantina (Tsakirgis 1984). This was followed ten years later with the publication of the single completely excavated house at Monte Iato (Dalcher 1994). Only recently have there been similar site specific discussions on the mid-twentieth-century excavations of the domestic quarters at Solunto and Agrigento (Wölf 2003; and De Miro 2009 respectively). These have been sporadically supplemented with articles, conference proceedings, and book chapters (see below), but the domestic architecture of Sicily is seldom a primary focus. Further site specific publications are listed in their relevant sections in Chapters 3 – 5. For discussions of inter-site domestic architecture of Hellenistic Sicily as a primary focus see for example: De Miro 1980; De Miro 1996; Isler 1996; Isler et al. 1997; Aiosa 2004; Bell 2005; Tsakirgis 2009; and Isler 2010. For the houses of Hellenistic Sicily being discussed as a regional or temporal variant see for example: Wilson 1990a, esp. 32, 112-27; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995; Nevett 1999, esp.135-48; and Nevett 2002.

[12] For examples of the decorative program being discussed largely in absence of their architectural contexts see: Pernice 1938, 12-30; De Vos 1975; and von Boeselager 1983. Recent work, however, is changing this approach; see for example: Bonacasa Carra and Guidobaldi 1997; and Portale 2001-2002.

attempting to emulate, to a greater-or-lesser degree, the palaces of the Hellenistic Kingdoms.[13] If the Romans are mentioned at all, it is to suggest that the presence of only a few examples of *atrium*-peristyle houses indicates that there was little cultural transmission onto a "scene already Hellenized," and any examples that we do have are just "very early".[14] The Phoenicio-Carthaginians get less consideration, with a common mentality being that "the Hellenistic influence was so pervasive that even the Carthaginians were affected by it."[15] Once one begins to examine the houses more closely, however, it quickly becomes apparent that this description, which is largely based on separate typologies for Greek or Roman houses, is too simplistic, and a new methodological framework, one that is relevant to Sicily, and the time period, needs to be incorporated.

Further, such studies, however enlightening, do not focus on the material of the second century BC. The references to the grand peristyle houses are associated with the third century BC, those of the Romans concentrate on the Imperial period, and the discussion of Sicilian Punic houses, if it occurs at all, comes primarily from similar studies.[16] Recent studies that do specifically discuss material from the second century BC, however, propose that there are more cultural influences at work – from Italy in particular – than these earlier investigations suggest, and in some cases further propose an active renegotiation of these models that is particular to Sicily.[17] In so doing they advocate a more comprehensive

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[13] See for example: Tsakirgis 1984; Wilson 1990b, 75; Holloway 1991, 147-51; Dalcher 1994; Isler 1996; Isler 1997a, 35; Wölf 1998; Wölf 2003, esp. 79-110; Perkins 2007; Tsakirgis 2009; and Isler 2010. See also Nevett 1999, esp. 138-148. In her discussion the houses of Sicily are given as examples of regional differences, which have a tendency for variation and a delay in developments that are seen in the Greek east. Wilson proposes Hieronian Syracuse as a probable "source of inspiration" for these houses (Wilson in press); see also Portale 2001-2002, esp. 69-70.

[14] Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 255. See also: Wilson 1990a, 32. Wilson 1990b, 75-7; Nevett 2002, 92; and Wilson in press.

[15] Tsakirgis 1984, 4, 82.

[16] For a rare overview of Punic influence in Sicily after 241 BC see Wilson 2005, esp. 911-3. See also Di Vita 1953, esp. 41-44 for a brief review of Punic influence on the domestic architecture of Selinunte in the fourth and third centuries BC.

[17] See for example: Portale 2001-2002, esp. 68-75; La Torre 2004b; Mancini 2006; La Torre 2006; Giglio and Vecchio 2006; Portale 2007; and Campagna 2011, esp. 167-8; and 178-9.

study than is currently available. It is not possible in the scope of this study, nor necessary, to examine every house in Sicily from this period, so instead case studies of 45 houses from 9 sites that are representative of the archaeological record have been chosen for survey and analysis. The selection criteria for these are indicated below.

1.1.2.2   Time period

This research is based on a relatively short time period referred to here as the mid-Republican period. Generally this refers to the second century BC, and more specifically the period between ca. 211 and 70 BC. The reason for this choice is two-fold. First, this is the best period for trying to understand how the people of Sicily first responded to Roman hegemony. The second reason is that this is the time period that is not only the most neglected in modern scholarship, but also one where archaeology acts as our principal source. Because of this, it allows for an interpretation absent of some of the biases that are produced in the written sources.

The *terminus post quem* date of ca. 211 BC, when Syracuse fell to Rome, is when the entire island becomes part of the Roman province of Sicily. This is important because for the first time in its history the island can be spoken of as a whole, and it is not divided into discrete groups such as *polis* versus *polis*; Greek versus Carthaginian; or Hieron's territory versus the Roman province of Sicily. Their 'ethnic' or civic distinctions still existed, and different cities had different rights and privileges when dealing with Rome, both of which may have led to differing (re)actions, a topic that will be explored in this research; but they all shared the socio-political characteristic of being subjects of Rome.

Historically, the selected *terminus ante quem* date of ca. 70 BC is perhaps more unsubstantiated, but three features suggest that it may have been a transitional period for the island. First, this is just after Verres had been governor of Sicily, and if we are to believe Cicero at all, this governorship had an impact on the economic situation for many individuals

and settlements.[18] Second, this is about the time that we hear of the first enfranchised

citizens of the island. It would seem that these were "supporters of Sulla during Pompey's

operation in the island in 82 BC."[19] From what we can tell, the granting of citizenship for

Sicilians does not happen to any great extent until Caesar and Augustus, and even then it

was short-lived and intermittent, but if Sulla did begin the process then social dynamics on

the island began to change at this time.[20] Third, and perhaps most important, is Prag's

suggestion that a unified 'Sicilian identity' was consolidated during the second century BC,

and that the first personifications of the Province of Sicily are being seen on Roman

Republican coinage ca. 100 – 71 BC.[21] Though this numismatic evidence remains an etic

(external) source, one of these representations is the emic (internal) emblem of the

triskeles.[22] This promotion of a unified Sicilian identity by Rome is potentially significant for

the interpretation of prevalent underlying ideologies of the people living within the

Republican province. The first quarter of the first century BC, therefore, provides an

appropriate, although subjective, ending date.

The entire issue of selecting a relevant chronological timeframe is complicated.

These are not arbitrary dates, but specific periods that are created in and from the ancient

sources, and therefore, will result in bias, intentional or not, of modern researchers and

excavators as well (see section 1.2.1). Parameters, however, do need to be set and the

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[18] Though Wilson 2000a concludes that Cicero cannot be taken as a reliable historical source at all.
[19] Wilson 1988, 93.
[20] The status of Sicilian communities at the end of the Republican period is highly debated. Cicero writes that Caesar granted the right of the *ius Latii* (Latin rights) to free-born Sicilians just before his death in 44 BC, and that Antony converted this to full Roman citizenship (Cicero, *Att.* 14.12.1). Augustus is believed to have revoked this in 36 BC in the aftermath of his wars with Sextus Pompey, as Pliny lists only three cities (i.e. Segesta, *Centuripae*, and *Netum*) with the right of *Latina condicio* (Plin. *HN.* 3.8.91), which suggests that the *ius Latii* of Caesar had previously been removed. It is commonly assumed that the 'new privileges' of *Latina condicio* coincided with the foundation of Augustan *coloniae* in 21 BC. For further discussion see Wilson 1990a, 34-38.
[21] Prag 2009b, esp. 90-91.
[22] Prag 2009b, 90. The *triskeles* is a symbolic representation of the island of Sicily and consists of a female head with three legs emerging from it. The symbol is first seen in Sicily during the archaic period and is still used today. For further discussion on the *triskeles* see: Wilson 1990a, esp. 2-3, and Figs. 1, 2, 32a, 34a-c, 150, 157-8, and 249; Wilson 2000c; and Wilson 2003 (et al.).

range of ca. 211 – 70 BC has been chosen as an informed selection of such parameters, although it is acknowledged that even within these chronological limits precision is impossible. These are also dates that are used by other researchers in their own chronologies, and this allows for some consolidation of the material evidence from multiple sources. Assigning a chronology for much of the Sicilian archaeological material has proven to be problematic, however, and archaeologically these dates are ill-defined, with the ceramic material in particular being poorly understood during this period. For this reason a review of the chronologies for the evidence used will be examined in their relevant sections in the following data chapters.

1.1.2.3   Settlement types

It is also likely that the varying occupational histories of the settlements played a role in the socio-cultural impact of the young province. The evidence for the domestic architecture on the island is divided into settlement 'types'. Though artificial, these types are not random, but instead have been developed based on preconceived labels of an 'ethnic' association that is prevalent in modern scholarship (see section 1.2.2.2). It is acknowledged that this too will carry with it intrinsic biases, but it is impossible to look at differences based on cultural affiliation without such labels. The assigned settlement types are Greek foundation, Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation, and indigenous foundation.

Greek Foundation Settlements

The Greek foundation settlements are those sites where the ancient authors indicate a definite foundation by immigrant Greeks and in this study include Licata, Heraclea Minoa, and Tindari. All three sites were likely to have found themselves within, or neighbouring, the Carthaginian *epikrateia* (see next) prior to becoming part of the Roman province in the Treaty of 241 BC.

Phoenicio-Carthaginian Foundation Settlements

The Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation settlements are those sites where the ancient authors indicate a Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation. Included in this study are Palermo and Solunto, originally founded by the Phoenicians in the eighth century BC, and Marsala, established by the Carthaginians in the fourth century BC. All three of which Pliny refers to as *oppida*.[23] Also important to note is the Carthaginian *epikrateia* (sphere of influence), which is traditionally seen as the north-west section of the island. The term 'Carthaginian *epikrateia*' is commonly used throughout Diodoros, and this area is in part delineated by a comment made by Plutarch who writes that the Carthaginians were confined to the area west of the River *Halycus* (modern Platani) after their wars with Timoleon.[24] Polybios further suggests that the Carthaginians were 'despots' of almost all of Sicily, though this is likely an exaggeration.[25]

Indigenous Foundation Settlements

The indigenous foundation settlements are those that could be superficially placed into one of the categories above, but they have their own distinctive occupational histories relating to indigenous foundations. In this study they include Morgantina, Monte Iato, and Segesta. For example, Morgantina, though it was Greek-influenced, and probably part of Syracusan territory for periods throughout its occupational history, was a (re)foundation of an indigenous settlement, and both the historical and archaeological evidence for its foundation points toward an indigenous, possibly Sikel, origin. Furthermore, no Greek temple has so far been located in the Hellenistic settlement; its main religious feature is a chthonic sanctuary, with smaller shrines perhaps dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Likewise, Monte Iato and

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[23] Plin *HN.* 3.8.90.
[24] Plut. *Vit. Tim.* 34.2
[25] Polyb. 1.10.8. See also Diod. Sic. 4.83.4, who refers to the Carthaginians as having been masters of the area around Erice.

Segesta fit into this category, and while there are many aspects of the sites which suggest Greek contacts and influence, including the presence of Greek-style temples, they were located within the Carthaginian *epikrateia*, and both the historical tradition and archaeology suggest indigenous, possibly Elymian, origins.

Each of the nine selected settlements have varying occupational histories ranging from at least the tenth century BC to the present day (Figure 1.1), and these are also likely to have affected aspects of their cultural affiliation during the mid-Republican period. What their settlement histories share, however, is that they were eventually united under one political entity, the Roman Province of Sicily, and this corresponds with evidence for (re)building programs, particularly in urban domestic architecture, at each of the sites (Figure 1.1). Brief occupational histories from the ancient sources for each settlement are outlined at the outset of their description in the following chapters, and their locations are noted in Figure 1.2.
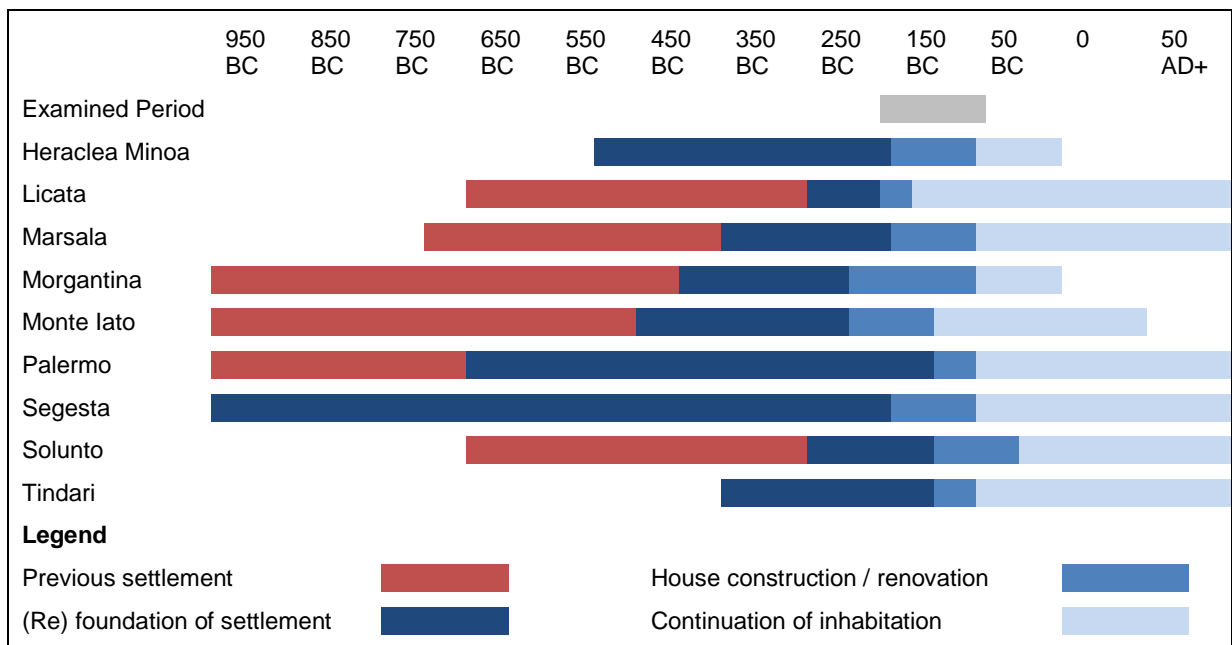
Figure 1.1. Graphic representation of the occupational histories of the surveyed settlements and the construction of the discussed domestic architecture

**Figure 1.2. Locations of the surveyed sites (Google Earth, labels and scale added). ©
2012 Google, © 2012 Cnes/Spot Image, by permission**

1.1.2.4   Further criteria and practical remarks

These particular case studies have been selected because they fulfil the following

categories and criteria (this is also how the information in Chapters 3 – 5 is organised).

Historical Background

Though not formally used as a criterion for site selection, there is evidence for all nine

settlements within the ancient literary sources that allows for a brief survey of the

occupational history of the settlement. Such information may assist in providing context for

interpreting possible cultural affiliations (see also section 1.1.2.3).

Topography and Urban Plan

There is additional information available from the site to allow for the domestic architecture

to be situated, at least superficially, into an urban plan and the surrounding topography of

the site. This information provides additional context for both the settlement and its domestic

architecture, and may provide clues towards the overall organisation of the town by its inhabitants.

Excavation and Publication

The excavation and publication of the domestic architecture is sufficient enough to allow for analysis of the data. The degree of these criteria, however, varies greatly from site to site and for this reason a brief discussion of this is provided for each case study. Also, for the sake of consistency, places are referred to by their modern site name. For example, the settlement of *Lilybaion/Lilybaeum* is occupied today by the city Marsala, and the site is referenced to as such in this dissertation. On the other hand Morgantina, though the modern toponym Serra Orlando is still sometimes used, is the ancient name, but as the site itself is currently known and published as Morgantina, that is the form adopted here. The exception to this general rule will be when references are made specifically from the ancient texts about the ancient settlement; in these instances the name used by the ancient author will be maintained.

Date

The evidence from the houses suggests that construction or major renovation occurred between the late third and early first centuries BC (see section 1.1.2.2). In many cases, however, the attributed date is tenuous at best, and therefore also included is an overview as to the likelihood of accuracy behind these dates.

Domestic Architecture

Major Features

Excavation and publication of the domestic structure(s) allows for a complete enough plan to be able to distinguish major features so as to provide information for analysis based on

criteria as outlined in Chapter 2 and Appendices A and B. The minimum requirement is physical evidence for an organisational space (ultimately a courtyard). Houses where this feature is merely presumed are not included. It should also be noted that the houses in this survey are denoted by an identification number. This refers to the settlement, and then consecutive numbering of each house within that settlement as they appear in this study. For example: HM01 refers to Heraclea Minoa, the first house examined, which is commonly referred to in publications as Casa 2C. For convenience, the identification number and more commonly used name for each house in the literature are listed at the beginning of Appendix C.

Decorative Pavements

Excavation and publication of the domestic structure(s) provides enough information to be able to determine the decorative floor treatment of the house in question, or lack thereof, therefore allowing for analysis based on the criteria outlined in Chapter 2 and Appendices A and B.

1.2 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Following the end the First Punic War in 241 BC, most of the island of Sicily became Rome's first overseas possession, and as Cicero famously stated: "She was the first of all to receive the title of province."[26] From there began a long history of Roman provincialisation. Congruently, Sicily is fundamental to any discussion concerning aspects of culture contact under Roman hegemony, particularly those that posit the so-called 'Romanisation' of the provinces. For Sicily, however, this was not a singular, unified event. Only part of the island came under direct Roman control in 241 BC; it would be another generation before the entire island was a united Roman province of Sicily, and more than 200 years before

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[26] "*Prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata*".
Cic. *Verr*, 2.2.1.2. Translation: Loeb (221), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume I.

Sicilians had rights of Latin citizenship, and then only temporarily (see above). Despite this, ancient authors, particularly Cicero, give the impression that the process of transformation was fairly straightforward. The Romans, for the most part, maintained policies already in place, and the Sicilians, who were basically left to manage their own affairs, seemingly accepted Roman dominion.[27] The impression given is that the island was no longer made up of Greeks and Carthaginians vying for political, economic, and territorial control, but of Sicilians (i.e. Greek Sicilians), Rome's most 'faithful allies and friends', unified under a single Roman hegemony.[28] This broad narrative is often repeated in modern scholarship: Republican Sicily is seldom portrayed as a diverse region of indigenous, Phoenicio-Carthaginian, and Greek settlements, but as a single, homogenous, Hellenised culture

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[27] Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.6.13-15.
[28] The idea of Sicilians being faithful allies and friends to Rome reoccurs throughout the Verrines. See for example:
"*socii fidelissimi… socii nostri atque amici…*"
"our most loyal allies… our allies and our friends…"
Cic. *Verr.* 1.5.13. Translation: Loeb (221), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume I.
"*Sola fuit ea fide benivolentiaque erga populum Romanum ut civitates eius insulae, quae semel in amicitiam nostram venissent, numquam postea deficerent, pleraeque autem et maxime illustres in amicitia perpetuo manerent.*"
"No other nation has equalled her in loyal goodwill towards us: once the various states in the island had embraced our friendship, they never thereafter seceded from it; and most of them, and those most notable, remained, without a break, our firm friends."
Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.1.2. Translation: Loeb (221), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume I.
For the unification of Sicily see for example Cicero's mention of an inscription set up at Rome:
"*A COMMUNI SICILIAE DATAS*"
"PRESENTED BY THE UNITED PEOPLE OF SICILY"
Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.63.154. Translation: Loeb (221), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume I.
Cicero generally uses the term 'Sicilian' (*Siculi*), but does provide evidence that they were largely perceived as being 'Greeks':
"*Nihil ceterorum simile Graecorum; nulla desidia, nulla luxuries*"
"They have none of the failings found elsewhere among the Greeks; they are neither slothful nor self-indulgent"
Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.3.7. Translation: Loeb (221), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume I.
"*… in Siculis quidem et in omnibus Graecis mostri simile*"
"… for Sicilians, for any Greeks at all"
Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.65.158. Translation: Loeb (221), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume I.
"*Est consuetudo Siculorum ceterorumque Graecorum…*"
"It is the custom of the Sicilian as of all other Greeks…"
Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.52.129. Translation: Loeb (221), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume I.

under Roman rule, which gradually fell into decline after the Servile Wars and the governorship of Verres.[29]

The reasons for the perseverance of this view are varied, but in part stem from the fact that scholarship is influenced by and reliant upon its sources, which then generate mainstream discourse. For instance, while Cicero may discuss in passing issues such as the houses within which the Sicilians lived, he is more interested in the administration of the province and its decline after years of conflict and mismanagement. Accordingly, this has often been the focus of modern studies on Sicily, with these passing remarks from the sources used to inform upon the interpretation of physical remains.[30] What is generally lacking for the Republican period in Sicily is a dedicated study on the material remains, which generates different types of questions, and which is not strictly focused on policies, administration, or even economy. This allows us to analyse Sicily in terms of culture contact, to exploit more fully archaeological evidence, while at the same time using the ancient texts to help interpret, but not direct, these questions. First, however, it is necessary to review the discourse that such a study inevitably inherits.

1.2.1   Text-driven archaeology

Classical archaeology is often stigmatised by being text-driven, with "a subordination of archaeology to the slavery of text-based history".[31] The fact that as recently as 2002 Snodgrass suggested that a paradigm shift was 'perhaps' just now occurring points to a serious problem with how Classical archaeology has been carried out in the past, and is still

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[29] For recent discussions of the trends in Republican Sicilian historiography see in particular: Campagna 2003 and Prag 2009a.
[30] For a further discussion of this see: Wilson 2000a, esp. 151-4, where he specifically discusses domestic architecture.
[31] Purcell 1997, 501.

perceived.[32] The basic critique is that the literary sources motivate not only how we interpret the material record, but also the types of questions we ask about it in the first place. Furthermore, the textual evidence is commonly privileged over archaeological evidence.

The excavations of the site of Morgantina provide a good illustration of the problems inherent in text-driven archaeology.[33]

In the archaeological record, the building program of third-century-BC Morgantina seems to come to an abrupt halt at the end of that century, and there has been significant discussion about what this indicates. In the early archaeological reports every decline, destruction layer, or hoard are attributed to Livy's comment that the site was handed over to Spanish mercenaries after it revolted against Rome in 211 BC and joined the Carthaginian side.[34] The site is largely portrayed as having continued only in a much reduced state for the following 200 years, until Strabo, writing in the early first century AD, reports that "it used to be a city, but now it does not exist".[35] There is a serious problem with combining text and archaeology in this way. Cornell correctly states that archaeology and text provide answers to different types of questions, and though synthesising them is necessary, it is not straightforward. Consequently, archaeology cannot be used to 'prove' the ancient texts, as is often done. The only relationship that exists between the two is that the text can help us interpret the archaeology.[36] The conclusions indicated above for Morgantina are a good example of this. These general portrayals of the mid-Republican site are largely based on

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[32] Snodgrass 2002. The bibliography concerning critiques of text-based archaeology is too extensive to list in its entirety. For examples from the appended bibliography see Cornell 1995, esp. 29-30; Purcell 1997, 500-1; and Owen 2005, 6-8. For Sicily in particular see esp. La Torre 2004b, 113.

[33] Morgantina has been chosen not because it is the 'worst' text-driven site examined in this study, but because it is the site with which the author is most familiar, having participated in excavations there. Further, in many ways the opposite is true in that care has been taken to provide a secure chronology based upon stratigraphic excavations for the site, but in the preliminary reports, especially those of excavations in the 1950s to 1970s, there remains a focus on aligning this chronology with the minimal historical records of the site.

[34] Livy 24.21.14-17.

[35] "πόλις δ' ἦν αὕτη, νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν."
Strabo 6.2.4. Translation: Loeb (182), Strabo, Geography, Volume III.

[36] Cornell 1995, esp. 29-30.

quite meagre textual evidence. With the exceptions of Strabo and Pliny, Morgantina is only referred to against the larger backdrop of which power is controlling the different polities in Sicily (i.e. Rome, Carthage, autonomous Greek city-states). We have no city-specific history for the settlement of Morgantina, and there is almost nothing in the literary record about the state of the city or its hinterland between the Roman siege of ca. 214-211 BC and Cicero's time, ca. 73 BC, when he reports how the productive farms "were for the most part so completely abandoned that we looked in vain not only for the cattle but for the proprietors who were once so numerous".[37] We too look (in vain) for the evidence of such decline.

The literary record never suggests that Morgantina was destroyed in 211 BC, but instead that it was handed over to Spanish mercenaries. The archaeological record suggests an initial deterioration at the end of the third century BC, but this is followed by a level of renewed, though more limited, prosperity in the second century BC, and then a gradual decline. In the *agora*, for example, most of the earlier buildings continued in use, but often underwent changes in design and function, and there is evidence for additions or rebuilding in the second and first centuries BC.[38] There was also activity outside of the *agora*, including renovation and construction of courtyard houses (Chapter 5). Further excavations at the site, particularly finds of first-century-AD coins and ceramic material, suggest a later and more gradual abandonment of the site than had been previously assumed. Looking at the archaeological record gives us a different picture of Morgantina post 211 BC, one that the ancient texts alone are insufficient to explain.

Caution also needs to be given when basing interpretations of the archaeological record upon historic milestones, especially for Sicily during the Republican period. Much of

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[37] "… *ita relictus erat ex maxima parte ut non solum iugorum sed etiam dominorum multitudinem quaereremus*…"
Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.18.47. Translation: Loeb (293), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume II.
[38] This includes: the construction of the *macellum*, large kilns, and the South-west Fountain; as well as rebuilding of the North-west stoa, and the Fountain house.

our information comes from early excavations, of various techniques, that are not well published, and stratigraphy was either not recorded, or reported. Instead, early archaeologists resorted to interpreting dates and contexts for their findings based on disparate events in the historical record. While this itself is problematic, the situation is compounded by the Hellenocentric nature of the study of ancient Sicily, which still persists today, and the perpetuating discourse that portrays the Republican period in Sicily as one in decline. These trends have led to the majority of evidence for 'Hellenistic' urbanisation in Sicily to be dated either to the foundation of cities by Dionysios I, or the reorganisation projects of Timoleon and Agathokles, during the fourth and early third centuries BC.[39]

Even when there is potential stratigraphic evidence to work with, it is malleable. Stratigraphy is not an exact science; absolute dates based on coin evidence are rare, and we are largely reliant upon relative dating techniques. These are based primarily on inter- and intra- site comparisons of ceramic evidence and stylistic trends, which themselves infrequently have secure dates. Furthermore, seldom are we able to pinpoint a date within a period of 50 to 100 years. This is the time-frame within which we are working, however, if we want to explore the initial impact of Roman hegemony, and it becomes significant for this discussion whether a material feature pre- or post- dates the Roman occupation of the island.

Morgantina again provides a good example of these dating challenges, and the question of its chronology will be discussed at length in the relevant section of Chapter 5. For now it is sufficient to note that though an intelligible chronology for the site, based in part upon reliable stratigraphic evidence, is available, this chronology is not universally accepted. It has been observed that the relative sequence has been made to fit 'too neatly' between the historic milestones of ca. 211 BC and ca. 31 BC, and that some of the features of the

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[39] For similar discussions see esp. La Torre 2004b, 112-3.

site are stylistically similar to later examples from other sites, not all of which are in Sicily.[40]

Neither of these is sufficient reason to abandon the given stratigraphy, but other measures should be taken to ensure that Morgantina's dates are robust.

Classical archaeology is not alone in being 'text driven'; ancient history is of course as well. As a discipline, we need to be able to expand our questions and our focuses from those which we might apply to the ancient sources. This is not meant to suggest that we should altogether abandon previous approaches, but instead we need to ask new questions about the evidence. It is here that this particular work fits into the existing scholarship. It is proposed that such a question as outlined in the opening part of this chapter can be answered through a combination of both textual and archaeological material, but only if the textual sources are being used to help interpret the archaeological data, and are not allowed to direct, nor dictate, this interpretation.

1.2.2   Conceptual models and terminology

To address the questions of this dissertation, however, the study presented here needs to be placed within the current academic discourse regarding the problems of terminology when discussing the underlying theme of culture contact, particularly those that concern Sicily and Rome. This is especially true for the concepts of 'Romanisation' and 'Hellenisation', if for no other reason than as the first Roman province, Sicilian responses to Roman rule surely helped to generate some of the features that would later be considered part and parcel of the process of 'Romanisation' itself. It is also important to examine what is intended by the use of cultural or ethnic labels such as 'Greek', 'Punic', 'Sikel', etc.

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[40] For a recent example see Mancini 2006, esp. 174.

1.2.2.1 –ations, –isations, and –isms

The terms Hellenisation – generally meaning to make or become Greek– and Romanisation – to make or become Roman – are commonly used as examples of acculturation – a process of cultural change as a result of contact with other cultural groups – and as explanations for visible trends in social and material practices.[41] The term Romanisation is based upon a late nineteenth-century German model of the Greek word Ἑλληνίζω – literally to be made Greek in language – and became popular in modern discourse after the publication of Haverfield's *Romanization of Roman Britain* in 1905.[42] At a basic level such terms suggest the existence and spread of a homogeneous cultural collective or *koine* into which observable trends can be placed.[43] While such concepts are pertinent in a study of the nature of socio-cultural impact of Roman hegemony and cross-cultural contact in Sicily during the mid-Republican period, their application is not straightforward, and the terms receive frequent criticism.[44]

One such critique is that these terms are often used as polemics, with suggestions of continuity or discontinuity, success or failure, acceptance or rejection, Greek or Roman, and

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[41] The definitions for the terms Romanisation and Hellenisation as they are used in this study are outlined below. The definition for the term acculturation as given above is the intended use here and based upon Cusick 1998c, esp. 128, where he provides an overview of the application of the term. This is, however, just one of the definitions that Cusick provides, and not necessarily the most common. Acculturation is often seen as being a one-way exchange, and Cusick, among others, believes that it, like Romanisation, is largely outdated and should not be used. It is proposed here, however, that this can be a value-neutral description that incorporates the acceptance of external influence without loss of a basic value system. For a study on Archaic Sicily that works within this modified definition of acculturation see De Angelis 2003, esp. 22-3. For clarification of what is meant by 'material practice' see below.

[42] Haverfield, F. *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. 4th ed., revised by George Macdonald. Oxford: 1923, originally published in 1905. cf. Drinkwater 2012.

[43] For the Hellenistic *koine* see for example Curti et al. 1996, 182.

[44] The bibliography concerning acculturation, Romanisation, and Hellenisation is vast and covers over a century of research. An excellent synthesis of the historiography of Romanisation is provided by Webster 2001, 209-219, while Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 7-32, provides a more detailed overview of the terms and labels being described below. For additional dialogues on Romanisation and Hellenisation see for example: Gallini 1973; Morel 1983; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Guldager Bilde et al. 1993; Torelli 1995; Curti et al. 1996, esp. 181-8; Mattingly 1997; Fentress 2000; Keay and Terrenato 2001; D'Andria 2002; Lomas 2003; Owen 2005, 13-6; Roth and Keller 2007; Colivicchi 2011; and Mattingly 2011.

Roman or indigenous.[45] For example, an area that begins to display features that we attribute to Roman Italy is commonly interpreted as indicating a successful program of Romanisation, while a lack of the same features is a failure. As Prag correctly states for Republican Sicily, however, the continuity of a so-called Hellenised culture "is, perhaps paradoxically, a direct consequence of Roman rule".[46] This is because the Romans were "themselves deeply Hellenised".[47] The political, economic, and social incorporation of Sicily as a province during the Republican period is likely to have played a role in the instigation of this cultural process.[48] Further, the fact that Rome managed to maintain a socio-political hold across much of the Mediterranean for centuries, and that these areas showed evidence for similarities in many of their practices, suggests that 'Romanisation', or at least the incorporation of these areas, Sicily included, under an umbrella of Roman hegemony, was successful. In many instances the 'acceptance' or 'resistance' of practices fluctuates, and this largely depended on context, such as location, relations between cultures, or social status of individuals. Moreover, the inclusion of new features seldom results in the cessation of all traditional practices. These terms should not be seen as either / or scenarios.

More problematic, however, is the fact that these terms are often imbedded with 'imperialistic' meaning, which suggests universal and identical stimuli, along with a unidirectional transmission of practice from one active or 'dominant' culture (e.g. that of Rome) onto a passive or 'inferior' culture (e.g. that of a province). Though Haverfield's concept of Romanisation was challenged early on by scholars such as Collingwood, who suggested a process of fusion rather than assimilation, a true paradigm shift did not begin until the 1970s when the motivation behind, and biases within, the approaches to culture

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[45] See also Webster 2001, 216-7; and for Sicily specifically Portale 2001-2002.
[46] Prag 2007, 69.
[47] Curti et al. 1996, 185.
[48] Of course the instigation of this process was in addition to the incorporation of other Greek settlements, including those slightly earlier in southern Italy, and slightly later in the Greek east.

contact in the ancient Mediterranean began to be questioned.[49] At this time emphasis shifted

to a discussion of local cultures, and how these were affected by these processes. Following

these trends, more recent studies, largely part of the post-colonial theory that emerged in

the 1990s, have developed.[50] These studies recognise that the 'colonised' not only

incorporated objects into pre-existing social and material customs, but also that they

manipulated the 'colonial system'. For Roman studies the focus has been on ideas of active

participation on both sides, and how members of the subordinate culture, particularly the

elite, through a process of 'self-Romanisation' and active choice, modified and contributed to

this *koine*.[51] This is a 'top-down' model and suggests that the upper social levels first

accepted (and modified) these traits, and then influenced those in the lower social levels of

their immediate community. Alternate terms, or models, that also suggest more of an

interaction between, and within, cultures have been added to this dialogue. Those that are

particularly relevant for the domestic material of mid-Republican Sicily include: the 'middle

ground', 'hybridisation' and 'creolisation', and 'bilingualism' and 'code-switching'.

The Middle Ground

The idea of a 'middle ground' is that of a sphere of interaction and reciprocal exchange

between cultural groups. It involves a "process of mutual invention" based not on force, but

upon cooperation and consent, and therefore resulting in a "new set of common

conventions", and was first introduced by White in his discussion on Algonquians natives

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[49] For early criticisms see: Webster 2001, 211-2 (Collingwood and "Fusion"); for this paradigm shift see Webster 2001, 212-3 (The Nativist Counterattack); and Woolf 1997, 340-1.
[50] For postcolonial theory in the study of the ancient Mediterranean see esp.: van Dommelen 1997; De Angelis 1998; Antonaccio 2001; Van Dommelen 2002; Antonaccio 2003; Malkin 2004; Hurst and Owen 2005; Van Dommelen 2006a; Giangiulio 2010; and Hales and Hodos 2010.
[51] Webster 2001, 213-7 (Millet's Romanization and Emulating Rome). For 'self-Romanisation' of the elites see esp. Woolf 1995; and Woolf 1997. Further discussions on the role of local populations in their own 'Romanisation' are extensive, though generally the majority of these studies focus on the Imperial provinces. For these basic concepts of elite emulation and 'self-Romanisation' being applied to Republican Italy see for example: various papers in Torelli 1995; Fracchia and Gualtieri 1998-1999, 300, n. 13, and 335; Fracchia 2001, 66; Terrenato 2001, 3-5; and the various papers within Colivicchi 2011.

and French colonists and traders in the Great Lakes Region between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries AD.[52] This idea has been adopted in certain studies of the ancient Mediterranean where it results in interpretations of "dynamic new cultural creations" that emerge from a mediating culture.[53] The middle ground can also act geographically and culturally as both a centre and a periphery, and is therefore both a receiver and transmitter of cultural practices.

Mid-Republican Sicily is an example of such a middle ground. It consisted of a mixture of largely autonomous Greek, Phoenicio-Carthaginian, Roman, Italian, and indigenous populations living and interacting with one another in an environment that lacked significant political, cultural, or economic exploitation from a single entity. Even once 'unified' under Roman hegemony there is little evidence to suggest that this was a coercive authority until at least the Roman Imperial period, and at this time formal *coloniae* existed only in certain areas.[54] Sicily was also on the geographic and cultural periphery of major Greek, Phoenicio-Carthaginian, and Roman centres, but this was a shared periphery between these centres, and therefore a middle ground that created a new 'centre'.[55]

Hybridisation and Creolisation

Occurring within the middle ground are the more specific processes of 'hybridisation' and 'creolisation', both of which are useful models to interpret features visible in the material of mid-Republican Sicily. Recently the term hybridisation has become popular in Mediterranean studies to refer to a mixing or blending of distinct cultural practices of two (or

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[52] White 1991, 50, and 52. For his discussion in general see esp. 50-93.
[53] Malkin 2002, 151. For the 'middle ground' in the ancient Mediterranean, see esp. Malkin 2002; Malkin 2004; Gosden 2004, 82-113; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 23-4; and Hodos 2010, 21-2.
[54] Hodos 2006, 7, makes the suggestion of Sicily as a 'middle ground' during the Iron Age, and Malkin 2004, 359-63, uses western Sicily as an example during the Archaic period. It is argued here that this is a relevant model for the Republican period as well, at least until the enfranchisement of citizens by Rome began (see above).
[55] Malkin 2002, 153, describes eighth- to seventh- centuries-BC Campania, on the periphery of Etruscan and Greek centres in a similar fashion.

more) groups, and the active reinterpretation of these practices to produce something new, be it new objects, new practices, or most extremely, new identities, from a combination of both (or all).[56] Related to hybridisation, and based upon a linguistic term that refers to the combination of two distinct languages to produce a blended dialect, creolisation has been occasionally applied to archaeological assemblages since the 1990s. This is largely in relation to Europeans and displaced Africans in the Americas, but has also been used in studies involving the ancient Mediterranean.[57] Both hybridisation and creolisation are constructive models that are based on ideas of synthesis and negotiation, as well as adaptation, and not merely adoption. Creolisation differs from hybridisation in that it is not necessarily producing something 'new', but instead involves a re-contextualisation of traditional objects when they move outside of the societies that generated them. Webster refers to this as "resistant adaptation" from which emerge "mixed cultures".[58]

These features are seldom characteristic of the entire material assemblage, however, and are rarely seen outside of their immediate community. Further, though useful as interpretive models, neither process is an entirely neutral concept. For example, they usually adopt the argument of a subversion of a pre-existing cultural element, therefore suggesting "that there was a dominant culture to be subverted".[59] They also largely assume that the 'old' is displaced by the 'new'. Additional critiques of hybridity in particular include the inherent dangers that a term borrowed from the biological sciences will carry with it, particularly those of sterility (i.e. not transferable beyond its immediate context), evolutionary

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[56] For hybridisation in the western Mediterranean see esp.: Antonaccio 2003; Antonaccio 2005; Tronchetti and van Dommelen 2005; Van Dommelen 2006b; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 11; Antonaacio 2010; and Hodos 2010, 21.
[57] See esp. Webster 2001; and Webster 2003. See also Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 11.
[58] Webster 2001, 218; and Webster 2003, 42.
[59] Owen 2005, 16-17.

and Darwinian doctrine (progress and survival versus non-survival), and a process that suggests birth, maturity, and decline.[60]

<u>Bilingualism and Code-switching</u>

Arguably the most widely applicable concept for this study revolves around the complex relationship between Hellenisation and Romanisation; a process which Wallace-Hadrill refers to as 'bilingualism and code-switching', or more simply as "to be Roman go Greek".[61] Such a model also occurs within a middle ground, but here there is no suggestion of a single new entity, but instead the coexistence of multiple elements. There is no substitution or replacement of cultural features and practices, only additions to the pre-existing ones. The principal argument is that through bilingualism (or multilingualism), both lingual and cultural, an effective system of communication was established. Added to this is the concept of code-switching, which suggests that the ability to command both (or all) 'languages', and to know when to switch to which mode, provided power.[62]

It is sometimes suggested that these alternate terms and models are simply replacements for those such as Hellenisation or Romanisation. This is unfair and incorrect. They each have their own unique interpretation of how culture-contact processes worked. They also take 'Greece' and 'Rome' out of the picture, therefore giving them a wider application in archaeological and anthropological theory. None of these alternate terms, however, provide models that can be ubiquitously applied. For example, Webster's creolisation model is intended to look at subaltern-cultures, for her specifically the 'poor and enslaved'.[63] Though other social levels are also relevant, it is intended to be a 'bottom-up' model, and it is not comprehensive enough to examine all cultural interactions and their

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[60] See for example: Malkin 2004, 358; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 27; and Giangiulio 2010, 14.
[61] Wallace-Hadrill 1998; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 17-28. See also: Versluys 2008, 354.
[62] Wallace-Hadrill 1998, esp. 81, 81 n. 12, 84, 87, and 91.
[63] Webster 2001.

resulting material and social practices. Although she wants to replace the term 'Romanisation', she also says that it "has merits" for envisaging practices of the elite.[64]

As 'Classical' archaeologists we need not automatically downplay the fact that we study 'Rome' and her neighbours, and in so doing altogether abandon the use of terms that recognise this. Instead, we should embrace the fact that there is at least a century of culture-contact research to build upon, and demonstrate how this can be relevant to interdisciplinary studies. The majority of the studies noted above that focus on the application of these alternative models do this, but perhaps this is unintentional as they usually also advocate that we stop using the term 'Romanisation'. It is not constructive, however, merely to state that we cannot use the term. Changing the name does not automatically make it different, or better, or exclude inherent bias.

Where these additional studies are most successful is that they help to define the process better. For example, it could be argued that hybridisation or creolisation are products of Romanisation – that is if we leave out the conventional presupposition that Romanisation implies unidirectional influence – in that the creation of a new culture (hybrid), or a subaltern-culture (creole), through the blending or mixing of two or more distinct cultures, is achieved, in these instances, within a middle ground (the province of Sicily), via the overarching process of 'becoming Roman'. These models are neither synonymous with, nor dependent upon, Romanisation, and the existence of one does not mean the other will definitely happen, but they are all examples of related acculturation processes that are potentially applicable to various material practices being discussed in this study.

The greatest criticism of Romanisation is not the term, but people's impression of what is meant by it. 'Rome' and 'Romans' are themselves convenient labels that we use to describe a vast geographical area, with varying groups of people, which are largely under a

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[64] Webster 2001, 209.

single political and economic hegemony, Sicily included.[65] These areas shared similarities in social and material practices, but that does not mean that these practices were identical, geographically or socially. People did become 'Roman', or at minimum part of a 'Roman' socio-cultural collective. That of course does not meant that change occurred overnight, or even at all, or that there is a single definition or expression of what it meant to be Roman, or how this was achieved. They can, however, still be perceived as being 'Roman', regardless of any internal ethnic or cultural affiliation. If we accept that there are many different 'Romes' and 'Romans' then we must accept that there were different kinds of 'Romanisation' as well. All of these '–isations' and '–isms' are simply descriptive words that aid in the representation and conceptualisation of culture contact; they are not, however, proscriptive, constrictive, deterministic, or explanatory.[66] They are necessary theoretical frameworks that make us think about the data, but they should not replace the data, and their definition should evolve, not simply be replaced, as our interpretation of them, and culture contact, progresses.[67]

Mattingly suggests that such an approach is a ruse in that if we accept that 'Romanisation' has variable definitions then we no longer have a paradigm, and "it will be difficult to deliver unambiguously comparative issues in Romanization".[68] While this is a fair argument, he also fails to provide an alternative, all-encompassing, model in its place, and instead lists nine 'suitable approaches'.[69] He is most specific with the suggestion of the concept of 'identity', but such a concept does not provide a single nor unambiguous model either, and there is no certainty that we can even infer, or completely understand, the

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[65] Keay and Terrenato 2001, ix.
[66] For a similar statement regarding acculturation in general see Wilk 1990, 41.
[67] See also Curti 2001, 24, who correctly argues against theory for theory's sake, and De Angelis who notes that we need to move "beyond mere theoretical posturing" and ensure that these ideas are "actually incorporated" (De Angelis 2003, 31 n. 88).
[68] Mattingly 2002, 537. This comment is made in the context of a review of Keay and Terrenato's 2001 collection of essays on Romanisation, which suggests 'Romanisation' as an umbrella topic for culture contact (Keay and Terrenato 2001, see esp. ix-x). For a recent collection of papers which similarly take a varied approach to the processes of 'Romanisation' see Colivicchi 2011.
[69] Mattingly 2002, esp. 537-8.

characteristics of identity in the archaeological record.[70] For example, the use of a style or object particular to a specific culture or *ethnos* does not automatically indicate the adoption of that group's ethnic or cultural identity.[71] Meanwhile, a lack of features does not mean a rejection of this identity either. Therefore, this study advocates against a single, all-encompassing, model or paradigm that "blurs numerous very different processes".[72] Instead, it advocates an inclusive and holistic approach, along with the provision of a clear statement of what the terminology means, and not continued discourse with only a vague sense of meaning and direction.[73]

In the following study the term Romanisation, though used sparingly, generally refers to the processes of becoming 'Roman-like', but more specifically it is used to describe the integration of an area (Sicily), into a (Roman) heterogeneous political and / or socio-cultural collective (*koine*), which itself is fluid and flexible. The term Hellenisation is similarly defined as generally becoming 'Greek-like', and more specifically the integration into a similarly fluid and flexible (Greek) collective. It is proposed that these are not polemics (e.g. Greek versus Roman), with intrinsic biological or Darwinian doctrine (e.g. survival versus non-survival, or success versus failure), and that both processes were active, bidirectional, and most importantly, composed of a variety of processes (hybridisation, creolisation, bilingualism and code-switching) with diverse developments and solutions. Though it is not necessarily the primary focus, the research here can provide <u>an</u> example, not <u>the</u> example, of the processes involved in, and the products of, culture contact in the early phases of this so-called 'Romanisation'.

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[70] Trying to define identity and its manifestation in the archaeological record is as precarious as Romanisation. See for example: Díaz-Andreu et al. 2005 (esp. Lucy 2005, on ethnic and cultural identities: 86-109); Jones 2007; and Versluys 2008, esp. 344-6.
[71] Owen 2005, 13.
[72] Curti et al. 1996, 188.
[73] See also Terrenato 2001, 2.

1.2.2.2   'Ethnicity' and cultural labels

Before continuing with the current research, it is also important to clarify cultural labels and ethnic attributions that are being made. It is necessary to begin with the acknowledgement that 'culture' is not a single, comprehensive, concept, but instead it is "complex and internally contradictory".[74] This study follows a broad, though largely semiotic, approach to this concept. For example, the terms 'culture' or 'cultural' are used to refer to an abstract system of socially-dependent symbols and meanings (one that is distinct from other abstract systems such as politics or economics). Meanwhile, the same terms are used more concretely to imply the practices and beliefs that are shaped by this semiotic system. Additionally, the group (or groups) of people who share, and use, this system are also referred to as a culture (or cultures). Therefore, we can have the culture of the Sicilians (i.e. the abstract system), Sicilian culture (i.e. the concrete use of the system) and Sicilians as a culture (i.e. the people who share and use the same system). Lastly, while 'material culture' refers to the artefacts (i.e. the physical materialisation) of this system, material practice refers to the use and agency of these artefacts as they relate to the system.

Of equal importance is to note that the concept of ethnicity, involving "notions of fictive kinship and decent, common history and a specific homeland", though utilised in discussions of the ancient Mediterranean, including Sicily, is often overused and mistreated.[75] Ethnicity is not a tangible thing that can be easily identified, but instead is an abstract idea that is characterised by members' decisions "to do (some) things in similar

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[74] Roller 2010, 234. For a detailed discussion on the concepts of culture see esp. Sewell 1999. For these being applied to Classical studies see for example the papers of Hall 2003, 23-34; Antonaccio 2003, 57-74; and Ober 2003, 237-53; in Dougherty and Kurke 2003.
[75] Hall 2002, 17. Antonaccio has begun to counter this 'misuse' of the concept of ethnicity to Sicily. See esp.: Antonaccio 2001; and Antonaacio 2010; but see also Giangiulio 2010, who suggests that ethnic and territorial boundaries were weak, or even non-existent, and instead we should be examining the overlapping and multi-layered 'local' identities.

ways to each other, and in different ways from other people".[76] Ethnic groups are also

commonly described as "fluid self-defining systems which are embedded in economic and

political relations".[77] Though these systems might be portrayed and reinforced through

aspects of culture and material practice, ethnicity and distinct (material) culture are not

synonymous, and their precise relationship is not well understood.[78] For example, multiple

ethnic groups can share common cultural characteristics, while within the same ethnic

groups differing culturally-based material practices may co-exist.[79] While Hall's argument

that ethnicity, being a subjective construct, can only be examined for societies that have left

a literary record is not followed here, it is believed that ethnicity cannot be discerned through

an examination of domestic architecture and decorative pavements alone.[80] Further,

because ethnicity is a 'personal' concept, and we do not have in general literary texts written

by Sicilians (Diodoros Sikelos is an exception), it is necessary to appreciate the material

from emic evidence (e.g. epigraphic and archaeological material that is generated inside the

community), while not automatically dismissing etic evidence (e.g. texts that are generated

outside the community, particularly Rome) out of hand.

Republican Sicily was composed of a diverse cultural heritage that can be inferred as

having at least seven immigrant groups.[81] The fact that the ancient authors discuss 'ethnic'

or 'cultural' boundaries of Sicily suggest an ideological existence of such boundaries, and

this can help us interpret the material assemblage. For example, the so-called 'ethnic map'

of Sicily is first recorded in the fifth century BC by Thucydides.[82] He claims that the most

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[76] Lucy 2005, 86.
[77] Jones 2007, 48.
[78] Jones 2007, 48. For the Mediterranean world in particular see also Hall 2002, esp. 9-29; and Lomas 2003.
[79] Jones 2007, e.g. the different practices or materials associated with living in an urban environment versus a rural one.
[80] Hall 2002, 19-29, esp. 24.
[81] These are the Sikans, Sikels, Elymians, Phoenicio-Carthaginians, Greeks, Campanian Mamertines, and finally other Italians / Romans (Lomas 2000, 161-2).
[82] Thuc. 6.2.1-6.

ancient inhabitants of Sicily were the Cyclopes and Laestrygones, and that the Sikani, having arrived from an area near the River Sikanus (in Iberia), inhabited the western part of the island. Meanwhile the Sikels, originally from Italy, lived in the central and northern sections of the island, and the Elymians, specifically Trojans and Phocians, in the north-western section, with their towns being named *Eryx* and *Egesta*. Thucydides also reports that the Phoenicians 'withdrew' to the northern coast and in particular the sites of *Motye*, *Soleis*, and *Panormus* when the Greeks arrived.[83] He then describes the colonisation of the eastern section of Sicily by the Greeks, beginning with the foundation of Naxos by the (Ionian) Chalcidicians, and shortly thereafter of Syracuse by the (Doric) Corinthians. Meanwhile, the Naxians were founding their own settlements of Leontini and Catana, and these groups, along with the Syracusans and their colonies in the south-east corner of the island, he writes, displaced the Sikels living in their respective areas.[84] Similar descriptions are given by later authors such as Diodoros (first century BC) and Strabo (first century AD), and they include other groups of Italians living in the interior of the island, such as the Morgetes at Morgantina.[85] These 'ethnic' labels are also common place in modern literature, and while Thucydides' narrative was written centuries before the time period being examined here, and its validity is often challenged (see below), the point here is to demonstrate how by the fifth century BC the island, at least externally, was conceived of as being composed of distinct *ethne* that are largely relative to a geographical position (Figure 1.3).

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[83] Hodos 2006, 91, notes that there is no archaeological evidence for resident Phoenicians until the foundation of Motya at the end of the eighth century BC, and that similar evidence is not seen at the sites of Palermo and Solunto until the early sixth century BC.
[84] Thuc. 6.3.1-3.
[85] See for example: Diod. Sic. 5.2.1 and 4; 5.6.1-5; and 14.88.1; and Strabo 6.1.3; 6.1.6; and 6.2.4.

Figure 1.3. The so-called 'ethnic' map of Sicily, ca. 431 BC (Abu America). © 2007, Abu America, by permission

For the arrival of further Italians, and the Romans, in the third century BC we are reliant primarily upon Polybios and again Diodoros.[86] The next group of Italians to take up residence in Sicily are reported to be mercenaries from Campania who referred to themselves as the Mamertines.[87] They had originally been hired by the Syracusan tyrant Agathokles, and after his assassination they seized the settlement of *Zankle* (Messana).[88] They became an irritant to both the Carthaginian and Greek cities in the area, and were defeated on behalf of the Syracusans by the General Pyrrhus of Epiros in 278 BC.[89] Pyrrhus then turned his attention to the Carthaginians, but soon returned to Italy.[90] After one of Pyrrhus' commanders, Hieron II, was accepted as a general (tyrant?) by Syracuse, he, while in an alliance with Carthage, again defeated the Mamertines in 265 BC in a battle at the

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[86] Polyb. 1.5.1 – 1.12.9; and 1.15.1 – 1.16.11. Diod. Sic. 22.1.2-3; 22.7.4; 22.13.1-9; 23.1.2-4; and 23.4. Strab. 6.2.3 also mentions that the Messenii continued to be called Mamertini and that neighbouring *Catana* had Roman residents. See also Serrati 2000a.
[87] See esp. Polyb. 1.8.1. For the Mamertines and Mamertine wine see Strabo 6.2.3.
[88] See esp. Diod. Sic. 22.1.3.
[89] See esp. Diod. Sic. 22.13.1-9.
[90] Plut. *Vit. Pyrrh.* esp. 22.1-23.5.

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Longanos River.[91] It was consequently at this time that Hieron II took the title of 'Basileus' (king).[92] After their defeat by Hieron II the Mamertines appealed to Carthage, and shortly thereafter to Rome, for assistance against the Greeks.[93] This is the reason the Romans give for first entering Sicily.[94] Carthage and Syracuse initially joined a military alliance to counter the Roman attack, and so begun the First Punic War.[95] Within a year, however, Hieron II surrendered to, and entered into a treaty of alliance with, Rome.[96] In this settlement it is stated that Hieron was to continue as ruler of Syracuse, and those cities subject to him.[97] It is due to his allegiance during the remainder of that war that only a portion of the island became part of the first province of Sicily at its conclusion.[98] In the Roman – Carthaginian Treaty of 241 BC Hieron's territory was left under his hegemony.[99] This territory did not become part of the province until his successors once again sided with Carthage against Rome, and were then defeated in the initial years of the Second Punic War.[100]

The above survey illustrates how there was a perception of people with an 'Italian *ethnos'* on the island even before it became a Roman province. According to the ancient sources, it was the lineage of the Mamertines with Campania and Rome that was played upon to get Rome's assistance against the 'Greeks', or for Rome to justify going against the

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[91] Diod. Sic. 22.13.1-9; and Polyb. 1.8.1-9.8.
[92] Polyb. 1.9.8.
[93] Polyb. 1.10.1-2.
[94] Polyb. 1.10.5-7; 11.2-3; and 12.5.
[95] For the alliance between Hieron II and the Carthaginians against Rome see Diod. Sic. 23.1.2; and Polyb. 1.10.7.
[96] Polyb. 1.16.5-9.
[97] Diod. Sic. 23.4.1. Only *Acrae*, *Leontini*, *Megara*, *Helorum*, *Netum*, and *Tauromenium* are mentioned specifically.
[98] For Hieron II and his loyalty and aid to Rome see for example: Livy. 21.49.2-7; 21.50.7-10; 22.37.1-5; 22.56.8; 23.21.5; and 23.38.13; and Polyb. 1.16.9-11.
[99] For the treaty between Rome and Carthage following the First Punic War see App. Sic. 5.2.2; and Polyb. 1.62.8-9. For the four treaties between Rome and Carthage, dating between 509 and 241 BC see Polyb. 3.22.1 – 3.27.10. For the treaty between Rome and Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War see Polyb. 15.7.7-9.
[100] For Hieron's successors and their siding with Carthage against Rome, and the subsequent siege of Syracuse and other cities that revolted see Livy Books 24 and 25; Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 7-20; and Polyb. 7.2.1-5.8; and 8.3.1-8.7.12.

Sicilian Greeks and infringing upon a pre-existing treaty with Carthage. It is also important to emphasise that the historical tradition linked both the Sikels, having emigrated from Italy, and the Elymians, who were descendants of Aeneas, with blood ties to Roman Italy. Whether this was historically 'true' is immaterial, it was a perception that was held and could be advertised. This synopsis also shows a fluidity of alliance between all of these 'cultural' or 'ethnic' groups that could be propagated. The significance of these relationships between the various Sicilian groups and Rome, and the possible role that they played in the 'Romanisation' of the island during the initial stages of provincialisation, will be returned to in the concluding discussion of Chapter 7 (section 7.4).

In the following chapters, the terms 'indigenous' ('Sikel' or 'Elymian'), 'Phoenicio-Carthaginian' ('Punic'), and 'Greek' refers to those from settlements with respective foundations in the literary tradition (see also section 1.1.2.3), while the label 'Roman' is primarily used to refer to all Italians living on the island. Admittedly, these are not ideal labels. For example, how relevant they were for the Sicilians, and whether such boundaries can be identified archaeologically, remain open for debate. The professed 'ethnic map' of the island discussed above is "imbued with Greek significance", and there has proven to be little material correlation between archaeological data and these proposed ethnic regions.[101] For convenience, similar labels and geographic attributions are made in this study, but these cautions as to assuming that they refer to a 'real' cultural or ethnic affiliation are noted. Hodos warns against using the term indigenous as these groups were themselves immigrants, but her use of the term 'local' is not relevant for this discussion either because by the Hellenistic period all of these proposed immigrant groups were 'local' residents.[102] Therefore the conventional term indigenous continues to be used. Prag has similar

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[101] Hodos 2006, 93; See also Leighton 1999, 215-7.
[102] Hodos 2006, 14-7.

reservations for the adjective Punic.[103] The convention for this latter term is to draw a

distinction between Phoenician and Punic activity at ca. 550 BC, when the monarchy at Tyre

had fallen, and consequently Carthaginian hegemony in the western Mediterranean began

to rise and became a cultural focal point.[104] As this study is concentrated on material three

centuries after this date, and well into the Carthaginian hegemony of Phoenician

settlements, and the Carthaginian *epikrateia* of western Sicily, this convention continues to

be followed here as well.

1.2.3   Additional approaches and research focus

Lastly, it is also important to stress a few additional approaches being taken in this study, or

not taken as the case may be. It is essential to begin with a clarification that the focus is on

cultural influence, stimulus, and interaction during the mid-Republican period on Sicily, in

particular the second century BC, and not cultural change. In only a few instances is there

enough evidence of the domestic architecture at any individual site in the periods

immediately before and after Sicily became a Roman province from which to make

comparisons.[105] Though change is discussed for those specific sites where such information

is available, similar inter-site comparisons with domestic architecture of the island pre-211

BC is kept to a minimum for two reasons. First, one of the arguments of this dissertation is

that the currently available surveys of domestic architecture on Sicily are too normative, and

make too many broad assumptions regarding cultural practices based upon typologies that

are not necessarily relevant for Sicily (see Chapter 2). A more comprehensive study of the

nature of domestic architecture of the Classical and early Hellenistic period is needed before

such comparisons are made. Second, inter-site comparisons can prove problematic due to a

multitude of variables, such as region, occupation history, or ethnic affiliation, which could

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[103] Prag 2006.
[104] See Aubet 2001, 341; and Hodos 2006, 2-3, and 91-2.
[105] Particularly at Morgantina, but perhaps also Solunto.

affect cultural practice. This does not mean that they were categorically different, but they also cannot be assumed to have been the same. Furthermore, though considerable numbers of Roman officials and Italians are believed to have resided in Sicily, Roman *coloniae* were not established until the Augustan period, and there is little evidence for an immediate, sudden, or overwhelming population influx from the mainland.[106] Additionally, though the various Sicilian settlements were granted differential rights during the mid-Republican period, they largely remained autonomous political units, and "the people of the island were not directly incorporated by Rome either as Roman citizens or allies".[107] There is, therefore, no reason to assume a drastic or sudden change in the population, nor in its cultural practices, and it is proposed that at least some of the observable traits of the new province are the product of developments already underway before its incorporation into the Roman political and administrative framework.

Additionally, where it is appropriate, possible implications for Sicilian ideologies and identities during this period will be explored. This is not, however, a study on Sicilian identities within the full range of modern discourse. While issues such as cultural affiliation and social status are broached, not considered are other topics of identity that are common in current archaeological studies such as gender, age, sexuality, or religion.[108] This is also not meant to be a discussion on Sicilian ethnicity *per se.* As discussed above, the concept of ethnicity is often overused and mistreated. Furthermore, the intent here is not to try to decipher the house of a Greek, from that of a Phoenicio-Carthaginian, Roman, Sikel or Elymian. Instead, domestic architecture is used as a tool in the attempt to understand better the nature of socio-cultural impact of Rome on all Sicilians, and their response to the new

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[106] For the veteran colonies of Augustus in Sicily see *Res Gestae* 28; and Wilson 1990a, 33-45. See also: Lomas 2000, 162; Serrati 2000a, 113; and Prag 2007, 75.
[107] Lomas 2000, 162. For an overview of the administrative framework put in place during the early *provincia* of Sicily see Serrati 2000b.
[108] See for example the various papers in: Díaz-Andreu et al. 2005; and Insoll 2007.

hegemony within the early stages of the Republican province. In this way it follows current studies, particularly on public, but also domestic, architecture, in that the intent is to view a process of "active dialogue between Sicilians and Rome, not a passive process of Romanisation".[109] It is proposed that this process varied from region to region and that this variance was affected by ethnic or cultural affiliation, hence the division of Chapters 3 – 5 into foundation settlement types, but there is little confidence that ethnicity specifically can be recognised in this information.

1.3   RESEARCH OUTLINE

This study takes on the following format: first, it is important to place mid-Republican Sicilian domestic architecture into context by reviewing the standard features of domestic architecture in the ancient Mediterranean, and providing a synthesis of possible criteria that may be used to help detect culturally influenced material practices in the houses of the second century BC (Chapter 2 and Appendices A and B). Following this is a synopsis of features that are seen in the 45 mid-Republican houses surveyed. These houses are grouped by foundation settlement type (Chapters 3 – 5). In addition to this is an appended catalogue of identified features for all 45 houses grouped alphabetically by site name (Appendix C). The purpose of these three chapters, and the catalogue, is to present the evidence of the relevant features of the common rebuilding program in domestic architecture that is apparent in the archaeological record dating to the mid-Republican period. In particular, the intention is to focus on those features that might be used to help understand better the socio-cultural impact of Rome on Sicilian settlements under the new province following the methodology outlined in Chapter 2. Though general conclusions regarding the settlement type will be drawn at the end of each of the chapters, it is not the intention to offer

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[109] Lomas 2000, 16. See (among others): La Torre 2004b; La Torre 2006; Portale 2006; Portale 2007; and Campagna 2011.

overall conclusions at this stage, but instead to present the empirical data. These chapters are followed by a summary and analysis of features (Chapter 6) from all 45 case studies following the criteria outlined in Chapter 2 and Appendices A and B. This is supplemented by summary tables in Appendix D. Following this method, it is suggested that a more nuanced representation of urban domestic architecture from this period becomes available, and as such helps us to understand better the socio-cultural impact of Roman hegemony and aspects of cross-cultural contact during the mid-Republican period in Sicily (Chapter 7).

Chapter 2: Approaches to the Study of Urban Domestic Architecture in the Ancient Mediterranean

2.1 INTRODUCTION

For most individuals, a house is more than a building that provides shelter; it is their home, the centre of their private life and a place with which they have a personal connection. Accordingly, the domestic architecture of Sicily may offer clues about the distinct material practices of those living in the early Republican province, and in so doing provide a better understanding of the socio-cultural impact of Roman hegemony and aspects of cross-cultural contact during this period. This idea is more complex, however, than what is proposed by most of the brief surveys currently available for the Sicilian houses from this period (see Chapter 1). The presence of a colonnaded courtyard, for example, does not necessarily signify a 'Greek' house; this feature is common throughout the Mediterranean.[110] The arrangement may have been adopted from the Greeks, but that alone does not make it 'Greek'. It is the relationship of the courtyard to the other features of the house that allows for such a distinction to be made. Equally, the *atrium* is not the only feature of a Roman Republican house, and not all Roman houses had *atria*; thus it alone cannot be used as the only distinguishing characteristic of Roman cultural influence. Even less is known about the houses of the Phoenicio-Carthaginians, further complicating the archaeological record. The evidence that we do have indicates that there is little in the plans of Punic houses that distinguishes them from modest Greek houses, but this could be more a result of the lacuna

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[110] Graham 1966, 11.

of study by those studying Greek and Roman domestic architecture than the actual features of the houses.[111]

A house is also more than its blue-print. A plan, a specific feature, or a construction technique can never indicate with authority who lived there at any given time. Ideally, one could look at finds within these rooms to help answer this, but these are generally not available for the Sicilian material because of the vagaries of preservation, or the methods and spotty publication of earlier excavators. Furthermore, a house is a diachronic artefact. Not only did its inhabitants change over time, but influences on these inhabitants did as well, and all of these changes make detection of culturally influenced practice within the material record problematic.[112] Features of a house plan, however, may help to interpret some of the ideological requirements of the people who built them and made it their home. Hoepfner and Schwandner's *Haus und Stadt* was one of the earliest studies to show how the layout of a house could be linked with broader social contexts, and as Nevett clearly points out, to understand houses we must be…

> … more aware of how they may have worked as three dimensional structures and as inhabited spaces.[113]

It is through the combination of this information that a better understanding of the socio-cultural practices associated with domestic architecture during the mid-Republican period in Sicily might be gained. Özgenel states:

> Reading house plans is actually a way of drawing a picture of the architectural context into which further literary and archaeological knowledge, data and discussion can be fruitfully inserted.[114]

Such ideas instigate the proposed methodology for this study.

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[111] Tsakirgis 1984, 483. See also Daniels 1995, esp. 93, who suggests mutual imitation in domestic architecture occurring between the two cultures. For a discussion on the houses of the sites of Kerkouane and Carthage see below.
[112] Tang 2005, 22.
[113] Nevett 2007a, 7; and Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994 (originally published in 1986).
[114] Özgenel 2010, 149.

Before continuing, however, it is necessary to review critically the process not only of how such a picture is drawn in the first place, but also the means by which further knowledge can be incorporated into this. First it is essential to review the traditional approaches taken to the study of domestic architecture within the ancient Mediterranean, and in particular to highlight features that are commonly used to classify a house type as it relates to a particular cultural milieu. These approaches, however, are not without complications as they relate to this study in particular, therefore, it is necessary to acknowledge what some of their limitations are, and provide possible alternative interpretations. Following this are additional approaches that could prove to be beneficial for this study, as well as an exploration of a few examples of features that could be potentially used to help detect particular cross-cultural influences in the houses of second-century-BC Sicily.

2.2   TYPOLOGIES: TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

It is inevitable in any discussion of domestic architecture in the ancient Mediterranean that the subject will invoke the *prostas*, *pastas*, peristyle, and *atrium* house types. These terms are based on vocabulary used by the first-century-BC Roman writer Vitruvius, who makes no differentiation between the *prostas* and *pastas*:

hic locus apud non nullos prostas, apud alios pastas nominatur.[115]

And while he writes that the Greeks did not build *atria* because they had no use for them, he discusses the *peristylium* as a feature of both the Greek and Roman house.[116] Despite this, modern scholarship traditionally uses these four terms to distinguish between four distinct house types found in the archaeological record, and to make broad cultural assumptions

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[115] "This space is called by some writers "*prostas*" and by others "*pastas*"."
Vitr. *De arch*, 6.7.1. Translation: Morgan 1914, 186.
[116] Vitr. *De arch*, 6.3.7; 6.7.1-2.

based upon them.[117] There are many problems with this typology, some of which will be discussed in detail below, but for now it is sufficient to note that rarely can close parallels to Vitruvius' descriptions be found in the archaeological record, and a growing trend in the study of domestic architecture in the ancient Mediterranean is no longer to use such phrases.[118] Despite this, they are still commonplace in even the most recent studies, and therefore it is necessary to begin this discussion on domestic architecture with a survey of these house types.[119]
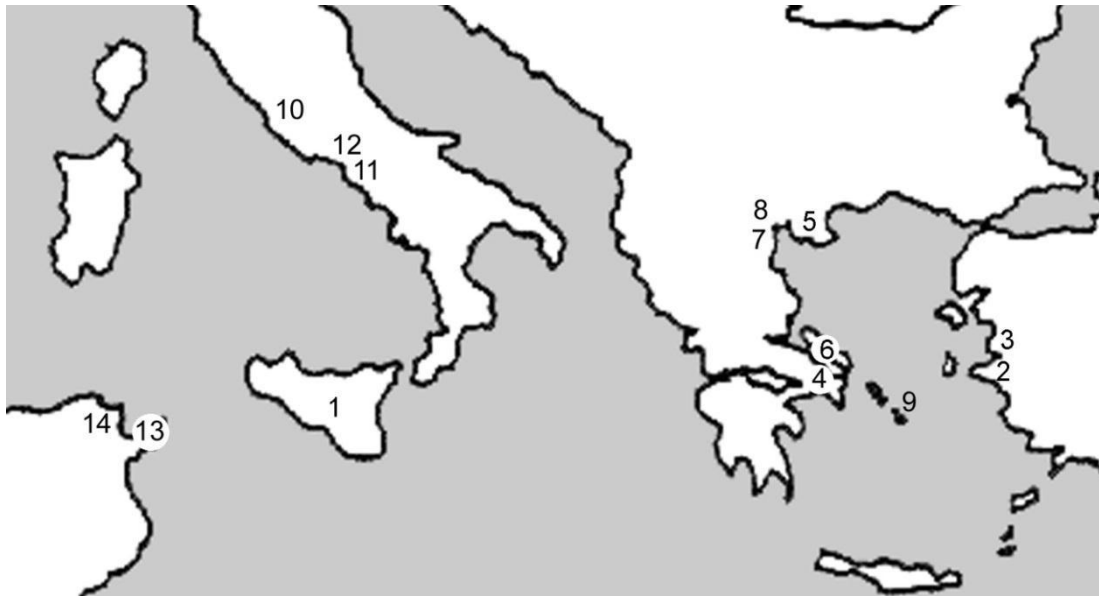
Figure 2.1. Map showing the locations of the main sites mentioned in Chapter 2. © 2012, Karen Aberle

1. Sicily; 2. Priene; 3. Colophon; 4. Piraeus; 5. Olynthos; 6. Eretria; 7. Vergina; 8. Pella; 9. Delos; 10. Rome; 11. Pompeii; 12. Herculaneum; 13 Kerkouane; 14. Carthage

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[117] For similar statements see for example: Tsakirgis 1989b, 279; and Nevett 2007a, 6.
[118] Though the houses of Campania show similarities with those described by Vitruvius, this is not the case for all features or all houses. Furthermore, less common are parallels with the remains of Greek houses. Jameson states that it "no longer seems useful to try to classify the known types of Greek house" with the categories of *prostas* and *pastas* house (Jameson 1990, 100 n. 5). For brief overviews of Vitruvian (et al.) terminology and the Greek House see for example Nevett 1999, 21-29; and for the Roman House Allison 1993, 1-2, and 6-7; De Kind 1998, 185-7; and Allison 2004, 11-14, and 161-3.
[119] For example, several of the studies in Ladstätter and Scheibelreiter 2010 continue to use these terms, and Sewell 2010 argues that houses being built during the second century BC in Italy are *prostas* houses and heavily influenced from the Greek world.

2.2.1 The Greek courtyard house

2.2.1.1 The Greek *prostas* and *pastas* house

The typology of the so-called *prostas* house is based primarily upon buildings found at the sites of Priene and Colophon.[120] The characteristic element is the '*prostas-oikos* unit' (Figure 2.2.a-b). This consists of a recessed porch, the *prostas* (a), which gives way to a large single square room, the *oikos* (b). To one side of, and commonly entered from, these rooms are two additional rooms, of which one may or may not be an *andron* (see below). South of these rooms is a large open courtyard, which takes up the entire width of the housing plot, and essentially divides the house into two parts, with a further group of rooms located opposite to the *prostas* unit. These southernmost rooms often open onto the street, leading them to be identified as shops or stowage areas. The type is found primarily along the Asia Minor coast, and is therefore perceived as an eastern characteristic. Many studies on Greek domestic architecture, therefore, focus on the more commonly identified *pastas* house.

Figure 2.2 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating four plans of *prostas*-type houses (for a comparable image see the plan on the left of http://www.trentu.ca/faculty/rfitzsimons/AHCL2200Y/11-02/(07)%20Priene%20(01).jpg). For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Hoepfner, W. and Schwandner, E.L. 1994 (originally published in 1986). *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland. 2nd edition.* München, Fig. 306.

Figure 2.2. The *prostas* house (after Sewell 2010, Fig. 34). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

a. *prostas*; b. o*ecus*

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[120] The houses date between the late fifth and early third centuries BC. The type was first identified by Wiegand and Schrader in their work at Priene (Wiegand and Schrader 1904). For additional discussion on the type see for example: Holland 1944; Schede 1964; Graham 1966; Drerup 1967; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; and Sewell 2010.

The archetype of the Classical Greek house is the so-called *pastas* house of the variety seen at Olynthos (Figure 2.3).[121] Though these houses vary in layout, and sometimes size, the majority can be characterised along the same rudimentary plan.[122] Essential is a centrally located open courtyard, which takes up a large portion of the housing plot. The identifying characteristic is the *pastas* (a)*,* which is a broad-covered portico, or corridor, on the north side of the courtyard with a room at one or both ends (b).[123] *Pithoi* are commonly found in these latter spaces, and the finds of tableware fragments in the portico suggest that *pastades* were used for domestic chores and storage.[124] The remaining rooms commonly open off this portico, and include at least one large main room (the *oikos*), which is associated with domestic or utilitarian activity. Also canonical is the *andron* (d), which commonly has an anteroom.[125] Traditionally, the *andron* is associated with the reception of guests, specifically the *symposium*, and thought to be reserved for the men of the house only, although this exclusivity is now questioned.[126] Service areas are often identifiable. This includes occasional evidence for a bathing area containing a hip bath (e), as well as a kitchen (f) with a flue (g).[127] There are often examples of shops or workshops (i), which

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[121] Over 100 houses at Olynthos have been excavated and published, with the plans of at least 86 of these complete or near complete. For these excavations see Graham and Robinson 1938. For a more recent survey of the houses and the organization of their domestic assemblages see Cahill 2002a. The houses of Olynthos date between the mid-fifth- and mid-fourth- centuries-BC and provide a good overview of common features seen in Greek domestic housing that continues into the second century BC. Though the *pastas* without peristyle type is not ubiquitous, it shares similarities with houses throughout the Greek world (Graham 1966, 3; Cahill 2002a, 75; and Nevett 2010, 45). For additional discussions of the *pastas* type see for example: Drerup 1967; and Krause 1977.

[122] Cahill 2002a, 75-84; Nevett 2007b, 214; and Nevett 2010, 45.

[123] According to Xenophon, the north side was the most comfortable part of the house (Xen. *Oec.* 9.4; and *Mem.* 3.8.9-10); a north or north-eastern exposure is also recommended by Vitruvius for houses in hot climates (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.1.2). See also Arist *Oec.* 1.6.7.

[124] Nevett 2007b, 214.

[125] The identification of such a room is usually supported by it being one of the corner rooms. It also often has windows, an off-centre door, and raised ledges for the dining couches (Graham and Robinson 1938, 174-5).

[126] See Nevett 1999, 66-74; Nevett 2002, 81-100; and Nevett 2010, 43-62.

[127] In House Avii, 4, Room f preserves evidence for a stone *mortarium*, presumably for grinding grain, and Room g preserves evidence for ash and burned material, suggesting a hearth (Nevett 2007b, 214). The latter room is termed a flue as it is believed to have been an open room (see Cahill 2002a, 80-1).

have their own entrances from the street, and frequently have additional access from inside

of the house. Of the over 100 houses excavated at Olynthos, 19 have evidence for 2 or

more porticoes with wooden columns or pillars.[128] In these instances the *pastas* is larger in

width and length than the other porticoes (Figure 2.3.3).[129] Such a combination, however, is

perhaps more pertinent to a discussion of our next category, the Greek peristyle house.

Figure 2.3 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating three plans of the *pastas*-type house from Olynthos (for a comparable image see: http://www.proprofs.com/flashcards/upload/q2934868.jpg). For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Graham, J.W. 1966. "Origins and interrelations of the Greek house and the Roman house." *Phoenix* 20, 3-31.

Figure 2.3. The *pastas* house, Olynthos (after Graham 1966, Figs. 2, 3, and 6). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

a. *pastas*; b. *pastas* room; d. *andron*; e. bathtub; f; kitchen;
g. flue; h. stairs; i. shop

2.2.1.2   The Greek peristyle house

The Greek peristyle house was originally thought to be an innovation of the second century

BC, though a few earlier examples are known, such as those just mentioned at Olynthos.

Additionally, there are early examples of the peristyle in domestic buildings from Eretria and

Macedon. The latter of which in particular are used as comparison for many of the peristyle

houses of Sicily.

The fourth-century-BC houses at Eretria are characterised by a square courtyard

surrounded by wooden columns on flat-stone bases (Figure 2.4). While these houses show

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[128] Cahill 2002a, 79. Eight of these are complete peristyles: the Villa of Good Fortune; House of the Comedian; House of the Tiled Prothyron; House of the Twin Erotes; House A 3; House A v 6; House A xi 9; and House viii 5.
[129] The inclusion of the *peristyle* at Olynthos does not seem to be particularly correlated to opulence, i.e. not all of the finely decorated houses have colonnades and vice versa. Nor is it a later development. The House of the Comedian and House A 3, two of the earliest at the site, are of *the pastas*-peristyle type.

no indication of a *pastas*, Krause argues that this feature developed into a suite of three rooms off one of the porticoes.[130] This group, which is referred to here as a Type-I (Hellenic) three-room suite, consists of a large room fronting two smaller dependent rooms (Figure 2.4. A-C). They can be found off the peristyle (House 2), a secondary courtyard without a colonnade, which is common and interpreted as a domestic courtyard (House of the Mosaics), or both (House 4).
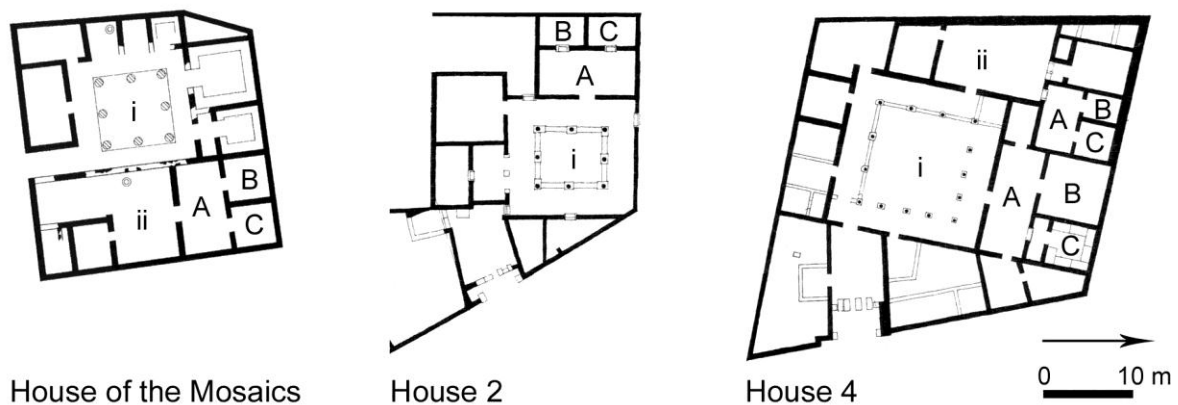
Figure 2.4. West-quarter peristyle houses at Eretria. Left: after Nevett 1999, Fig. 32. Copyright © 1999 Lisa Nevett. Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press. Centre and Right: after Krause 1977, Fig. 1. © 1977, Clemens Krause, adapted by permission

i. peristyle; ii. secondary courtyard; A-C. Type-I (Hellenic) three-room suite

As further early examples of peristyle houses are also seen in the Macedonian cities of Vergina and Pella in the late fourth to early third centuries BC (Figure 2.5 and Figure 2.6.1 and 2) the type is specifically associated with the Hellenistic Kingdoms.[131] The features of these houses include square courtyards surrounded by a stone colonnade, large well-decorated rooms (ii), and dining-rooms, often with raised ledges for dining couches (i).

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[130] Krause 1977. There is one group in the House of the Mosaics, two groups in House 4, and one group in Houses 1 and 2. For Eretria see also: Auberson 1972, 75-96; and Ducrey and Metzger 1979.
[131] For Hellenistic 'palaces' in general see: Lauter 1986; and Hoepfner and Brands 1996. For the Palace of Vergina see: Heuzey and Daumet 1876, 175-238; Andronikos et al. 1961; and Andronikos 1964. For Pella see: Oikonomos 1914; Oikonomos 1915; Makaronas 1960; Krause 1977; and Petsas 1978.

Again, there is no indication of a *pastas* around these large courtyards, but they do incorporate a second type of three-room suite (Figure 2.5 and Figure 2.6, A-C). The Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite is characterised by a central *exedra* (A), often with two columns *in antis*, and two dependent flanking rooms (B-C).[132] Similar to some of the houses at Eretria, the House of Dionysos at Pella has evidence for two courtyards (Figure 2.6.1). The smaller courtyard is also colonnaded, and though it does not have the type of three-room suite just described, the northern portico is a *pastas* in that the colonnade on this side has extra columns. There is also a group of rooms on the east similar to the three-room suite found at Eretria. A smaller house at the site also preserves evidence for a colonnaded *pastas* that does not appear to have been part of a full peristyle (Figure 2.6.3). These two examples suggest that *pastades* continued to be utilitarian, and therefore were incorporated into the smaller, domestic, courtyards of the site. It is important to stress that these early examples of peristyles are not a standard feature of domestic architecture in the fourth to third centuries BC. They are only found in a small number of buildings, many of which are rather large and lavishly decorated, and are commonly referred to as 'palaces'. The difference in size between House B at Pella and its contemporaries clearly illustrates this disparity (Figure 2.6).

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[132] Tsakirgis suggests that this configuration of rooms should be "more properly classed as the *prostas* with dependent *oikoi*" (Tsakirgis 1989b, 279).
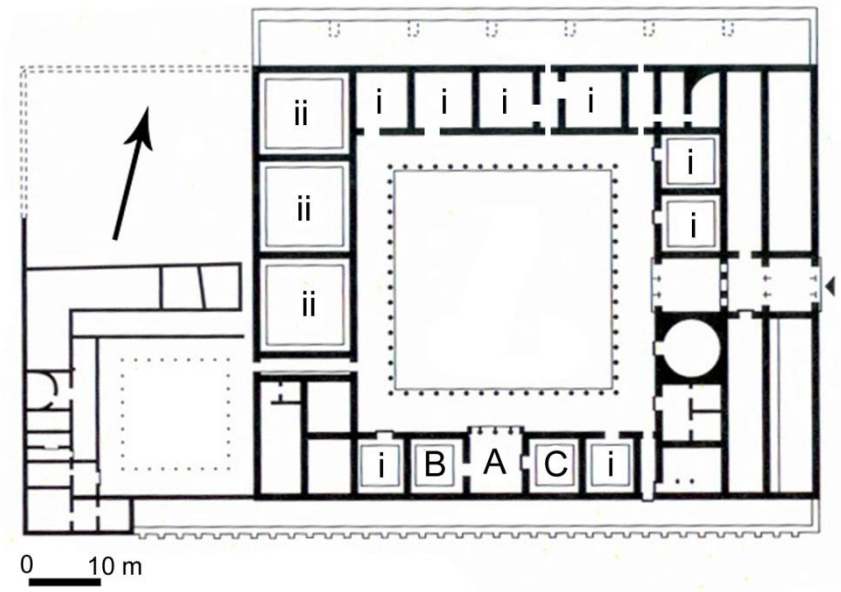
Figure 2.5. Palace of Vergina (after Lawrence 1957, Fig. 319). © 1996, courtesy of Yale University Press.

i. dining-room; ii. reception room; A-C. Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite

1. House of Dionysos

2. House of the Rape of Helen

3. House B

0   10 m
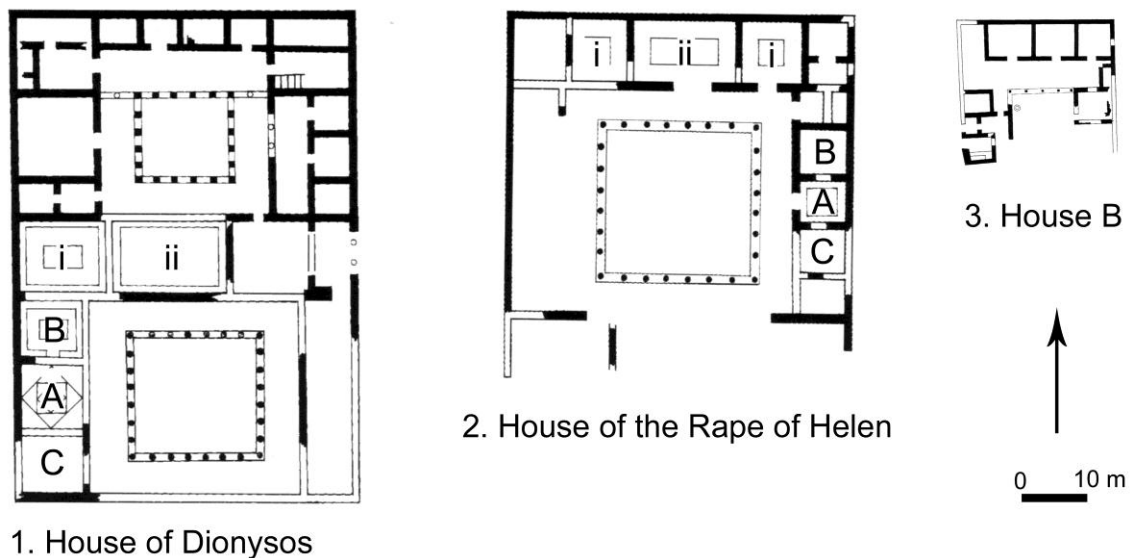
Figure 2.6. Houses at Pella (after Nevett 1999, Figs. 34, 35 and 41). Copyright © 1999 Lisa Nevett. Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press

i. dining-room; ii. reception room; A-C. Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite

Figure 2.7. Peristyle houses at Delos (after Graham 1966, Figs. 36, 37 & 38). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

I. *pastas*; II broad room; III. large square room; IV. small square room; a. entrance; b. stairs left. Maison de Dauphins; middle. Maison de la Colline; right. Maison du trident

It is the houses at Delos, particularly those that date between the second and first centuries BC, which provide some of the earliest examples of peristyles to occur on a regular basis. For this reason, Delos is regarded as the type site for the Greek peristyle house.[133] Of the 89 or so structures at Delos that are identified as houses, however, only 23 have a four-sided colonnade, and only 9 of these can be confirmed to be part of their original construction. The remaining peristyles are the result of alterations during the late second and first centuries BC, and therefore largely post-date many of the houses on Sicily that will be discussed in the following chapters.[134] Furthermore, while an additional 18 houses have evidence for between 1 and 3 colonnaded porticoes, just over one-half of the houses at Delos provide no indication of this feature.[135] Therefore, it is important to remember that the peristyle house at Delos was second in frequency to the more modest courtyard house. This was the case for the majority of houses across the Mediterranean,

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[133] For the houses at Delos see in particular Trümper 1998 and Tang 2005. For the excavations of these house see Chamonard 1922; Vallois 1944; and Bruneau 1970.

[134] Tang 2005, 40. For the chronology of the houses at Delos see the catalogue in Trümper 1998, 175-318.

[135] Six houses have a three sided colonnade, four have a two sided colonnade, and eight have a single colonnaded portico (Tang 2005, 34; and Trümper 1998, Tab. 1). The number of recognised houses without a colonnade is 49. This number is likely to have been larger, and their modesty contributes to them having yet to be identified in the archaeological record.

where the characteristic feature is "the presence of the central courtyard, not the columns".[136] For this reason, the description that follows includes characteristics common in all of the houses at Delos.

Despite the lots at Delos often being irregular, the house-plans provide some consistency (Figure 2.7). They can be characterised by an entranceway (a) that leads to a courtyard. A *pastas* or broad portico is common (I), and is normally on the north side. The north or east side of the courtyard is the usual location of the important rooms of the house, and is commonly opposite the entrance. Also common is a rectangular main room that opens directly onto the broad portico with its longitudinal axis parallel to it, and is therefore referred to as the 'broad room' (II). These are similar to rooms seen at Pella (Figure 2.6 feature ii). Westgate suggests that "many houses are planned with the court off-centre so that these rooms are larger."[137] The majority of these main rooms have one or two dependant rooms either behind or more commonly to the side.[138] A second variety of main room is also seen, which takes the form of a large square apartment, often with one wall open to the courtyard (Figure 2.7.III). Possible parallels to these can be seen at Vergina (Figure 2.5.ii). Interestingly, none of these main rooms are comparable to the *andron* of the Classical house. In only one example from Delos is there evidence for raised ledges as support for dining couches, and the rooms from the remaining examples either have a single wide opening onto the courtyard, or several smaller ones, and communicate with at least one other room.[139] These wide openings and additional entrances propose the exclusion of permanent couches in the style of the classical *andron*, and it would appear that the Delian

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[136] Wurmser 2010, 15.
[137] Westgate 2007a, 315.
[138] Tang 2005, 34-35, suggests that 36 of the 90 examples have rooms behind.
[139] For evidence of raised ledges only in the Maison de l'Hermes see Tang 2005, 37, 252; and Trümper 2007, 326-7.

rooms "were designed to host a rather different kind of social occasion".[140] It also suggests

that the main room of the peristyle house now involved a variety of forms and functions.[141]

Other smaller exedral rooms also occur. In most cases these are extensions of a

broad portico (Figure 2.7.IV), but decoration of these areas is not uncommon and suggests

that they may have had a purpose other than storage, contrary to what is seen in similarly

located rooms at Olynthos. Another development seen at Delos is the inclusion of staircases

that are separated from the courtyard (b).[142] In some cases they are located outside of the

house completely. This is indicative not only of upper storeys, but perhaps also of

independent living quarters, especially in houses with evidence of both kinds.[143] Finally, a

variety of service rooms are identifiable at Delos. These could be situated in a location that

had limited access to the courtyard and were accessed by a corridor or even separate

entrance, but they could also be found in between the main rooms. Their varieties include at

least 61 examples of a latrine.[144] There is also positive identification of at least eight bathing

areas, the majority of which are provided with a hip-bath, though there are also circular

structures which suggest a sweat-bath in both House IIE and the Maison des Tritons. The

latter had both a hip-bath and a sweat-bath.[145] Several rooms identified as a kitchen or

kitchen / bath complex have also been found.

The majority of the peristyle houses at Delos are small, and they have one

fundamental difference from their predecessors: there is seldom evidence of a double

courtyard as seen at Eretria and Pella. Instead, during the second century BC, the courtyard

as an area with a primarily domestic or utilitarian role is forsaken for the more decorative

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[140] Nevett 2007b, 220.
[141] Trümper 2007, 330; and Wurmser 2010, 15.
[142] At Olynthos these are commonly seen in the courtyard itself (Graham and Robinson 1938, 271).
[143] Westgate 2007a, 315; and Trümper 2007, 331. Of the 89 houses examined at Delos, nearly 80 provide evidence for a second storey (Tang 2005, 38).
[144] Tang 2005, 36. That these rooms are usually located near the entrance, and often within the entrance room, is suggestive that they were a feature shared by neighbouring households.
[145] Tang 2005, 36-37. For a recent discussion on the evidence for bathing areas in the Hellenistic period see Trümper 2010.

courtyard, which appears to have been "designed to impress visitors with the wealth and status of the owner".[146] This was achieved in part through the inclusion of a stone colonnade, but also by means of decorative pavements (see below). Though this trend towards ostentatious display in the central organisational space is first seen in the Hellenistic east, it is perhaps better paralleled with developments in the Roman west.

2.2.2   The Roman *atrium* house

Little remains of Republican houses in the city of Rome, and therefore the so-called *atrium* houses of Campania represent the archetype of the Roman house (Figure 2.8).[147] Pompeii was a Roman *socius* during the second century BC, and did not become a *colonia* until the first century BC, while Herculaneum only had the rights of a *municipium*. Therefore these early features are often referred to more generally as Italian as opposed to specifically Roman.[148] They are not, however, particular to Campania, and for this reason it is important to clarify that in this discussion 'Roman' refers to practices of peninsular Italy under Roman hegemony during the mid- to late- Republican period, and not just the city of Rome and those areas directly subjugated by her. Though the extant houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum date to the later first century AD, the standard plan is thought to have been in place by the third century BC, and recent evidence at Pompeii suggests that the earliest phase of these houses dates to the end of the third and early second centuries BC, making

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[146] Nevett 1999, 165.

[147] Over 400 houses have been excavated at Pompeii alone. The significance of these houses is due in part to their preservation after being buried by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79. For early discussions on the *atrium* type see for example: Maiuri 1958; Graham 1966; Robertson 1969, 302; and Mau 1973. More recent studies on the type include: Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Dwyer 1991; and Allison 2004.

[148] For example see Tamm 1973; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 15-16; Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 219; Allison 2004; and Wallace-Hadrill 2007a, 279-82.

their discussion relevant for the time period being discussed here.[149] Though disputed, it has

also been suggested that the *atrium* is a feature seen in Etruscan houses as early as the

sixth to fifth centuries BC.[150]

Figure 2.8 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plans of three *atrium*-type houses from Pompeii and Herculaneum. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Graham, J.W. 1966. "Origins and interrelations of the Greek house and the Roman house." *Phoenix* 20, 3-31.

Figure 2.8. *Atrium* houses from Pompeii and Herculaneum (after Graham 1966, Figs. 59, 60 & 61). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Left. House of the Surgeon, Pompeii; Middle. House of the Silver Wedding, Pompeii; Right. House of the Corinthian Atrium, Herculaneum

Dwyer suggests that the ability to identify the essential features of an entrance

corridor (the *fauces)*, a reception hall (the *atrium*), a large exedral room (the *tablinum*), and

small square rooms (the *cubicula*) in hundreds of houses suggests "the existence of a

standard house type", and this typology continues to be widely used in the literature.[151] A

superficial view of the plans of Campanian houses (Figure 2.8) in comparison with those at

Delos (Figure 2.7) may suggest that there is very little difference between the two types;

both seem to depict an open central area surrounded by rooms of various sizes. For this

reason it is necessary to begin the description of this house type by emphasising what are

traditionally considered the basic defining features of the *atrium* house; these are the

presence of an *atrium* with a central *impluvium* / *compluvium*, and the axial symmetry of

these features with the *fauces* and the *tablinum*.

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[149] For the general plan being in place by the third century BC see Graham 1966, 5. For the date of the type at Pompeii see for example: Carafa 1997; Nappo 1997; Jones and Robinson 2004; Peterse 2007; and Jones and Robinson 2007. A good overview of the recent dating evidence for the houses at Pompeii is also provided by Wallace-Hadrill 2007a, 280-82.

[150] See for example Graham 1966, 7-9. For possible sixth-century-BC houses below the Palatine in Rome see also Carandini 1990, and the critique of this in Moorman 2001.

[151] Dwyer 1991, 26. See below for criticisms of the type.

The centre of the canonical Roman house is the *atrium* (Figure 2.9.A). It is similar to the Greek courtyard in that it is centrally located, served the purpose of admitting light into the interior of the house, and was used to collect rain water into a domestic cistern. Unlike the Greek courtyard house, however, traditionally the *atrium* is conceived of as a rectangular indoor room with only a small opening (the *compluvium*) in the roof, and not a square outdoor space.[152] This made it "an integral part of the house structure, usable at all seasons and in all weathers".[153] Conventionally, in the middle of the *atrium* is the *impluvium* (Figure 2.9.B), a basin into which rain water was collected from a corresponding *compluvium*, and then fed into a private cistern. The *atrium* is classified by the way in which the roof was carried (Figure 2.8).[154] The most widespread is the Tuscan *atrium*, with a roof carried unsupported by rafters, which left the central space over the basin open to the sky. The second most common form is the tetra style *atrium*, which consists of one column at each corner of the basin, while the third has a colonnade with more than four columns and is referred to as the Corinthian, columnar, or peristyle *atrium*.[155] Alternatively, a *displuvium*, which directed water away from the *atrium* into external gutters, or a *testudinate* (covered) roof were also used, but these are less common. Equally essential to the identification of an *atrium* of canonical type is an axially symmetrical plan, with a direct line of sight that is formed from the *fauces* (Figure 2.9.C), through the *atrium* (A), and into the *tablinum* (D). Where possible, this line of sight continued through to a garden (*hortus*) or peristyle behind

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[152] Graham 1966, 18.
[153] Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 220.
[154] Vitr. *De arch*. 6.3.1.
[155] Examples of the Corinthian *atrium* include the House of the Dioscuri at Pompeii, the House of Epidius Rufus at Pompeii, and the House of the Corinthian Atrium at Herculaneum. For the date of this type see Graham 1966, 18. For reference to a 'peristyle *atrium*' see Papaioannou 2007, 353. For the reference to a 'columnar atrium' see George, who describes them as "clearly experimental in nature" but also says that they reflect a "a precocious willingness to change the fundamental nature of the *atrium*" (George 1998, 95).

the house, and often terminated with a visual accent, such as a fountain.[156] The other rooms

of the *atrium*-type house may also conform to this idea of symmetry (Figure 2.8.A and Figure

2.9), but this is not necessary (Figure 2.8.C).

Figure 2.9 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of The House of Sallust from Pompeii (for a comparable image see: https://encrypted-tbn3.google.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcRoLLIL3plnyMAP15ngUi8NpVYiekksJNA9TlvNMo-76U8kVd-L). For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Graham, J.W. 1966. "Origins and interrelations of the Greek house and the Roman house." *Phoenix* 20, 3-31.

Figure 2.9. The House of Sallust, Pompeii (after Graham 1966, Fig. 56). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

A. *atrium*; B. *impluvium*; C. *fauces*; D. *tablinum*; E. *alae*; F. *triclinium*; G. *andron*; g. varying room, H. *cubiculum* J. *tabernae*; F, D, and G. Type-III (Italian) three-room suite

There are further canonical features of the *atrium*-type house. Just beyond the

impluvium are commonly the *alae* or wing like side rooms (Figure 2.9.E). They do not,

however appear in all examples, and their function is not entirely certain.[157] Allison simply

suggests that they provided a continuation of activities from the *atrium*, including domestic

storage.[158] In this way they are similar in both form and function to the rooms that denote the

extension of the *pastas* in the Greek courtyard house.[159] At the back of the *atrium* is a group

of rooms, referred to here as a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite. The central room (D) is

relatively large, square, and exedral (the *tablinum*). It is commonly identified as the study of

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[156] References to this are too numerous to list: see for example Boyle 1972, 254; and Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 82-83.

[157] Brothers 1996, 43.

[158] Allison 2004, 77-8, and 98-9; and Allison 2007, 273.

[159] Tamm 1973 has argued that the absence of *alae* characterises the house as being particularly Roman as opposed to generally Italian; she is, however, mistaken. There are several examples, especially in the smaller houses at Herculaneum, which do not have *alae* (examples from Herculaneum include: House of the Mosaic Atrium, House of the Skeleton, House of the Bronze Herm, House of the Two Atria, and House of Fabia). Similar houses also appear at Pompeii, and Evans 1978 suggests that many of the *alae* at Pompeii are later (Roman) additions.

the *paterfamilias*, and the principal reception room where he received his guests. A dining-room (*triclinium*) often appears as at least one of the side rooms (F). The other flanking room (G/g) can take on a variety of forms. For example, it could be divided to act as an additional set of rooms including a corridor (referred to as an *andron*) either to a back garden (Figure 2.9.G), or the adjoining peristyle (Figure 2.8.B).[160] While the Greek three-room suites are similar, the Italian configuration has essential differences. In form it is very similar to the Macedonian version in that it consists of two rooms flanking a central exedral room. The major difference, however, is that the flanking rooms are not dependant on the central room for access, but instead have their own separate entrances from the organisational space. It has been suggested that this formation is based on the tripartite division seen in Etruscan architecture, particularly temples and tombs, which continues in Roman architecture.[161]

Small square rooms are often seen surrounding the *atrium* (Figure 2.9.H). These *cubicula* could be used for a number of different purposes, and though they are usually identified as bedrooms, Richardson suggests that they accommodated couches for sitting and not reclining, and were therefore "ladies' dining-rooms", or in the case of modest houses without a large reception room "evidence that the Pompeians of the middle class at least did not always recline at dinner".[162] Though this argument is questionable, literary evidence does suggest that in addition to sleeping, these areas were used as reception rooms and places to conduct business.[163] Some examples of *cubicula* have an obvious bipartite form, and in such instances a recess in the back of the room is seen as an alcove for the bed or couch (g). The bipartite form can also be recognised in less obvious ways, including a short

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[160] Following Vitruvius *De arch.* 6.4, Richardson 1983, 62-3, suggests that a double dining room was indicative of a winter dining-room and a summer dining-room, and that the corridor was a later remodelling when the summer dining-room was moved to the back garden.
[161] See for example: Boëthius 1934, 161; Patroni 1936 (*contra* Boëthius); and Tamm 1973, 60.
[162] Richardson 1983, 69, and 71.
[163] For the uses of the *cubiculum* in literary texts, see Riggsby 1997.

spur wall (Hh), the presence of a raised platform at the back of the room, or more simply a change in the mosaic of the floor to indicate where the bed should be.

On the façade of the house are rooms which are separate from the living quarters, with their own entrance from the outside, and often a lack of direct communication with the inside (J). The use of these *tabernae* varied, but due to features such as counters, *dolia*, ovens, and forging implements, it is assumed that the majority performed a commercial function. They could, however, have also been used for storage, as workshops, or even as small tenant dwellings.[164] The *tabernae* often have a back room and / or an additional upper floor or loft-like area, which is sometimes referred to as a *pergula*. These spaces may have been the living quarters of the shop keepers.[165]

A later addition to the Campanian house is the peristyle, but during the second century BC it became an established feature, and is contemporary with, if not earlier than, the peristyles at Delos. In most instances, the peristyle did not replace the *atrium*, but was appended to it, and where possible it continued the axial symmetry of the house. The peristyle had a different function to the *atrium*. Whereas the *atrium* was conceived as an indoor, double-storied, space, the peristyle was an outdoor, single-storied, space with a low colonnade; in essence, it was an indoor garden. The rooms surrounding the Roman peristyle are similar to those surrounding the *atrium*.

These typologies, which are so ingrained in Classical scholarship, stringently exclude other cultural influences from within the Mediterranean, and domestic features of sites such as those in the Phoenicio-Carthaginian sphere are often overlooked.[166] A look at the

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[164] Pirson 1997.
[165] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 80; and Pirson 2007, 468-71.
[166] Tang suggests that the tendency to focus on the Greco-Roman world is so ingrained that if the international Save Carthage Campaign "had not been taken, we might still have been ignorant" of the Carthaginian house (Tang 2005, 21).

characteristic features of Punic houses, however, is instructive when trying to understand the full spectrum of choices available to Sicilian communities during the second century BC.

2.2.3   The Punic house

Examples of Phoenicio-Carthaginian domestic architecture in the Hellenistic period come primarily from the sites of Kerkouane on Cap Bon and the Byrsa Hill at Carthage.[167] The houses from these two sites are quite varied, but both sites share a similarity in that their houses feature a long narrow entrance corridor that is usually laterally placed, an open organisational space that is usually small, and rooms of various sizes radiating from this, one of which is commonly a bathing area. A survey of the evidence for each site will help to recognise additional features.

The house plans of Kerkouane vary greatly in their layout and number of rooms (Figure 2.10).[168] What can be considered typical is a house with a narrow corridor (A) from the street, a small courtyard (B), and rooms around this. Most courtyards contain a well (c), commonly with a square mouth that is cut from a block of limestone, and a stone channel that would carry overflow out of the house (Figure 2.11.a). Though most of these courtyards are rather modest, six houses have evidence for porticoes, or covered corridors, and two of these houses have a four-sided colonnaded courtyard.[169] This confirms that the ubiquitous peristyle is adopted here at least for the larger houses by the mid-third-century-BC. The main room (Figure 2.10.D), where it can be identified, can be located at either the front or

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[167] The Punic city of Kerkouane was abandoned, probably around ca. 256 BC, when Regulus and Manlius Vulso destroyed the cities of the territory (Polyb. 1.29.6-7), thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the buildings within 50 years of this study.

[168] For the site of Kerkouane see: Morel 1969; Cintas 1976; Fantar 1985; and Fantar 1998.

[169] Peristyle: Rue de l'Apotropaïon no. 35 (3 x 3) and Rue de l'Artisans no. 7 (2 x 2). Triple portico: Quartier du Four no. 1. Double portico: Quartier du Four no. 2; Quartier du Boulevard no. 1; Single portico : Rue de l'Apotropaïon no. 21 (Fantar 1985, Table on pages 127-8).

the back of the house.[170] If it is located at the back it is always off axis from the entrance (the so-called bayonet plan; Figure 2.12.b and Figure 2.10. entrance 2), and if at the front it is immediately beside the entrance (the so-called a U-shape plan; Figure 2.12d and Figure 2.10. entrances 4, 6, 8).[171]

The most striking feature of the majority of the houses at Kerkouane is the presence of an *in situ* bathtub (Figure 2.10.a, Figure 2.11, and Figure 2.15.top). This takes the shape of a hip-bath, with a shallow basin beside it for easy access to water, and which often has a pipe linking the two features and allowing for running water (Figure 2.11.a). There is also commonly an anteroom. The hip-bath, the floors, and the walls are all paved with water resistant *opus signinum* (see below). Also distinctive in the houses of Kerkouane are kitchen facilities (Figure 2.10.E), which are frequently recognisable by a stone or terracotta hearth still *in situ.* The kitchen was usually a long and narrow room, often accessible from the entrance corridor, and near the bathing area. The proximity of the kitchen and bathing area is probably based on accessibility to water and drainage, and bathtubs of separate houses were often located on either side of the same wall (entrances 4/6 and 10). Also common are staircases (b) to the upper storey, which can be located anywhere, but are seldom off the courtyard. Sometimes at the front of the house is a room (F) that is presumed to have had a commercial or storage function. Occasionally, a similar room (G) could also be accessed from the inside, and it has been suggested that in addition to being a shop, this could perhaps be a reception room.[172] Finally, in addition to these features a further 'secluded' room (H) is also often identifiable. It is commonly at the greatest distance possible from the main entrance, occasionally accessible from the main room, though more commonly not,

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[170] Identification of the main room is based primarily on size, and occasionally decorative pavement (See Fantar 1985, 148).
[171] See Daniels 1995, 83-4.
[172] Fantar 1985, 572.

never on the courtyard, and it usually communicates with only a single room. Fantar

suggests that this was simply a storage room.[173]

Figure 2.10. North-west portion of *Insula* I, Kerkouane (after Fantar 1985, Fig. 5). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

A. entrance corridor; B. courtyard; D. main room; E. kitchen; F. shop;
G. shop or reception room; H. secluded room; a. hip-bath, b. stairs, c. cistern

Figure 2.11. Cistern and drain with hip bath behind (a), double hip bath with *opus signinum* floor and bath-suite walls (b), Kerkouane (photos taken by author). © 2009, Karen Aberle

[173] Fantar 1998, 41.
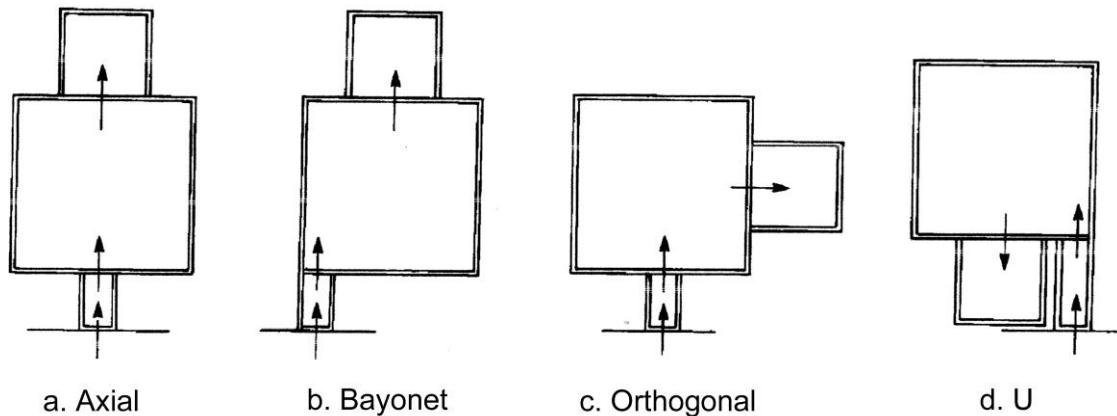
Figure 2.12. Reception sequence (after Daniels 1995, Fig. 3). © John Wiley and Sons, 1995, by permission

A total of 23 identifiable house plans, along with additional remains of up to at least 30 more, have been uncovered at Carthage.[174] The houses of the so-called 'Mago Quarter' along the coastal plain have only been partially uncovered and are severely damaged; therefore a complete plan of any of the 10 individual houses is not available. For this reason, the focus here is on the 13 houses on the southern side of the Byrsa Hill, or the so-called 'Hannibal Quarter' (Figure 2.13), which are also the best documented of all of the Carthaginian houses.[175]

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[174] For a succinct recent overview of the domestic architecture at Carthage see Tang 2005, 72-101.
[175] The construction of these houses appears to date to the early second century BC, and the traditional destruction date of Carthage in 146 BC by the Romans provides a likely *terminus ante quem*. For dating evidence see: Lancel and Thuillier 1979, esp. 226, 238, and 268-9 (for the ceramic dating evidence see 198-225, and 236-8; and for a bronze coin of Ptolemy II Euergetes, ca. 271-246 BC, providing a *terminus post quem* for an *opus signinum* pavement see p. 210; for further coin evidence see p. 239); and Lancel et al. 1980, 20. For the excavations on the Byrsa see: Isserlin 1973; Lancel and Thuillier 1979, (for the houses specifically see 187-270, esp. 225-235); and Lancel et al. 1980.

Figure 2.13 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plans of several houses from the Byrsa Hill at Carthage. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tang, B. 2005. *Delos, Carthage, Ampurias: the housing of three Mediterranean trading centres*. Rome.

Figure 2.13. The so-called 'Hannibal Quarter', Byrsa Hill, Carthage (after Tang 2005, Fig. 3). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

a. entrance corridor; b. courtyard; d. main room; e. bathing area; f. shop?

Similar to Kerkouane, the layout of rooms within the houses of the so-called 'Hannibal Quarter' is irregular, though a long narrow entrance corridor (Figure 2.13.a) is common. The corridor is normally laterally placed, and often leads to a small courtyard (b), which is surrounded by rooms with similar amenities. In house 8 in the 'Hannibal Quarter' both the corridor and courtyard were paved with a grey mortar pavement that was decorated with regular rows of white *tesserae*.[176] While the courtyards in the 'Hannibal Quarter' appear to be centrally located, those from the 'Mago Quarter' indicate they could also be found at the back of the house. In some instances, there is no evidence for the organisational space being more than an open passage, or corridor, in the house (see for example Houses 2 – 5, and 10). Cisterns are also regularly found, often in high numbers, and usually of the so-called 'Punic-type' (Type-III, see Appendix A), which consists of a long and narrow chamber with vertical sides and rounded ends.[177] Their mouths are similar to those at Kerkouane, and that of House 13 provides evidence for a corresponding overflow pipe.[178] Colonnades within the courtyard are not common, though at least two houses on the Byrsa have evidence for a single portico or pillared corridor. House 8, for example, appears to have originally had such a feature on the north side of the courtyard that was supported by two pillars, but this area was later converted into a suite of three rooms (α-β-e), with room e being a bathing area

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[176] Lancel and Thuillier 1979, 228, and 231.
[177] Though both cisterns in House 4 for example were 'bottle-shaped'.
[178] Lancel et al. 1980, 18.

(see below).[179] Remains of a column and a pillar in the courtyard of House 13 suggest that this space may have had a narrow 'triple portico', which is a courtyard with covered corridors on three sides.[180] The courtyard and these corridors of House 13 were paved with *opus signinum* (Figure 2.14). Scattered remains of capitals and drums across the site suggest further evidence for columns and perhaps colonnades, but the nature of these is yet to be fully understood.[181] The most common support system, however, appears to have been pillars and not columns. Tang proposes that this, along with evidence for a 'triple portico', suggests retention of traditional Phoenician architecture.[182]

Where they can be identified, the main room (d) of the house opens off the courtyard. In House 13, the main room was paved with *opus signinum* and preserved evidence for stuccoed walls.[183] Furthermore, its door from the courtyard was flanked by an engaged column and pillar in line with the same features of the portico, suggesting it had some importance.[184] The presence of a niche in one of the walls and the discovery of an Ionic capital in stucco in Room d of House 8, suggests this too was a main room, although the identification is less certain.[185] Though the wall to the street is not preserved, Lancel et al. refer to Room d of House 8 as a shop based on its similarity to Room f of House 11, in which a rotary mill was found *in situ*.[186] Tang dismisses this conclusion, and suggests instead that if a double entrance did exist it could be perceived as a guest entrance to the

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[179] In the original excavation reports this house is referred to as 'La maison a la colonne stuqée'. See Lancel and Thuillier 1979, 227-235, and Figs. 80-88.
[180] A triple portico is also seen in two houses in the 'Mago Quarter'. One of which could also represent a four sided peristyle, though one side of the courtyard has not been recovered.
[181] For evidence of porticoes, colonnades, and pillars at Carthage see Tang 2005, 79-80. For evidence of a Doric capital made from stucco see also Lancel and Thuillier 1979, 195, and Fig. 13; and for an Ionic capital also in stucco see Lancel and Thuillier 1979, 231.
[182] Tang 2005, 87.
[183] Lancel et al. 1980, 18.
[184] Tang 2005, 81.
[185] Lancel and Thuillier 1979, 231-4.
[186] Lancel et al. 1980, 17.

reception room.[187] Two bathing areas (e) have also been identified in Houses 8 and 13, and

Lancel and Thuillier suggest the corridor entrance of House 8 may have had a latrine.[188]

Though evidence for the hip-bath survives in other houses at Carthage, the examples from

the 'Hannibal Quarter' are of a different type, and are instead described as 'shower-baths'.

They are characterised by a vertical water conduit in the corner of the room and a

corresponding drain.[189] Their location is also similar to those of Kerkouane in that they are

both accessible from an entranceway, and that of House 13 may have had a separate

entrance from the street. This accessibility of the bathing areas at both sites suggests that

these could have been communal features and not used solely by the occupants of the

house.

Also common in the construction of buildings in both Kerkouane and Carthage are

pavements of *opus signinum* (Figure 2.14 and Figure 2.15).[190] This consists of a mortar that

is mixed with small pieces of fired terracotta that have been beaten into a fine powder, and

provide a reddish hue to the pavement. Sometimes added into this are small pieces of

irregularly cut stone or *tesserae*, which are usually white.[191] Most common at both

Kerkouane and Carthage is an indiscriminate scatter of *tesserae* (Figure 2.15); however,

while the courtyard of House 13 on the Byrsa Hill at Carthage displays a random scatter, a

more orderly arrangement of *tesserae* laid in parallel rows occurs within the covered

corridors which surround it (Figure 2.14). The *opus signinum* at Kerkouane also has a slight

tendency to include geometric designs and occasional floral designs fashioned from inlaid

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[187] Tang 2005, 81.
[188] Lancel and Thuillier 1979, 230.
[189] Lancel et al. 1980, 18; and Tang 2005, 82. The bathing area of House 13 may have been a communal feature as it is accessible only from the street.
[190] Also referred to as *opus signinum*, *terrazzo-signinum*, or *cocciopesto* in Italian. The term is taken from Vitruvius (Vitr. *De arch*, 5.2.4, 8.7) and its manufacture is described by Pliny (Plin. *HN*, 35.46).
[191] The *tesserae* are commonly white, but other colours such as blue, grey, and yellow are used for highlights. *Opus signinum* can also be left plain with no inlaid *tesserae*.

tesserae.[192] One example from Kerkouane has the symbol of Tanit within the courtyard directly in front of the main room (Figure 2.15.bottom), but pictorial motifs are rare.[193] *Opus signinum* is seen throughout the Western Mediterranean. In 1979 Joyce identified Kerkouane to be the earliest example of this pavement type, and consequently it is often used as an indicator of Punic influence on domestic architecture.[194] This points out that a house is characterised by more than its floor plan, and other factors, such as decoration should be considered when trying to better understand the house and the people who lived in it (see section 2.4.2).[195] These typologies of the typical Greek, Roman, and even Punic house, while being firmly entrenched in Classical scholarship, are fraught with interpretive problems, as the following section will show, and prove problematic when trying to decipher aspects of cross-cultural contact.

Figure 2.14 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a photograph of an *opus signinum* pavment of the courtyard of House 13 at Carthage, showing *tesserae* laid in rows on the left, and a scatter of *tesserae* on the right. Original source: Tang, B. 2005. *Delos, Carthage, Ampurias: the housing of three Mediterranean trading centres*. Rome.

Figure 2.14. *Opus signinum*, courtyard, House 13, Carthage (Tang 2005, Fig. 7) Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[192] Tang 2005, 104.
[193] Fantar 1985, 539-40; and Dunbabin 1999, 102.
[194] Joyce 1979, 259. Dunbabin 1999, 20, and 101-3, specifically cites Punic Carthage as the main stimulus. See below for other examples of second-century-BC pavements.
[195] As will be discussed in further detail below, the use of *opus signinum* is wide-spread across the Western Mediterranean by the second century BC, and cannot be used as an indicator of specifically Punic influence during this period.

Figure 2.15. *Opus signinum*, Kerkouane. Top: Photo taken by author. © 2009, Karen Aberle; Bottom: Fantar 1998, 27. Image removed due to copyright restrictions

2.3 TYPOLOGY CAVEATS

Though useful as a guide, there are three major concerns with applying the standard typologies outlined above for this study. The first lies in the too rigid tradition of commonly associating the peristyle as a specifically Greek characteristic, and likewise the *atrium* as the defining characteristic of a Roman house. The second is grounded in semantics and how the language used in the application of these typologies shapes the modern perception and interpretation of the house. The third is that such categorisation tends to restrict interpretation to superficial comparison. Houses are neither static nor authoritarian entities; they do not conform to a unified formula, and the variety of plans, rooms, decoration, and construction are all indicators of active choices on the part of the persons who built or lived

in them. As such, examining how such spaces may have been perceived, organised, and used may provide a more nuanced view of second-century-BC domestic architecture in Sicily, and the possible cross-cultural stimuli appropriated by the people who lived in them.[196]

2.3.1   The 'Greek' peristyle

Perhaps the biggest concern with the standard typology as it relates to culturally influenced material practice is the almost automatic association of the peristyle as a Greek domestic characteristic. Based on current knowledge, the domestic peristyle first appears in Greek sites as early as the fourth century BC. The early examples in Macedonia, however, can only be considered 'houses' in that they were residences. These are large, luxurious, palatial structures that blur the line between private and public architecture. Their inclusion of the peristyle is not typical for Greek domestic architecture from this period, and they more likely hint at the means by which the feature of a colonnaded courtyard was transferred from public to domestic architecture. Wallace-Hadrill correctly states that when trying to understand the impetus for domestic decoration…

> …it would be wrong to think in terms of palaces alone, for … it is the whole world of public architecture that is involved.[197]

Similarly, the peristyle was a feature used in public architecture, and its incorporation into the domestic setting is not simply aesthetic. The features of the large peristyle houses, including the colonnade and decoration, were likely meant to 'mimic' public buildings, and were used by the house owners to "differentiate themselves" and to "display and symbolise

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[196] For studies on the perception, organisation, and use of domestic space see for example: Barton 1996; Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Nevett 1999; Westgate et al. 2007; and various papers in Ladstätter and Scheibelreiter 2010.
[197] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 71 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 27).

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the status of their occupants".[198] This is a particularly important reflection on the changing political and social atmosphere from the democratic constitution of Olynthos in the Classical period to the Hellenistic monarchies of Macedon. The competition between households of the latter is paralleled in Republican Rome, and it should be expected that similar influences on domestic architecture were occurring.

Furthermore, little emphasis should be put on the scarcity of the peristyle at non-Greek sites such as Kerkouane in the first half of the third century BC; the domestic peristyle is not a common feature anywhere in the Mediterranean at this time, Greece included, and as will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sicily provides among the earliest examples.[199] Instead, the emphasis should be on the fact that the peristyle is already by the mid-third-century-BC a feature seen in the plan of Punic houses. In Roman houses the use of a colonnade is not restricted to the back peristyle, and was sometimes incorporated into the *atrium* as well. The system of beams required to construct a Tuscan *atrium* is complicated, and the inclusion of columns on which to support these beams provided a logical alternative.[200] Therefore, just as the colonnade of the Greek domestic peristyle was as an embellishment of a pre-existing central organisational space, a similar development is possible for a Roman or Punic version. Dickman does not see this as a possible solution for Pompeii, and instead feels it…

> … likely that the adoption of the peristyle in the Italic town house involved the incorporation of an element felt to be culturally alien…[201]

As such it was consciously separated from the main living space (i.e. the *atrium*). This does not explain, however, the use of columns in the *atrium* itself. George argues that, like the

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[198] Nevett 1999, 162. For similar conclusions see for example: Trümper 1998; and Westgate 2010. Though he is referring specifically to the houses at Pompeii, Dickman 1997, esp. 124-127, also suggests that the influence for the domestic peristyle comes from public architecture, such as feasting areas (the Pompeion in Athens or the Asclepieion at Corinth), and more specifically from Hellenistic *gymnasia*.
[199] Daniels 1995, 93.
[200] Brothers 1996, 39. The practicality of this feature is also suggested by Vitruvius (Vit. *De arch.* 6.3.1).
[201] Dickman 1997, 136.

peristyle, the inclusion of columns in *atria* is a reflection of the nature of monumentalising domestic architecture by mimicking public architecture, and this was done "without undermining the *atrium's* identity".[202] The fact that columns were considered appropriate for the traditional *atrium* suggests that they were not a feature that needed to be hidden or relegated to the 'back' section of the house. Further, while the peristyle in houses from Campania might be a later, probably Greek-influenced, addition to the *atrium*-type, during the second century BC it was an established feature in these houses, and essentially became the "typical dwelling within the Roman world".[203] Therefore, by this time, the domestic peristyle was as much a characteristic of the Roman house as it was of the Greek one.[204]

Graham refers to the peristyle as "frequent and ubiquitous in space and time".[205] As such its appearance alone has little value as a distinguishing type for a specifically 'Greek' house. If the peristyle is to be used as a possible indicator of a specific cultural identification or influence, it must be done in conjunction with other features of the house. This is where the typologies discussed can be most useful; however, it is necessary to look at them not as prescriptive models, but as templates from which we are able to gain an impression not only of common features, but also the way in which domestic space was organised in the Greek world. The simple fact that features such as a recessed porch (a *prostas*), a broad portico (a *pastas*), a three-room suite, relatively large and well-decorated rooms, and so forth are abundant both geographically and diachronically suggest a cultural preference for such arrangements. Making assumptions based upon any single feature would be as misguided as looking at the peristyle alone, but combinations of these features can be indicative of

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[202] George 1998, 95.
[203] Bergmann 2007, 229. For the second-century-BC date of domestic peristyle at Pompeii see for example: Graham 1966, 17; and Dickman 1997.
[204] Daniels 1995, 82, questions if the use of columns in Roman houses was a direct reference to Greek practice in that colonnades in Roman public architecture were also developing at this time.
[205] Graham 1966, 11.

overall trends. It is also necessary that they be looked at alongside features from the other typologies in an attempt to determine whether some of the choices made by Sicilian home builders and dwellers actually drew from several different sources (Greek, Roman, Punic, etc.) and combined them in a new way.

2.3.2 The 'Roman' house

2.3.2.1 The *atrium* house

The identification of a Roman house is also not as straightforward as the standard typology of the *atrium* house implies. A quick survey of houses belonging to this type demonstrates that there is "no 'archetypal' *atrium* house plan".[206] For example, the inclusion of an *impluvium* is often missing. Though more common in the Imperial period, as early as the second century BC more decorative features such as a smaller basin, fountain, or even greenery can be found in its traditional location.[207] Moreover, as early as 1873 many of the extant *impluvia* in the earliest houses at Pompeii were recognised as second-century-BC insertions and not original to their plan.[208] If the early houses at Pompeii (i.e. those which are used to construct the republican house 'type') are to be considered *atrium* houses at all, the description needs to include buildings without an *impluvium*. Additionally, a lack of *impluvium* might indicate that the roof of these houses was not always compluviate,

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[206] Papaioannou 2010, 103. For similar conclusions see among others: Boyle 1972; Tamm 1973; Evans 1978; Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Hales 2003; and Wallace-Hadrill 2007a.

[207] For Roman domestic fountains see Andersson, who suggests the earliest fountains date to the second century BC, though it is stressed that the "original function of the *impluvium* did not disappear during the change" (Andersson 1990, 213), the domestic function was masked. See also George 1998 who clearly points out that the dates for these features are not certain. She argues that though fountains at Pompeii, for example, are thought to first appear ca. 100 BC, they did not become popular until the construction of the aqueduct (Augustan).

[208] For an overview of the history of the discussion of these early *impluvia* see Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 223-228. Brothers 1996, 38, further points out that a lack of *impluvium* in these cases is used to argue for the origins of the *atrium*, and supports both the reconstruction of this area originally being an enclosed living room with a hearth, as well as an open courtyard over which a roof gradually encroached. There is additional discussion that the word *atrium* derives from the adjective *ater*, and refers to a black place presumably from the sooty condition of the walls and roof, and is evidence for a hearth in its original form (Jim Russell, personal communication).

challenging the impression of the *atrium* as a partially enclosed space. Many of the houses from Pompeii and Cosa could be reconstructed with the central area having an open courtyard without a roof. For example, the House of the Skeletons (the SUNY House) at Cosa has traces of a drip line along the outer edge of the courtyard pavement.[209] This indicates that, despite having what can be considered a typical *impluvium* basin, the central area was unroofed. Features such as these led Wallace-Hadrill to question whether or not the *atrium* needed to be roofed at all, and he describes the *atrium* as:

> … simply a central space, whether open to the sky or partially enclosed, around which individual rooms are ordered.[210]

Basically, it is a courtyard, and often colonnaded. Wallace-Hadrill further postulates that in some cases what was perhaps originally an open courtyard did not become a partially enclosed space until the addition of the back peristyle. That is not to say that the *impluvium* or *compluvium* is a second-century-BC innovation, as evidence for earlier examples exist, but instead that it was not a necessary feature of the *atrium*.[211] This is particularly significant for this study because it suggests that the familiar Campanian *atrium* type, like the domestic peristyle, is likely to have developed its canonical form during the second century BC. Therefore, the fact that the 'archetypal' *atrium* does not appear regularly in Sicily at this time does not necessarily indicate a lack of Roman practices on the island.

Equally, as structures such as the House of the Corinthian Atrium show (Figure 2.8) not all the rooms surrounding the *atrium* were always symmetrical, and symmetry of the surrounding rooms cannot alone be used as an indicator of a house type. Axial symmetry between an entrance, a central organisational space, and a main room are typically considered the only necessary components of the *atrium* type. This too needs to be

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[209] Bruno and Scott 1993, 117.
[210] Wallace-Hadrill 2007a, 282. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1997, esp 223.
[211] Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 236. For a the early date of *impluvia* constructed from Nocera tufa see Peterse 2007.

approached with caution, as the excavations of the House of the Skeletons at Cosa show. This house, although it has features that can be recognised as the *fauces*, *impluvium*, and *tablinum*, lacks formal axial symmetry between them, yet it remains a Romano-Italic house as much as the Campanian houses do.

2.3.2.2   Non-*atrium* houses

Complicating the picture of the so-called 'typical' Roman house is the fact that not all houses in Italy were of the standard *atrium* type. In fact, it is actually the courtyard house that is the most representative type of house throughout the Roman world, of which the *atrium* is but one variant.[212] Alongside the better known *atrium* houses at Pompeii there are also examples of early houses, dating to the late third and early second centuries BC, that preserve no evidence of the canonical *atrium* with its *impluvium* and *compluvium* installation (Figure 2.16).[213] Many of these are so-called row-houses follow a standard plan (Figure 2.16.A-C). They have a central entrance corridor (a); a room on either side of this corridor, which communicate solely with the inside of the house (b); a central uncovered courtyard, which extends the full width of the housing plot (d); a series of rooms of varying configurations behind the courtyard (e and f); and a garden plot at the back of the lot (h). These row-houses tend to be axially symmetrical, and possible canonical features such as a *fauces* (a), *cubicula* (b), *tablinum* (e), and a *triclinium* (f) can be identified, although some, if not all, of these areas would have also been used for other domestic activities such as food preparation and storage. The location for the cistern (c) in these houses was not standardised, and could be found in either the courtyard itself or the back garden.

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[212] Bergmann 2007, 226, and 229.
[213] Hoffman 1980; Nappo 1997, esp. 99-120; and Nappo 2007, esp. 349-52. See also the first phase of the House of the Vestals, where an *impluvium* was not added until the late second century BC, as well as its neighbours along the Vicolo di Narciso where there is no evidence for an *impluvium* and *compluvium* (Jones and Robinson 2004, 109-13, and 123).

Figure 2.16. Row-houses, Pompeii (after Nappo 1997, Figs. 6, 11, 14, and 17). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

a. entrance corridor (*fauces*); b. rooms beside the entrance (*cubicula*); c. cistern; d. courtyard; e and f. rooms behind the courtyard (*tablinum* and *triclinium*); g. small rooms (*cubicula*); h. garden plot (*hortus*)

Contemporary examples of row-houses are also found at Cosa (Figure 2.17).[214] Here the houses are characterised by a long entrance corridor (a), which has rooms on both sides (b), and leads into one side of an unroofed courtyard (d), which is provided with a cistern (c).[215] They have a pseudo *tablinum* in the form of an open room under a shed-like roof (e), but there is no axial symmetry between this room and the courtyard or *fauces*, and there is neither an *atrium* nor formal *impluvium*.[216] Other rooms opened onto the courtyard as well, but there is less regularity in their form and location (f). Behind the courtyard was a long room (g), which could have served a variety of service functions such as a food preparation and storage. Such an identification of function is supported by a soak-away, which was cut into the bedrock (i). This back service room also led to a garden plot behind the house (h), which had a second cistern. Other houses at Cosa, such as the mid-second-century-BC House of Diana, or the first-century-BC House of the Skeletons, which are located next to

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[214] The dating of the houses at Cosa is not certain. Cosa was founded as a Latin colony in 273 BC, but the excavators date the houses to the end of the third or beginning of the second century BC (Bruno and Scott 1993, 27-30, and 57-61). For the site in general see Brown 1980. Final publications on the site are also published by the *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* (*MAAR* 20; 26; 33; and 37). For the houses in particular see Bruno 1970; Bruno and Scott 1993; Rabinowitz and Fentress 2002; and Fentress and Bodel 2003.

[215] The excavators reconstruct the courtyard as being roofed (Brown 1980, 65; and Bruno and Scott 1993, 18-19), though this is generally rejected (Stambaugh 1988, 167; Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 228; and Sewell 2010, 113-5).

[216] Bruno and Scott 1993, 24.

the forum, show that there were larger houses with *atria* at Cosa, but the inclusion of an

atrium was not a necessary or even standard feature.[217]
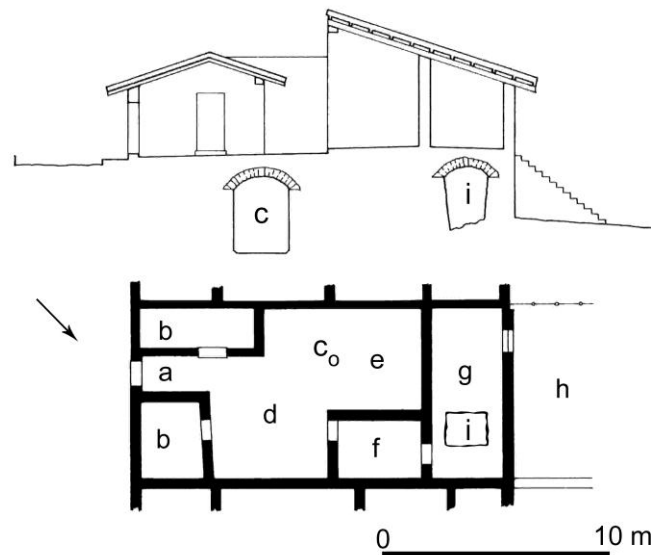
Figure 2.17. House V-D, Cosa. Stambaugh, John E. The Ancient Roman City. pp. 167, figure 14. © 1988 The Johns Hopkins University Press. Adapted and reprinted with permission of The Johns Hopkins University Press.

a. entrance corridor (*fauces*); b. rooms beside entrance; c. cistern; d. courtyard; e. room open to the courtyard (*tablinum*); f additional rooms; g. long room behind courtyard (food preparation and storage); h. garden plot (*hortus*); i. soak away

These row-houses are significant for this discussion in that they show that there was

more to Roman houses than the standard *atrium* type suggests, especially for the time

period being examined. At both sites these houses may represent the residences of lower

property classes in their respective cities, or strategies for the simultaneous construction of

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[217] Fentress suggests that the difference in the size of the lots, and locations, for these houses reflects the different property classes (Fentress 2000, 15-8; and Fentress and Bodel 2003, 23-6).

multiple structures within settlements.[218] They also demonstrate that neither the *atrium*, nor strict axial symmetry can be used as a distinguishing characteristic in all Roman houses. Therefore, one cannot assume *a priori* that just because these features are not present, a house does not have Roman influences.

Wallace-Hadrill suggests that the *atrium* house and the row-house belong to the same basic type recognisable by:

> … the disposition of the *fauces* between two flanking rooms that open on the central space; the rhythm of organisation of front rooms / central court / back rooms / garden; and the pattern of contrasting types of rooms, large versus small (in traditional terms, *triclinia* versus *cubicula*), and open versus closed (in traditional terms, *tablinum* versus others.)…[219]

It is organisational features such as these that should be focused upon, and not simply the presence of an *atrium* or *impluvium*, when trying to recognise Roman influences on domestic architecture in an area such as Sicily. As mentioned for the Greek house above, it is also necessary to look at a combination of features, as well as the overall organisation, when trying to determine how these features functioned within the house, and whether there are specific socio-cultural stimuli being absorbed. To do this, however, it is necessary that we not only identify these features, but also that we work with a classification system that allows us to recognise their cross-cultural implications. This, as will be discussed next, is not as easy as it may seem.

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[218] Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 222, warns against identifying these houses as equivalents of Victorian 'working class' terrace houses, with the *atrium*-type being the residences of the social elite, due to the fact that with an area of 250-350 m^2, the plot size of the row-houses is above average for the houses at Pompeii. Nappo 1997 sees the 'row-houses' of Pompeii as evidence for a population influx of peasant small-holders after the Second Punic War; while Wallace-Hadrill further suggests that this was "analogous to Roman colonial distribution to veterans" (Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 222); and Sewell 2010 suggests that the construction of these 'row-houses' was based on the Greek *prostas* house.
[219] Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 221-3.

2.3.3   Labels and language

> The sources have been ransacked for labels, as if to designate an area a
> *triclinium* or *oecus* or *exedra* or *diaeta* was to explain it…[220]

As Wallace-Hadrill implies, the use of typologies can lead to an indiscriminate and uncritical

labelling of room types or features. Again, these are largely based upon Vitruvian

terminology, and supplemented by additional sources, particularly Varro's treatise of the

origin of Latin words, and Pliny the Younger's description of his Laurentium and Tuscan

villas.[221] This convention is problematic, however, as not only are we uncertain of the

accuracy of these labels, but we also cannot assume that a specific activity occurred in any

given room. Furthermore, labels can not only obscure the reality of any one particular room,

but can also shape our perception and interpretation of the house on the whole.[222] For this

reason a review of the semantic difficulties that accompany the use of labels and typologies

is constructive for this study.

An intrinsic problem with the application of labels in the study of domestic

architecture is that when choosing to use a Greek or Latin term to refer to a feature, the

author, whether consciously or not, automatically brands that house and its inhabitants as

belonging to a particular culture.[223] Two examples will suffice to illustrate the problem. The

term 'peristyle', as already argued, inevitably comes with a certain preconceived notion that

this is specifically an indicator of a 'Greek' domestic feature, despite its Mediterranean wide

application. Correspondingly, the label *lararium* is frequently applied to features, in particular

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[220] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 48 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 6).
[221] Vitr. *De arch* VI and VII; Varro, *Ling.* 5.161-2; and Plin. *Ep.* II.xvii; IV.vi. For a brief overview of these authors and Roman domestic architecture see: Allison 2004, 161-2.
[222] For similar critiques on terminology see for example: Wallace-Hadrill 1988, esp. 48, 64, and 77 (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, esp. 6, 20, and 54); Allison 1993, 2; Daniels 1995, 79-80, and 82; Leach 1997; Grahame 1997, esp. 146; Nevett 1997, 284, and 296; Trümper 1998, 15-16; Allison 2001; Allison 2004, esp. 7-8, 11-12, and 63-177; Tang 2005, 18; Allison 2007, 270-1; and Sewell 2010, 94.
[223] For a similar argument concerning the houses of Sicily see Nevett, where she suggests that the preference for a term commonly used in either Italian archaeology or Greek archaeology "may lead to differing assumptions about the use of space" (Nevett 1999, 127).

niches, that could be indicative of a domestic shrine. A *lararium*, however, is a specific type

of domestic shrine that has underlying connotations of a Roman belief system; using the

term presupposes this belief system, and therefore it labels not only the feature, but also the

house and its inhabitants.[224] In Allison's survey of Pompeian households, the majority of

identified niches "did not have evidence to establish any religious function".[225] This further

complicates such identification of these features with a particular function. Moreover, such

labels are particularly precarious in studies such as this one where the study area was

composed of diverse cultural origins and influences, and one of the aims is to try to identify

elements of these cultures.

Applying Greek or Latin labels also requires an interpretation of these terms. This is

problematic. Not only are these labels often ambiguous, but there is also no certainty that

our definitions are the same as those of the ancient authors, and this can result in

misinterpretation.[226] While the label 'peristyle' is relatively straightforward (a courtyard either

has four colonnades or it does not), the situation becomes more complicated when labels

are applied to a room or feature that most closely 'fits' descriptions used by the ancient

authors. In his depiction of the Greek house Vitruvius writes:

> … *ab ianua introeuntibus itinera faciunt latitudinibus non spatiosis, et ex una
> parte equilia, ex altera ostiariis cellas, statimque ianuae interiores finiuntur.*[227]

This leads to rooms on either side of the entrance commonly being assigned with the labels

'porter's lodge' and / or 'stable', with little certainty or examination of the actual function of

the room.[228] Even when features within the room seem to verify such identifications, these

are often little more than an interpretation, and they are not in and of themselves proof of

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[224] See for example the '*atria*' and '*lararium*' of the houses at Heraclea Minoa (Chapter 3).
[225] Allison 2004, 48.
[226] Grahame 1997, 137; Nevett 1999, 25; and Nevett 2010, 93.
[227] "... but make passage-ways for people entering from the front door, not very wide, with stables on one side and doorkeepers' rooms on the other, and shut off by doors at the inner end."
Vitr. *De arch.* 6.7.1. Translation: Morgan 1914, 185-6.
[228] See also Allison 2004, 163-4.

this identification.[229] Furthermore, Vitruvius' description requires the reader to interpret the relationship of these rooms, and decide how prescriptive to be to the actual remains. The passage above suggests that the 'porter's lodge' and 'stable' are entered from a small space that is located between an exterior and interior door. Does this mean that a room on one side of the entrance that is entered only from the street or the courtyard, and not from an intermediary entrance room, is neither a stable nor a porter's lodge?

Speaking of Vitruvius, Allison states:

His work is fundamental to understanding how at least <u>one</u> Roman architect viewed the construction of the built environment…[230]

Vitruvius is important in that he is our sole surviving description of the ancient house from this time period, but this exclusivity also does not allow us to ascertain with any certainty the validity of his narrative. Leach argues that terms such as *alae* and *fauces* as they relate to domestic architecture are particular to Vitruvius, and she wonders if *alae* were even "their accustomed name", or if the term *fauces* was "a standard Roman term of reference".[231] It is, therefore, important to acknowledge that Vitruvius too was choosing terms to describe physical spaces and makes generalisations about them. While these were likely to have had relevance for him and his intended audience, we may we be unable to identify these rooms. Further, every feature need not be present in every house, and not every feature within a house has the potential to be labelled.[232]

It can be argued that labels are used for convenience and need not indicate specific function (i.e. the term 'stable' does not imply that this room was used solely for the shelter of livestock). Nonetheless, this convenience becomes (ironically) a hindrance once we move

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[229] See for example Room L of the Casa di Leda at Solunto (Chapter 4), which is commonly identified as a stable, but has also been interpreted as a kitchen, and a banker's room, all based upon the same feature.
[230] Allison 2001, 183 (emphasis added).
[231] Leach 1997, 53.
[232] Grahame 1997, 146; and Nevett 2010.

beyond basic description as these labels dictate our interpretation, or even obscure the ideological component, of certain architectural spaces or features for those who used them. A good example of this is the label 'kitchen'. While it is seemingly based upon easily recognizable features such as cooking ware, utensils, animal bones, or a hearth, these are features that are based upon a reading of a modern western kitchen, and they may not be relevant for the ancient counterpart. A fixed hearth, for example, is not a feature of every house in the ancient Mediterranean, and the presence of portable braziers suggests that cooking was a mobile activity, which could occur in a variety of rooms. Furthermore, even if a hearth or brazier is identifiable, this does not automatically mean that it was used for cooking. It could also have been used for heating the room, or for ritual purposes.[233] The label will also unintentionally invoke the impression of a kitchen that is defined by our own cultural experiences, and yet these experiences were possibly different in the ancient house.[234] It is these experiences, however, and how the rooms and features were used and perceived by those who inhabited them, that are the most likely indicators of differing identities, particularly cross culturally, and therefore are of particular importance to this study.

There is no simple solution. A growing trend is to suggest that these labels not be used. For example, Tang argues for the "abandonment of some of the terms from the literary sources, since they cause more confusion than clarification". [235] Though it is agreed that these labels are problematic, abandonment of them is not only unnecessarily extreme, but also discounts the fact that they do have some valid applications (see below). More commonly advocated is an informed or holistic approach to the application of ancient labels,

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[233] For the transient nature of cooking and additional uses of hearths and braziers in the Greek house see Tsakirgis 2007. For the houses at Pompeii where evidence for braziers and fixed hearths are commonly located near dining areas, particularly in and around the garden, and not always in those rooms designated as 'kitchens' see: Allison 2004, 125-7; and Allison 2007, 275.
[234] Nevett 1997, 283-4; Allison 2004, 11; and Nevett 2010, 18.
[235] Tang 2005, 22. See also: Nevett 2010, 20; and Nevett 1997.

particularly as they relate to function, and this is the method advocated here.[236] Accordingly, in this study, the use of Greek and Latin labels will be avoided where possible in the description and summary of the major features of the domestic architecture in Chapters 3 – 6. Instead the terms laid out in Appendix A will be used.

There are, however, three exceptions to this. The first is in the descriptions of urban layouts and construction techniques. In these instances, terms such as *stenopos*, *plateia*, *insula*, *opus signinum*, *opus africanum* and so forth continue to be used. Admittedly, this is inconsistent with the above argument. It has been decided, however, that as these are primarily descriptive terms, for example a *plateia* is literally a wide 'street' while a *stenopos* is a narrow 'street', and do not refer specifically to a culturally influenced practice, or explicit function, the convenient shorthand which these conventional terms offer offsets their semantic complications. It is acknowledged, however, that these terms are not without their own inherent inconsistencies in the study of ancient architecture, particularly in the case of decorative pavement types. The second exception is that the labels for room types and features as used by the source material are noted in their description, as are any major discrepancies between authors. The plan of an ancient house and identification of room types and functions is never anything more than an interpretation, and it is important to acknowledge how others read the domestic space, particularly those who are most familiar with the assemblage. Finally, as already noted, terms used by the ancient authors can be of potential value to the interpretation of domestic space. This value is explored in the next section, and the analysis which follows in Chapter 6 will include some suggestions for possible applications of certain terms as they relate to domestic architecture of Sicily during the mid-Republican period.

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[236] Allison 1993; Nevett 1999, 34; Allison 2001; and Allison 2004, esp. 34-5, and 163-77.

2.4   ADDITIONAL APPROACHES

The study of domestic architecture in the ancient Mediterranean has advanced considerably
since Hoepfner and Schwander's 1986 treatise.[237] In addition to the more traditional stylistic
studies, their successors have begun to incorporate a variety of methodological applications
in an attempt to populate the ancient house, and to understand it better as a living space.
These include contextual examinations of material assemblages and decorative treatments,
as well as studies that focus on spatial organisation and awareness.[238] These studies
attempt to understand how ancient domestic space was perceived, used, and structured in
order to show how such an understanding can shed light on broader socio-cultural aspects
of the ancient Mediterranean. Such studies do this primarily through comparative and
contextual models, which are based largely upon ethno-historic studies using a combination
of ethnographic research and a variety of historical sources to interpret ancient culture on its
own terms. To this end, the following section has two main goals: first, to introduce briefly
the value of ethno-based research, illustrating this approach with two important studies on
spatial organisation, one Greek, and one Roman; and second, to highlight some additional
features of the ancient Mediterranean household that may assist with recognising culturally
influenced practices in Sicily during the mid-Republican period. These are the decorative
pavements, possible interpretations of room perception / function, and conceivable
ideological implications that accompany them.

2.4.1   'Ethno-history' and spatial organisation

Scholars of prehistoric societies rely on ethnographic and ethno-historic studies as a means
of "exploring the possibilities for household composition and activities", and it is worth

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[237] Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994 (originally published in 1986).
[238] The bibliography for this is extensive, seminal works include: For the Greek House: Nevett 1999
and Cahill 2002a; see also Westgate et al. 2007; For the Roman House: Wallace-Hadrill 1988; Allison
1993; Wallace-Hadrill 1994; and Allison 2004; see also Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997; For
decoration: see in particular Westgate 2000a; Westgate 2000b; and Westgate 2007a.

investigating whether such an approach can be relevant for historic periods as well.[239]

Nevett, for example, uses studies of modern Islamic communities to help interpret spatial organisation and gender separation in her work on the Greek household, while Wallace-Hadrill uses studies on the houses of nineteenth-century Britain and France to help explore what he sees as axes of differentiation in the social structure of the Roman house.[240] It is important to note, however, that ethnographic studies cannot be used as one to one comparisons. They are not meant to describe past behaviour, but to highlight potential variables of what this behaviour might be.[241] Additionally, despite the inherent problems with using textual sources that reappear throughout this discussion (see especially section 2.3.3 above) it would "be foolish to ignore the literary evidence".[242] The reason for this is well summarised by Jameson:

> …. while students of Classical antiquity lack the ethnographer's ability to observe behaviour and to talk to the inhabitants, it is possible to draw on a rich documentation of the civilization to complement our knowledge of the physical remains.[243]

It is this 'rich documentation' that allows us to move beyond basic typologies and to explore possible aspects of how domestic space was perceived and used.[244] Further, because ancient texts "document social life" they have the potential to help interpret social spaces.[245] It is also important to remember, however, that this is a 'complement' to the material culture assemblage, and it does not provide conclusive solutions for its interpretation. The relationship between historic sources and archaeological material is complex. Not only is this relationship only partially understood, it can also…

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[239] Allison 1999, 3 (emphasis: Allison).
[240] Nevett 1999; Wallace-Hadrill 1988; and Wallace-Hadrill 1994. Their conclusions are discussed in more detail below.
[241] Allison 1999, 3.
[242] Nevett 1997, 285.
[243] Jameson 1990, 92.
[244] Nevett 1997; and Nevett 1999, 34.
[245] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 48 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 6).

> … lead to a normalization of past domestic behaviour which denies its historicity or its regional or status specificity.[246]

This is due in part to the fact that ancient texts are selective. The ancient authors choose to speak of specific rooms or social customs to further a specific agenda, and not necessarily to explain to us what these things were, or how they functioned across time and space. They also cover a narrow social spectrum. For the most part they represent the realities of social elites, normally males, typically from Rome, and during the early Imperial period. It is also important to remember that such texts are restricted to discussions of primarily the Greek and Roman house, as there is little written evidence about the social space of the Phoenicio-Carthaginians. The ancient sources, therefore, provide a limited impression of how domestic space was perceived and used. Limited, however, is not synonymous with unsuitable, and an informed approach to the available material can be productive. The studies of Nevett and Wallace-Hadrill on domestic spatial organisation, for example, both show how fruitful this combination of ethno-historic study with archaeology can be.[247] In both instances, the authors use a variety of available information to interpret the domestic architecture, and come up with models that suggest a differentiation of space between the insider (i.e. those with unrestricted access within the house) and the outsider (i.e. those with restricted access).

Nevett's survey of Greek houses from the fifth to the early third centuries BC looks beyond single features, and instead views the articulation of space within the house.[248] In

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[246] Allison 1999, 3.

[247] See esp.: Nevett 1999; Wallace-Hadrill 1988; and Wallace-Hadrill 1994.

[248] This is done in part by a correlated analysis of room and artefact type (as well as iconography in pottery decoration), textual source reference, and analogy with modern Islamic households (Nevett 1999). For an overview of her argument on domestic spatial organisation in houses from the Classical Greek East see pp.123-126.

doing this she created a revised encompassing typology for the Greek courtyard house, which she refers to as the 'single entrance courtyard type'.[249] Her basic description is:

> …. where the house is entered through a single entrance and the majority of the space is taken up by an open court, with the main rooms to the north reached separately via a colonnade.[250]

She also notes that the houses of the Classical period appear to have been closed environments, which were inward looking with all of the rooms centred on the courtyard. They were accessible through a single entrance room, which commonly has a screen wall onto the courtyard, and that reception rooms such as the *andron* are often approached not directly, but via angled corners.[251] She uses these features of spatial organisation to argue for evidence of social relationships, and in this instance the insider is anyone who lived within the house, while the outsider is anyone who resided outside of it. Though her main argument focuses on the ability to control "interaction between the occupants of the house and outsiders", its application is much broader.[252]

There is, for example, a distinct differentiation in space for the Hellenistic house from that of its Classical predecessors. Instead of one well-decorated room intended for a specific purpose (the *andron* and the *symposium*), the Hellenistic house has many well-decorated rooms, which are often larger than the Classical *andron*, and are more multi-functional reception rooms. This suggests that the *symposium* was no longer intended to entertain a small intimate group. Instead, the numerous rooms of various sizes, suggests a larger number of contacts perhaps with varying hierarchical status to the host.[253] There is also a change in accessibility, particularly in the later Hellenistic period. This included access into

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[249] It should be noted that Nevett 1999, 135-7, also recognises this house type in fourth-century-BC Sicily at Agrigento in Houses II and III between the Temple of Zeus and the sanctuary of the Chthonian deities. The other sites she mentions are discussed in the following chapters.
[250] Nevett 1999, 123.
[251] Nevett 1999; and Nevett 2010, 46, and 66.
[252] Nevett 1999, 124. See also Nevett 2002.
[253] Westgate 2000b.

the house itself, with the provision of additional doorways providing multiple entrances into the house, as well there being less of a tendency for a screen from the door into the interior. There is also increased access between rooms in…

> … that more rooms could be entered independently of the court, and there was often more than one way in which to reach an individual room.[254]

Combined, these features indicate that the Hellenistic house was no longer considered a closed environment, either inwardly or outwardly, and access for the outsider had changed.

Further, in the colonnaded-courtyard houses at Delos the more domestic or utilitarian nature of the central courtyard is supplanted by a larger decorative courtyard. This suggests not only a different pattern of organisation, but also different priorities in that on-going access to an outdoor space for domestic activities was no longer considered a necessity. The implications of this are particularly important for this study, and Nevett provides two possible explanations for this change. The first is that the lower priority for domestic activity is an indicator that the houses at Delos were either not main residences, and instead were inhabited primarily by slaves, or that less domestic activity was generally being carried out in the urban house. Instead, goods were either imported, or their production was undertaken in the countryside.[255] Her second explanation is that the change in the pattern of spatial organization and integration of the two areas can be interpreted as a direct result of the site being a busy trading port with a wide range of inhabitants from different cultural backgrounds. With this came new "non-Greek" patterns, priorities, and social practices within domestic life, and these would have stimulated changes in the architecture as well.[256] Some of these cultural backgrounds were of course those of the western Mediterranean, and Rome in particular.

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[254] Nevett 2002, 84.
[255] Nevett 1999, 165.
[256] Nevett 2002; Nevett 2007b, 220-2; and Nevett 2010, 63-88.

Wallace-Hadrill's 'axes of differentiation' (Figure 2.18) argues for a similar division in the social structure of the Roman house, but he states that while the…

> … Greek house is concerned with creating a world of privacy, of excluding the inquisitive passer-by: the Roman house invites him in, and puts its occupants on conspicuous show.[257]

There remains, however, a distinct public-private (outsider versus insider) division that is, at least symbolically, represented in the architectural forms and their decoration (grand to humble).[258] This is particularly apparent in the *atrium*-peristyle combination, where the front reception hall (the *atrium*), with its *tablinum* and *cubicula*, acted as the 'public-business' part of the house and was easily accessible, while the back colonnaded garden (the peristyle) acted as the 'private-entertainment' part of the house…

> … which can only be reached by passing through further barriers – corridors and slaves posted at thresholds.[259]

This is further noticeable in the preferential treatment of the decoration of some rooms of the house. The use of decoration makes the chosen rooms visible, while the lack of decoration makes the others in-visible.[260]

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[257] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 84 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 45).
[258] Wallace-Hadrill 1988 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994). See also Grahame 1997, who applied Hillier and Hanson's access analysis theory to Pompeian households in an attempt to determine an extra dimension to this basic public-private distinction, but he focuses more on members of the same household.
[259] Wallace-Hadrill 1988 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 47).
[260] For a similar argument in Greek houses see Westgate 2000b, 392.
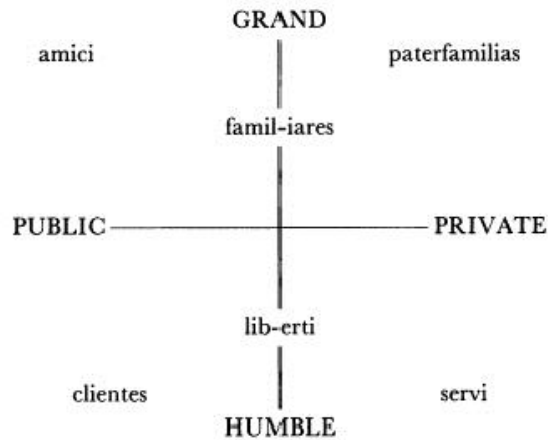
Figure 2.18. Wallace-Hadrill's 'axes of differentiation' (Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 78; also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 38). © 1988, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, by permission

Brothers rightly challenges the idea of the house being broken down into a black and white business side and family side, arguing that the inclusion of reception and dining rooms around the colonnaded garden indicate that this area was not solely for the family.[261] Similarly, Allison's survey of the types of material remains found in the reception halls of Pompeii clearly indicates that this area was also used for domestic activity.[262] She directly challenges Wallace-Hadrill in her statement that:

> … there is no simple linear graph to represent the relationship among the public, private, and service areas of a house…[263]

Service and reception areas were intertwined, and sometimes could serve both functions. Wallace-Hadrill is not, however, suggesting that *atria* were not used by those who lived in the house, nor that the peristyle was only for the use of the *familia*. Fundamentally, his is not a distinction between who lived in the house and who did not, but instead between invited and uninvited visitors (insiders versus outsiders).[264] The uninvited visitors (e.g. the *clientes*)

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[261] Brothers 1996, 45-6.
[262] Allison 2004, esp. 65-70.
[263] Allison 2004, 123.
[264] He suggests that this was Vitruvius' public / private distinction as well (Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 54; also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 10).

only had limited access to the house, primarily the ('public') *atrium*, and its occupants (the *patronus* and his *familia*), while further access to additional ('private') rooms, and social interaction, was granted to invited guests (*amici* <u>and</u> *familiares*). This further access was probably along a sliding scale depending on status and relationship (*amici* <u>versus</u> *familiares*) to members of the household (particularly the *patronus* / *paterfamilias*), and the differential decoration of rooms (grand to humble) was likely a symbol to help the visitor understand these boundaries, as well as to reinforce them.[265] This leads into a discussion of the benefits of including other features available in the archaeological record, such as decoration, in a reading of the ancient household.

2.4.2   Decorative pavements

The cities of Mount Vesuvius are famous for the preservation of their decorative programs, a feature commonly used to provide insight into the possible ideologies of the people living in them. Most sites, however, are not as informative as these. Due to its organic nature, the preservation of wall painting is rare, and any evidence that does exist from the second century BC suggests that there was not a wide amount of variation across the Mediterranean.[266] As such, it is hard to move beyond general description of this feature during the mid-Republican period in Sicily, and it is not considered in this study.[267] The evidence for floor paving, however, can provide more useful information. Their inorganic

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[265] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, esp. 77 ff. (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 38-61). An all-access third level was available to those who lived in the house, and though he states that the slaves were 'omnipresent' Wallace-Hadrill also argues that it too was divided along a hierarchical scale between and among *familia* and *servi*.
[266] Guldager Bilde 1993. Commonly walls are monochrome, generally white plaster, with red being the most popular colour, or they appear to follow the so-called 'masonry style'. See also: Joyce 1979, 254; Jameson 1990; 98; Westgate 2007a, 313; and Clarke 2007. The same can be said for the minimal remains of wall painting at Carthage (see Tang 2005, 89). The term 'masonry style', as opposed to 'Pompeian First Style', has been adopted in an attempt to separate its description from a particular cultural milieu.
[267] This is not to say that the wall decoration is unimportant. Evidence for elaborate decoration, or lack thereof, can, for example, be indicative of expenditure or perhaps an indicator of room function or even perception, it is because of its lack of variation cross-culturally that it has been decided not to be included in this study.

nature allows for better preservation, and evidence suggests that there might be some variance between Greek, Roman, and Punic sites. Westgate further proposes that decoration is a product of…

> … people's need to establish their status, identity and affiliations within a particular community.[268]

If this is the case, it may be possible to interpret what these statuses, identities, and affiliations were. Floor paving may also aid in identification of room function, and in so doing provide some insight into a house plan.[269] The point of the following is not to discuss the development of decorative pavement techniques, but instead to introduce the most prevalent types of Hellenistic pavements and how they might be used as possible indicators of cross-culturally influenced material practice in mid-Republican Sicily.

A variety of decorative pavements, made from a mixture of mortar and various aggregates, were used within domestic spaces (Figure 2.19).[270] More utilitarian versions, referred to as 'chip-pavement' (a) and 'ceramic pavement' (b), incorporate irregular pieces of stone or broken terracotta into the mortar.[271] The latter is often installed in places with high water exposure, such as kitchens and latrines.[272] In addition to these are the (arguably) more aesthetic pavements of *opus signinum* (f) and chip-pavements, sometimes referred to as *terrazzo*, that are laid with smaller, more regularly shaped, stones that are set more closely together (Figure 2.20).[273] The primary difference between the two is the overall colour effect: where *signinum* uses brick in the mortar, which produces a red colour, chip-pavements do not. This in combination with the fact that the *tesserae* in chip-pavements are

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[268] Westgate 2010, 504.
[269] See for example Westgate 2007a, 313-21.
[270] Generally these are found in areas where they would be at least somewhat protected from the elements, such as underneath the shelter of a portico (Westgate 2007a, 314).
[271] The term 'chip-pavement' is also used to refer to *opus terrazzo*, see for example Dunbabin 1979; Westgate 2000a; and Tang 2005; as well as *opus signinum*, see for example: Markoe 2000, 73.
[272] Joyce 1979, 256; and Westgate 2007a, 314.
[273] The *opus signinum* outside of Kerkouane and Carthage is similar to that described above, except that later versions usually form various geometric patterns, with the most common being rows, lozenges, diamonds, and meanders or various combinations of these.

usually larger and more densely laid makes the overall appearance of the pavement white. While *opus signinum* is the most common type of pavement at Pompeii and Carthage, it is rarely found in the Hellenistic east where chip-pavements are more common.[274] At Delos chip-pavements occur in 55 of the 90 houses, and are often seen in combination with *opus tessellatum* (see below).[275] It is also attested at both Carthage and Pompeii.[276] In the west these mortar pavements were sometimes decorated with irregular pieces of coloured stone or *crustae* (Figure 2.19.e), but the more elaborate pavements of second-century-BC Pompeii are made with *opus sectile*, usually in the pattern of perspective cubes (d).[277] The use of o*pus sectile* is, however, "relatively uncommon" in Pompeii and rare in the Hellenistic East.[278] Instead, polychromatic, often multi-dimensional, tessellated mosaics (*opus tessellatum*) were used (c).[279]

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[274] For *opus signinum* at Pompeii, where it coincides with 'masonry-style' wall painting see Joyce 1979, 82, 254-255; Dunbabin 1999, 53; Westgate 2000a, 258-9; and Clarke 2007, 324. For chip-pavements in the Hellenistic east see: Joyce 1979; Dunbabin 1999, 19-20; and Westgate 2000a.

[275] Tang 2005, 47.

[276] For Carthage see Tang 2005, 92, for Pompeii, where it coincides with 'masonry-style' wall painting see Joyce 1979; Dunbabin 1999; and Clarke 2007, 324.

[277] Joyce 1979, 254; Dunbabin 1999, 53-4; Westgate 2000a, 255; Westgate 2000b, 415; and Clarke 2007, 324. Both *opus scutulatum* and *opus sectile* coincide with the 'masonry-style' wall paintings.

[278] Westgate 2000b, 415.

[279] Joyce 1979; Westgate 2000a; and Westgate 2000b, 259, and 393. *Opus sectile* can be found in the House of the Consul Attalus. Two further examples from Rhodes and Pergamon are both thought to be later replacements (Westgate 2000a, 259 n. 16).
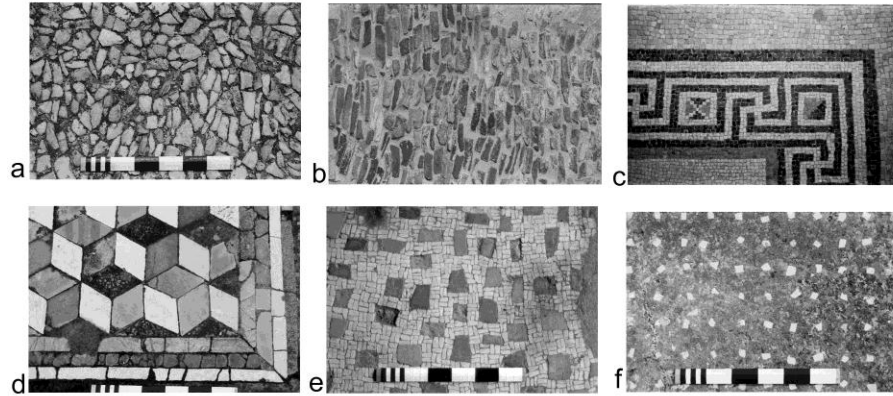
Figure 2.19. Decorative pavements of the Hellenistic period (after Westgate 2000b, Figs. 1 and 16). © 2000, Ruth Westgate, adapted by permission

a. chip-pavement; b. ceramic pavement; c. *opus tessellatum* with a double meander border; d. *opus sectile* with perspective cubes ; e. *opus tessellatum* with *crustae*; f. *opus signinum* with *tesserae* in rows

The mosaics at Delos, dating to the late second and early first centuries BC, represent a good example of the fully developed Greek practice *of opus tessellatum*.[280] Most follow a standard pattern that creates the impression of a carpet laid onto the floor (Figure 2.20). This is achieved by an adjusting border along the walls and a central field, within which are one or more frames and a central panel. The adjusting border is invariably plain, and though it can be tessellated, chip-pavement is also common. As for the frames, some are simple monochromatic bands, but most are patterned and different colours provide contrast, volume and perspective.[281] It is common for the central panel to be left empty, i.e. paved but with no pattern, thus making the frame the only decorative element, but it can also contain a motif.[282] The most common motifs are symmetrical shapes, but occasionally

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[280] Dunbabin 1979, 268.

[281] A continuous wave is the most common pattern for the frames, but a perspective meander, guilloche, braid, or garland are also seen, with checkerboards, stepped pyramids, triangles, crenelated towers, scales, and lozenges appearing rarely (Joyce 1979, 256).

[282] The central panel is often referred to as an *emblema*, but not all central panels are true *emblemata*.

elaborate figural scenes are seen, as are inscriptions, though these are rare.[283] Also

common for the mosaics at Delos is a 'doormat' mosaic. This is a panel located within the

undecorated border in front of the entrance, and often takes a figural form.

Figure 2.20. Chip-pavement with *opus tessellatum* frames, figural central panel, and 'doormat', House IIIN, Theatre Quarter, Delos. © 2007, Ruth Westgate, by permission

Also of note for the second century BC are the mosaics from Pergamon, which

produce a different school from the one seen at Delos. They are made with *opus*

vermiculatum, which is a variant on the tessellated technique where the *tesserae* are small

(usually < 4 mm wide) and can be used to produce particularly elaborate figural mosaics.[284]

The extant mosaics from Pergamon produce small panels and bands depicting geometric

shapes, as well as garlands of fruit and flowers, birds, and theatrical masks (Figure 2.21).

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[283] Common examples of symmetrical shapes are checkerboards, cubes in perspective, or rosettes. Only ca. 20 per cent of the mosaics at Delos have a non-geometric design (Westgate 2007a, 319; see also Dunbabin 1999, 30). Eight of these suggest a central panel with a figural scene, and one depicts the symbol of Tanit in the entrance room of the Maison des dauphins (Tang 2005, 46). There are also five examples of tessellated inscriptions (Joyce 1979, 257). Westgate 2000a, 264, provides similar numbers for figured mosaics at all Hellenistic Greek sites with 80 per cent off all mosaics being non-figural.
[284] Two mosaics from Pergamon are mentioned by the elder Pliny (Plin. *HN.* 36.184) and though the originals do not survive, their themes were widely copied across the Roman world. They include the so-called Un-swept Floor Mosaic, and the Drinking Doves. For the Pergamene School see Dunbabin 1999, 26-30.

Opus vermiculatum is not peculiar to Pergamon, and very fine examples are also seen at Delos. They are, however, found in lower numbers than regular *opus tessellatum*. It should also be noted that a large majority of the evidence for both *opus tessellatum* and *opus vermiculatum*, particularly at Delos, comes from debris from the upper floors, suggesting perhaps that this pavement was "more common in upstairs rooms than on the ground floor", therefore indicating that our knowledge of the extent of the decorative pavement even for Delos remains limited.[285]

Figure 2.21. *Opus vermiculatum* depicting a fruit garland and bird, Palace V, Pergamon. © 2007, Ruth Westgate, by permission

Tessellated mosaics are not universal in the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period, and they do not become popular at Pompeii until ca. 100 BC.[286] Among the earliest examples are elaborate polychromatic figural mosaics in *opus vermiculatum*, which "belong

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[285] Tang 2005, 46. For second floor pavements see also Dunbabin 1999, 32; and Westgate 2000b, 392. Westgate 1997-1998, 108, cautions that this evidence could be disproportionate as the fragmented remains of mosaics from upper storeys makes it hard to discern size, shape, and room.
[286] Westgate 2000a, 255; and Clarke 2007, 324.

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to the same tradition" as those just discussed at Delos and Pergamon.[287] The technique has a short life-span at Pompeii, however, and the majority of mosaics are decorated with bichrome *opus tessellatum*, usually black on white. They also do not take on the carpet effect, and instead are more two-dimensional, similar to the overlying lace appearance of *opus signinum*.[288] As such they produce a differential characteristic for the Italian tessellated mosaic type.[289] Though not common, early examples of *opus tessellatum* are also found at Carthage.[290] The paving of the bathing area of House 8, for example, is well preserved and of particular note (Figure 2.22). It has a threshold mosaic of white *opus tessellatum* with scattered coloured *tesserae*. The shower room itself is also a tessellated mosaic, but here the *tesserae* are made primarily from terracotta, and these are accentuated with a scatter of white *tesserae*.

Figure 2.22 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a colour photograph of Room e in House 8 at Carthage, and included a white *opus tessellatum* threshold mosaic with a regular scatter of coloured *tesserae*, and a terracotta *opus tessellatum* main pavement with a random scatter of white *tesserae*. Original source: Tang, B. 2005. *Delos, Carthage, Ampurias: the housing of three Mediterranean trading centres*. Rome.

Figure 2.22. *Opus tessellatum*, Room e (bathing area), House 8, Carthage (Tang 2005, Fig. 6). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[287] Dunbabin 1999, 38. See also Westgate 2000a, 262-72. The mosaics from the House of the Faun, which are dated between the late second and early first centuries BC, best represent this early tradition, but few other houses of this early date include similar examples.
[288] The most common pattern in the Pompeian versions is rows, but lozenges and crosslets also occur, as do larger all-over figural depictions, which are commonly referred to as the 'silhouette style'. While polychromatic tessellated mosaics occur in combination with 'masonry-style' wall paintings, the bichrome examples are more commonly laid in combination with the so-called Pompeian Second Style of wall painting; however, the two techniques of tessellated mosaic appear simultaneously during the first half of the first century BC, sometimes within the same house (Clarke 2007, esp. 328-9).
[289] Westgate 2007a, 316.
[290] Dunbabin 1999, 102.

Westgate makes an important statement about the use of decorative pavements as it relates to culturally influenced material practices:

> …. explicit marking of functional divisions is characteristic of Hellenistic pavements in Sicily and Italy, and continues in the Roman mosaic tradition; it derives from the indigenous technique of *opus signinum*. Further east, however, the concentric composition is almost universal. This originated in Classical pebble mosaics in dining-rooms, where it suited the principal viewpoint from the couches around the walls, and is therefore often assumed that in later Hellenistic mosaics it still indicates a dining function.[291]

This suggests that not only can pavements identify cultural markers in and of themselves, but also that they can also provide clues as to room function, which could have the same outcome. Such assumptions, however, are limited in practice.[292] Though the earliest examples of 'indigenous' *opus signinum* occur at Kerkouane, the type is found throughout the western Mediterranean, and is the most common type of paving in second-century-BC Pompeii. It cannot, therefore, be used as a distinguishing Punic characteristic.[293] The technique, however, is not common in the eastern Mediterranean. There are only four examples of *opus signinum* at Delos where chip-pavement appears to be used in the same manner and serve "a similar range of rooms."[294] Consequently, the presence of either *opus signinum* or chip-pavement can provide a useful comparison for western and eastern stimulus. It is this east versus west dichotomy that is the most useful for this study.

The fundamental difference between the eastern and western decorative pavement traditions is that those in the west are used to explicitly mark out divisions of space both

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[291] Westgate 2007a, 316.

[292] Westgate 2007a, 321.

[293] *Opus signinum* is found on Malta, Sardinia, Sicily, and throughout peninsular Italy. At Rome it is seen as early as the third century BC in the *cella* of the West Temple of the Area Sacra of St. Omobono. At Pompeii it is the earliest decorative pavement, and is also used to pave *impluvia*. Joyce 1979, 259, suggests Sicily as the mediator between North Africa and Peninsular Italy, but this would have occurred before the second century BC.

[294] Westgate 2007a, 315. Westgate also states that "They are generally accompanied by fine wall plaster" (Westgate 2007a, 314). For *opus signinum* at Delos see Joyce 1979, who further states: "It may be more than coincidental…. that three of the four *opus signinum* pavements were found in the house of Fourni, where other mosaics appear to be Italianizing" (Joyce 1979, 256).

within and between rooms.[295] For example, threshold mosaics, those that are located in between the doorjambs and used to mark out boundaries between rooms, are common in the western Mediterranean, as are examples of *a scendiletto*, which is a term used to describe a change in the mosaic between a front circulation area and a back static area.[296] Neither of these features is common in the eastern Mediterranean. Equally, though the concentric pattern is found, particularly in smaller spaces, overall patterns are most characteristic of western *opus signinum*, while eastern *opus tessellatum* uses the concentric pattern almost uniformly.[297] Technical differences can also be seen between the two 'schools'. For example, in the east the *tesserae* of monochrome *opus tessellatum* are almost always laid in a rectilinear fashion, while in the west they are commonly laid diagonally.[298] Recognising these features, therefore, could help to understand the cultural influences occurring in Sicily during the mid-Republican period.

Though commonly used to identify room function, decorative pavements can only provide partial clues.[299] They are useful in the identification of room hierarchy, for example, but seldom does this indicate specific function.[300] For example, the main rooms in the houses at Delos are usually finely decorated, and in the Roman house the finest floor is usually found in the *tablinum*. This can help with room identification in a plan, but it cannot distinguish a *tablinum* from an exedral *oikos*.[301] Likewise, the use of the 'doormat' or threshold mosaic suggests a greater importance for the rooms wherever it occurs, but it does not provide room identification, nor state what its particular importance was.

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[295] Westgate 2000a, 256.
[296] A true *scendiletto* consists of a strip that appears like a bed-side mat just before the back of the room. In other examples the entire back area is paved with a different design, and this is referred to here as a *pseudo-scendiletto*.
[297] Westgate 2007a, 316.
[298] Westgate 2000a, 258.
[299] Though Ling has been able to associate floor decoration with room function, such as Dionysiac features in later Roman *triclinia*, the same cannot be done with Greek mosaics. Figural mosaics are rare and there are not enough examples to provide a significant pattern (Westgate 2007a, 320).
[300] For room hierarchy see Dunbabin 1999, 304; and Westgate 2000b.
[301] For the ideological perceptions of the *tablinum* see below.

Mosaics are also often used to establish patterns of use. For example, *a scendiletto* is commonly interpreted as the demarcation for a bed.[302] Such assumptions, however, can be misleading. It is not only uncertain that this area was used specifically for a bed, but also in some instances the pattern of this strip is particularly fine, suggesting it was meant to be viewed by a wider audience. Similarly, adjusting borders in concentric mosaics often leads to the interpretation of a dining function.[303] As both Trümper and Westgate clearly argue, however, the other features of the rooms at Delos suggest that permanent couches would not have fit, and instead a more flexible use of the room is envisioned in Greek houses.[304] Although this does not exclude dining as one of the functions, it is only one of many possible uses. Westgate supposes that an all-over design with a pattern repeated across the whole floor characterises a space of circulation, whereas the concentric type characterises a space that is more static.[305] As such, though the concentric type is found in rooms with various functions, it could represent "an explicit attempt to evoke the prestige of the Classical dining room."[306] In this way, then, the concentric pattern could provide indication of a distinct perception of a room, but formal dining is not unique to the Greek world, and such patterns may also be used to identify Roman *triclinia.* At Delos the concentric motif is used in all room types, and not just reception rooms. In the Maison du Trident, for example, the north-east colonnade has a concentric frame and 'doormats' marking out the entrances.[307] It is important, therefore, to remember that though decorative pavements are indicative of room hierarchy, they can provide no more than suggestions for function, and these suggestions cannot be considered definitive identifications.

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[302] Dunbabin 1999, 305.
[303] Dunbabin 1999, 304.
[304] Trümper 2007, 326-7; and Westgate 2007a, 316.
[305] Westgate 2007a, 316.
[306] Westgate 2007a, 319.
[307] Westgate 2010, 506.

2.4.3   Room perception and function

Scholars of Classical archaeology have an advantage over those of prehistoric archaeology in that the ancient texts, though they offer a narrow opinion, can provide us with some indications of prevailing ideologies of the subject material, which might help us recognise culturally influenced material practices and better interpret how domestic space was used and perceived in mid-Republican Sicily. What follows are a few examples that can be profitably applied to Sicily.

2.4.3.1   The Colonnaded Garden

The perception of the Roman domestic colonnaded courtyard could be particularly significant in trying to distinguish it from a Greek one. For example, its use as a planted garden, as opposed to a paved courtyard, is potentially important, as the urban decorative garden is largely a Roman characteristic that was later adopted by the Greeks.[308] During the early Republic each citizen was allotted an equal plot of land on the outskirts of the city that allowed them to grow their own food. Purcell suggests that this reflects the legends of Romulus and the early days of Rome being an agricultural centre.[309] These suburban garden plots were first incorporated into the urban household as a garden at the back of their house.[310] This *viridarium* was also brought into the household itself, and could take the form of a simple window box or even an area within the *atrium*, as seen in the House of the Corinthian Atrium at Herculaneum (Figure 2.8). Ultimately, though, the garden took the form of a peristyle, and though there is evidence for dense and informally planted colonnaded gardens that contained fruit-bearing trees and vines, many were also more formal,

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[308] Papaioannou suggests that "garden embellishment has not been found in Classical or Hellenistic houses" at Athens (Papaioannou 2007, 351). This is largely supported by Carroll-Spillecke's study on the ancient Greek garden (Carroll-Spillecke 1989, esp. 18-23, 49-50, 63-65, 80-5, and Tables A-E.
[309] Purcell 1996, 122. See also Carroll-Spillecke 1989, 85.
[310] Remains from Pompeii show this well as a considerable amount of space appears to have remained free from buildings and was intensively cultivated in small garden units (Percival 1996, 66-67).

elaborately decorated spaces, which became little more than a symbol of what was originally a subsistence area.[311] Dickman provides a different interpretation for the perception of the Roman peristyle. He suggests that this was the location of the *ambulatio,* and consequently the form of the domestic peristyle was built to parallel the porticoes of the Hellenistic *gymnasium*.[312] In this manner, the peristyle was a "sign of *paideia*, education and culture in the Greek style".[313] He also suggests that in Pompeii this was a culturally 'alien' characteristic, which was consciously preserved and kept separate from the *atrium*.[314]

Though it has already been argued above that the 'alien' nature of a colonnade is unlikely, these two notions of the peristyle being a 'Roman' *viridarium* and a 'Greek' *gymnasium* also need not be contradictory. Instead, they provide an example of how domestic space could be transformed to incorporate developing, and sometimes polar, ideologies. The domestic colonnaded garden acted as both a symbol of the owner's cultural enlightenment, as well as the preservation of his agrarian heritage. In either case, ideologically the Roman domestic peristyle was a different type of space for a Roman than it would have been for a Greek. The Greek domestic peristyle was an elaboration of an inherent feature, the central courtyard, and while it served to show the opulence and status of its owner, it continued to have a distinct purpose of allowing light and air into the house, and was seen and used by everybody, from resident to casual guest (both insider and outsider).[315] The Roman domestic peristyle, on the other hand, was a green space that symbolised ideologies of what it meant to be a Roman. When it appears in combination with an *atrium*, it is an addition to the house, not central to it, and though it was visible to

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[311] Purcell 1996, 122. For the domestic garden at Pompeii see Jashemski 2007.
[312] Carroll-Spillecke 1989, 63-65, and 85, also suggests that these are based on Greek public gardens.
[313] Dickman 1997, 127. Westgate makes a similar argument for figural scenes in Pompeii, suggesting that they were chosen to create a "cultured ambience" (Westgate 2000a, 271).
[314] Dickman 1997, 136.
[315] Trümper 2007, 331.

everyone, here it was used only by residents and invited guests (insider's only), and could be closed off from the main living area.[316] This is not to say that this area did not incorporate utilitarian activities on a day-to-day basis, or that it was not used in a similar manner to the courtyards of the Greek and Punic Houses; the finds in these areas including evidence for domestic activities and storage suggests that it was.[317] What is distinct about the Roman domestic peristyle is its specific use as a garden and how this reflects Roman ideology, and further solidifies the insider versus outside spatial organisation of the living space discussed above.

2.4.3.2   Main room(s)

The main room of the house is also an important distinction between Greek, Roman, and Punic houses. In both Greek and Roman houses, this room is centrally located and therefore visible as one enters the organisational space. The perception of the main room, however, is very different. In the Hellenistic Greek house the *oecus major* is a large public reception area that had a variety of functions and was used by both guest and resident. The main room of the Roman Republican house, however, is the *tablinum*, which is perceived as the study of the *paterfamilias*. It was here that he symbolically received his *clientes* in the daily *salutatio,* and accordingly it had a distinct isolated and ideological purpose. In houses that incorporate a peristyle behind the *atrium* the *tablinum* is located between this and the *atrium*, and commonly open on both sides, therefore not only making it the central focal point both of features, but also a link between the two.[318]

In a similar vein, the identification of a dining-room could provide a further example. In second-century-BC Delos, the Classical "*andron* seems to have been out of fashion," and

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[316] Dickman 1997, 124; Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 85-6 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 47); Wallace-Hadrill 2007a, 286-8; and Bergmann 2007, 227.
[317] Allison 1993, 4; Allison 2004, 84-90; and Allison 2007, 273-4.
[318] For the *tablinum* serving as a link between the *atrium* and peristyle see for example: Engelman 1893, 561-2, cf. Dwyer 1991, 28, and 40-41, n. 15; Patroni 1936; and McKay 1975, 34, and 241 n.40.

is not a formal room type.[319] The Roman *triclinium*, however, remains a seemingly recognisable room for a defining ritual that has its origins in both the Etruscan and Greek worlds. Thus, the identification of a 'dining-room' in a second-century-BC house may have further implications than simply a place where meals were consumed.

It is probably also significant that the *triclinium* and the *tablinum* are part of the Type-III (Italian) three-room suite.[320] This particular configuration of three rooms all opening onto the organisational space, and independent of one another, is not commonly referred to in material related directly to the houses of Sicily.[321] In most instances the appearance of three-room suites are associated with the Type-II (Macedonian) version. Trümper, however, suggests that this is not likely to be an important feature for second-century-BC Delos as they occur rarely, and are often a makeshift solution, while in Roman houses there is "a deliberate concept of or preference for" such suites.[322] As such, distinguishing between the two may provide a vital clue towards cultural influence in mid-Republican Sicily.

2.4.3.3   Small square rooms

Also common in Roman houses is the inclusion of rooms that are usually smaller than those which typically surround a Greek or Punic courtyard. These are traditionally referred to as *cubicula*, and though an analogous identification is suggested in this study for a selected number of rooms, it is important to note that no specific indication of location for this room type is given by the ancient authors, and therefore this cannot be considered a definitive identification.[323] Furthermore, not every room in these positions can be presumed to be the

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[319] Trümper 2007, 330.
[320] In Allison's survey of Pompeian Households, however, she concludes that based upon the finds within these rooms, though often decorated, they are more likely to have served an utilitarian function in their final stage, though she admits that if these were used as 'winter' dining-rooms, the evidence for storage at the time of the eruption (August) could have been seasonal (Allison 2004, 80).
[321] This is also noticed by Aiosa 2004, 53-4.
[322] Trümper 2007, 331.
[323] Allison 2001, 183-4.

cubicula with their associated perception and function as described by ancient authors, and in many instances they are likely to have been small storerooms and not used in the manner described below. [324] Therefore, in this study such identification is not based on shape alone, and other features, such as decorative treatment, are also considered.

The associated functions for these small square rooms of sleeping and reception could offer a possible indicator of a differing or changing ideology from that which is traditional in a Greek or Punic house. For instance, designated sleeping areas have not generally been identified in Greek houses. Though this could simply mean that such rooms did not exist, the more common trend is to locate them on the no longer extant second storey of both Classical and Hellenistic houses.[325] If this supposition is correct, then they were separated from the main living area, and are distinct from Roman houses, where they appear to line the reception hall (*atrium*) and the colonnaded garden (peristyle), or are approached by means of an anteroom, which itself is entered from the central space. While providing a designated sleeping room, or moving such a room into a central area, itself perhaps suggests a changing ideology, the particular significance of this room lies in its additional function as a reception room.[326]

Nevett cautions against the attempt to identify what we would classify as bedrooms in the Greek house:

> Although references to the Greek *thalamus* are usually translated as 'bedroom', there is little evidence to support a notion that Greek household space may have been personalised to the same degree.[327]

Though she is speaking specifically of a room that 'belongs' to a specific person, a similar argument can be made for the Roman 'bedroom', in that it was not perceived as a personal

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[324] Riggsby 1997, 42; Allison 2004, 71-6, 94-8; and Allison 2007, 271.
[325] See for example Jameson 1990, 101; and Trümper 2007, 331.
[326] Leach states: "a *thalamus* is always a bed-chamber, while the spaces denoted by the Roman word *cubiculum* may witness a variety of personal activities" (Leach 1997, 69).
[327] Nevett 1999, 37.

or private area to the same degree as it is in the modern western world.[328] Similarly, Allison

in her study of these rooms at Pompeii suggests that the term 'boudoir' is more

appropriate.[329] Exceptions to this occur; for example, Augustus is said to have slept in the

same room for forty years, and Leach states:

> ... many narrative references suggest that the use of a single bedroom was
> fairly common.[330]

The argument being made here, however, is that the majority of these rooms were

multifunctional. They have been described in literary sources as areas not only for sleeping,

but also for the "reception of guests and transaction of business".[331]

Such additional functions explain not only the inclusion of these rooms around the

central space, but also their decorative treatment. For this reason it is also necessary to

resist interpreting the decoration of these sleeping rooms as a sign of personal indulgence,

and instead view them as outward expressions of wealth and prestige in the same manner

as decoration in other rooms. Accordingly, the perception of these small square rooms

(*cubicula*) should be considered in relationship to those areas with which they share the

similarities of both location and decoration. These are the main room (*tablinum*) and the

dining-room (*triclinium*). Vitruvius possibly proposes that the latter of these carries a

particularly close parallel in perception:

> *… quemadmodum sunt cubicula, triclinia, balaneae ceteraque quae easdem*
> *habent usus rationes.*[332]

It is probable that allowing entrance into a 'personal' room, such as where one sleeps, was a

sign of respect or trust, and as Wallace-Hadrill suspects that they were "reserved for the

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[328] Nevett 1997, 297.
[329] Allison 2004, 72; and Allison 2007, 273.
[330] Leach 1997, 69.
[331] Riggsby 1997, 41. In this examination of almost 400 ancient literary references to the *cubiculum*, Rigsby identified six 'patterns of association, which are: rest; sex; adultery; murder and suicide; controlled display of art; and reception.
[332] "… such as the *cubicula*, *triclinia*, baths and all others which have the same sorts of use."
Vitr. *De* arch. 6.5.1. Translation: author.

reception of intimate friends and for the conducting of confidential business", but they remain a room with a variety of functions.[333] Additionally, it should not be assumed that all *cubicula* were sleeping rooms; instead, it is more of a generic term where different rooms could be used for different purposes.[334] Therefore, the small, well-decorated, square rooms which surround the central organisational space remains a multi-functional room of a type that is more common in Roman households.

2.4.3.4   Entranceways

Attempting to identify similar ideological requirements for the Punic house is more difficult due to the historical silence of the Phoenicio-Carthaginians, but there may be similar clues of possible perception in second-century-BC domestic housing. A potential example is the entranceway of the Punic household, which is commonly long and narrow, and provides access to an off-axis organisational space. It, therefore, acts both literally and figuratively, as a barrier from the street, and emphasises a need for seclusion of the interior of the house.

In Greek houses the entranceway is more of a staging area. In some cases it opens directly onto the centre of the courtyard, but usually it is to the side, and one is directed into the portico which provides the most direct access to the reception rooms. The entranceway of the Greek house (a vestibule) can also be associated with various amenities such as staircases, a latrine, or even a dependant store / stable, and Trümper suggests that in some cases those at Delos may act as communal entrances for the main floor and upper apartments.[335]

The canonical *fauces* of the Roman entranceway has a completely different function than that of either the Greek or Punic house. It is not a room *per se*, but a symmetrical frame that guides the gaze from the street to the front entrance hall and main room, and if the plan

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[333] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 59 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17).
[334] Nevett 1997, 291.
[335] Trümper 2007, 332.

allows, into a lush Roman garden. Though this gaze most often terminates with some particularly impressive decorative feature, in some cases it continues beyond with vistas into the surrounding landscape.[336] As such, the entranceway of the Roman house is used to highlight the *mos maiorum*, in particular the *auctoritas, dignitas*, and *potestas* of the *paterfamilias* to anyone who walks past.[337] A lack of what we recognise as a *fauces*, however, cannot be used as an indicator of a house not being 'Roman'. Though the physical evidence from Pompeii in particular does suggest such a feature existed, literary evidence also suggests the use of a reception area, which was also referred to as a vestibule.[338] Therefore an important distinction to make is the direct line of sight available from the street, and not just the shape of the room.

2.4.3.5   Courtyards and spatial organisation

The varieties of entranceways suggest opposing ideologies of the courtyard as well. The courtyard in the ancient Mediterranean house served as one of the main living spaces. The wide range of finds, from domestic items such as spindle wheels to storage containers, attest to this, and examination of sites across the Mediterranean suggest that on a day-to-day basis the function of the courtyard was similar.[339] What differentiates these courtyards cross-culturally, however, is how they were perceived by those who did not live in the house. Though the ancient texts are silent on this issue, their layout may provide us with unspoken clues. For example, the long and narrow Γ-shaped corridor of the Punic house suggests that

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[336] Wallace-Hadrill 1988, esp. 82-3 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 44-5).
[337] For the perception of the *atrium* as the embodiment of its owner's Roman-ness see in particular Hales 2003. Similarly, Dwyer writes: "Classical refinements in plan and decoration, unjustified on the grounds of utility alone, serve as no more than suitable expressions of the worth (*dignitas*), credibility (*auctoritas*), and power (*potestas*) of the *dominus*" (Dwyer 1991, 34).
[338] In Allison's survey of architectural room types, all but one of her samples had a *fauces*-type entrance. For literary sources referring to a *vestibulum* see for example: Cic. *de Orat,*1.45.200, who speaks of a vestibule filled with clients waiting to enter the house, or Macrobius *Saturnalia* 6.8.14-23, who describes a *fauces* leading into a *vestibulum* (cf. Leach 1997, 54).
[339] See for example: Jameson 1990, 97; Allison 1993, 4; Cahill 2002a; Allison 2004, 69-70, and 84-90; and Allison 2007, 271-3.

the organisational space was more of a "private, secluded setting" than the Hellenistic Greek

courtyard, which acted as a reception space that provided "direct access to the most

favourable display of lavish rooms."[340] Furthermore, it definitely had the opposite impression

of a Roman reception hall (*atrium*) or colonnaded garden, which were both used to emulate

the 'Roman-ness' of the house's owner to the outside world.

This brings us back to the studies of spatial organisation and room types discussed

above. A comparative survey of the organisational features of ancient Mediterranean

houses (Table 2.1) reveals that there are many similarities between the Hellenistic Greek

and Roman Republican house. In both instances these houses can be characterised as

open environments with a combination of open and closed rooms that are centred on the

organisational space, and which include a variety of reception room types. Further, the

Roman Republican house is canonically characterised by a main entrance that has an open

line of sight from the street, often enhanced with decoration and / or architectural features,

and this feature begins to appear in the Hellenistic house as well, which is in stark contrast

from the earlier Classical Greek house where this was invariably screened.

Nevett suggests that features such as these are likely indicators of Roman influence

on the Greek house.[341] This proves problematic for this study, however, as it is impossible to

interpret whether similar influences are coming directly from Italy. Although this is the most

likely scenario due to the island's position in the western Mediterranean, it is possible that

influences were coming from the Roman-influenced Greek east as well, or even from the

Greek cities of Sicily's east coast, especially Syracuse. For this reason the characteristics of

the Classical Greek house become important for this discussion, as their presence could be

indicative of a retention or adoption of a perceived traditional Greek feature. This does not

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[340] For the Punic courtyard see Markoe 2000, 73. See also Daniels 1995; and Fantar 1998, 40. For
the Greek courtyard see Trümper 2007, 331.
[341] Nevett 2002; and Nevett 2010.

mean that the residents were Greeks, *per se*, but that they chose to emulate these traditional Greek features. It should also be noted, however, that the Classical Greek house shares many organisational features with the Punic house, including an (en)closed environment, a majority of closed rooms centered on the organisational space and only accessed from it, as well as a single entrance (Table 2.1), and Daniels suggests that:

> There is strong evidence to argue not only that Punic and Greek architecture share a number of developments, but even that this development was one of mutual rather than diffused imitation.[342]

These features cannot, therefore, automatically be assumed as 'Greek', particularly in areas (like Sicily) with both Greek and Punic populations.

The presence of a double courtyard, or organisational space, is similarly complex. Prior to ca. 200 BC double courtyards are a characteristic seen in the larger houses of Eretria and Macedon, while after ca. 200 BC the reception hall / colonnaded courtyard sequence begins to appear in the houses of Campania, but double organisational areas are seldom found in the houses at Delos. How then should the cultural influence of a multiple-courtyard house in second-century-BC Sicily be interpreted? Is this a retention, or adoption, of a perceived traditional third-century-BC Greek feature, or is it an innovation and representative of the more contemporary second-century-BC Roman feature? In this instance the two organisational spaces have to be identified as to their most likely function. The double courtyard of the early Hellenistic period consists of an undecorated domestic courtyard and a larger more lavish reception courtyard, while in Italy the Republican period consists of a decorated front reception hall and a lavish back garden. This distinction is quite important.

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[342] Daniels 1995, 93.

Table 2.1. A comparative survey of the spatial organisation of the ancient Mediterranean house

	Classical Greek	Hellenistic Greek	Roman Republican	Punic
Environment	Closed; a central organisational space screened from the street; once inside all rooms (with exception of the reception room) are visible; movement between all rooms can be monitored and controlled from the central space	Enclosed or Open; a central organisational space with a tendency to be visible from the street; once inside movement between rooms is flexible though there are indicators of organisational boundaries; movement between all rooms cannot necessarily be monitored or controlled from the central space	Open; a central organisational space visible from the street; once inside movement between rooms is flexible though there are indicators of organisational boundaries; movement between all rooms cannot necessarily be monitored or controlled from the central space	Enclosed; a central organisational space that is physically separated from the street by long narrow corridors and right-angles; once inside movement between rooms is flexible; movement between all rooms cannot necessarily be monitored or controlled from the central space
Circulation Pattern	All rooms centered on the organisational space and only accessed from it (with the exception of the reception room)	Rooms centered on the organisational space, but some can be entered independent of the organisational space, and in particular the presence of rooms that are accessible only from other rooms (though not necessarily anterooms)	Rooms centered on the organisational space and all accessed directly from it	Rooms centered on the organisational space, but some can be entered independent of the organisational space, and in particular the presence of rooms that are accessible only from other rooms (though not necessarily anterooms)
Room Openings	Majority of rooms are closed	Both open and closed rooms	Both open and closed rooms	Majority of rooms are closed
Reception Rooms	A single reception room entered via an angled corner, and usually an anteroom	Multiple reception rooms of various sizes that are open to the organisational space	Multiple reception rooms of various sizes that are open to the organisational space; no evidence for anterooms	A single reception room (when identifiable); often on the courtyard, though there is possible evidence that it could also be entered from the street

	Classical Greek	Hellenistic Greek	Roman Republican	Punic
Entrance(s) into the House	Single entrance into the house	Higher tendency for multiple entrances into the house	Multiple entrances into the house are not uncommon, but this appears to be dependent upon size of the house	Typically a single entrance, though some evidence for entrances from shops as well.
Line of Sight from the Street	Screen wall that blocks the line of sight from the street into the interior of the house	Lower tendency for a screen wall in the entranceway	Open, and often enhanced with decoration and / or architectural features	At a right-angle, though kitchen / bath complex often visible
Number of Organisational Spaces	One	Before 200 BC there is a tendency for a double courtyard: one that is decorated and surrounded by reception rooms, and one that is more modest and the surrounding rooms appear to be more domestic in nature	Before 200 BC only a single organisational space	One
		Post 200 BC there is only a single courtyard. The domestic courtyard is forsaken for the larger more decorative courtyard	Post 200 BC growing tendency for a double organisational space consisting of a front entrance hall and a back colonnaded garden	

2.4.3.6   Bathing areas

Lastly, the incorporation of domestic bathing in the Punic houses of the third century BC provides a drastically different picture than that of Greek and Roman domestic quarters.[343] This is not to say that evidence for domestic bathing in these latter sites does not exist. Some of the houses at Olynthos (between 22 and 27 out of 86), for example, preserve evidence for the installation of hip-baths. Commonly these are part of the 'kitchen' complex mentioned in the typology discussion above, but evidence can also be found in the corners of large rooms that are considered to be the main living space of the house.[344] Similarly, on Delos there is secure evidence for 8 houses (out of 89) with separate bathing areas. Each of these has their own hip-bath, and two also have an added sweat-bath. There are an additional 12 houses with possible evidence of bathing facilities in the so-called 'kitchen-bath complexes'. These preserve evidence for drains and waterproof pavement types, but a distinction between an area for food preparation and an area for personal bathing cannot be made.[345] In Italy there is some evidence for early multiple-room bathing suites in a domestic setting. For example, they are found possibly as early as the third century BC at Moltone di

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[343] For a recent discussion of early (pre-100-BC) domestic bathing in the Greco-Roman world see Henderson 2010, 68-108.

[344] For evidence of bathtubs in the houses at Olynthos see: Graham and Robinson 1938, 198-204; Cahill 2002a, 80, 154, and 159; Trümper 2010, 544; and Henderson 2010, 82-89. Houses with hip-baths in conjunction with a 'kitchen' complex include: The House of Many Colours, The Villa of the Bronzes, House A vii 4, House A v 10, and The House of the Comedian. Houses with evidence for a bathtub in the corner of a large room include: Houses A 8, A v 4, A v 5, A vii 5, B ii 3, B vii 2, and E.S.H 6.

[345] For the evidence of bathing areas at Delos see Trümper 1998, 63-6, 347-9, and Abb. 83-85; Tang 2005, 36-7; and Trümper 2010, 546. The separate bathing areas are located in: Maison des Tritons, Maison de l'Hermès, House C in the Masks Quarter, Houses IIE, IV B, and VI A in the Theatre Quarter, the Western House in the Area of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, and Magasin δ, groupe ε, room XIII-XVII in the Southern Zone. The added sweat-baths are seen in the Maison de Tritons and House IIE in the Theatre Quarter.

Tolve and the late second- to mid-first- centuries-BC at the Villa Prato at Sperlonga.[346] Both sites preserve evidence for an anteroom, a hip-bath, and an immersion tub. Likewise, at Pompeii there is evidence for at least 35 houses (out of over 400) with bath-suites, most of which also consist of two or more rooms: a main room containing the bathing installation, commonly an immersion tub, and an anteroom, which is commonly identified as an *apodyterium*.[347]

The particular significance of the bathing areas of Kerkouane and Carthage, however, is in their systematic inclusion of a bath feature in most, if not all, of the houses. This suggests a particularly Punic practice, which Fantar supposes is a remnant of the Phoenicio-Carthaginian's Semitic heritage.[348] Similarly, Herbert proposes that a late second to first centuries BC domestic bath complex at the Hellenistic site of Tel Anafa, a site 30 km east of the Phoenicio-Carthaginian capital of Tyre, "might reflect Phoenician custom".[349] This latter installation is similar to those seen on Sicily and could be similarly interpreted.[350] Sicily itself may play a role in the development of domestic bathing suites, and this will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 6.[351]

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[346] For Moltone di Tolve see: Soppelsa 1991, 92; and Russo 1993, 42. For the Villa Prato at Sperlonga see Lafon 1991; and Broise and Lafon 2001, esp. 79-91. See also Trümper 2010, 535-6, who states that the date of the bath-suite at Moltone di Tolve is not secure; and Henderson 2010, 98-107.

[347] For the private bath-suites at Pompeii see: de Hann 1993; and Trümper 2010, 546.

[348] Fantar 1998, 47.

[349] Herbert 1994, 17. *Contra* Tang who believes that the use of a hip-bath in Punic settlements such as Kerkouane "must be seen as influence from the Greek world…. [as] Immersion tubs, representing the tradition of the Oriental world, are lacking so far" (Tang 2005, 87-88).

[350] Trümper, following the excavator, describes the bath-suite at Tel Anafa as "unique" in that the basin is only 0.03 – 0.13 m deep, and therefore would not have been deep enough for immersion, and was used either for shower baths, or as a sweat-room (Trümper 2010, 533-4; and Herbert 1994, 68). It is, however, also possible that portable tubs were set up within the basin.

[351] The variety of bathing area features, from the intricate hip-bath installations at Kerkouane to the shower-baths at Carthage, as well as systems of water collection seen in the courtyards, and the so-called 'Punic-type' cistern, all give an impression that Punic water systems were conspicuously more complex than their Greek or Roman counterparts, and these could be further indicative of Punic influence on the Sicilian household.

2.5 CONCLUSION: PRESENT APPROACH

In order to accomplish the task at hand it is necessary to fashion a methodology that is applicable to the available information. Though numerous, the houses of mid-Republican Sicily do not offer the same variety of information as those at Olynthos, Pompeii, or even Delos. The number of known houses from the entire island are fewer in number than any one of these individual sites.[352] This, along with varying degrees of site formation, excavation techniques, and publication, makes many of the current approaches, such as an accurate statistical analysis of the types championed by Nevett and Wallace-Hadrill, inappropriate for the material at hand.[353] This does not, however, mean that we are limited to discussing the houses of Sicily along typological models alone. Cahill's study of domestic life at Olynthos is based in part upon a spatial statistical analysis of a database containing 15,190 entries that includes "all the artifacts, rooms and graves" of the site.[354] Despite being highly lauded for his approach, he states that after spending years entering information into a database he has concluded:

> Rather than looking for patterns in data over the whole site, I have found it more useful to examine each room individually, and list the activities that might have gone on in that room, based on, for instance, the entire assemblage of artifacts, size and architectural features of the room, proximity to other types of spaces and assemblages, and the overall picture of the house. This room-by-room approach brings one closer to the human beings that once lived in these houses and used these artifacts.[355]

A comparable approach remains the best method for the more circumscribed Sicilian data. Following a synopsis of selected houses from Sicily that appear to have been occupied during the second century BC (Chapters 3 – 5), is a summary and analysis of features from

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[352] As noted in Chapter 1, though upwards of 100 buildings of domestic nature with occupation during the second century BC are known from Sicily, the plans of only half of these are comprehensive enough to allow for a sense of the overall organisation. Compare this with complete or near complete plans of at least 86 houses at Olynthos, 89 at Delos, and over 400 at Pompeii.
[353] For example: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 65ff.; and Nevett 1999, esp. 34-52.
[354] Cahill 2002b.
[355] Cahill 2010, 482.

the houses discussed following the categories outlined in Appendices A (Chapter 6).[356] These categories have been developed to move beyond the static, normative, typologies discussed above, and to allow for a broad spectrum, multi-cultural, comparative examination. Though individual 'room-by-room' features will be discussed, the intent is for the analysis to also incorporate the aspects of spatial organisation, decorative pavements, and room perception and function, as outlined above, into the interpretive process (for a comparative summary of possible indicators of cross-cultural practices see the tables in Appendix B).

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[356] For the criteria of case study selection see Chapter 1.

Chapter 3:   Urban Domestic Architecture of the Greek Foundation Settlements

3.1   INTRODUCTION TO SETTLEMENT TYPE
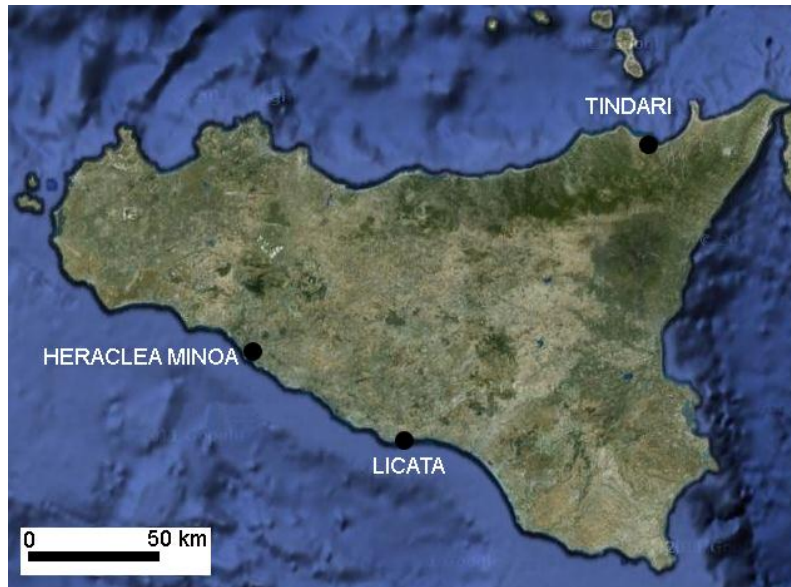
Figure 3.1. Map of the Greek foundation settlements (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 CNES/Spot Image, by permission

Evidence for domestic architecture during the mid-Republican period in Sicily has been chosen from three sites that fall under the category of a Greek foundation settlement. These are Licata, Heraclea Minoa, and Tindari (Figure 3.1), and have been selected because they fulfil the criteria laid out in Chapter 1. There is further evidence for possible houses from additional sites within this foundation type, such as the fragmentary remains of houses at Syracuse and Camarina; however, such instances do not meet the selection criteria, and are therefore not considered in this study.[357] Of particular note is the exclusion of the so-called

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[357] For the second-century-BC houses at Syracuse, of which only partial remains have been uncovered, and there is no direct evidence for a courtyard, see for example: Gentili 1951; and Gentili 1956. For the House of the Altar at Camarina, the plan of which is also very fragmentary, and there is little secondary source information available, see Pelagatti 1962; and Di Stefano, G. 2006, 159, Fig. 6.

'Hellenistic-Roman Quarter at Agrigento'. Though this portion of the town plan appears to have been laid out as early as the third century BC, the extant colonnaded-courtyard houses date to the later Imperial period (second to third centuries AD), and the original structures appear to have been significantly altered from non-colonnaded-courtyard houses beginning in the Augustan period.[358] Because of this, indicators of their original construction, and more importantly their interior layout, are both ambiguous and questionable and they are not included in this study. It should also be noted that Tindari, which is included below, narrowly fulfils the selected criteria as well, as there is also imperial rebuilding of the houses surveyed. There is, however, enough evidence remaining to allow for a reasonable reconstruction from the mid-Republican period for at least two of these houses. For this reason they have been included.

The settlements in this chapter represent a variety of site types that may lead to both similarities and differences in the domestic architecture of the mid-Republican period. For example, all three settlements were relatively minor towns within the early Roman province. Likewise, they are located on or near the coast, and they often have evidence for associated ports. The settlements also vary from one another, particularly in their occupational histories (Figure 3.2). For instance, Heraclea Minoa, which is a Greek colonial settlement of the sixth century BC, was also under intermittent Carthaginian control during the Classical and Early Hellenistic Periods of the island. Tindari and Licata, conversely, are relatively late establishments that are said to have been populated with displaced citizens from other

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[358] The chronology of the so-called 'Hellenistic-Roman' quarter is complex, particularly with regard to any attempt to identify its original Hellenistic form. Based on stratigraphic test pits of the quarter, particularly those of Peristyle VI – the so-called 'Casa delle Afrodite' – and ceramic evidence within these, De Miro has identified five separate periods of construction and renovation in the area. According to this chronology, the extant houses were constructed in the third period, between the fourth and third centuries BC, with modifications in the fourth period during the second century BC, and further reconstructions in the Augustan period. See De Miro 1957, 138-40; De Miro 2006, 79-80; and De Miro 2009, 405-7.

towns. These are all characteristics that likely had an impact on cultural practices as they

relate to domestic architecture. Such implications are discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7.

	950 BC	850 BC	750 BC	650 BC	550 BC	450 BC	350 BC	250 BC	150 BC	50 BC	0	50 AD+
Examined Period												
Heraclea Minoa												
Licata												
Tindari												

Legend

| Previous settlement | | House construction / renovation | |
| (Re) foundation of settlement | | Continuation of inhabitation | |
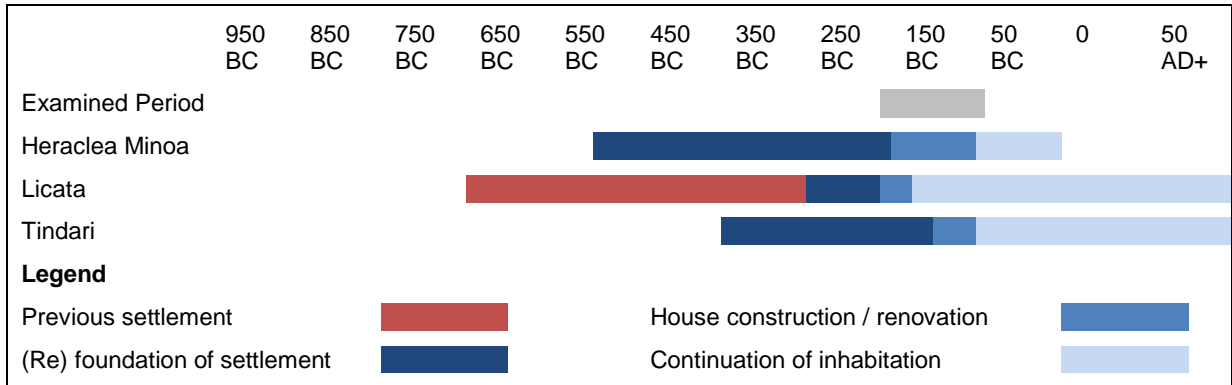
Figure 3.2. Occupational histories of the Greek foundation settlements

3.2   LICATA[359]

3.2.1   Historical background

According to Diodoros, ancient *Phintias* was founded by the Akragan tyrant of the same

name after he destroyed the city of Gela in 282 BC.[360] While *Tindaris* below can be claimed

as the last Greek colonial settlement of the island, Phintias is the last Greek foundation.[361]

Though *Phintias* was perhaps never directly under Carthaginian control, Punic influence

would have been prevalent in the area, as the settlement is located within the region that

had to pay tribute to Carthage at the end of the fourth century BC.[362] Further, it is located

next to the River Himera, where Marcellus is reported to have won the final battle against

the Carthaginians, suggesting that they still had some control over this area during the

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[359] For a general overview of the site and its identification as ancient *Phintias* see for example: Stillwell 1976, 707; BTCGI IX, 24-40; Manni 1971; Manni 1981, 60, and 217-8; Wilson 2000b, 719; and La Torre 2006. Licata has also been identified with Gela due to the finds of inscriptions and coins referring to the *Geloi* (those of Gela). Gela is more commonly attributed to the site at Terranova.
[360] Diodoros 22.2.2; and 23.4.4.
[361] La Torre 2006, 83.
[362] Diod. Sic. 13.114.1 (*Selinunte*, *Akragas*, *Gela*, and *Kamarina*).

Second Punic War.[363] *Phintias* would have become part of the Roman province in the Treaty of 241 BC. Cicero mentions the settlement as a seaport, while Diodoros states that it provided shelter to the Roman fleet in the First Punic War.[364]

3.2.2   Topography and urban plan

Phintias is attributed to a series of remains discovered near the modern town of Licata, which is located along the southern coast of the province of Agrigento (Figure 3.1), approximately halfway between the sites of Gela and Agrigento. While the area is comprised mostly of a large coastal plain (Figure 3.3.A), the ancient settlement occupies a very strategic position overlooking these plains and the sea. Licata is situated on the eastern end of Monte Eknomos (B) between the peak of Monte Sant'Angelo (C), which is approximately 130 m above sea level, and the River Salso (ancient *Himera*) to its east (D). The modern coast-line has changed drastically from that of antiquity (Figure 3.4). To the south-west of the ancient city (A) there is evidence for the remains of a former bay (B). This area, measuring approximately 80 m wide, would have provided a small natural harbour that was partially protected from the sea by a small headland to the east (C). This feature is now part of the mainland, and referred to as Monte San Michele, but in antiquity it was originally 40 m off the shore line.

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[363] Livy *Epi.* 25.40-41.
[364] Cicero *Verr.* 3.8.3; Diod. Sic. 24.1.

Figure 3.3. Satellite view of Licata and surrounding landscape (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 Terra Metrics, © 2012 DigitalGlobe, by permission

A. coastal plain; B. Monte Eknomos; C. Monte S. Angelo; D. River Salso; E. Monte S. Michele
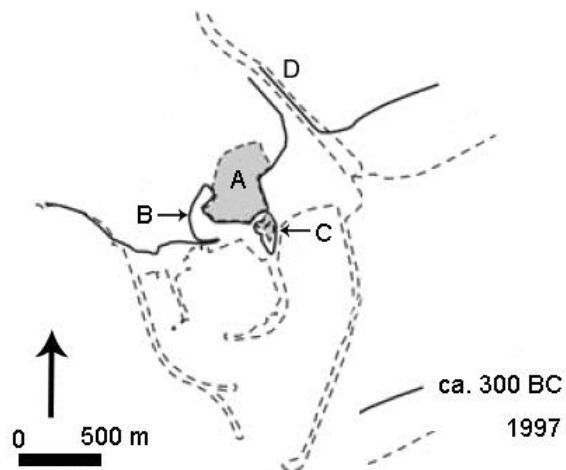
Figure 3.4. Ancient harbour at Licata (after Amore et al. 2002, Fig. 3). © 2002, Eurocoast/EUCC, adapted by permission

A. ancient Site (Monte S. Angelo); B. ancient bay; C. Monte S. Michele; D. River Salso

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The site of Licata is largely covered by modern construction, and evidence for the ancient town is limited to chance finds and small areas of excavation. Diodoros mentions a large *agora*, but to date this feature has not been revealed at Licata.[365] Excavations have uncovered a portion of the domestic quarter in the area of Monte Sant'Angelo, as well as a necropolis, and this has allowed for only a general idea of the topography of the city. There is, however, enough information to reconstruct, at least tentatively, elements of the urban plan. The houses, for example, are located within *insulae* that are divided by a longitudinal *ambitus* (Figure 3.5). The *insulae* measure 27/ 28 m by no less than 54 m, and the *ambitus* is ca. 0.6 m wide. [366] There is also evidence for a second latitudinal *ambitus* (Figure 3.6). The *insulae* of both areas are separated by *stenopoi* ca. 3 m wide, and a *plateia* has been located in the excavations below the Castello Hill. Only further excavation will allow for a greater appreciation of the relationship of these features with an overall urban plan.

Figure 3.5 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the reconstructed partial plans of the remains of four *insulae* along the via Santa Maria at Licata. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: La Torre, G.F. 2006. "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica a Tindari, Eraclea Minoa e Finziade: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca." In Osanna, M. and Torelli, M., eds. 2006. *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente: Spoleto, Complesso monumentale di S. Nicoláo, 5-7 novembre 2004*, Biblioteca di "Sicilia antiqua" 1. Roma.: 83-95.

Figure 3.5. Reconstructed plan of the *insulae* along the via Santa Maria, Licata (after La Torre 2006, Fig. 7). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[365] Diod. Sic. 22.2.
[366] La Torre 2006, 87, notes that this ratio of 1:2 is standard on the island and seen at Solunto, Halaesa, Morgantina, Tindari, Heraclea Minoa, and Monte Iato.

3.2.3 Excavation and publication

Archaeological evidence for the site of Licata is minimal. Brief excavations of the domestic quarter were begun by the Soprintendenza in the late 1980s along the via Santa Maria (Figure 3.5) and were continued with a further survey in 1994. This work is only briefly mentioned in two small notices.[367] A collaboration between the Soprintendenza and the University of Messina, under the direction of La Torre, saw work resume at Licata between 2003 and 2005 with additional excavations immediately to the south of the Castel Sant' Angelo (Figure 3.6).[368] This work, along with other information regarding the site, has been published in a volume of papers from a conference at Licata in 2004, and in a site guide, but neither of these is readily available.[369] Two additional short articles, one by La Torre, and the other by Raffa and Limoncelli (who also worked on the excavations) have also been recently published.[370] The later excavations near the Castel Sant' Angelo provide the most complete information of the layout of the houses, while the earlier via Santa Maria excavations endorse an overall consistency in the urban plan.

3.2.4 Date

The date for the houses at Licata is particularly significant for three reasons. The first is that if the dating given below is correct, these houses have a *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem* equivalent to the limits set out for this study. Secondly, they suggest a date, based on stratigraphic evidence, which is later by almost a century to buildings of a similar type at other sites such as Heraclea Minoa and Tindari. The houses at these latter sites come primarily from early excavations that are without secure dates.[371] Therefore, if the

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[367] Fiorentini 1988-1989; and Fiorentini 1997-1998. See also De Miro, A. 2004.
[368] See La Torre 2006.
[369] Carità 2004 (see esp. De Miro, A. 2004, 131-66; and La Torre 2004a, 167-93); and La Torre 2008 (cf. Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 240).
[370] La Torre 2006; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011.
[371] See the relevant case studies below.

dates for the houses at Licata are correct, they could possibly indicate that the additional

building and urban renewal of these other cities was not in the late fourth to early third

centuries BC, as has been generally assumed based on the historical record, but instead

dates to the late third and early second centuries BC.[372] Finally, for these reasons, the

houses at Licata also provide a good example of how using historic milestones to interpret

archaeological features can be problematic (see Chapter 1).

      If we strictly base dates on the description of the foundation of the city by Diodoros,

the extant buildings could be presumed to belong to Phintias' initial building phase in the

early third century BC, but they do not. Evidence for this initial phase is more likely

represented by the walls discovered below Lic01, Lic02, and *plateia* A that follow the terrain

of the hill and were associated with ceramic material dating to the third century BC (Figure

3.6.i and ii).[373] Consequently, these walls (along with the evidence of Diodoros) can only

provide a *terminus post quem* of ca. 282 BC for the visible structures above them. This

particular date is based upon the historical date of the destruction and abandonment of

Gela.[374] A possible *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the later structures at Licata

is suggested by a hoard found among the collapse of Room 3 of Lic01. The coins from this

hoard, which was found within the debris of the collapse, date to ca. 211 BC.[375] La Torre

associates its concealment with the upheaval of 209 BC when, according to Livy, Marcellus

won the final battle against the Carthaginians along the River Himera.[376] If the hoard was

hidden in the wall, as La Torre believes, then the wall was likely to have been erected before

this time.[377] In effect, this provides a timeline that includes construction and destruction of

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[372] La Torre 2006, 90.
[373] For example there were two Morel 4375 *skyphoi* and a MGS VI amphora (La Torre 2006, 88).
[374] Diodoros 22.2.2; and 23.4.4.
[375] The hoard contained 2 *denarii*, 272 *quinarii*, 169 *sestersi*, and some gold jewellery. The date is attributed by La Torre 2006, 89 based on Crawford.
[376] La Torre 2006, 89. Livy, *Epi.* 25.40-41.
[377] La Torre 2006, 89.

the first buildings (Figure 3.6.i and ii), as well as construction of the second (Lic01), to a

relatively short time period, between ca. 282 and 209 BC. Though none of this information

provides a definitive date for the construction of the houses at Licata, a proposal that this

occurred after the First Punic War seems reasonable. La Torre develops this further and

suggests that the hoard must have belonged to one of the first inhabitants of the house, and

he believes construction to have been immediately after the Second Punic War.[378] Evidence

that the hoard does not mark the final abandonment of the site is provided by finds that

indicate continuation into the second and first centuries BC.[379] All of these finds were found

on or above the floor level, but under the collapse. There is no evidence for habitation

beyond the mid-first-century-BC.[380] Taking all of this into account, it is reasonable to propose

that construction of Lic01, Lic02, Lic03, and Lic04, the layout of the town, and their

subsequent occupation date to the last quarter of the third century BC and the mid-first-

century-BC.[381] This date is also supported by the evidence from the via Santa Maria

excavations.[382]

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[378] La Torre 2006, 89.
[379] These are: ceramic material including *amphorae* of the Dressel 1B, 1C, and Iberian Maňa C2b types; the 'masonry-style' wall decoration and *opus signinum* floor of HM04 Room 3; and the stucco caryatids in Lic01 Room 2, which are reminiscent of terracotta figures found in a similar house at Calvario di Centuripe that is dated to the beginning of the first century BC (see Schmidt 1982, 116 ff.; and Bonacasa 1987-1988. cf. La Torre 2006, 89, n. 4).
[380] Ceramic finds included black glaze ware with a grey paste, 'pre-*sigillata*' Italian red-gloss ware, Dressel 1B and 1C *amphorae*, and Dressel II and IIIa lamps (Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 228).
[381] See also La Torre 2004a, 171-5.
[382] De Miro, A. 2004, 137-8.

3.2.5   Domestic architecture

3.2.5.1   Lic01, Lic02, Lic03, and Lic04 (the Houses below the Castello Hill) [383]

Figure 3.6 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plans of seven houses from the excavations at Licata, including Lic01, Lic02, Lic03, and Lic04. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Raffa, A.T. and Limoncelli, M. 2011. "Una proposta di ricostruzione 3D dei sistemi decorativi della Casa 1 di Finziade (Licata-AG)." In La Torre, G.F. and Torelli, M., eds. 2011. *Pittura ellenistica in Italia e in Sicilia. Linguaggi e tradizioni. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Messina, 24-25 Settembre 2009)*. Rome: 227-40.

Figure 3.6. Plans of Lic01, Lic02, Lic03, and Lic04 – the Houses below the Castello Hill, Licata (after Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, Fig. 77). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

a. altar; c. cistern

Major Features

Two complete houses, and portions of five more, have been discovered below the Castello Hill and follow a similar plan (Figure 3.6). Lic01, Lic02, and Lic04 are entered from the *stenopos* directly into a corridor-type organisational space (5) that has a private cistern along one of its sides (c). In their reconstruction of Lic01, Raffa and Limoncelli place a portico along the northern and eastern sides of the corridor (Figure 3.7), and a similar portico is likely for Lic02.

In each house Room 2 can be identified as a main room due to two features. The first is simply that it is the largest room off the northern side of the corridor-type courtyard. The second feature is slightly more significant as a simple *in situ* altar (a) was found in this room in both Lic01 and Lic02. The altar was made from stucco and La Torre believes it was

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[383] This discussion focuses on Lic01, which is the best preserved of the series, and to a lesser extent Lic02, Lic03, and Lic04. Due to a lack of published information for the remaining houses these are not included in the catalogue; their plans are too incomplete to determine either their entrance or the nature of their courtyard. Though the same can be said of Lic03, the similarity of its northern rooms to those of its immediate neighbours allows for these rooms at least to be identified.

likely dedicated to the household gods.[384] A deep niche in the wall Lic01, which was decorated with four caryatids that are also in stucco, corresponds with this altar.[385] Dependent on Room 2 in all of the houses is a smaller bipartite room (1) that the excavators identify as a bedroom (*cubiculum*) with an attached bathing area.[386] The reason for identifying this specifically as a bathing area rests on the presence of a fine *opus signinum* floor, possible evidence for a basin in Lic01, and a terracotta pipe in Lic02.[387] The screen wall before the alcove of Lic01 also preserves evidence for a small niche.[388] The possibility that the alcove included a basin as well as a flue similar to the houses at Olynthos suggests that Room 1 was not necessarily a bedroom, but could have been a food-preparation area (see Chapter 2).[389] The excavators distinctly refer to Rooms 4 and 7 as a 'kitchen' and 'pantry'. This is based in part on the presence of cooking ware in Lic01 Room 7, as well as an oven and evidence for ash in Lic02 Room 4.[390] These two interpretations need not be exclusive of one another, however, as Rooms 4 and 7 could still have been areas where storage of food and cooking implements, as well as preparation occurred, while cooking was also done in the area connected to the flue.[391]

Room 3 in all four houses was also an important room due to its size and decoration. A screen of some nature divides Lic01, Lic02, and Lic04 into a front one-third and a back two-thirds, and it is probable that Room 3 functioned, at least in part, as a public reception

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[384] La Torre 2006, 83. See also De Miro, A. 2004; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 232.

[385] De Miro, A. 2004, 139, and Fig. 28; and La Torre 2006, 83.

[386] La Torre 2004a, 177; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 228, and 233.

[387] La Torre 2004a, 177-8, and 181; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 23.

[388] Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 233.

[389] The slots of the flue are not visible in the plan, but are in the aerial photograph provided by Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, Fig. 78.a, and are located on either side of the party wall that divides Rooms 1 and 4.

[390] La Torre 2004a, 178, and 181-2; La Torre 2006, 83; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 228.

[391] For the transient nature of food preparation and cooking braziers in Greek houses see Tsakirgis 2007.

room, while maintaining concealment for the majority of rooms opening off the courtyard.[392]

Raffa and Limoncelli make note of evidence for dining couches, and though they do not

clarify what this is, A. De Miro suggests that recesses in the wall plaster could be interpreted

as recipients for the heads of the dining couches.[393] Finally, Lic01 preserves evidence for a

second storey over the northern rooms; based upon the evidence of fine wall decoration in

the fill, and analogy with other houses, it is here that the excavators suggest the more

important rooms of the house were.[394]

Figure 3.7 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a digital cross-section of the proposed reconstruction of Lic01. For a further description of the house see the accompanying text. Original source: Raffa, A.T. and Limoncelli, M. 2011. "Una proposta di ricostruzione 3D dei sistemi decorativi della Casa 1 di Finziade (Licata-AG)." In La Torre, G.F. and Torelli, M., eds. 2011. *Pittura ellenistica in Italia e in Sicilia. Linguaggi e tradizioni. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Messina, 24-25 Settembre 2009)*. Rome: 227-40.

Figure 3.7. Isometric cross-section of Lic01 (Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, Tav. XIII.b). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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Decorative Pavements

The basin of the courtyard of Lic01 is paved with terracotta or stone slabs.[395] Rooms 1, 2,

and 3 appear to have been well decorated, and there is evidence for chip-pavements with

fragments of crushed shells in both Lic01 and Lic02, while Room 3 of Lic03 has an *opus

signinum* floor with *tesserae* inlaid in rows. This pavement was clearly a renovation over an

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[392] It is referred to specifically as either an *triclinium* or *andron* (De Miro, A. 2004, 140; La Torre 2004a, 176; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 230).

[393] De Miro, A. 2004, 140; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 230. See also La Torre 2004a, 176.

[394] La Torre 2004a, 179; La Torre 2006, 83-4; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 228; and Tav. XIII and XV.b.

[395] No indication is given in the literature as to whether these are terracotta or stone slabs, but are clearly evident in the aerial photograph provided by Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, Fig. 78.a.

earlier chip-pavement floor.[396] The narrow alcove of Lic01 Room 1 also preserves evidence

for *opus signinum*.[397] A tessellated mosaic found during construction on Monte Sant' Angelo,

can be seen in the Licata Museum (Figure 3.8).[398] It consists of a frame within a plain white

field. The frame is decorated with undulating red waves that roll in opposite directions from

the centre of each side. It was originally laid within a floor of *opus signinum* with *tesserae*

inlaid in rows.[399] Though this mosaic cannot be associated with a domestic context *per se*, it

does come from what is likely a domestic quarter of the city, and also suggests that *opus*

tessellatum was also being used at Licata during this period.

Figure 3.8 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph of *opus tessellatum*, likely representing a 'doormat' mosaic, that was found at Licata, and consists of a red wave motif on a white field. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: von Boeselager, D. 1983. *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien. Hellenismus und römische Kaiserzeit, 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Rome.

Figure 3.8. *Opus tessellatum* found during construction on Monte Sant'Angelo, Licata (von Boeselager 1983, Plate XXII, Fig. 42). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[396] These floors coincide with evidence of white plastered walls. From remains found in the fill, Rooms 1 and 2 are reconstructed with a single red dado course, while Room 3 is reconstructed to have a painted stucco cornice two-thirds of the way up the wall. Stucco cornices also surrounded the doors. In the fill of Room 2 of Lic02 a large Ionic cornice fragment with dentils surmounted by pearl and darts was also found, and this is reconstructed as belonging to the upper floors (La Torre 2006, 83; and Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 230-234).

[397] Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 233.

[398] von Boeselager 1983, 75-6.

[399] De Miro, A. 2004, Fig.12.

3.3   HERACLEA MINOA[400]

3.3.1   Historical background

Of the three Greek foundation settlements in this study, Heraclea Minoa has the longest

occupational history. Though the name of *Heraclea* is more commonly used in the ancient

sources than that of *Minoa*, according to Livy the settlement was referred to by either.[401]

Heraclea is claimed by Herodotus to have been a colony of *Selinunte*, and by Diodoros to

have been founded by Dorieus.[402] The latter author also mentions *Minoa*, the harbour of

Acragas, as being founded by King Minos.[403] Though no specific date is given for its

foundation, the archaeological record suggests that this happened during the mid-sixth-

century-BC. Being at the mouth of the River Platani (ancient *Halycus*) Heraclea Minoa was

on the border of the Carthaginian *epikrateia* (see Chapter 1), and fell under intermittent

Carthaginian control from the fifth century BC on.[404] In a treaty between the Carthaginians

and Agathokles in ca. 314 BC *Heraclea*, along with *Selinunte* and *Himera*, was stated as

remaining subject to Carthage.[405] In the third century BC *Heraclea* is listed as one of the

cities in the Carthaginian *epikrateia* to be taken by Pyrrhus.[406] It is also reported to have

been occupied by Hanno, and the base of a Carthaginian naval fleet, during the First Punic

War.[407] While Heraclea Minoa would have been part of the Roman province after the Treaty

of 241 BC, during the Second Punic War Himilco landed his fleet here in ca. 214 BC, and

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[400] For a general overview of the site and its identification as ancient Heraclea Minoa see for example: Stillwell 1976, 385-6; BTCGI VII, 234-77; Manni 1981, 179-80; and Wilson 2000b, 715.
[401] "… *ad Heracleam, quam vocant Minoam…*"
"… at Heraclea, called Minoa…"
Livy 24.35.3. Translation: Loeb (355), Livy, History of Rome, Volume VI.
[402] Hdt.5.46.2; and Diod. Sic. 4.23.3.
[403] Diod. Sic. 16.9.4.
[404] Diod. 4.23.3 (destroyed by Carthage); Diod. Sic. 13.114.1 (not specifically mentioned, but *Selinunte*, *Akragas*, *Himera*, *Gela*, and *Kamarina* were to pay tribute to Carthage); Diod. Sic. 16.9.4 (during the period of Dion was subject to Carthage); and Plut. *Vit. Dion*. 25.5 (Dion anchored at *Minoa*, a town in that part of Sicily that was controlled by the Carthaginians).
[405] Diod. Sic. 19.71.7.
[406] Diod. Sic. 22.10.2-4.
[407] Diod. Sic. 23.8; and Polyb, 1.25.

300 Numidian mercenaries of Muttines (a Carthaginian commander) are said to have fled there after Marcellus besieged *Agrigentum*.[408] It is also listed as one of the last places after having gone over to the Carthaginians that was to fall to Marcellus.[409] Among the later mentions of Heraclea Minoa are those concerning the Servile Wars, and it is written that the settlement received new colonists by the *praetor* Rupilius.[410] It is also mentioned by Cicero as having been ravaged by Verres.[411]

3.3.2   Topography and urban plan

The site of Heraclea Minoa is situated ca. 6 km to the west of the modern town of Montallegro and on the central southern coast of Sicily in the province of Agrigento (Figure 3.1). It is located on the edge of the boundaries of Selinus, ca. 50 km to the west, and Agrigento, ca. 30 km to the east. The site lies on the eastern plateau of a rocky promontory that rises ca. 30 m above sea level and projects out into the sea (Figure 3.9.A). The steep white cliffs of the southern end of this promontory result in the area being referred to today as Capo Bianco (B). The territory to the north and east of Capo Bianco is comprised mainly of large undulating hills that would have provided protection for the site from the interior, while to the west is the mouth and valley of the River Platani (ancient *Halycus*; C), which flows down from the Sicani mountain range and would have provided a fertile subsistence area.

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[408] Livy 24.35.3 and 6; 25.40.11; and 41.2-3.
[409] Livy 24.35.
[410] Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.125.
[411] Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.43.103.

Figure 3.9. Satellite view of Heraclea Minoa and surrounding landscape (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 TerraMEtrics, © 2012 European Space Image, © 2012 Digital Globe, by permission

A. location of the excavations; B. Capo Bianco Promontory; C. River Platani

Heraclea Minoa is surrounded by a large, ca. 6 km, circuit wall, and traces of this wall allow for the area of the ancient settlement to be inferred (Figure 3.10.A).[412] The date of the wall's earliest construction is unclear, but traditionally this is assigned to the end of the fourth century BC (for the dates see below). To this period also dates the expansion of the earlier archaic settlement eastwards along the plateau, and the initial construction of a Greek-style theatre.[413] Subsequent rebuilding, sometime during the third century BC, included the construction of a branch or partition of the circuit wall (B) and renovations to the theatre. The circuit wall partition reduced the overall urban area, and De Miro suggests that its construction was probably due to a landslide in the eastern section of the city.[414] There is also evidence that this partition wall was rebuilt, or at least reinforced, in the second half of

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[412] De Miro 1958b, 70-73.
[413] For the theatre see De Miro 1955; De Miro 1958b, 73-5; De Miro 1966b; and Mitens 1988, 92-95.
[414] De Miro 1980, 716, n.8.

the second century BC.[415] While the partition respects the area of the theatre (C), its

southernmost section, ca. 300 m long, violated a portion of the domestic quarter in its

second phase (Figure 3.10.D and Figure 3.11).
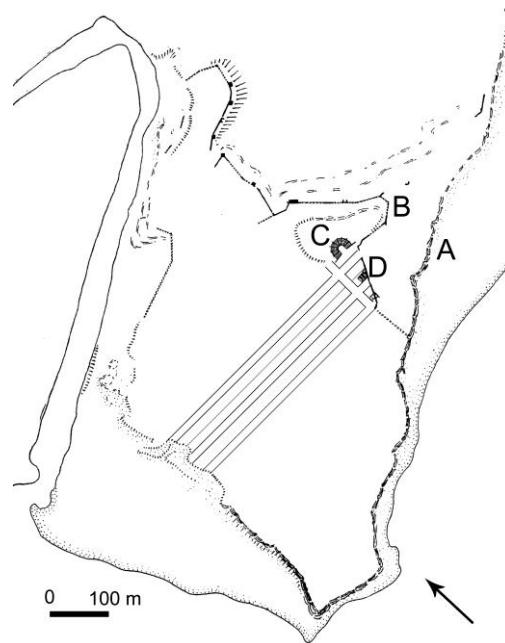
Figure 3.10. Heraclea Minoa, proposed course of the circuit wall and urban plan (after De Miro 1958a, Fig. 1). © 1958, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, adapted by permission

A. circuit wall; B. partition wall; C. theatre; D. domestic quarter

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[415] For a description of the circuit wall and its various phases see De Miro 1958a, 232-243.

Figure 3.11. Heraclea Minoa, plan of the domestic quarter south of the theatre (after De Miro 1980, Fig. 7). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Due to the excavations of De Miro being limited primarily to the area of the theatre and the housing district to its south, the nature of the urban fabric within these walls is not yet fully available. A combination of excavation and aerial photography, however, has allowed for traces of an orthogonal plan to be reconstructed. For example, there is evidence for at least three *stenopoi* ca. 5 m wide that run more-or-less east – west. These *stenopoi* are intersected by a *plateia* ca. 7.5 m wide. This artery follows the slope of the hill and is in line with the eastern *parados* of the theatre (Figure 3.10). This information offers evidence for a roughly square *insula* (referred to by the excavators as Blocco II), which measures ca. 32 by 30 m (Figure 3.11). This *insula* contains HM01, HM02, and HM03 on its southern half and HM06 and HM07 on its northern half.[416] The excavations of this area have also provided evidence for an additional east – west pathway that transects the *insula* and has a width that varies between 1.5 and 3 m (Figure 3.11). It is likely that this pathway was originally a longitudinal *ambitus*, therefore, the individual housing blocks of this *insula* can be estimated

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[416] The total length of this *insula*, however, is restricted by the second-century-BC renovations to the circuit wall partition.

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to have been 13.5 x 32 m. A second latitudinal *ambitus*, ca. 0.8 m wide, is also visible

between HM02 and HM03 (Figure 3.11 and Figure 3.13).[417]

Of the sites within the Greek foundation settlement type, Heraclea Minoa offers the

most extensive evidence for architecture of a domestic nature that dates to the mid-

Republican period. This comes from the remains of six houses that fall into one of three

categories. The first category provides a type similar to that seen in the other settlements of

this chapter. It consists of a series of three non-colonnaded-courtyard houses (HM01,

HM02, and HM03), which are situated within, and integral to, the urban fabric of the

settlement. The second category is related to the first in that it adheres to the orthogonal

plan, and is also of a type seen at the other sites in this study; however, the available

information for this category is limited due to it containing a single, only partially uncovered,

building, and the evidence suggests a house with a central colonnaded courtyard (HM04).

The third category provides a house type that is different to that of any of the houses

considered in this study (HM05, HM06, and HM07). The construction of these structures

appears to be on a different stratigraphic layer than that of the others. Though it is possible

that the visible differing levels are due to the slope of the hill, it is assumed by the

excavators that HM05, HM06, and HM07 were built in the latter years of the settlement's

history. For example, while HM06 was built within a pre-existing *insula*, HM05 impedes upon

what is assumed to have been a no longer functioning theatre.[418] This latter feature

suggests that the urban nature of the settlement had begun to decline by the time these

houses were constructed. Additionally, though the buildings are located within the city walls,

and were likely domestic in nature, their layout is more in character with structures of an

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[417] There is no apparent evidence for a latitudinal *ambitus* on the northern half of the *insula*; it is most likely that one was included in the first phase construction, but was covered up in the Phase-B renovation (see below for the proposed phases). For the urban plan see De Miro 1966a; and De Miro 1980.
[418] The construction of a potter's workshop supported by the eastern *analemma* of the theatre, and the construction of HM05 near the southern edge of the orchestra supports such a conclusion.

agricultural settlement than an urban one.[419] This leads De Miro to associate these

structures with possible resettlements by Rupilius following the First Servile War in 132

BC.[420] If these assumptions are accepted, they have broader implications regarding the

nature of housing during the mid-Republican period in Sicily, and the associated houses

perhaps belong more to a separate discussion concerning rural development. They also

provide uncommon examples of a housing type within a diminishing urban settlement at the

end of the time limits set out by this study. This makes them particularly significant, and for

this reason they have also been included.

3.3.3   Excavation and publication

The site of Heraclea Minoa was identified by the Sicilian historian Fazello in the sixteenth

century, and excavations were first undertaken in the early twentieth century by Salinas,

who discovered an archaic necropolis near the mouth of the River Platani.[421] The majority

of the extant information from the site, however, comes from the remains uncovered in

excavations undertaken from 1951-1953, 1955-1957, and 1963-1964 under the direction of

E. De Miro. These extensive excavations focused on three areas that date to the Hellenistic

period. These are: a defensive circuit wall, which was visible to Fazello; a theatre, the

contours of which were visible to the painter Houel in 1776; and to the south of the theatre a

portion of the domestic quarter, which was uncovered during the 1963-1964 seasons. More

recent work in 1990 focused upon the remains of a single structure (HM04) west of those

just mentioned. Information regarding the excavations at Heraclea Minoa is largely limited to

two preliminary reports published by De Miro in *Notizie degli Scavi* and an early guide to the

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[419] For this identification see De Miro 1966a, 222; and De Miro 1980, 716.
[420] De Miro 1966a, 225-6; De Miro 1980, 716; and De Miro 1996, 38.
[421] De Miro 1955, 266; Wilson and Leonard 1980, 219; and Mitens 1988, 92.

site.[422] De Miro has also published a synthesis of the 1964 excavations that uncovered the majority of the domestic material, as well as a valuable survey of Greek houses in Sicily from the sixth to third centuries BC, which provides a good overview of the houses at Heraclea Minoa that belong to the first and third category mentioned above.[423] Published information regarding the information of the house from the 1990 excavation is limited to a single piece written by Campagna.[424] Von Boeselager provides the best description of the mosaics found in HM03.[425]

3.3.4   Date

The date of the domestic architecture at Heraclea Minoa is highly problematic. The remains are situated upon two different levels that are visible in the excavations. As noted above, though this could also be a superficial distinction due to the slope of the terrain, the excavators interpret these as differing stratigraphic levels. These 'strata' are presumed to represent two main phases of occupation.[426] To the lower level (Phase A) belongs HM01, HM02, HM03, and HM04. This phase can be further divided by a sub-phase, which included possible renovations of HM02, HM03, and HM04 (see their respective description below).[427] To the upper level (Phase B) belongs a reorganisation of the plans of HM01 and HM02, as

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[422] For the preliminary reports see De Miro 1955; and De Miro 1958a. For the site guide see De Miro 1965. Wider analyses are available in additional articles by the same author published in *Kokalos* (see De Miro 1958b; and De Miro 1962).
[423] De Miro 1966a; and De Miro 1980 respectively.
[424] Campagna 1996.
[425] von Boeselager 1983, 74-75.
[426] De Miro refers to these as Strata II (the upper stratum) and Strata I (the lower stratum), but this can lead to confusion with the 'strata' that are visible in the area of stratigraphic examination further south (see below). For this reason, these phases are referred to in this study as Phase B and Phase A respectively.
[427] This sub-phase also includes the construction of the circuit wall partition slightly earlier, as well as the renovations of the theatre. For renovations to the theatre see Mitens 1988, 94-95.

well as the construction of three additional houses (HM05, HM06, and HM07).[428] Occupation

of HM04, and perhaps also HM03, also continues in Phase B.

Interpreting a date and the context of Phase B provides fewer difficulties than Phase

A. The excavations in 1957 included a stratigraphic examination along the southern extent

of the circuit wall partition in order to clarify stages of the site's occupation (Figure 3.11 and

Figure 3.12).[429] This survey revealed evidence for up to six separate strata datable from the

fourth to first centuries BC (Table 3.1). This information provided evidence for the dates of

the partition wall based upon ceramic evidence, which suggests construction during the third

century BC and renovation between the second and first centuries BC. Wilson, however, is

not convinced that this partition wall had two separate building phases, believing that there

is nothing in the wall itself to suggest two phases.[430] The (re)construction of the partition wall

is significant, however, for dating the domestic architecture in that it involved the destruction

of a portion of one of the houses (see HM02 below). These dates, therefore, can provide a

terminus post quem for Phase B. One context for the (re)construction of the wall at the end

of the second century BC can be interpreted as renovations to the site that followed the first

slave revolt in Sicily, though it is also possible that this was due strictly to the landslide noted

by De Miro (see above), and that a decision was made to reduce the settlement size at this

time due to natural phenomena.[431] The material contemporary with the structures built after

the wall was renovated does not appear to extend beyond the mid-first-century-BC;

therefore a late second- to mid-first- centuries-BC date for Phase B is fairly secure.[432] The

fact that structures belonging to this phase also impede upon the theatre, allows for a late

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[428] This appears to be contemporary with the second phase of the circuit wall partition, as well as abandonment of the theatre.

[429] For a detailed description of these excavations see De Miro 1958a, 260-7.

[430] Wilson, personal communication.

[431] The First Slave Revolt (ca. 135 – 132 BC) is generally assumed, though the Second Slave Revolt (ca. 104 – 100 BC) is also possible.

[432] The material included Campana A and Campana C black-gloss ware, Dressel 1 *amphorae*, and Broneer XIX lamps, while there was an absence of '*sigillata*' and 'pre-*sigillata*' Italian red-gloss wares (De Miro 1966a, 224).

second-century-BC date to be given to its abandonment, and subsequently a general

reduction of the urban nature of the settlement.[433]

Table 3.1. Stratigraphic evidence for habitation at Heraclea Minoa[434]

Stratum	Proposed Date	Features	Dating Evidence
I	late 2nd – mid 1st centuries BC	Two structures to the west of the partition wall	Black-gloss ware and unpainted *amphorae* – second half of the 2nd – mid 1st centuries BC; also a bronze coin of Metaponto ca. 3rd – 2nd centuries BC
II	ca. 136 – 132 BC	Reinforcement of the partition wall	Date based upon the historical record (1st Slave Revolt)
III	3rd – mid-2nd centuries BC	Two structures later destroyed by the second phase of the partition wall	Material from the fill relative to the foundation of these buildings is painted pottery and block gloss ware datable to the 3rd century BC
IV	second half of the 3rd century BC	Room with a beaten earth floor above which is a thin layer of ash; Phase 1 of the circuit wall partition	Pottery from the ash layer is datable to the 3rd century BC
V	end of the 4th century BC	Beaten earth floor below a layer of ash; also a contemporary cistern; walls of this stratum are also visible to the east of the partition wall; this stratum is associated with the outer circuit wall and the initial expansion of the city	Materials in the ash layer and cistern date to the end of the 4th century BC (terracotta statue head, unpainted *amphorae*, and a '*lekane*' lid)
VI	pre-settlement	Under the floor of Stratum V is a thin layer (0.15 cm) of blackish earth immediately on top of virgin soil	

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[433] De Miro 1966a; and De Miro 1980, 716, suggest that this decline in the urban fabric is probably a result of the servile wars. La Torre 2006, 90, also suggests that, similarly to Licata, these are likely only one factor, and also contributing to this would have been the political upheavals of the first century BC, and the general tendency for the economic roles of Heraclea Minoa being gradually absorbed by Agrigento.

[434] See De Miro 1958a: Stratum 1: 262; Stratum 2: 262-3; Stratum 3: 263; and Strata 4 and 5: 263-6.
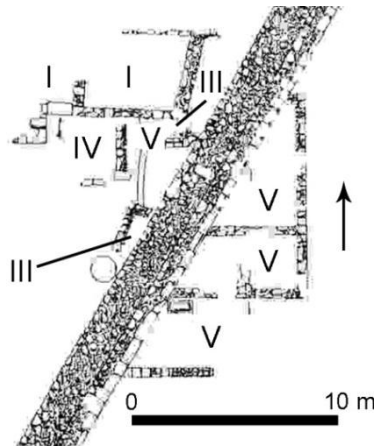
Figure 3.12. Stratigraphic excavations at Heraclea Minoa (after De Miro 1958a, Tav. I). © 1958, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, adapted by permission

The (re)construction of the partition wall also provides a *terminus ante quem* for Phase A; however, establishing a succinct *terminus a quo* for this phase is less certain. The stratigraphic excavations mentioned above suggest a date of ca. the mid-third-century-BC to be applied to the initial construction of the partition wall.[435] How Phase A of the domestic architecture relates to these two structures, however, is not clear. The reason for this is that separate excavations to identify foundation trenches of the houses next to the partition wall (HM01, HM02, HM03, HM05, HM06 and HM07) have not been done. De Miro's interpretation of the material suggests that the houses of Phase A belong to the initial expansion of the city eastward across the plateau, and therefore he considers them contemporaries of the outer circuit wall (Table 3.2) and the construction of the theatre (i.e. in the late fourth century BC).[436] Comparing this with the historical record, he suggests a context for Phase A to be the Agathoklean and Timoleonic period, and therefore dates the construction of these houses, as well as the layout of the urban plan, and the construction of the theatre, as being between the end of the fourth and the first half of the third centuries

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[435] A *terminus post quem* of the end fourth century BC for the initial construction of the partition wall is provided by the course of this wall dividing the walls of Strata V. De Miro 1980, 716, n. 8, suggests its construction dates to the second half of the third century BC.
[436] De Miro 1996, 38.

BC.[437] He further suggests that the renovations visible in HM02 suggest a date of this sub-phase in the third to second centuries BC, after the Second Punic War.[438]

La Torre, however, challenges this interpretation (Table 3.2). His argument is based primarily on the similarity of the Phase A houses at Heraclea Minoa with those at Licata, whose construction can be securely dated to the last quarter of the third century BC. He also questions the likelihood of a major reorganisation of the site until the end of the Second Punic War. La Torre's reasoning for this is that while Heraclea Minoa had intermittent periods of liberation during the late fourth to early third centuries BC, it largely remained a Punic outpost until it fell under the political domain of Rome. Instead, he suggests that it is more likely that the increased urbanism of the city was a result of prosperity of the settlement that resulted from it gaining a new, agro-economic, role under the young province.[439]

This latter argument is possibly supported by the stratigraphy. While De Miro interprets the orthogonal plan and Phase A of the domestic architecture as being contemporary with the construction of the outer circuit wall, and therefore Stratum V (end of the fourth century BC), there is no definitive evidence from the domestic quarter itself to confirm these earlier dates. It is, therefore, also possible that the houses are contemporary with Stratum IV (the mid-third-century-BC) or Stratum III (third- to mid-second- centuries-BC). Furthermore, if the layers of ash that are visible on top of the floors of both Stratum V and Stratum IV are indicative of destruction, it is likely that a new building project was undertaken at Heraclea Minoa in the latter half of the third century BC, perhaps after destruction during the First Punic War.

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[437] De Miro 1980, 720.
[438] De Miro 1966a, 231.
[439] La Torre 2006, 90. For the comparison of the house type see below. For the date of the houses at Licata see the relevant case study above.

Table 3.2. Traditional proposed phases and interpretations of dates for the domestic architecture at Heraclea Minoa

	De Miro	La Torre
Phase A		
Construction of HM01-03	end of the 4th– early 3rd centuries BC	end of the 3rd century BC
Construction of Partition Wall	mid-3rd-century-BC	
Phase A2		
Expansion of HM02 Renovations to HM03?	end of the 3rd century BC	2nd century BC
Phase B		
Destruction of HM03 Reorganisation of HM01 and HM02 Strengthening of partition wall Theatre abandoned	end of the 2nd century BC	end of the 2nd century BC (HM03 not destroyed)
site abandoned	mid-1st-century-BC	mid-1st-century-BC

The more recent excavations of HM04 provide little information that fully supports or rejects either of these interpretations. A small foundation trench was excavated in the south-west corner of the colonnaded courtyard (Figure 3.16.s. I/90). This area revealed two earlier walls, above which the present building was constructed. Little diagnostic material was recovered from the fill associated with the earlier walls, but fragments of black-gloss ware datable between the end of the fourth and first half of the third centuries BC were recovered, and therefore suggest a *terminus post quem* for its construction.[440] Though Campagna admits that it remains to be seen to what degree this extends to the entire complex, he suggests that the information supports HM04 as being a contemporary to HM01, HM02, and HM03 (i.e. constructed during Phase A), but this alone does not necessarily support De Miro's chronology, which Campagna does follow. [441] The latter author also correctly states that without further excavations it is not clear what, if any renovations, took place in HM04, and therefore the extant features cannot be automatically attributed to its Phase A construction. The ceramic material beneath the tile fall of HM04 suggests a destruction

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[440] These fragments consisted primarily of bowls and *skyphoi*, but also some coarse ware. None of which, according to Campagna, appears to be later than the second-quarter- / mid-third- century-BC. See Campagna 1996, 117.
[441] Campagna 1996, 117.

dating to the mid- to third-quarter- of the first-century-BC.[442] Based upon the available

evidence, the following chronology for Heraclea Minoa is proposed:

Table 3.3. Current proposed phases and interpretation of dates for the domestic architecture at Heraclea Minoa

Phase	Date	Features
Early Hellenistic Phase	ca. end of the 4th century BC	**Construction** - Expansion of the earlier settlement - Construction of the outer circuit wall - initial layout of the urban plan - Construction of the theatre - Construction of the buildings of Stratum V and those walls below the test pit of HM04
	mid-3rd-century-BC	**Disturbance** = Result of a landslide or possibly the First Punic War - Represented by the ash layer above Stratum V, the subsequent construction of the partition wall, and the fill above the walls below HM04
Phase A1	Second half of the 3rd century BC	**Construction** - a reduced urban area and possibly the construction of an early phase of the partition wall - It is proposed that the construction of the earlier houses date to a (re)organisation or (re)building of the town at this time as well, though still on axis with the 4th-century-BC layout - This phase is probably represented by Stratum IV and the foundations of the buildings from Stratum III - Renovations to the theatre
Phase A2	2nd century BC, but before ca. 130 BC	**Renovation** - Renovations to the houses - This is represented possibly by the mosaic from HM03 and its second floor; the expansion of HM02; and perhaps the colonnade of HM04 = These renovations are all indicators of / resulted from an increased 2nd-century-BC prosperity
	ca. 130 BC	**Disturbance** - Characterised by the reinforcement (or first construction) of the partition wall - Represented by Stratum II
Phase B	end of the 2nd century BC – mid-1st-century-BC	**Construction and Continued Use** - Construction of Case 1B/C and 1E - Continued use of the remaining houses - Represented by Stratum I

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[442] This includes a few fragments of Campana A pottery, various examples of Dressel 1B and 1C *amphorae*, a few of which were found crushed on the floor, as well as 'pre-*sigillata*' Italian red-gloss ware. See Campagna 1996, 117.

3.3.5   Domestic architecture

3.3.5.1   HM01 (Casa 2C)

Figure 3.13 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plans of HM01, HM03, and HM02 at Heraclea Minoa. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: De Miro, E. 1980. "La casa greca in Sicilia: testimonianze nelle Sicilia centrale dal VI al III sec. a.C." In $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\alpha\rho\iota\nu$: *miscellanea in onore di Eugenio Manni*, Rome: 709-37.

Figure 3.13. Plans of HM01 – Casa 2C, HM02 – Casa 2A, and HM03 – Casa 2B (after De Miro 1980, Fig. 8). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

a. altar; b. (water) tank; c. cistern; d. staircase

<u>Major Features</u>

HM01 has the most basic plan of the three houses of its housing block (Figure 3.13). The entrance corridor (1) leads into a small central courtyard (2), which has a cistern against its north-west wall (c). There are no definitive indicators as to which of the rooms was considered the main room. In size alone this distinction could belong to Room 3, and it is likely significant that this is the only room that is standard in all three houses of this block. This could be indication of a perceived importance, or specific function, for the house's occupants, but the particulars of these remains unclear. Based upon the room's corner placement and off-centre door, identification as a dining-room is tempting, but there are no indicators for permanent dining couches. Similarly, the U-shaped reception sequence could suggest that this was a principal room with Punic influence. All of these features, however, could be related to restriction of the house plan. Furthermore, La Torre's reference to a small niche in one of its walls, which he compares with similar rooms and niches at Licata (see above, Figure 3.6 Room 2), could indicate that this was a domestic shrine. This could suggest that this room also fulfilled a domestic function and was not intended primarily as a

reception room.[443] It is also important to note that there is an additional entrance into the room from the street, which De Miro believes coincides with the apparent raising of its floor level and a pavement of limestone slabs, a feature which De Miro suggests were designed to collect water.[444] The second entrance and limestone pavement indicate that during the second phase the function of this room changed to one that was more utilitarian, or even commercial. Therefore, it can also be assumed that the perception and function of the room also changed. In plan alone Rooms 4 and 5 are also possible candidates for *a* main room. They are both relatively large and very similar to a 'broad room' type in that they are entered from the courtyard by means of a relatively wide entrance along their longitudinal axis. There are not, however, any additional features such as decoration that could help confirm such a suggestion.[445]

The remaining rooms of the house (6 and 7) are identified by De Miro as service rooms, with the south-east corner, which was paved with plain *opus signinum*, being a possible latrine, though Wilson suggests that this is possibly also a staircase well.[446] The installation of a rectangular tank (b) in Room 6 during the Phase B renovations supports a utilitarian function, at least for this room in this period.[447] The western wall of Room 6 also preserves evidence of four niches that were made from slabs of marble and decorated with plaster.[448] These were ca. 0.6 m above ground level and the plaster was scored with a *geison* cornice.[449] The use of marble, and care of decoration, suggests importance for this feature, and it is possible that these niches represent a domestic shrine. For this reason, in Phase A at least, the room could be seen as more than simply a service room, but as Foss

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[443] La Torre 2006, 85. He uses the term *lararium*, which should be used with caution, see below.
[444] De Miro 1980, 718-9.
[445] Nevett 1999, 139, identifies the northern rooms of HM01 – HM03 as the main rooms of the house.
[446] De Miro 1980, 718; and Wilson, personal communication.
[447] De Miro 1980, 719.
[448] The actual location of these niches is unclear. De Miro 1980, 718, states: *"Da segnalare nell'ambiente di servizio 3 una serie di 4 loculi…"* . What is unclear is which of the rooms he considers 'servizio 3' as it is not labelled on his plan.
[449] De Miro 1980, 718.

has shown, painted shrines are often associated with cooking areas; therefore an identification as a food-preparation area with an adjacent latrine also seems possible.[450] Similar niches were also found in the neighbouring houses HM03 and HM02.

<u>Decorative Pavements</u>

There is no evidence for decorative pavements in HM01.

3.3.5.2   HM02 (Casa 2A)

<u>Major Features</u>

The largest of the three houses in this block is HM02 (Figure 3.13), which measures ca. 19 by 13 m, while the other two measure ca. 11.5 by 13.5. Both De Miro and La Torre suggest that this size is due to a renovation that joined two houses (during Phase A2), and that the original houses would have been similar in size and plan to HM01. Therefore, in Phase A the housing block would have originally consisted of four equally sized houses, two on either side of a lateral *ambitus*.[451]

In its extant form, HM02 is entered via a narrow entrance corridor (1) that leads directly into a non-colonnaded rectangular courtyard (2), which is paved with terracotta slabs. Unlike the courtyards of its neighbours, HM02 retains evidence for a central cistern (c). In addition to this, the western side of the courtyard opens onto a large elliptical tank (b) that De Miro parallels with those of the Punic world.[452] On the other end of the courtyard are remains for a staircase (d). De Miro believes that HM02 was single storied, and that this staircase is a Phase B addition that was used to gain access to the second- to first-

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[450] Foss 1997. In her survey of Pompeian houses Allison 2004, 102-3, finds little correlation between kitchen niches and painted *lararia*, and suggests utilitarian uses as well.
[451] De Miro 1966a, 228; De Miro 1980, 719; and La Torre 2006, 85.
[452] De Miro 1966a, 228; and De Miro 1980, 719.

centuries-BC buildings on the north side of the longitudinal *ambitus*, and that these buildings were linked to the reuse of HM02.[453]

As is suggested for HM01 above and HM03 below, Room 3 is a possible candidate for a main room, perhaps with a dining function, but again such identification is only relevant for Phase A. It is in this large room that De Miro locates the four niches that are similar to those described for HM02 and HM03.[454] The apparent Phase B renovations included the creation of an entrance into Room 3 from the *stenopos* and the exclusion of this room from the courtyard by filling in its original door. These modifications suggest that in the last phase this room, like its counterpart in HM01, was converted into a shop.[455]

Two additional rooms (6 and 7) opening off the northern side of the courtyard are also possible candidates for main rooms. Both of these belong to the Phase-A2 renovation of the house, which likely dates to the second century BC. In shape Room 7 is a 'broad room' type, but its entrance is rather narrow. Room 6 is perhaps the most interesting room of the house. Found in the north-west corner was an *in situ* mud brick altar (a) plastered in white with an accompanying niche in the east wall, which De Miro identifies as a *lararium*, and he refers to this as a "typically Roman element".[456] Though these features are usually used to identify this as a main room, they could also be indicative of a domestic shrine similar to that suggested for Room 6 of HM01 above, and Room 9 of HM03 below, and therefore be associated with a food-preparation area. Room 6 also provides access to a small square room in the north-west corner of the house. The isolation of this room, which is the only room of the house that is not entered directly from the courtyard, could suggest that

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[453] De Miro 1980, 719: *"… era ad un solo piano.... Una scaletta.... permetteva di guadagnare il piano degli edifici del I strato a Nord, con cui è da ricollegare la riutilizzazione della casa*. See also De Miro 1966a, 223.

[454] De Miro 1980, 719: *"L'accesso..., fiancheggiato a Ovest, come nella casa B, da un vano-bottega or di custodia, che si apriva direttamente sulla strada stessa, e il cui muro est presentava quattro loculi del tipo gia descritto"*.

[455] De Miro 1980, 719. In the original reports De Miro 1966a, 228, does not mention this as a separate phase and suggests the room is a shop or custodian room.

[456] De Miro 1966a, 231. For the shrine see also De Miro 1966a, 229; and De Miro 1980, 719.

is was a secluded room similar to those seen in Punic households. To the east of the entrance corridor are two narrow rooms (8 and 9) that likely held some unidentifiable utilitarian function. De Miro suggests that during Phase B HM02 consisted of two sections. The southern section incorporated the rooms south of the courtyard, while the northern section included the courtyard and the rooms to the north.[457] He also suggests that during the last phase this house fulfilled military requirements (i.e. it was no longer used as a residence). His reasoning for this is the house's dependence on the strengthened partition (fortification) wall.[458]

Decorative Pavements

There is no evidence for decorative pavements of HM02.[459]

3.3.5.3   HM03 (Casa 2B)

Major Features

HM03 lies immediately to the east of HM01, and is joined to it, unlike between HM03 and HM02 where there is evidence for a latitudinal *ambitus* (Figure 3.13). Like its neighbours, HM03 is accessed from the *stenopos* by means of an entrance corridor (1), which leads into a small central courtyard (2) with surrounding rooms. There is no evidence for a cistern in the courtyard of HM03. This leads De Miro to suggest that the area was used as a light well, and roofed with a *displuvium*, which had external gutters that collected the rain water and drained excess into the street and *ambitus*.[460] He also suggests that HM03 provides a different type of organisational space than that which is typical in the Greek world, and

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[457] De Miro 1966a, 230.
[458] De Miro 1980, 719: *"... in relazione con esigenze militari"*.
[459] De Miro 1966a, 229, attributes evidence of 'masonry-style' wall painting along the northern wall to the renovations of Phase A.
[460] De Miro 1966a, 227; De Miro 1980, 718; and De Miro 1996, 39.

therefore proposes that it is an example of a modest Roman *atrium*.[461] Though De Miro

compares the plan of HM03 with two examples of modest houses from Pompeii, there is

little else in the extant plan that satisfies such identification.[462] Moreover, though a

displuvium is a potential reconstruction for the roof of HM03, there are no further indicators

to support such a hypothesis other than an apparent lack of a cistern. For this reason it

should be considered only a possibility.[463] Additionally, it does not satisfy the question as to

how, or where, water for the household was collected and stored. Though it is conceivable

that this was accomplished through some form of public water source, the inclusion of

cisterns in the other two houses, in particular a large tank in HM02 (see above), suggests

more that water storage from HM03 has not yet been discovered, rather than have been

completely non-existent.[464]

 The largest room of the house is Room 3, and it provides the only real indication of a

room that may have been perceived as a main room in the ground floor plan (see below).

This is due in part to its size, but also because it preserves evidence for white stucco on the

west wall that is decorated with a compass-drawn design of a circle moulded into segments.

Though likely, the identification as main room is not definitive, and its function is expected to

have been the same of its sister room in HM01 during Phase A (and incidentally HM02).

Room 4 of HM03 has two entrances, one from the *stenopos* and one from the entrance

corridor. This leads to it being identified as either a shop or a custodian room.[465] The former

seems more likely as Room 4 seems rather large for a room of custodian nature. Further,

Room 4's connection with Room 5 suggests that this could represent a bipartite shop plan. It

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[461] De Miro 1996, 39-40.
[462] De Miro 1996, 40. His examples are Houses VI, 2,29; and VIII, 4, 37.
[463] Nevett 1999, 139, does not accept De Miro's argument, and reconstructs this area as an open courtyard.
[464] No evidence for cisterns is noted in the remaining houses at the site (HM04, HM06, HM07, and HM05) either, though these are not considered by De Miro to have had displuviate roofs.
[465] De Miro 1966a, 227; and De Miro 1980, 718.

is also important to note that these rooms were not accessible from the courtyard, and this suggests that they were probably considered separate from this central space. Also significant is that the door to the street was blocked at a later period, suggesting a change in room function at a later period.[466] The remaining rooms are relatively small and rather simple. All of these rooms are accessed directly from the courtyard with the exception of that in the north-east corner (8), which is the smallest room of the house. Room 8 could only be accessed via Room 9, and like Room 5 in HM01 above is a possible example of a secluded room. Room 9 preserves evidence for a series of marble niches.[467] These niches are similar to those found in HM01, and again could possibly indicate the presence of a domestic shrine, perhaps signifying that this was a food-preparation area. Little else can be inferred regarding the function of the other rooms.

Arguably the most interesting aspect of this house is that the fill of the collapse has also provided evidence for an upper floor. Included in this fill was not only finely preserved mud brick, but also threshold blocks, fragments of stucco and fresco that suggest 'masonry-style' wall decoration, as well as evidence for *opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum* pavements (see below).[468] This is particularly noteworthy for it suggests that the upper level was paid particular attention while the ground level, which preserves evidence for beaten earth flooring, was not. This has led De Miro to surmise that the upper level was utilised as the living quarters, while the lower level was used for storage and service rooms.[469] He also states that HM03 lay in ruins during the second phase; therefore he envisions this second floor as a part of the original design of the house.[470] If De Miro is correct, the identifications

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[466] De Miro 1966a, 227.
[467] De Miro 1980, 718 : *"Da segnalare sulla bassa parete divisoria del vano di servizio a Est dell'atrio una serie di loculi..."*.
[468] De Miro 1966a, 227; and De Miro 1980, 718.
[469] De Miro 1966a, 227; and De Miro 1980, 718.
[470] De Miro 1980, 721.

of Room 3 as a main room is not relevant for this house, and is more likely to have been located on the upper floor.

There are many features of this reconstruction, however, that are unsettling. For example, the homogeneity of the ground plans of HM01, HM03, and the western most section of HM02 suggest that they were constructed along a common model. It is also odd that while HM01 and HM02 show evidence for renovations, HM03 did not.[471] Further to this, it is possible that De Miro has misinterpreted the date for the end of habitation of HM03. The date of the collapse of HM03 is based upon the presence of Dressel IA *amphorae* and Broneer XVIII lamps beneath the collapse, as well as a scarcity of Campana C pottery within it.[472] Though these provide no more than a date range of ca. 130 – 50 BC for the collapse of the building, De Miro suggests that the destruction of HM03 belongs to the earliest end of this time period, and interprets it as devastation resulting from the Servile Wars. From a strictly stratigraphic stand-point, however, the destruction of HM03 should adopt the latest date provided by the ceramic material and not the earliest, as he has done; therefore the collapse could be as late as the mid-first-century-BC. De Miro also supports his date of the collapse by suggesting that the blocking of the doorway of Room 4 from the *stenopos* shows no indication of a raising of the threshold in relation to the higher street level of Phase B.[473] All this suggests, however, is that the door was blocked before this time, not that the building was no longer in use. A later date for the collapse is supported by La Torre who states:

> … the material and the decoration of the floors and walls do not exclude their use in the first half of the first century BC.[474]

Therefore, HM03 need not be seen as lying in ruin during Phase B.

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[471] De Miro 1966a, 231, explains this by stating that HM02 was not only better preserved, but also fulfilled military needs attributed to the adjoining partition wall.
[472] De Miro 1966a, 228; and De Miro 1980, 720.
[473] De Miro 1966a, 227, n. 18.
[474] "… *i materiali e gli elementi della decorazione pavimentale e parietale non escludono un utilizzo della stessa nella prima metà del I sec. a.C.*"
La Torre 2006, 90, n. 7. Translation: author.

Though also just a theory, it is possible that the second storey was a later renovation. When this occurred, however, is pure speculation. One possibility is that this happened in Phase B. [475] It would, therefore, be that the service or storage nature of the ground floor plan coincides with similar alterations of both HM02 and HM01 when their respective Room 3s appear to no longer have served a domestic function, as is indicated by the inclusion of an additional entrance from the street. This tendency towards increasing the amount of area used for purposes of a non-purely domestic nature also parallels the remaining houses from the site that date to Phase B (see HM05 and HM06 below). A major problem with such a suggestion, however, is that a renovation of HM03 that included the construction of the second level would mean that this also included the laying of the decorative pavement in Phase B, as well as walls of 'masonry style'. This is not congruent with the remaining evidence from this period, however, which shows no evidence for such lavish treatments, but is instead of a more moderate nature. A more likely suggestion is that the upper storey instead belongs to a sub-phase of Period A (Phase A2), perhaps contemporary with the expansion of HM02. This is supported stylistically by von Boeselager who believes that the decorative program of the mosaic is more consistent with the second century BC, than the third century BC. Again, this is little more than a hypothesis that cannot be tested without further evidence.

Decorative Pavements

The only firm evidence for decorative pavement at Heraclea Minoa comes from HM03, and this is minimal. Five fragments of *opus tessellatum* were found, according to De Miro, within the fill of the upper level collapse in the south-west section of the house.[476] The largest of

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[475] That further occupation, and possibly renovation, occurred in HM03 is also suggested indirectly by La Torre 2006, 85, and 90, who also argues that the material suggests that HM03 continued to be occupied in Phase B, as well as von Boeselager 1983, 74.
[476] De Miro 1966a, 227; and De Miro 1980, 718.

the fragments suggests a frame of three black waves, which is edged with red *tesserae* that are made from terracotta, on a white background (Figure 3.14). These latter *tesserae* are laid in a diagonal fashion. There is a second similar fragment that consists of a single wave, while the remaining three pieces preserve only the white *tesserae*; these too are laid in a diagonal fashion. The *tesserae* of these mosaic fragments are finely cut, but the contours of the waves show no indication for lead strips, and they are rendered imprecisely.[477] This, in combination with the regularly placed diagonal white *tesserae*, which is not a characteristic of third-century-BC mosaics, leads von Boeselager to suggest that the mosaics of HM03 are not part of the original construction, and that they likely to date to a second-century-BC renovation.[478] Wilson, however, does not believe that the mosaic fragments belong to the upper floor, but instead are "make-up" for the house and pre-date the building's construction.[479] Part of his argument for this is that these fragments are not only flat lying, but appear to be under floor level (see Figure 3.14, where the mosaic fragment appears to be under the wall of this room). If Wilson is correct, this has larger consequences regarding the date of Phase A, as this would suggest that these houses belong entirely to the second century BC. Also found within the collapse are large fragments of *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid both in rows and in a lozenge pattern. As these fragments lie above floor level, are not flat lying, but instead lie either vertically or at a slope, and were found within the collapse of Rooms 2, 5, and 7, they can be more reasonably attributed to the upper storey.

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[477] von Boeselager 1983, 74.

[478] von Boeselager 1983, 74. Von Boeselager does also note, however, that if the date of the collapse as ca. 130 BC is accepted, this would provide an important clue for the chronology of Hellenistic mosaics in Sicily, and that in either case (i.e. a third- or second- centuries-BC date), the mosaic at Heraclea Minoa provides a relatively early example of the innovation of regularly placed diagonal *tesserae*, which is a manner of composition that is not seen, for example, in the early *opus tessellatum* mosaics at Morgantina.

[479] Wilson 1985c, 300.

Figure 3.14. *Opus tessellatum* from HM03 (von Boeselager 1983, Plate XXII, Fig. 43). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Further Remarks on HM01, HM02, and HM03

The group of houses from Heraclea Minoa referred to as HM01, HM02, and HM03 are of a type similar to those discussed above at Licata (Figure 3.15).[480] Unlike Licata, however, the houses at Heraclea Minoa provide evidence for an entrance corridor, a central quadrangular courtyard, and renovations that alter their overall layout. De Miro refers to these houses as having a small *atrium* or central courtyard. [481] Despite him also stating that they are of a type that is found throughout the Greek, Italian, and Punic worlds, his use of the word *atrium* in his descriptions can lead to misleading generalisations regarding the identification of the house in the secondary sources.[482] De Miro and La Torre also both refer to possible examples of domestic shrines at Heraclea Minoa specifically as *lararium*.[483] The use of terms such as *atrium* and *lararium*, however, should be approached with caution. There is no clear indication that the domestic shrines at Heraclea Minoa were intended to honour the Roman *lares*.[484] Likewise, the reference of the central courtyards at Heraclea Minoa as *atria* has laden implications regarding cultural identity and room perception (see Chapter 2). The

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[480] For a description of these similarities see Chapter 6.
[481] See for example De Miro 1980, which describes a *"piccolo atrio o cortile central"* (De Miro 1980, 717).
[482] For example, in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* Orlandini describes the houses at Heraclea Minoa as having a "square plan and rooms gathered around a central atrium", and that one of these rooms "still retains its lararium" (Stillwell 1976, 386).
[483] La Torre 2006, 85.
[484] Contra De Miro 1966a, 231.

houses that make up this category, though having a narrow entrance room that is similar to

an Italian *fauces*, show no indication of either a *tablinum* nor axial symmetry, and for this

reason they should be referred to as courtyard houses, and not as *atria*, in any description.

Figure 3.15 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram comparing the plans of HM01, HM03, and HM02 at Heraclea Minoa on the left with Lic01, Lic02, and Lic03 at Licata on the right. Original source: La Torre, G.F. 2006. "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica a Tindari, Eraclea Minoa e Finziade: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca." In Osanna, M. and Torelli, M., eds. 2006. *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente: Spoleto, Complesso monumentale di S. Nicoláo, 5-7 novembre 2004*, Biblioteca di "Sicilia antiqua" 1. Roma.: 83-95.

Figure 3.15. Comparison of house plans at Heraclea Minoa and Licata (after La Torre 2006, Figs. 3 and 4). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

3.3.5.4   HM04 (Peristyle House)

Figure 3.16 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of HM04 at Heraclea Minoa. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Campagna, L. 1996. "Una nuova abitazione ad Eraclea Minoa: primi dati." In D'Andria, F. and Mannino, K., eds. 1996. *Ricerche sulla casa in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia (Atti del Colloquio - Lecce, 23-24 Giugno 1992. Università degli Studi - Sala Conferenze, Palazzo Zaccaria)*. Lecce.1996: 111-22.

Figure 3.16. Plan of HM04 – Peristyle House (after Campagna 1996, Fig. 2). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

The second category of houses at Heraclea Minoa consists of a single, only partially

excavated, example of a building, likely of a domestic nature, which appears to include a

central colonnaded courtyard with surrounding rooms (Figure 3.16). The excavations of

HM04 are limited to its eastern section, while an area between the westernmost rooms and

the courtyard remains concealed. This results in a fragmented plan, and allows for few

conclusive interpretations. It is included in this study, however, for its suggestion of a house type that is contemporary with, and distinct from, that which is presented by HM01, HM02, and HM03.

Major Features

Access to HM04 is likely to have been from the *plateia* to the east where there is evidence for two separate entrances (into Rooms 1 and 3). The additional interior door of Room 3 is similar in nature to Room 4 in HM03, as well as at other Sicilian sites such as Morgantina (Room 9 of Morg04, see Chapter 5) or Solunto (Room B of Sol04, see Chapter 4), and could be identified as a shop. This would suggest that Room 1 served as the main entrance.[485] From this area, the courtyard is approached by what appears to be a long and wide corridor, which opens onto a small 2 by 2 colonnaded courtyard.[486] Campagna suggests that the columns, which are essentially inverted cones and rare, if not unique, in the Mediterranean, possibly supported a pitched roof over the porticoes that sloped in toward the basin.[487] The porticoes of the courtyard are rather narrow, and it is likely that the colonnade was a later addition to a pre-existing house plan. Three rooms of unidentifiable function are accessed from the courtyard, two on the north and one on the west.

To the south of this area are remains of a series of independent rooms that are all accessed from the street, and their relationship to HM04 is uncertain. Two of these rooms (4 and 5) are accessed from the *plateia* and two (6 and 11) from the *stenopos*, and one on each side (4/4A and 6/7) communicates with a further 'back room'. These rooms are not fully excavated, but in plan are very similar to areas identified as shops at other sites such as

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[485] For a similar entrance see Iato03, Rooms 1 and 2 (Chapter 5).
[486] Bases for three of the columns remain *in situ*. There is not enough remaining evidence of the entablature to suggest an order, but the columns themselves appear to have been unfluted and stood on conical bases (Campagna 1996).
[487] Campagna 1996, 115.

Morgantina and Solunto (see Chapters 4 and 5), and therefore such identification is

reasonable for Heraclea Minoa as well.[488]

<u>Decorative Pavements</u>

There is no evidence for decorative pavement from HM04, though the basin and porticoes

retain evidence for irregular stone slabs.

3.3.5.5   HM05 (Casa 1E)

Figure 3.17 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the
plan of HM05 at Heraclea Minoa. For a further description of the main features see the
accompanying text. Original source: De Miro, E. 1980. "La casa greca in Sicilia:
testimonianze nelle Sicilia centrale dal VI al III sec. a.C." In φιλιας χαριν: miscellanea in
onore di Eugenio Manni, Rome: 709-37.

**Figure 3.17 Plan of HM05 – Casa 1E (after De Miro 1980, Fig. 9). Image removed due to
copyright restrictions**

<u>Major Features</u>

At some point, likely in the late second century BC, the theatre of Heraklea Minoa went out

of use and this area became a large and unrestricted space. Within this was constructed a

potter's workshop, which was supported by the *analemma* of the theatre, as well as an

isolated building, probably of a domestic nature (HM05), to the south of the *orchestra*, which

perhaps destroyed part of the stage building in its construction (Figure 3.11).[489] HM05

appears to be a single unit that is made up of two separate sections (Figure 3.17); one

section that was primarily domestic, and one section that likely served more of a storage

function. The southern section of HM05 is entered from the *stenopos* (A) directly into a long,

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[488] Campagna 1996, 113.
[489] De Miro 1980, 720, n. 10. For the potter's workshop see De Miro 1958a, 257-60.

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non-colonnaded, rectangular courtyard (1). The courtyard is flanked on either side by two large rooms (2/3 and 4/5/6), and to the north by an additional small room (7). The rooms on the east and west are further divided, and while the eastern half has its own entrance from the *stenopos* (B), which allows access directly into Room 5, the western half is accessible only from Room 1. This group of rooms in all likelihood represent the main living quarter, though the function of each of these rooms is unclear. Further, immediately to the east of the doorway is a staircase leading to an upper floor, and it is possible that the lower level functioned more as a storage area, while the living quarters were on the second floor, similar to the reconstruction of HM03 by De Miro. The additional access from the *stenopos* for the rooms on the eastern side suggests that the southernmost rooms at least were likely shops. The size of Room 2 advocates for this possibly being the main room; the presence of a diagonal line of masonry within this room, however, remains a mystery, and must be a secondary insertion. As Room 3 could only be accessed by Room 2, it could represent a main-room dependent, or perhaps a sleeping room, but this too is merely speculation. A platform in the north-east corner of Room 7 is likely to have served as the base of a second staircase accessible from Room 10.

The northern section of the building likely represents an annex intended for storage. Such identification is based on two characteristics: first, its separation from the courtyard, and second, the size of its rooms. It is possible, however, that this is instead a second habitation unit that was not organised around a courtyard. The annex is entered from the west (C) into a large rectangular room (8). This room provides access to a second room (9) of similar size to the south, and two consecutive smaller rooms (10 and 11) to the east. In the south-east corner of Room 10 is a small staircase that allowed access to a higher open terrace to the east. The nature of the eastern terrace, along with the function of the rooms to the west, remains unknown.

<u>Decorative Pavements</u>

There is no evidence for any decorative pavements from HM05.

3.3.5.6   HM06 (Casa 1B) and HM07 (Casa 1C)

Figure 3.18 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plans of HM06 and HM07 at Heraclea Minoa. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: De Miro, E. 1980. "La casa greca in Sicilia: testimonianze nelle Sicilia centrale dal VI al III sec. a.C." In φιλιας χαριν: miscellanea in onore di Eugenio Manni, Rome: 709-37.

Figure 3.18. Plans of HM06 – Casa 1B and HM07 – Casa 1C (after De Miro 1980, Fig. 10). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

<u>Major Features</u>

The building which shares the *insula* with HM01, HM02, and HM03, consists of two sections, which are referred to here as HM06 and HM07 (Figure 3.18). Each of these sections is accessible from the *ambitus* to the south, which was widened with the construction of the southern wall of the new structure. Though it is uncertain if this was deliberate, it created an alleyway behind the building. The primary entrance, for both sections, however, appears to be from the s*tenopos* to the north.

The larger of the two sections is that on the east (HM06), which is entered from a long narrow porch (A) by means of a small square entrance room (1). The entrance room is open to a large, non-colonnaded, rectangular courtyard (2), which is surrounded by a series of nine rooms. De Miro suggests that the small room (3) to the west of the entrance was a custodian or porter's room.[490] Though such a room as described by Vitruvius is possible, this does not automatically mean that this was the only possible function of Room 3.

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[490] De Miro 1980, 720, n. 10.

Furthermore, the entrance area of HM06 does not fit his description (see Chapter 2). HM06 has no pendant stable to the so-called 'porter's lodge', nor is this room entered from an entranceway that is closed off to the organisational space. Instead, Room 3 faces the courtyard, and this makes it more reasonable to deduce that this room was considered part of the interior workings of the household. On either side of the courtyard is a series of rooms of unknown purpose, though Room 5 appears to be accessible only through Room 6. This is very similar to the configuration of Rooms 2 and 3 in HM05 above, and perhaps here too this could suggest evidence of a main room with a dependent.

The southern end of the house is lined by three rooms. The remains of a hearth in Room 9 suggests that this was a food-preparation area, although additional material remains to support such an identification are not noted by the excavators.[491] The pebble or gravel-like floors of Rooms 7 and 8, and their accessibility from the newly-formed alleyway (*ambitus*), leads De Miro to suggest that these were stables.[492] This is a very attractive premise. Not only would the areas created by widening the *ambitus* create a corral-like space for the animals, the use of gravel is a practical surface that is advocated in modern ungulate care, as it was by Xenophon:

> *... τὰ μὲν τοινυν ὑγρά τε καὶ λεῖα τῶν σταθμῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ταῖς εὐφυέσιν ὁπλαῖς· τὰ δέ, ὡς μὲν μὴ ὑγρὰ εἶναι, ἀπόρρυτα, ὡς δὲ μὴ λεῖα, λίθους ἔχοντα κατορωρυγμένους, προσαλλήλους, παραπλησίους ὁπλαῖς τὸ μέγεθος... τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σταθμὰ... καὶ ἐφεστηκότων ἅμα στερεοῖ τοὺς πόδας.*[493]

Though many attempts have been made in modern scholarship to identify Vitruvius' stable in the domestic architecture of Sicily, Rooms 7 and 8 in HM06 at Heraclea Minoa are the only convincing examples of areas intended primarily for animal shelter that are observed in this

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[491] De Miro 1966a, 222.
[492] De Miro 1966a, 222; and De Miro 1980, 720, n. 10.
[493] "… now damp and slippery floors ruin even well-formed hoofs. In order that they may not be damp, the floors should have a slope to carry off the wet, and, that they may not be slippery, they should be paved all over with stones, each one about the size of the hoof. Such floors, indeed, have another advantage because they harden the feet of the horses standing on them."
Xen.*Eq.*4.3. Translation: Loeb (183), Xenophon, Art of Horsemanship.

study. While the provision of an area to shelter transport animals might be presumed for many of the houses in this survey, the amount of space apparently given over to this, including two rooms and the exterior 'corral' of HM06, suggests that larger numbers of animals were being kept, and this further supports the identification of these Phase-B structures as having more of a rural nature than their counterparts that are discussed throughout this study.

HM07 is considerably smaller than HM06. Like its neighbour, HM07 is entered from the north, but its entrance corridor (I) is long and narrow, and leads into a much smaller and irregularly shaped courtyard (II), which contained evidence for a hearth, and is surrounded by an irregular collection of rooms.[494] The rooms provide little indication as to their function, though the size and threshold block of Room III may suggest that this was the main room. If this were the case then Room IIIa could be a main-room dependent, or a perhaps a secluded room.

The relationship between HM06 and HM07 is unclear. De Miro suggests that the construction of HM07 was later than that of HM06 because part of its western wall impedes into the latter's Room 9.[495] Excavations to the west of the building are incomplete, but it does not appear that the porch (A) continues to include the main entrance of HM07. To the east of its entrance corridor, however, are two rooms that are accessible only from this porch (Rooms IV and V). This access suggests that not only were they likely shops, but that they were also considered to be part of HM06. Room V, which is fully dependant on Room IV, has walls on three sides which are doubled. This was likely for reinforcement, and could perhaps indicate storage of a commodity with lateral pressure in this room, or perhaps even

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[494] De Miro 1966a, 222.
[495] De Miro 1980, 720, n. 10.

that this represents a tower.[496] Similar to HM05 above, the two sections communicate by means of a staircase (B), which provided access from Room II to an upper terrace or second floor.

Decorative Pavements

There is no evidence for decorative pavement from HM06 or HM07.

Further remarks on HM05, HM06, and HM07

This final category of houses at Heraclea Minoa consists of two areas that have buildings that are likely of domestic nature, and which show evidence for initial construction on a 'stratigraphic level' that is consistent with De Miro's second phase of construction (i.e. second to first centuries BC). These houses stood within housing blocks, and were likely considered components of formal *insulae*.[497] While HM06 is found within the northern half of the same *insula* as HM01, HM02, and HM03, and therefore was incorporated into the urban plan described above, its southern wall does not respect the original line of the longitudinal *ambitus* (Figure 3.18). This suggests that there was less rigidity to the pre-existing urban plan in the late second-century-BC restructuring. The significance of this feature, however, is uncertain as violation of the *ambitus* is a common trait from the second century BC on in many of the relevant sites in this study.[498] It should also be noted that although the southern wall of HM05 is more or less parallel with the *stenopos* to its south (Figure 3.11), the house encroaches upon the orchestra of the theatre. This suggests that the theatre was no longer in use, and consequently, that the urban nature of the settlement had begun to dissipate by the time of the second-century-BC construction of the house. For this reason, it is unclear

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[496] For examples of towers (*pyrgos*) in a domestic setting see Nevett 1999, 36-7 (Delian Inscriptions), 82 (Dystos House, Euboia), 97 (Vari house), 100 (Halieis), and 171 (Colophon).

[497] These *insulae* have yet to be defined by excavation (De Miro 1980, 719, n. 10).

[498] See for example: Tindari (this Chapter), as well as Morgantina (Chapter 6). All of these sites show evidence for an earlier constructed *ambitus* that was violated during later renovations. The only site that appears to maintain respect for the *ambitus* is Solunto (Chapter 5).

whether the area of HM05 should be considered an *insula* that was deliberately envisioned to fuse within the urban fabric, or was more simply a construction that was based on the convenience, or even restraints, of the pre-existing street network. Finally, the houses of this category are of a type that has a "rather organic placement of rooms" around a relatively large, rectangular, courtyard, which has more direct access to the street than is seen in the other houses discussed above.[499] These features suggest a similarity more to houses of a rural nature than those of an urban one.[500]

3.4   TINDARI[501]

3.4.1   Historical background

According to Diodoros the settlement of *Tyndaris* was founded in ca. 396 BC by Dionysios I of Syracuse for displaced Peloponnesian Messenians after his wars with Carthage.[502] This makes it the last Greek colonial settlement to be founded on Sicily, though it was probably little more than a military outpost in its earliest phases. It was strategically located for such a purpose as it was situated not only along the passage between Sicily and the Lipari Islands, but also the border of the Carthaginian *epikrateia*.[503] *Tyndaris* is also mentioned as being allied with, and providing reinforcements for, Timoleon during his liberation of the Sicilian Greek cities from both tyranny and Carthage.[504] The next chronological reference to *Tyndaris* is the time when it sided with Hieron II in his battle against the Mamertines, and as

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[499] "... *una struttura piuttosto organica basata sulla disposizione dei vani...*"
De Miro 1980, 719, n. 10. Translation: author.
[500] De Miro 1966a; and De Miro 1980, 716.
[501] For a general overview of the site and its identification as ancient *Tyndaris* see: Stillwell 1976, 943; Manni 1981, 240; and Wilson 2000b, 722.
[502] Diod.Sic. 14.78.5-6.
[503] See Diod. Sic. 14.90.2-4, which discusses Carthaginian forces as far west as *Messana*. For an overview of the history of Tindari see also: Holloway 1960; and La Torre 2004b, 117-9.
[504] Diod. Sic. 16.69.3.

a result of which he ruled over the city.[505] The settlement was likely used as a Carthaginian

outpost at the onset of the first Punic War when Carthage and Hieron II had joined forces

against Rome.[506] Diodoros describes the settlement as being under Carthaginian control in

ca. 262 BC, when it first thought about turning towards the Romans, but that this was

thwarted by the 'Φοίνικες' (Phoenicians) when they caught wind of this, and took its leading

men as hostages and relocated them to *Lilybaeum*.[507] According to the same author,

however, it was after the Roman siege of *Panormos* that *Tyndaris* became one of the first

settlements (along with *Solos* and *Iaetas*) to expel their Punic garrison and side with Rome

(c. 255 BC).[508] It also appears to have remained faithful to Rome from that time on. In the

first century BC *Tyndaris* is described by Cicero as a *nobilissima civitas* that was ravaged by

Verres, and he also reports that its citizens threw down the statue of the Governor, which he

had erected.[509] *Tyndaris* is listed as one of seventeen cities that were given the privilege by

Rome to honour Venus *Erice*.[510] While this occupational history makes Tindari a Greek

colony, it is after Roman dominion of the island at the end of the third century BC that the

settlement gained its importance. It was subsequently used by Augustus to gain a foothold

on Sicily during the Civil wars, and later became one of six towns to be given the status of

an Augustan *colonia*.[511] It is also referred to by Strabo as one of the few populated

settlements on that stretch of the island during the early first century AD.[512]

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[505] Diod. Sic. 22.13.2; and Polyb. 1.9.8 who writes that after the defeat of the Mamertines Hieron II was declared king by all of the allies.
[506] La Torre 2004b, 118. Polyb. 1.16; and 1.25.1-5.
[507] Diod. Sic. 23.5.1.
[508] Diod. Sic. 23.18.5.
[509] Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.65.160; 2.3.103; and 2.4.84.
[510] Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.124-5; and Diod. Sic. 4.83.
[511] Holloway 1960, 250; Plin. *HN*, 3.8.90.
[512] Strabo 6.2.5. Along with *Alaesa*, the emporium of *Aegestes*, *Cephaloidis*, and *Panormos*.

3.4.2   Topography and urban plan

Tindari is located on the north-eastern coast of the island, 10 km east of the medieval and modern town of Patti in the province of Messina (Figure 3.1). The site is situated within the Laghetti di Marinello Nature Reserve, on the eastern side of a high promontory that is approximately 280 m above sea level. This placement provides Tindari with a dramatic view of the Tyrrhenian Sea to the north (Figure 3.19.A). Though this promontory is situated between two large gulfs, the beaches are rather rocky and there is no evidence for a natural harbour in the immediate vicinity. The site itself is strategically positioned, with steep slopes towards the Tyrrhenian Sea, and rugged terrain to the south comprised of the northern edge of the Nebrodi mountain range.

Figure 3.19. Satellite view of Tindari (a) and surrounding landscape (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 GeoEye, © 2012 TerraMetrics, © 2012 Digital Globe, by permission

Though little remains exposed of the ancient city, there is enough surviving information to get a sense of its urban plan. It is believed that the Greek acropolis was located in the area now covered by the modern sanctuary of the Black Madonna (Figure 3.20.A), and that the *agora* can be identified by the remains of a possible *stoa* within the

neighbouring small village (B1). A further hypothesis, suggests that these are not remains of a *stoa*, but instead of a *gymnasium*, and the *agora* is located among three *insulae* below the theatre (B2).[513] Belvedere and Termine suggest that there were two *agorae*, one commercial and one civic.[514] Visible architectural remnants of the ancient site include evidence for an ashlar circuit wall, a ca. 100 BC Greek-style theatre (C), and the late Imperial so-called 'basilica', which consists of a series of arches, and was perhaps used as a monumental entrance to the *agora* (D). The limited excavations have also revealed enough evidence to suggest an orthogonal urban plan that included at least three *plateiai*, the largest of which has a width of ca. 8.5 m, and several intersecting *stenopoi,* which are ca. 3 m wide and on axis with the theatre.[515] It is also important to note that the terrain is steep. For example, the difference in elevation between *plateiai* 1 and 2 is ca. 12.3 m, which resulted in the need for terracing of the hillside in order to respect the grid-plan.

The houses of the city are placed within *insulae* that measure ca. 70 by 30 m, and originally they had a central *ambitus.* Though there is evidence for at least four of these *insulae*, only *Insula* IV (E), which is located ca. 100 m east of the theatre, has been fully excavated.[516] In its extant form, which is Imperial in date, this *insula* consists of two houses (Tin01 and Tin02), with shops to the north and a bath complex to the south, the latter infringing onto *plateia* 1. Despite its later date, however, there are some indications of house plans from the mid-Republican period, which provide some intriguing suggestions for this study.

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[513] Barreca 1958, 150, plate 53. See also La Torre 2004b, 121, and Figs. 2 and 3; and Spigo 2005, 34.
[514] Belvedere and Termine 2005, 87; and Spigo 2006, 97.
[515] Belvedere and Termine 2005, 85.
[516] Belvedere and Termine 2005, 85.

Figure 3.20. Urban plan of Tindari with *Insula* IV highlighted (after Hollegaard et. al. 1995, Fig. 14). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

A. acropolis?; B1. *agora*? or gymnasium?; B2. *agora*?; C. theatre; D. Republican 'basilica'; E. *Insula* IV

3.4.3   Excavation and publication

Archaeological evidence for the site of Tindari is nominal. Despite this limited information, however, there is enough material available to examine Tindari in this study. A few buildings and portions of the circuit wall are visible, and the locations of at least two *necropoleis* of the ancient city are known, but large-scale investigations have been limited. Excavations in the 1950s and 1960s under the directions of Barreca, Cavalier, Gentili, and Lamboglia have allowed for an orthogonal plan to be projected.[517] *Insula* IV was uncovered between 1949 and 1956 by Restagno and Minniti, though only Room 4 of Casa C has been completely excavated. There are no detailed published reports of these latter excavations, and information about the *insula* comes primarily from an article published in 1965 by Bernabò Brea and Cavalier, while the mosaics, some of which have been known since 1842, are discussed at length by von Boeselager.[518] A second *insula* has also been partially excavated further west, though it preserves evidence only from the Imperial period and is not

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[517] For these excavations see: Mezquíriz 1954; Gentili 1950, 165; Gentili 1952; Barreca 1958; and Bernabò Brea 1966.

[518] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965; and von Boeselager 1983, 39-47. For more recent discussions on the urban plan and the related domestic architecture at Tindari see: Belvedere and Termine 2005; La Torre 2006; and Spigo 2006.

considered in this survey.[519] A site guide has also been recently published and produces a good overview of the extant buildings.[520]

3.4.4   Date

There are three possible phases offered for *Insula* IV, though no secure dates can be assigned (Table 3.4). The final phase, that in which the extant building took its form (Figure 3.21.II), is dated to the mid-first-century-BC primarily on the basis of the bichrome mosaics of Casa B, terracotta capitals from Casa C, and first-century-BC material within the later violated *ambitus*.[521] The other two phases are purely conjectural. The middle phase, which might be indicated by a possible front reception hall (*atrium*) with a back colonnaded courtyard (or two separate courtyard houses) for Casa B, and perhaps the original construction of Casa C, is likely to date between the second half of the second and the early first centuries BC, based largely on the style of the tessellated mosaic from Room 7 in Casa B.[522] The date of the first phase (I) is even less clear, but it should be contemporary with the initial laying out of the urban plan outlined above. Traditionally, this urban renewal is attributed to a building program of either Timoleon or Agathokles.[523] This would suggest, therefore, that the earliest version of *Insula* IV was constructed in the late fourth to early third centuries BC, though little of this earliest construction is likely to be now visible (see below).[524] La Torre, however, comparing Tindari's urban plan to other Sicilian sites, suggests that the beginning of this phase should be down dated to at least the mid-third-century-BC, when Tindari became part of the new province. Further, comparing the houses

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[519] See for example Spigo 2006.
[520] Spigo 2005.
[521] Lauter-Bufe 1987, 17-21; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 207; Wilson 1990a, 122; and Belvedere and Termine 2005, 87.
[522] von Boeselager 1983, 46; Wilson 1990a, 120; and Belvedere and Termine 2005, 87.
[523] The foundation of Dionysios I is also suggested. For an overview of the dates assigned to the urban plan of Tindari see Spigo 2006, 97-101.
[524] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 206.

here to the domestic architecture from Licata and Heraclea Minoa, he argues that the

similarities suggest an early second-century-BC date for the first phase of the Tindarian

houses.[525]

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Figure 3.21 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram comparing two proposed plans of the first phase of *Insula IV* at Tindari on the left with the reconstruced plan of the same *insula* in its final phase on the right. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: La Torre, G.F. 2006. "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica a Tindari, Eraclea Minoa e Finziade: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca." In Osanna, M. and Torelli, M., eds. 2006. *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente: Spoleto, Complesso monumentale di S. Nicoláo, 5-7 novembre 2004*, Biblioteca di "Sicilia antiqua" 1. Roma: 83-95.

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Figure 3.21. Proposed first phase of *Insula* IV, Tindari (after La Torre 2006, Figs. 14 and 16). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[525] La Torre 2006, 92-93. The sites he includes in his comparison are Solunto, Halaesa, Heraclea Minoa, and Morgantina. His dating is supported by Portale 2007, 159. See also La Torre 2004b, 135-6.

Table 3.4. Proposed phases and interpretation of dates for *Insula* IV at Tindari

	First Phase Mid-3rd – early 2nd-centuries-BC	Middle Phase Second half of the 2nd – early 1st centuries BC	Final Phase Mid-1st-century-BC
Casa B	*Insula* divided into 8 (hypothesis A) or 10 (hypothesis B) equal plots with non-colonnaded-courtyard houses on either side of a central or longitudinal *ambitus* (see Figure 3.21).[526]	Hypothesis A: front reception hall (*atrium*) on the eastern half of the *insula* with an attached back colonnaded courtyard (*peristyle*) on the western half.[527] Hypothesis B: two separate houses that still respected the central *ambitus*, therefore explaining the remains of 1st-century-BC material found within this feature. The plans of these houses are uncertain: it is possible that it consisted of a separate reception hall (*atrium*) on the eastern half of the *insula*, and a separate colonnaded-courtyard house (*peristyle)* on the western half. Two non-colonnaded-courtyard houses are also possible.[528]	A single house with a square colonnaded courtyard (on the western half of the *insula*) with a *tablinum* and service quarter behind (on the eastern half)
Casa C		Rectangular courtyard house with surrounding rooms	Retained middle phase layout
Baths		Casa D? A rectangular courtyard house similar in layout to Casa C with the colonnaded courtyard visible in the later bath building?	Bath building on the southern end of the *insula*

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[526] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 206; La Torre 2004b, 135; Belvedere and Termine 2005, 89; and La Torre 2006, 91-2.
[527] Wilson 1990a, 122, and 373, n. 30; and La Torre 2004b, 137.
[528] Belvedere and Termine 2005, 87.

3.4.5   Domestic architecture

Figure 3.22. *Insula* IV, Tindari (after La Torre 2006, Fig. 14). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

3.4.5.1   Tin01 (Casa B)

<u>Major Features</u>

The northern end of *Insula* IV is fronted by a series of shops, all with their own entrance from *plateia* 1 (Figure 3.22). There is no indication of communication with the house behind. Though the plan between Shops 1-3 and the courtyard of Tin01 is not clear, such communication would not be expected as the shops are built on a lower terrace. Shops 4-6 had a rear room, and there also appears to be a further large shop or store (7) behind these that is entered from *Stenopos* D. There is little to indicate function in any of these shop areas. Room 7, however, is a long room with a narrow off-centre door, which would have made it a very dark space with little natural light. In its final phase it had two east-west barrel vaults, which probably also belong to the first-century-BC re-handling due to their brick *voussoirs*.[529] It is likely that this area was used for storage. It is also similar to Rooms B, C, and D of Sol08 (Chapter 4).

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[529] Wilson 1990a, 122.

In its Imperial phase, Tin01 is a colonnaded-courtyard house entered from *stenopos* E via a square entrance room (Figure 3.22.8). At a right-angle from the entrance room one is led into the corner of a 4 by 4 colonnaded courtyard around a central basin that is often referred to as an *impluvium*.[530] Surrounding this are rooms that take on a variety of characteristics. Room 7, for example, is a 'broad room' type, though it differs slightly from a canonical Delian broad room in that it does not have a wide opening onto the courtyard. This is also the best decorated room of the house (see below), which leads Bernabò and Cavalier to suggest that it was perhaps a *triclinium*.[531] Due to the presence of statue bases, Room 2 is traditionally considered to be the *tablinum* of the Imperial Roman house.[532] If this were the case, though, it is very irregular in that it is a large room, which provides access to probable service rooms, and it is not part of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite. Little more can be said about the plan; the northern section of Casa B no longer exists, but it is believed that it would have sat atop the shops on the terraced hill. A staircase in the extension of Room 3 suggests a second level, but it is unclear to what phase this belongs, or whether this level extended to the west to include a double-storied courtyard.

There are indicators that this was not the initial plan of the house. Wilson recognises a narrow *fauces* and blocked door on the eastern external wall (1) and perhaps an *atrium* at Room 2, and suggests that Tin01 was an *atrium*-type house with *peristyle* prior to its mid-first-century-BC renovations.[533] Belvedere and Termini, however, propose that the two entrances are indicative of two separate houses, which were later joined.[534] Finds within the *ambitus* included first-century-BC material, and suggest that these two areas were not joined

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[530] The columns are made from stuccoed brick drums (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 207). For the reference as a *impluvium* see for example Mezquíriz 1954, 95; and Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 244. Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 206 refer to the arrangement as a *compluvium* with cistern, and Spigo 2005, 45, describes the courtyard as a garden with an *impluvium*.
[531] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 207.
[532] For Room 2 as the *tablinum* see for example Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 206; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 244; and Spigo 2005, 45.
[533] Wilson 1990a, 122, and 373, n. 30. This is supported by La Torre 2004b, 137; among others.
[534] Belvedere and Termine 2005, 87.

until the final phase. The plan of these hypothesised separate houses, however, is unclear, and it is possible that there was a colonnaded-courtyard house on the western side of the *ambitus* and a non-colonnaded-courtyard house on the eastern side, possibly a reception hall (*atrium*), or that both of these were still non-colonnaded-courtyard houses.

There is also evidence for an earlier plan visible primarily in connection with the shops to the north.[535] In this area are remains for earlier walls below the floor behind Shop 1 and under Shop 7, as well as evidence for a central *ambitus*. These walls are all on axis with the street layout. Further, following lines of features in the final phase, such as the walls of the shops, the central basin and walls of the southern rooms of the courtyard in Tin01, as well as further walls in Tin02 and the Baths, it is possible to reconstruct an earlier plan that suggests four or five smaller courtyard houses on either side of an *ambitus* (Figure 3.21.I).[536] Though this is just a hypothesis, it is very intriguing, as it might suggest not only a simpler house type in the period being studied, but also a similar plan to that of Licata and Heraclea Minoa above (and perhaps Agrigento), and therefore shows consistency within the site type.[537] There is not, however, enough information at this time to reconstruct a similar internal organisation for the earlier houses at Tindari with those at Licata or Heraclea Minoa

Decorative Pavements

Tin01 retains decent evidence of its decorative pavements. The porticoes of the colonnaded courtyard are paved with *opus signinum* with *tesserae* inlaid in a meander pattern, and black and white bichrome mosaics seem to have replaced earlier *opus signinum* floors in Rooms 4

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[535] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 206; La Torre 2004b, 135; and La Torre 2006, 91.
[536] Belvedere and Termine 2005, 89, also suggest a second plan that follows the dividing walls of the current plan, and would thus have four lots per side.
[537] La Torre 2006, 91-92.

and 5. Room 2 retains evidence for polychrome *tesserae*, perhaps indicating a variety of *opus scutulatum*.[538]

Room 7, however, provides the highlight, as it is paved with a rather sophisticated polychromatic *opus tessellatum* (Figure 3.23).[539] The concentric mosaic of Room 7 consists of a tessellated adjusting border and a central panel of white *tesserae*, which are laid in a diagonal fashion. The orientation of the *tesserae* changes for the frame, which has an external and internal edging that consists of a single row of white *tesserae* that are laid in a rectilinear fashion before a triple row of black *tesserae*. The main decorative element consists of a frame with an olive-green stylised wave pattern in perspective, which has volutes that enclose a central white cube.[540] While the colour of the wave remains consistent throughout, the background colour changes continuously with each individual motif.[541]

Room 7 also preserves a fine 'doormat' mosaic, which lies within the adjusting border along the east wall (Figure 3.24). This 'doormat' does not line up with the current entrance to the room, which suggests that not only was the doorway moved to the west when the house was renovated, but also that the decorative pavement belongs to an earlier phase of the house. The 'doormat' mosaic consists of a rectangular frame comprised of multiple strips of polychromatic triangles.[542] Within a central panel of black *tesserae* is an intricate eight-sided polychrome rosette, also in perspective, that has an internal six leafed rosette.[543] It is also important to note that both the waves of the larger concentric frame and

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[538] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 207; and von Boeselager 1983, 46.
[539] For a full description of the mosaic see von Boeselager 1983, 39-40.
[540] Perspective of the waves is achieved with white *tesserae* on the outer edges, and black on the inner.
[541] The background colours consist of emerald-green, yellowish ochre, brick red, and brown.
[542] The colours used for the triangles are: white, black, emerald and olive green, brick-red, and ochre-yellow. The frame has two additional strips on the narrow sides so as to create a nearly square central panel.
[543] The rosette, 0.63 m in diameter, consists of four leaves that are rendered with *tesserae* in a brownish-ochre colour, two in green, and two in a pink to reddish brown. All of these are highlighted with white. The inner rosette, which respects the colours of the outer rosette, lies on an ochre-yellow background.

the petals of the 'doormat' mosaic incorporate thin lead strips in their contours. This is a technique that is commonly seen in the Greek east, but not detectable in either Pompeii or Rome, and therefore is often used as a distinguishing characteristic between eastern and western mosaic traditions.[544]

A smaller, and slightly less ornate, rosette was also found in the northern section of the house during the excavations, and is believed to have come from the fall of the upper floor (Figure 3.25).[545] Also of note is possible evidence for Tin01 having an inscription in *opus signinum*. This comes from a fragment noticed by Tsakirgis, which has the partial inscription of]TAS. Its context is unknown, though it is possible that it was also from the fill fallen from the upper storey.[546] This fragment is particularly interesting. Not only are mosaic inscriptions rare, but this inscription is in Latin and not Greek (see Chapter 6).

Figure 3.23 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph of the *opus tessellatum* of Tin01 Room 7. It depicted a polychromatic frame consisting of a stylised wave motif, and a 'doormat' mosaic comprising of a rosette motif, all within a white field (for a comparable image see: https://encrypted-tbn3.google.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQSvJHomIjvu2ILyHFR3kbm51r9r3B9wOjEEzN7_yxLGtyVWmmhZA). For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: von Boeselager, D. 1983. *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien. Hellenismus und römische Kaiserzeit, 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Rome.

Figure 3.23. *Opus tessellatum*, Room 7, Tin01 (von Boeselager 1983, Plate VII, Fig. 12). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[544] Pernice 1938, 23; and von Boeselager 1983, 41.

[545] von Boeselager 1983, 46.

[546] Tsakirgis 1990, 441, n. 102 where she writes: "A fragment of signinum stored in House B has the partial inscription]TAS. Its find spot is not indicated on the fragment, but L. Bernabò Brea [Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 207] indicates that material from the upper storey was found in the debris of the house".

Figure 3.24 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting a detail of the *opus tessellatum* 'doormat' mosaic with a rosette motif from Tin01 Room 7 (for a comparable image see: https://encrypted-tbn0.google.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcRVfsj5UtjSDA7pX8eJK53yTzoydokzeWigeiuiZIdIaVAWrGLn). For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: von Boeselager, D. 1983. *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien. Hellenismus und römische Kaiserzeit, 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Rome

Figure 3.24. *Opus tessellatum* rosette 'doormat' mosaic, Room 7, Tin01 (von Boeselager 1983, Plate VII, Fig. 13). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.25 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting a polychromatic *opus tessellatum* rosette motif found in the fill of Tin01 at Tindari. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: von Boeselager, D. 1983. *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien. Hellenismus und römische Kaiserzeit, 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Rome

Figure 3.25. *Opus tessellatum* rosette fragment found in the fill of Tin01 (von Boeselager 1983, Plate VIII, Fig. 16). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

3.4.5.2   Tin02 (Casa C)

<u>Major Features</u>

Tin02 (Figure 3.22) to the south has a fairly standard colonnaded-courtyard plan, which appears to have retained more of its original late-second-century-BC construction.[547] The entrance from *stenopos* D is through a square entrance room that leads directly into the northern portico of a central, double-storied, 3 by 4 colonnade.[548] The rubble of Tin02 remained largely undisturbed after its collapse, and this has allowed for the recovery of

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[547] Wilson 1990a, 120.
[548] The suggestion for a double-storied colonnade is based on the finds of two different sizes of the circular bricks that formed the column drums, as well as evidence for pavement from the upper storey within the collapse (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 207). The colonnade was constructed from circular brick or stone columns, likely Doric.

many elements of its superstructure.[549] At least two main rooms can be inferred. Room 2 is a 'broad room' type while a large square exedral room (3) can be seen on the north with two free-standing columns *in antis* and two engaged columns on the *antae* themselves.[550] Though Bernabò-Brea and Cavalier refer to Room 3 as a *tablinum*, it is more similar to reception rooms seen in the Greek east, particularly with its dependent additional rooms on either side.[551] Further large rooms can be seen on the north and west sides, while the south side is lined with several relatively small square rooms, only one of these (Room 4), has been cleared to floor level. The form and function of these rooms is unclear, though a very narrow room near the centre of the south side of the courtyard could have been a stairwell.

<u>Decorative Pavements</u>

The only evidence for paving in Tin02 is Room 4, which is paved with *opus signinum*.

3.5 BRIEF SUMMARY OF SETTLEMENT TYPE

The extant evidence for domestic architecture from the Greek foundation settlements surveyed provides evidence for a similar building type during the mid-Republican period. For example, all three settlements suggest initial construction of relatively modest houses of similar size and plan.[552] They are all roughly quadrangular houses that are centred on a simple courtyard that has preserved no evidence for a colonnade. They are also positioned within *insulae* that have a width of 27 – 35 m, and were initially divided into equally-sized plots that shared a longitudinal (and perhaps latitudinal) *ambitus*. The date of these initial constructions, however, is not certain. The layout of Heraclea Minoa and Tindari, for example, are traditionally dated as early as the fourth century BC. The more recent

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[549] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 207.
[550] Stone Doric capitals, as well as two terracotta Corinthian capitals were found; the latter are believed to belong to the columns of Room 3, while with the former belonging to the colonnade.
[551] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 207.
[552] For Tindari this refers to minimal remains below the later colonnaded-courtyard houses.

excavations at Licata, however, which provide secure dating evidence, and the similarities of the house plans here with the other sites, leads La Torre to suggest that the dating of the earlier excavated sites could be challenged.[553] If he is correct, the construction of these houses would belong to the early province and not to the Timoleonic or Agathoklean periods. This has important implications for this study and the impact of Roman hegemony on the settlements of the island.[554]

Even if the traditional dates for these sites are preserved, however, the houses of this settlement type still provide significant information for the development of domestic architecture in Sicily during the mid-Republican period as all of these earlier courtyard houses have evidence for remodelling and renovation during this time, though the degree of this varies. At Licata, for example, evidence for renovation is limited to the laying of *opus signinum* over chip-pavement floors, while at Heraclea Minoa renovations appear to have been more substantial in that there is evidence for the expansion of houses size (HM02 and perhaps the second floor of HM03), and possibly courtyard embellishment (the colonnade of HM04). This prosperity at Heraclea Minoa, however, was short lived, and by the end of the second century BC the site fell into decline, which is indicated by the construction of the more 'rural' house types of HM05, HM06, and HM07. It is at this time, however, that the extant buildings at Tindari likely took their shape, and this coincided with the laying of sophisticated *opus tessellatum* floors. Moreover, the extant colonnaded-courtyard houses at Tindari (and incidentally at other Greek sites as well such as Agrigento) do not take their final form until the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period. This is significant for two reasons. Not only is this the period that marks abandonment of the houses surveyed at both Heraclea Minoa and Licata, but as will be seen in the following two chapters, it is also considerably

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[553] La Torre 2006.
[554] See La Torre 2004a, 185; La Torre 2004b; and La Torre 2006.

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later than the other settlement types, where houses comparable in size and monumentality

are being built as much as one to two centuries earlier.

Chapter 4:   Urban Domestic Architecture of the Phoenicio-Carthaginian Foundation Settlements

4.1   INTRODUCTION TO SETTLEMENT TYPE
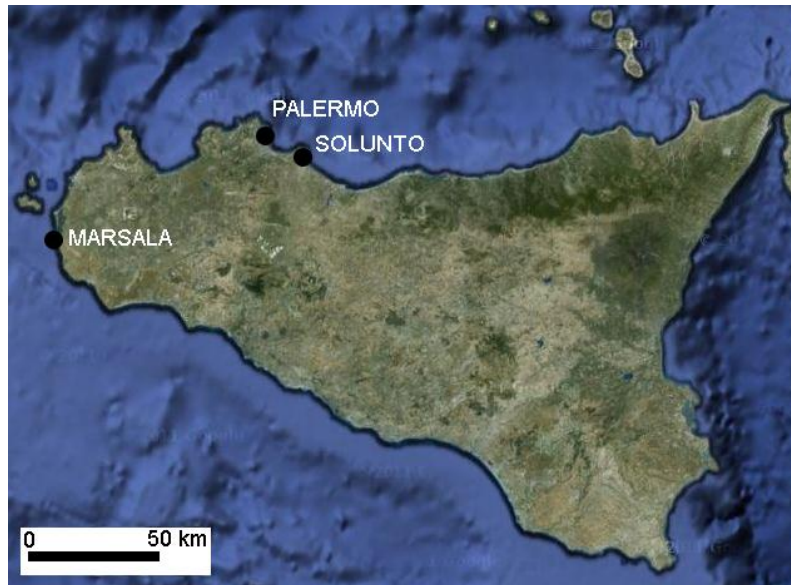
Figure 4.1. Map of the Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation settlements (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 Cnes/Spot Image, by permission

Evidence for domestic architecture during the mid-Republican period in Sicily has been chosen from three sites that fall under the category of a Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation settlement; these are Palermo, Marsala, and Solunto (Figure 4.1). While Solunto fulfils the categories and criteria as laid out in Chapter 1, and is one of the sites to provide the most information relevant to this study, Marsala and Palermo narrowly meet these criteria, as they have had continuous occupation since antiquity, and large parts of the sites have been built over and are unavailable for study. For instance, at neither site is there a complete plan of a house that can be dated securely to the mid-Republican period. At Marsala the plan of a republican house in the Capo Boeo *Insula* (Mar01) can be proposed, but this comes from a structure that is largely obstructed by later imperial renovation, and this makes the original

arrangement of rooms not entirely clear. There is further indication of structures from this earlier period in the city's history, but these are limited to portions of the original structures only (Mar02, Mar03, and Mar04). This is also the case at Palermo, where, while there is evidence for at least two houses from the second century BC that have been excavated near the Piazza della Vittoria, Pal02 has a drastically changed plan resulting from imperial renovation, and Pal01, though not subject to any post second-century-BC renovation, has been incompletely excavated, and a full plan is not available. There is, however, little other information for domestic housing from Sicilian Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundations in general, and rather than discuss Solunto in isolation, the partial information from Marsala and Palermo has been included to illustrate similarities and deviations within this category. Due to the drastic changes in the plans of Mar01 and Pal02 during the Imperial period, however, these are not included in the following survey.

The three sites chosen for this study provide a good example of the problems resulting from disciplinary fault lines as they relate to the implied cultural milieu of ancient sites. For example, discussions of the earliest material from Marsala and Palermo commonly classifies such material as 'Punic' due to their Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation, and are categorised with related material from similar site 'types'. Similarly, later material is commonly discussed alongside 'Roman' material. This follows understandable conventions, but the question remains to what extent these conventions can be used to apply cultural labels. The situation for Solunto is even more complicated. Due in part to the fine preservation of many of its wall decorations, in particular those from Sol01 and So13, Solunto is reasonably associated with Roman material culture.[555] Solunto is also similar, however, to many of the sites in this study in that it is often discussed under the category of Greek architecture. For instance, it incorporates an orthogonal plan, and present within this

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[555] See the relevant case study below.

urban fabric are remains for a Greek-style theatre, *bouleuterion*, and a *gymnasium*. In addition to these so-called 'Greek' and 'Roman' characteristics, however, there are also Punic features, as would be expected in a site of Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation, particularly in buildings of a religious nature. As will be shown in detail below, the houses at Solunto mirror this trend. They incorporate a variety of features that can be reasonably classified as Greek, Roman, and Punic; therefore, a broad cultural label cannot be applied universally to the site.

The Phoenicio-Carthaginian settlements in this chapter, like those of the previous chapter, involve a variety of site types, and these types have implications that are likely to have had an impact on the domestic architecture of the mid-Republican period. All three are large coastal sites, connected with associated ports, and could reasonably be expected to have had a cosmopolitan nature. This is particularly true for Marsala and Palermo, where the settlements are situated at sea level, making them more intimately associated with their harbour. Further, while Solunto was likely a prosperous city, as can be read from its material remains, it was not a major town in the same sense that Marsala and Palermo were. This is related in part to the occupational histories of these settlements. Palermo was one of the first Phoenician colonial settlements on the island dating to the eighth century BC, and has remained an important city on the island since that time. On the contrary, Marsala was a resettlement of the people of Motya after the latter settlement was destroyed in the early fourth century BC. It became particularly important under the Roman province, and it too is a major Sicilian city today. Finally, Solunto was also a resettlement after the nearby settlement of *Soleis* was destroyed, but its prosperity waned quickly in the early Imperial period and was eventually abandoned.
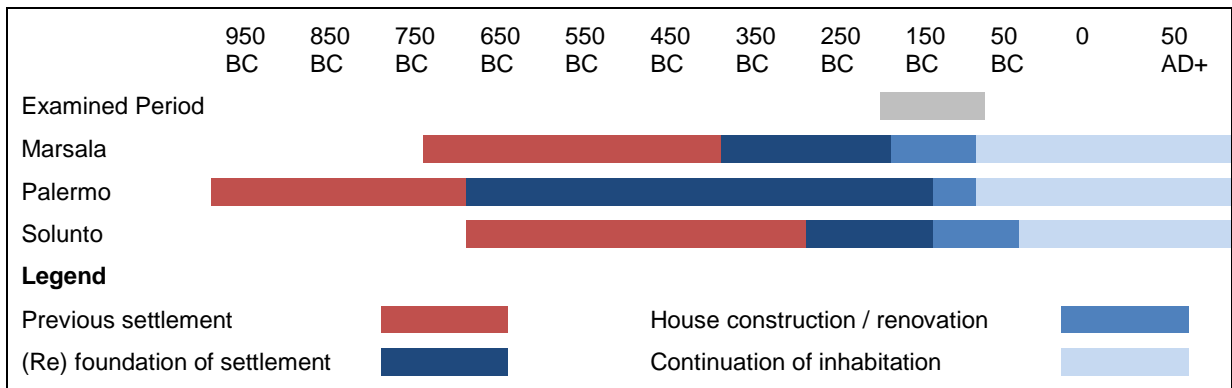
Figure 4.2. Occupational histories of the Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation settlements

4.2 PALERMO[556]

4.2.1 Historical background

Ancient *Panormos* or *Panormus* (a Greek word meaning 'all-port'; coin evidence perhaps

suggests its Phoenician name was *Ziz*) was a major city throughout Sicilian history, though

its mention does not appear frequently in the ancient texts until the third century BC.[557]

While there is evidence for previous habitation in the area, according to Thucydides

Panormos was founded as a Phoenician enclave in the eighth century BC, and became the

principal Punic centre of Sicily.[558] Diodoros lists *Panormos* as one of only five cities to

remain loyal to the Carthaginians in their wars with Dionysios I, and he writes that it was

taken, and possibly destroyed, by this leader.[559] The settlement is again mentioned by

Diodoros as one of the last to fall to Pyrrhus in ca. 276 BC, though it must have been

reclaimed by Carthage as Polybios suggests that it was a Carthaginian base in ca. 260 BC,

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[556] For a general overview of the site and its identification as ancient *Panormus* see for example: Stillwell 1976, 671; BTCGI, XIII, 205-41; and Wilson 2000b, 719.
[557] For the mint of Ziz and its identification with Palermo see for example: Rutter 1997, 162.
[558] Thuc. 6.2.6. For its identification as an enclave see Aubet 2001, 234.
[559] Diod. Sic. 14.48.5 (along with *Halicyae*, *Aegesta*, *Solus*, and *Entella*).

and that a Roman assault was begun the following year. [560] The settlement was eventually

captured by the Romans in 254 BC.[561] According to Polybios the inhabitants of the

paleopolis had surrendered, while Diodoros states that 13,000 of the inhabitants, as well as

the household goods, were sold as booty, and that 14,000 people were released because

they paid an indemnity to secure their freedom.[562] Battles between the Romans and

Carthaginians for possession of Palermo continued, but the inhabitants stayed loyal to

Rome, and the settlement became part of the Roman province in the Treaty of 241 BC.[563] It

is listed by Cicero as one of the five *civitates sine foedere libera et immunis* (i.e. cities

without a treaty, exempted from paying tithe, and politically autonomous).[564] *Panormos* also

appears to have been an important naval base for the Romans during the Second Punic

War, and both Cicero and Strabo suggest that a community of Roman citizens resided

there.[565] The settlement remained a principal city throughout the Imperial period with an

important harbour, but there is little physical evidence remaining of the ancient city due to

continuous habitation of the site.[566]

4.2.2   Topography and urban plan

Palermo, which is now the Sicilian capital city, is located on the northern coast and lends its

name to the modern province (Figure 4.1). The settlement (Figure 4.3.A) was situated along

the coastal plain of the Gulf of Palermo (B), less than 1 km from the modern coast line, and

earlier maps suggest that originally the sea came much further inland than it does today.

The site itself is centred upon the modern Cala, which is an inlet along the coast that likely

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[560] Diod. Sic. 22.10.4; and Polyb. 1.21; and 1.24.3-13.
[561] Diod. Sic. 23.18.4-5.
[562] Polyb. 1.38; and Diod. Sic. 23.18.5.
[563] Polyb. 1.40.
[564] Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.6.13.
[565] For naval activity see Livy 24.36; and 29.1. For the mention of Roman citizens see: Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.54.140; and Strabo 6.2.5.
[566] Plin. *HN.* 3.8.90.

acted as the ancient harbour (C). The area is bounded to the east by the Tyrrhenian Sea, and surrounded on the other sides by a low mountain range that not only would have provided protection from any inland threat, but also would have supplied necessary natural resources. South of the settlement is the River Oreto (ancient *Orethus*; D), which would have offered a fertile river valley, as well as access into the mountain range.

Figure 4.3. Satellite view of Palermo and surrounding landscape (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © Google, © 2012 DigitalGlobe, © 2012 GeoEye, by permission

A. ancient site; B. Gulf of Palermo; C. Cala inlet; D. River Oreto

Figure 4.4 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a sattelite image of modern Palermo superimposed with the outline of the ancient city. Original sources: Google Earth, with adaptions from Spatafora, F. and Montali, G. 2006. "Palermo: nuovi scavi nell'area di Piazza della Vittoria." In Osanna, M. and Torelli, M., eds. 2006. *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente: Spoleto, Complesso monumentale di S. Nicoláo, 5-7 novembre 2004*, Biblioteca di "Sicilia antiqua" 1. Roma: 133-51.

Figure 4.4. Outline of ancient Palermo as it relates to the modern city (Google Earth, with adaptions from Spatafora and Montali, 2006, Fig. 1). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Excavations beneath the modern city are limited, and an overall urban plan of Palermo is hard to determine. Portions of a circuit wall are visible, however, and in 1910 Columba proposed an outline of the ancient city that was bounded to the east by the via Roma, to the west by the Piazza Independenza, and to the north and south by the rivers Papireto and Kemonia respectively (Figure 4.4).[567] In 1987 Belvedere supplemented this early study by suggesting a plan that parallels Punic cities such as Kerkouane in modern Tunisia and Mount Sirai on Sardinia. His theory is that the city was divided into two by a main road running more-or-less east – west, which subsequently became the modern Corso Vittorio Emanuele. Perpendicular to this were roads running north – south following the terrain. To this plan he also adds a circuit road inside the fortification wall and a north - south internal wall that divided the ancient *neapolis* from the *paleopolis*. He also suggests that this plan adopted the Punic cubit unit of measurement in the length of the *insula*.[568]

The Punic unit of measurement has been confirmed by recent excavations in the area of Palazzo Arcivescovale (Figure 4.5.B), but this work has larger consequences regarding the outline and date of the town plan.[569] These excavations also discovered a main road, ca. 3 m wide, running more or less north - south in the area traditionally believed to be the limit of the two sections of the city. This road has evidence for use dating from the fourth through second centuries BC. Further excavations just to the east of these in the area of the Piazza Sett' Angeli (C) have found a similar road. Both of these are comparable to a third road that lies between Pal01 and Pal02 (Figure 4.5.A and Figure 4.6). This has two implications: the first is that there is no evidence for an internal dividing wall, though there was a major road that could have the served the same purpose; the second, and perhaps

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[567] Columba 1910.
[568] Cf. Spatafora and Montali 2006, 134. For the town being divided into the *neapolis* and *paleopolis* see Diod. Sic. 23.18.4; and Polyb. 1.38.9.
[569] For the excavations in the area of the Palazzo Arcivescovale see for example Spatafora and Montali 2006.

more important, is that the city may have had more of an orthogonal layout than Belvedere's suggestion, one which was based upon a main *plateia* running east - west and secondary *stenopoi* running north – south, as early as the fourth century BC. Into this plan were situated *insulae*, which were ca. 52 m long and followed the measurement of the Punic cubit (a dividing *ambitus* is assumed).[570] Though this is simply a proposed hypothesis, Spatafora suggests that these excavations:

> … have definitively rejected the idea that the regular urban plan of the city was due to the Romans.[571]

Also interesting is that, following this reconstruction, Pal01 was situated in the easternmost limit of the *neapolis*, and not in the *paleopolis* as is generally proposed.[572]

Figure 4.5 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating three copies of the urban plan of ancient Palermo, with the location of the excavations on the Piazza dell Vittoria (left), Palazzo Arcivescovale (centre), and Piazza Sett'Angeli (right) marked out. For a further description of the urban plan see the accompanying text. Original source: Spatafora, F. and Montali, G. 2006. "Palermo: nuovi scavi nell'area di Piazza della Vittoria." In Osanna, M. and Torelli, M., eds. 2006. *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente: Spoleto, Complesso monumentale di S. Nicoláo, 5-7 novembre 2004*, Biblioteca di "Sicilia antiqua" 1. Roma: 133-51.

Figure 4.5. Palermo, area of the ancient city (after Spatafora and Montali, 2006, Figs. 1, 4, and 6). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[570] Spatafora and Montali 2006, 134.
[571] "...*hanno sfatato definitivamente l'idea che il piano urbanistico regolare della città fosse dovuto ai Romani...*".
Spatafora and Montali 2006, 134. Translation: author.
[572] See for example Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 231.
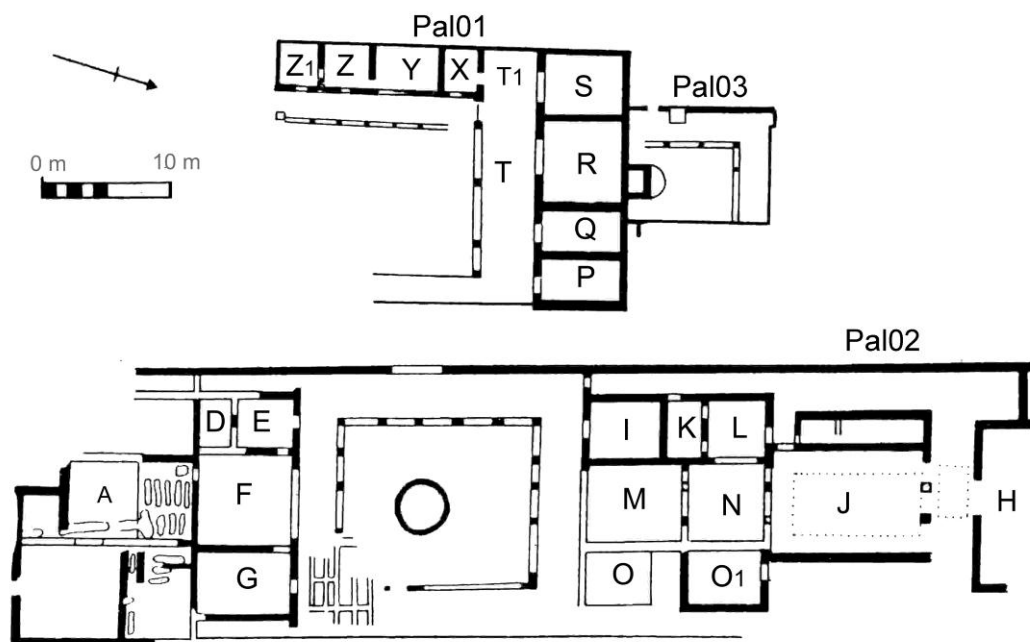
**Figure 4.6. Plan of the Piazza della Vittoria, Palermo (after Wilson 1990a, Fig. 109.8). ©
1990, R.J.A. Wilson, adapted by permission**

4.2.3   Excavation and publication

The archaeological impression of ancient Palermo is limited due to its lying below the centre

of a large and heavily populated modern city. Though systematic investigations do occur,

the vast majority of our information comes from chance finds, and the domestic architecture

relevant to this study is no exception. The walls of Pal02 were discovered by accident in

1868, and the northern section was excavated between 1869 and 1875 by Cavallari and

later covered up.[573] What is visible today was first excavated in 1904, which included the

discovery of Pal01, and again in 1915 by Salinas, and Gabrici in 1921.[574] More recent work

carried out by the Soprintendenza di Palermo in 1999 and 2000 has uncovered

supplementary information about these buildings and their association with the urban plan. A

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[573] Cavallari's finds are briefly published by Aubè 1872, 25-39; and Basile 1874, 3-11, but these focus
on the mosaics of this house, which primarily date to the third century AD.
[574] Salinas 1904, 458; and Gabrici 1921, 181-204.

summary of this work is published by Spatafora and Montali.[575] What remains visible of

Pal02 (Figure 4.6) represents only two-thirds of its original form. As it has been heavily

modified during the Imperial period it is not included in the following survey. The evidence of

the third house (Pal03) is so minimal that no real interpretations of the plan can be made; as

such it is not discussed here either. Only a portion of Pal01 has been uncovered as well, but

as the courtyard is visible, there appear to have been no renovations after the mid-

Republican period, and it preserves decorative pavements from this period, it is included in

the summary and analysis that follows. The best sources for the decorative pavements of

Pal01 are the survey works by Pernice and von Boeselager, with a more recent conference

contribution by Di Stefano, and short article attempting to reconstruct the figural scene of

Room R by Wootton.[576]

4.2.4   Date

No stratigraphy was recorded during the initial uncovering of the buildings, making phases

and dating of the structures difficult. Based on the style of the remaining mosaics, however,

the extant remains of Pal02 are dated to the third century AD, while the Hunt mosaic in

Room R from Pal01 has been dated between the second and early first centuries BC. It is to

this earlier date that the laying out of the quarter is generally attributed, and therefore the

initial construction of the houses.[577] The recent stratigraphic test pit of the *stenopos* between

the two houses, mentioned above, has confirmed this dating, and likely narrows the

construction of Pal01, at least, down to the second century BC. The supposed Pergamene-

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[575] Spatafora and Montali 2006, 133-51; see also Spatafora 2005, 721-737.
[576] Pernice 1938, 12-14; von Boeselager 1983, 47-55; Di Stefano 1997; and Wootton 2002.
[577] Wilson 1990a, 127. For the date of the mosaics see von Boeselager 1983, 48-49. Based on her perceived similarity between Pal01 and other colonnaded-courtyard houses from the third century BC, Di Stefano 1997, 13, does not believe the mosaic could have been laid after the mid-second-century-BC.

type of its colonnade (see below) may also suggest a mid-second-century-BC date.[578]

Though there are three layers of stucco on the walls of Room R, there is no positive

indication of habitation into the late Imperial period as is seen in its neighbour. Furthermore,

the plan of Pal01 appears to have had a slightly different orientation to Pal02 (Figure 4.6).

This perhaps provides another small clue that it was already 'gone' by the third century AD.

For these reasons, the remains of Pal01 likely provide a good indicator of a second-century-

BC house in Palermo; however, though the stratigraphy of the shared *stenopos* does

suggest that the quarter was laid out in the second century BC, it is not clear what

renovations were made to it throughout its 500 year life.

4.2.5   Domestic architecture

4.2.5.1   Pal01 (Casa B)

Figure 4.7 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Pal01 at Palermo. See also Figure 4.6. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Spatafora, F. and Montali, G. 2006. "Palermo: nuovi scavi nell'area di Piazza della Vittoria." In Osanna, M. and Torelli, M., eds. 2006. *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente: Spoleto, Complesso monumentale di S. Nicoláo, 5-7 novembre 2004*, Biblioteca di "Sicilia antiqua" 1. Roma: 133-51.

Figure 4.7. Plan of Pal01 – Casa B (after Spatafora and Montali 2006, Fig. 10). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

a. and b. fountains

Pal01 (Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7) lies 4.5 m. west of Pal02; this gap likely represents an

ancient *stenopos*. A stratigraphic test pit dug between the two houses discovered a

precursor to this street that was made from beaten earth with a central channel to collect

water, while the new street system was cambered with small sidewalks. It also suggests

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[578] Spatafora and Montali 2006, 144.

that the street system existed before the houses were built, and that there were four levels

of use, with a *terminus post quem* for the uppermost coming from a bronze coin that dates to

the second century BC. Also discovered in these test pits was evidence for *opus africanum*

foundations.[579] This road is wider than the other *stenopoi* mentioned above by more than a

metre, which may suggest it had some importance; perhaps this is an indication of the

boundary between the *neapolis* and *paleopolis.*[580]

　　Due to the presence of Pal03, which shows no communication with Pal01, access to

the latter must lie to the south, and though this area has not been excavated, Spatafora

suggests that it "must certainly contain the *atrium*".[581] The extant plan consists of a large

colonnaded courtyard with rooms on at least two sides (Figure 4.7). The colonnade is

reconstructed as being 6 by 9.[582] The bases of the north colonnade suggest that they are of

the Pergamene Doric type, while those of the other colonnades appear to have a smaller

diameter.[583] This suggests that the other sides of the colonnade were of a lower order, and

that the northern columns are perhaps an example of the 'rhodio' type mentioned by

Vitruvius.[584]

　　The northern portico resembles a 'broad portico' type with an exedral extension (T1)

to the west. The presence of various sizes of columns in the collapse may suggest that the

colonnade had separate phases, or that at least the northern wing was double-storied.[585]

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[579] Spatafora and Montali 2006, 135-6. Similar walls can be seen in the excavations in the Palazzo Arcivescovile (Spatafora 2003, TAV. CLXXXVIII, no. 3).

[580] This road is measured as 4.2 metres, while the other *stenopoi* discussed are a consistent 3 metres wide. The *decumanus maximus* of Marsala (see below) is believed to have been 5 metres wide.

[581] "*doveva certamente comprendere l'atrio*".
Spatafora 2003, 1183. Translastion: author. This 'certainty' is presumably based on analogy with Pal02.

[582] The limestone drums and capitals were plastered with polychromatic decoration.

[583] There is evidence for Doric capitals, probably belonging to the lower order due to their size, as well as elements such as *triglyphs*, and a fragment of a *regula* with a *gutta* in stucco were found in the more recent excavations, which are used to support the identification of the order of the colonnade as Doric (Spatafora and Montali 2006, 136 and 140-1).

[584] Vit. *De* arch. 6.7.3.

[585] See Spatafora and Montali 2006, Fig. 28 and 29 for possible reconstructions.

There is no indication of a stairwell or additional information that may confirm or deny this. It is also suggested that these smaller columns could be from a central arboretum, as five plinths to support an upper storey have been found in the courtyard along with two small fountains. The fountain in the centre of the courtyard (a) is likely an early imperial addition. The second fountain (b), however, might be a second-century-BC feature.[586] Such a suggestion is based on the fact that it incorporates the third column of the southern colonnade and supports a parapet wall between the columns, which probably also dates to the Imperial period. This suggests that the southern fountain was built after the colonnade, but perhaps before the parapet. The fountain consists of a rectangular installation that has a semi-circular opening onto the courtyard, with the north side being faced with marble. The sides of the basin are plastered in an intense blue, while the bottom is paved with *opus signinum*.[587] This installation suggests that the courtyard was perceived by its inhabitants as an elaborate garden of the type seen in Campania.

Further indication of Italian influence can be seen in the remaining rooms. For example, the four rooms (P, Q, R, and S) entered from the northern portico each have their own entrance from the courtyard and show no evidence of communication with one another. This could, therefore, be representative of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite, with the eastern flanking room having been divided into two. All of these rooms were well decorated, with the highlights being a "fine hunting mosaic" in Room R, and an inscription in the threshold of Room P.[588] It is tempting, therefore, to identify the central Room R as a *tablinum* and the flanking rooms as dining-rooms (*triclinia*) with differing hierarchical status.[589] Room R is clearly the centre-piece of this reception suite, and Room S is larger than those to the east of this central room. This suggests the ability to accommodate more

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[586] Spatafora and Montali 2006, 138.
[587] Spatafora and Montali 2006, 138.
[588] Wilson 1988, 157. See below for a description of the mosaics.
[589] Gabrici interpreted Room P as a passageway to Pal03 (Di Stefano 1997, 8).

guests in rooms R and S than either Rooms P or Q. Meanwhile the inscription in the

doorway of Room P could indicate a setting not only for more intimate gatherings, but also

for *familiares* as opposed to *amici* and *clientes* (see Chapter 2). A further indicator of Italian

influence can be seen on the western side of the portico in the series of small square rooms

(X, Y, Z, and Z1), which could be paralleled with Roman *cubicula*. While there is no

indication as to the function of these rooms, Rooms Y, Z, and Z1 all preserve evidence for

decoration, and Room X appears to be entered from the extension (T1) of the broad portico,

suggesting it had some importance. It also has a window onto the courtyard, which is a

common feature of sleeping rooms.

<u>Decorative Pavements</u>

Pal01 provides a variety of decorative pavement techniques from this period. The

implications of these features in the Palermo mosaics will be discussed in detail in Chapter

6, but for now it is sufficient to note that they do not follow a single standard practice.

The eastern and western porticoes are paved with *opus signinum*, and that on the

north preserves evidence for a white mortar pavement. On the western side of the courtyard,

Room Z preserves evidence for a limestone floor, while Room Z1 retains evidence for chip-

pavement.[590] The remaining evidence is on the northern end. Rooms P, Q, and S are also

chip-pavement, but the latter room retains some evidence for *opus scutulatum* in the

additional presence of *crustae*.[591] This technique has a very short period of popularity, with

examples in and around Rome dating between the late second and early first centuries BC,

though they remain common throughout Italy into the first century AD.[592] Room Q has an

adjusting border with smaller more irregular pieces, perhaps suggesting the location of

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[590] Gabrici 1921, 191.
[591] The *crustae* near the door are polychromatic (black, white, red, yellow, green, and pink) while those along the other three sides are black. Gabrici 1921, 192; Pernice 1938, 14; and von Boeselager 1983, 52-53. Only a small fragment of the *opus scutulatum* from Room S remains.
[592] Dunbabin 1999, 54.

dining couches. The possible importance of Room P is emphasised by a threshold mosaic. It

has an outer frame of green diamonds and an inner frame of grey and yellow stones.[593]

Within this was an inscription ΧΑΙΡΕ CY doubled so that it could be read from either

direction (Figure 4.8).[594] The inclusion of an inscription is also rarely seen in mosaics from

this period.[595] Further, in the extension (T1) of the portico are remains of a tessellated

mosaic.[596] The frame has a black and white wave on a white background, and a meander of

various colours.[597] Not enough remains of the central panel to detect what was depicted,

though Pernice suggests it was a landscape based upon the presence of broad leaves.[598]

Landscapes are also an uncommon mosaic motif for this period.

**Figure 4.8. Decorative pavement inscription, Room P, Pal01 (Gabrici 1921, Fig. 7). ©
1921, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, by permission**

The highlight of the Palermo decorative pavements from the second century BC,

however, is that of Room R, which consists of three parts that incorporates different

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[593] Pernice 1938, 14.
[594] von Boeselager 1983, 53; and Di Stefano 1997, 8. The mosaic is no longer visible, but was mentioned by Gabrici 1921, 197, Fig. 7.
[595] Other examples of pavement inscriptions in Sicily from this period include: a mosaic out of context at Salemi (von Boeselager 1983, 31-34); one on the acropolis at Segesta (Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 112, and Fig. 9); one in a bath complex at Megara Hyblaea (Vallet et al. 1983, 15), and four from houses at Tindari (Tin01), Morgantina (Morg08), Monte Iato (Iato01), and Segesta (Seg01). For these domestic inscriptions see the relevant descriptions in Chapters 3 and 5, and the further discussion of this feature in Chapter 6.
[596] Pernice 1938, 13; and von Boeselager 1983, 52.
[597] The meander is white, grey, green, yellow, and red.
[598] Pernice 1938, 13. She also compares its iconography with mosaics from Malta, as she does with mosaics from Room R.

techniques. The *opus sectile* of the threshold mosaic has a dark green frame around a pattern of perspective cubes (Figure 4.9).[599] This is followed by an elaborate concentric mosaic in *opus vermiculatum* that is particularly noteworthy in that not only is it an early example of this technique, but it is also both polychromatic and figural (Figure 4.10). The significance of this is twofold; first, polychromatic mosaics are more common during this period in the Greek east, while in the Italian west, and Pompeii in particular, they have only a short period of popularity from the late second to early first centuries BC; second, figural mosaics during this period are rare in general, with geometric designs being the most common motif in both western and eastern mosaics. Room R is surrounded by an adjusting border of white *tesserae* that are laid in a diagonal fashion.

Figure 4.9 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting the *opus sectile* threshold mosaic with a perspective cube motif from Pal01 Room R at Palermo. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: von Boeselager, D. 1983. *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien. Hellenismus und römische Kaiserzeit, 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Rome.

Figure 4.9. *Opus sectile* threshold mosaic, Room R, Pal01 (von Boeselager 1983, Plate X, Fig. 20). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[599] The cubes are white with light and dark green insides. See von Boeselager 1983, 48; Di Stefano 1997, 10; and Dunbabin 1999, 38. Pernice 1938, 13, compares this floor with examples from Malta, and also suggests that the threshold was added after the central panel.
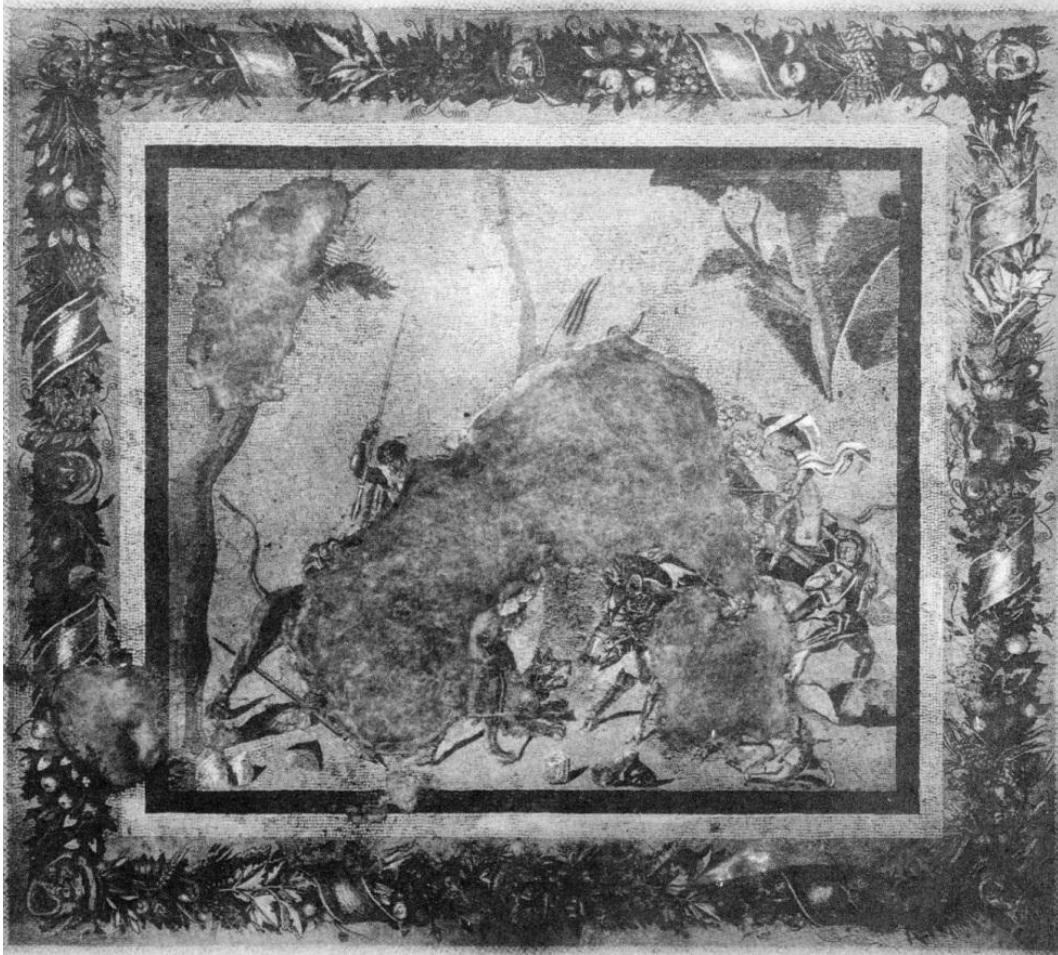
**Figure 4.10. *Opus vermiculatum* pavement, Room R, Pal01 (Gabrici 1921, Tav. 3). ©
1921, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, by permission**

The outer frame depicts an intricate design that incorporates flowers, leaves, and
twigs intertwined with a pinkish-red fruit garden, in which sits a variety of birds.[600] This
garland is broken by eight new comedy masks that are attached to the centre of each side,
and in each of the corners.[601] The central panel, like its frame, is fashioned with *opus
vermiculatum*. The mosaic is heavily destroyed, but there is enough remaining to be able to
state that the image depicts a hunt with two bareheaded riders, lions, a hunting dog, and a

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[600] Dunbabin 1999, 38, n. 4, compares this mosaic to the Italian tradition and says that it is similar to
those of Pompeii, Malta, and Privernum and less close to the mosaic from the Îlot des Bijoux at
Delos.
[601] Gabrici 1921, 194; von Boeselager 1983, 48; and Dunbabin 1999, 38.

giant boar in a wooded area. On the far right are remains of an archer who is identified as a Persian based upon his dress, including a Kyrbasian cap. The main characters, however, are likely a representation of Greeks or Macedonians.[602] Fuhrmann suggests that this motif was based upon a work of the painter Philoxenos of Eretria, who is mentioned by Pliny.[603]

4.3 MARSALA[604]

4.3.1   Historical background

The second principal Punic city of Sicily was *Lilybaeum*, which Diodoros suggests was founded in the early fourth century BC, after the nearby island city of *Motye* (Motya) was destroyed by the Greeks.[605] *Lilybaeum* plays a prominent role in much of the historical narrative of Sicily from this time. This is likely the result of its location on the western tip of the island, its important harbour, and its fortifiable settlement. Strabo lists the distance between Carthage and *Lilybaeum* as 1500 *stadia* and Pliny lists it as 180 (miles).[606] Diodoros describes the secure nature of the settlement in that it was surrounded by the sea with Carthaginian fortifications on the inland side.[607] *Lilybaeum* is reported to have been the only city within the Carthaginian *epikrateia* not to have fallen to Pyrrhus in ca. 278 BC, and Hanno is claimed to have gathered his forces here in ca. 264 BC before advancing to *Solus*.[608] Around 250 BC Carthage is described as having destroyed *Selinus*, and relocated

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[602] Gabrici 1921, 194-7; von Boeselager 1983, 48; Di Stefano 1997; and Dunbabin 1999, 38.
[603] Fuhrmann 1931, 228-270 (cf. Pernice 1938, 12). Plin. *HN* 35.36.110. The Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun at Pompeii is also attributed to this painter (Dunbabin 1999, 41). See also Di Stefano 1997, 8-9. Though Wilson suggests that the closest parallels to this mosaic come from Pompeii, he feels that "the Campanian material with its exceptional survival record may be misleading, and it is by no means impossible that independent mosaic workshops in Hellenistic Sicily were capable of producing work of this high standard." (Wilson 1990a, 31).
[604] For a general overview of the site and its identification as ancient *Lilybaion* / *Lilybaeum* see for example: Stillwell 1976, 509-10; BTCGI IX, 42-76; Manni 1981, 57; and Wilson 2000b, 716.
[605] Diod. Sic. 22.10.4.
[606] Strabo 17.3; and Plin *HN* 3.8.87.
[607] Diod. Sic. 22.10.5.
[608] Diod. Sic. 22.10.4; and 23.1.1.

its population to *Lilybaeum*, which was then besieged by Rome.[609] This siege apparently

continued for ten years, and was only halted because of the peace treaty at the end of the

First Punic War in 241 BC.[610] At this time *Lilybaeum* would have been incorporated into the

early province of Sicily, and it is reported that it became the seat of the first *praetor*.[611]

Though it appears that Carthage tried to regain *Lilybaeum* during the Second Punic War,

they were apparently never successful, and the settlement remained an important harbour

for the Romans, especially when they focused their attack on Carthage itself.[612] It is believed

that *Lilybaeum* continued to act as capital until 211BC when this was moved to Syracuse,

but it is also written that the province retained the position of two *quaestors*, one in Syracuse

with *imperium provinciae* (provincial command) over Hieron's former kingdom, and one in

Lilybaeum with a similar command over the *vetus provincia* (old province).[613] During the

second slave revolts the settlement is still referred to by Diodoros as an impregnable city –

πόλις ἀπόρθητος.[614] Cicero refers to it as a most splendid city – *splendissima civitas* – with

a community of Roman citizens.[615] Similar to *Panormos* above, *Lilybaeum* is mentioned by

Strabo, and remained an important political and commercial centre throughout Roman

history, as it does today.[616]

4.3.2   Topography and urban plan

Marsala is situated on the westernmost point of the island in the modern province of Trapani

(Figure 4.1). The location of Marsala is based upon its proximity to the destroyed town of

Motya (Figure 4.12), but it is also ideally positioned for its intended purpose as the major

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[609] Diod. Sic. 24.1.1; and 24.14.1; and Polyb. 1.41.4-6; and 1.42.8-9.
[610] Diod. Sic. 24.14.1; for the final years of the Roman siege see also Polyb. 1.41-42; and 1.44-45.
[611] For a *praetor* at *Lilybaeum* see for example: Livy 22.31.6; 23.31.2; and 31.29.8.
[612] See for example: Livy 21.49.2-7; 21.50.10-21.51.1; 22.56.7; 23.21.2; 25.31.12-14; 27.5.9; 28.4.5-7 and 14; 29.24.10-11; 29.26.7-8; and 30.45.1.
[613] See for example Livy 25.3.5-6.
[614] Diod. Sic. 36.5.3; For *Lilybaeum* and its siege by the leader Athenion see Diod. Sic. 36.5.1-4.
[615] Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.4.10; 2.5.54.140.
[616] Strabo 6.2.5.

port city of the Carthaginians on Sicily (Figure 4.11.A). It is located ca. 220 km across the

Mediterranean from the port of Carthage itself (B), and only 150 km from the North African

peninsula of Cap Bon in modern Tunisia (C). It is also ca. 325 km from the Punic city of Nora

on the neighbouring island of Sardinia (D). This location made it strategically important not

only for naval battles, particularly during the Punic Wars, but also as a trade centre, which is

an attribute it has retained throughout history. The settlement is located on the Capo Boeo

peninsula (Figure 4.12.A), and is thus bounded on three sides by the sea. To the east,

however, the terrain opens onto the centre of a large coastal plain (B) that straddles the

rolling foothills of the Gibellina Mountain range (C). This area, which today is known as the

Marsala Wine Region, is the largest contiguous viticulture region of modern Italy. Access to,

and control over, such a vast agricultural area would have been vitally important

economically for the ancient settlement, and is likely one of the many reasons why the site

remained an important city for the new Roman province.
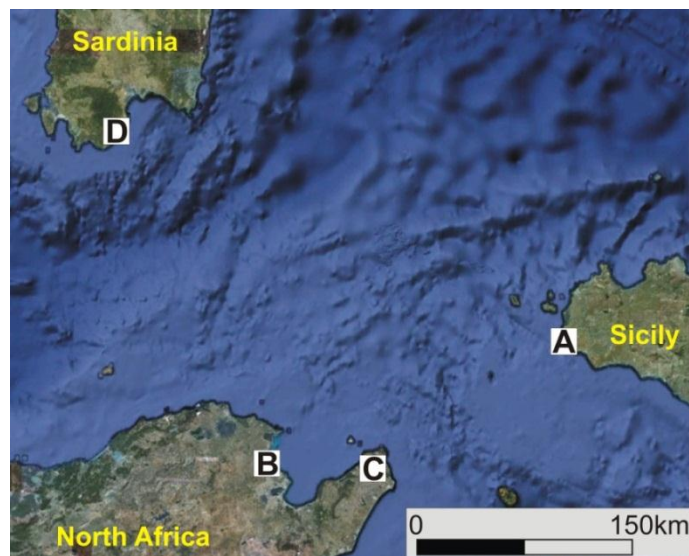
Figure 4.11. Satellite view of Marsala (A), Carthage (B), Kerkouane (C), and Nora (D) (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 Cnes/Spot Image, by permission

Figure 4.12. Satellite view of Marsala and surrounding landscape (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012Google, © 2012 DigitalGlobe, © 2012 GeoEye, by permission

A. Capo Boeo peninsula; B. coastal plain of Marsala; C. Gibellina Foothills

The ancient city of Lilybaeum lies beneath modern Marsala, making the town plan hard to reconstruct. Traces of this plan, however, have been revealed through a combination of aerial photography, geomagnetometry, and excavation. What these investigations suggest is five to six *plateiai* running north-west to south-east within a circuit wall, which are intersected by twenty one *stenopoi* (Figure 4.13), producing *insulae* that measure ca. 35.5 by 106.5 m.[617] In the centre of the *plateiai* was a main road (the *decumanus maximus*), which coincides with the modern viale Vittorio Veneto. Recent excavations focusing on the relationship of the *decumanus maximus* with the *stenopoi* and circuit wall suggest that the main artery of the city was no more than ca. 5 m wide, and had at least three previous phases.[618] There is evidence for four houses likely constructed in the second century BC that fit into this orthogonal plan. Three of these, which were not modified during the Imperial period, are discussed below. Though all are fragmentary in nature, and it is not possible to

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[617] Di Stefano 1980, 13.
[618] Giglio and Vecchio 2006, 123.

discuss the overall organisation of the houses, as a group they provide some insight into the

nature of domestic architecture at Marsala from this period.

Figure 4.13 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the urban plan of ancient Marsala (Lilybaeum) with the locations of Mar01, Mar02, Mar03, and Mar04 indicated. For a further description of the urban plan see the accompanying text. Original source: Hollegaard Olsen, C., Rathje, A., Trier, C. and Winther, H.C. 1995. "The Roman *Domus* of the Early Empire." In Fischer-Hansen, T., ed. 1995. *Ancient Sicily. Acta Hyperborea 6*. Copenhagen: 209-61.

Figure 4.13. Marsala, town plan (after Hollegaard et al. 1995, Fig. 7). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

1. Mar01; 2. Mar02; 3. Mar03; 4. Mar04
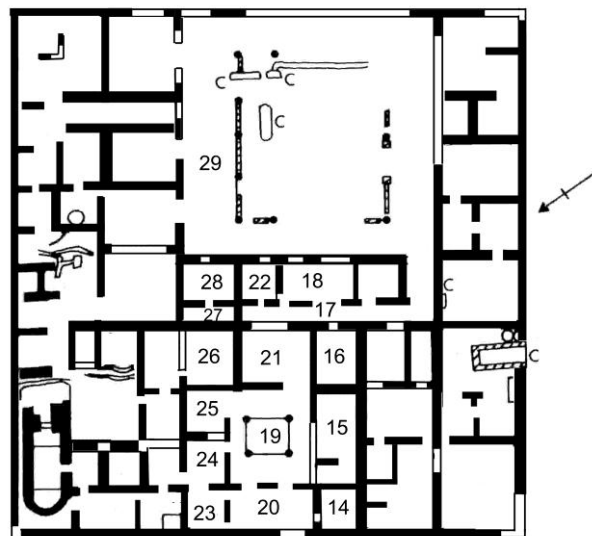
Figure 4.14. Plan of Mar01 – Capo Boeo *Insula* (after Wilson 1990a, Fig. 109.4). © 1990, R.J.A Wilson, adapted by permission

4.3.3   Excavation and publication

Excavations at Marsala are limited due to the modern city above, which is believed to cover

over as much as 70 per cent of the ancient city. An exception to this, though, is the

archaeological park at the extreme western edge of the city. The highlight of this area is

Mar01, the so-called Capo Boeo *Insula* (Figure 4.13.1), which provides an almost complete

plan of a large imperial Roman house, which was probably initially constructed in the mid-Republican period (Figure 4.14).[619] Though it is possible to recognise at least one reception hall with colonnaded-courtyard house in these excavations, this initial construction is largely modified by the later renovations, and the nature of these rooms, and more importantly their communication with one another, remains largely hypothetical; for this reason it is not included in the survey that follows in Chapter 6. The remains of Mar02 were discovered during the course of construction in the modern residential area of Marsala (Figure 4.13.2). All evidence for its ancient plan comes from a single rescue excavation conducted by Di Stefano over a period of a few weeks in 1972, and these finds are discussed only briefly.[620] Nearby on via delle Ninfe (3) are the partial remains of one section of a house (Mar03) that was partially uncovered in the 1980s. It is briefly described by Di Stefano and Giglio and Vecchio.[621] The latter authors also mention evidence for a fourth house (Mar04) from more recent excavations conducted between 2002 and 2004 along the viale Vittorio Veneto (4) by the Comune del Marsala.[622] The mosaics from all four houses, among others, are also briefly discussed in a short article by Giglio.[623]

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[619] Mar01 was first excavated between 1939 and 1945 by Marconi Bovio (Marconi Bovio 1939-1940, 389-90). In her note she focuses on the Imperial Bath complex in the north-west corner, and this trend is followed in further publications. Supplementary excavations were conducted in Rooms 27 and 28 by the Soprintendenza Della Sicilia Occidentale under the direction of Di Stefano in 1972. Publication of the site is minimal, consisting primarily of short articles that provide basic descriptions that focus on the later imperial bath complex. See for example: Bisi 1966; Ruggieri 1975; Di Stefano 1976, 25-31; Di Stefano 1976-1977, 763-767; Di Stefano 1980, esp. 14-6; and Di Stefano 1984, 135-136 (cf. Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 228). The second-century-BC date for construction of the Capa Boeo *Insula* is based primarily on the *opus signinum* floors uncovered during Di Stefano's excavations in Rooms 27 and 28. See Di Stefano 1976, 31.

[620] Di Stefano 1974; Di Stefano 1976-1977, 768-69, and Tav. CLXXVII, Fig. 1; and Di Stefano 1984, 104 (cf. Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 230).

[621] Di Stefano 1984, 104-7, and Fig. 61 (cf. Wilson 1990a, 375 n. 41); Giglio and Vecchio 2006, 125; and Giglio 2003, 732.

[622] Giglio and Vecchio 2006, 126.

[623] Giglio 1997.

4.3.4 Date

The evidence for a second-century-BC phase for the examples discussed below is limited. A *terminus post quem* for Mar02, however, is provided by pottery that dates to the fourth and third centuries BC found beneath its floors, while the bichrome geometric mosaics, which become popular on peninsular Italy in the first century BC, may provide a *terminus ante quem*, thus suggesting a second-century-BC date for the pavement beneath it.[624] This is supported by various finds within the cistern and the fill itself, which also suggest the house went out of use in the second half of the first century AD.[625] The dates for Mar03 and Mar04 are based on similar assumptions of their decorative pavements and incorporation into the perceived second-century-BC urban development. Though traditionally assigned to the Roman period, Di Stefano suggests the urban plan is as early as the fourth century BC, while Giglio and Vecchio have recently challenged this, saying that most of Di Stefano's information comes from the necropolis and not the city itself, and that the evidence from the residential quarter suggests a second-century-BC date instead.[626]

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[624] The pottery consists of Pre-Campana and Campana A styles (Di Stefano 1974, 24; and Di Stefano 1976-1977, 769). See also Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 130.
[625] These include: fragments of Campana A and C vases; Dressel 3, 9, and 11 lamps; as well as fragments of Italian Red Ware in the cistern, while above floor level was more '*sigillata*' and pre-*sigillata*' Italian red-gloss wares (Di Stefano 1974, 26-27).
[626] Di Stefano 1984, 19; and Giglio and Vecchio 2006, 124.

4.3.5   Domestic architecture

4.3.5.1   Mar02, Mar03, and Mar04 (the houses on the via Sabilla, via delle Ninfe, and viale Vittorio Veneto)

Figure 4.15 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It included a black and white photograph of the central basin of Mar02 (left) and diagrams illustrating the plans of Mar03 (centre) and Mar04 (right) at Marsala. For further descriptions of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Giglio, R. and Vecchio, P. 2006. "Nuovi dati su lilibeo ellenistica." In Osanna, M. and Torelli, M., eds. 2006. *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente: Spoleto, Complesso monumentale di S. Nicoláo, 5-7 novembre 2004*, Biblioteca di "Sicilia antiqua" 1. Roma: 123-31.

Figure 4.15. Mar02, Mar03, and Mar 04 – the houses on the via Sabilla, via delle Ninfe, and viale Vittorio Veneto (after Giglio and Vecchio 2006, Figs. 6, 5, and 8). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Major Features

Excavations along the via Sabilla (Mar02) have revealed a tetra-style courtyard with surrounding rooms (Figure 4.15.A).[627] Located within the courtyard is a central basin with a large cistern that drew from two wells.[628] The basin was enclosed with blocks of marble and paved with *opus tessellatum*.[629] Its likely contemporaneity to the original construction of Mar01, as well as its evidence for a central basin that could represent an *impluvium* and fine decoration, are positive arguments towards it being referred to as an *atrium* by the excavators.[630] Wilson, however, compares this evidence with houses in Delos, as well as a house from Punic Nora in Sardinia, and proposes that it is more likely a small colonnaded

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[627] Di Stefano 1974, 22; Di Stefano 1976-1977, 768-69; and Di Stefano 1984, 104 (cf. Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 230).

[628] Di Stefano 1974, 22; Di Stefano 1976-1977, 768; and Giglio 2003, 732.

[629] Di Stefano 1974, 22. Marble was also used for the thresholds.

[630] See below for the decoration. For its reference as an *atrium* see Di Stefano 1974, 22; Di Stefano 1976-1977, 768-69; and Di Stefano 1984, 104 (cf. Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 230).

courtyard rather than an *atrium* proper.[631] Giglio suggests that the central basin, with its

frame of marble slabs around a courtyard cistern, is also similar to those seen at Kerkouane

(see Chapter 2), though it is much larger.[632]

A similar cistern with a system of channelling water is also to be seen in the nearby

excavations along the via delle Ninfe (Mar03; Figure 4.15.B.1).[633] The fragmentary plan of

this latter house is peculiar, thus making it unclear as to its original layout. Wilson describes

this as an

> … *atrium*-like room… and a yard adjacent with columns along one side…
> [that] suggests an arrangement very different from the *atrium*-peristyle house
> of the Italian peninsula.[634]

Giglio and Vecchio, make further note of a small room (3) off the courtyard that was paved

with *opus signinum*, and preserves evidence for plastered walls. They suggest that this,

along with its proximity to the cistern, may indicate a bath or some other domestic activity

connected to a water system.[635] Again this is reminiscent of the houses at Kerkouane

(Chapter 2), and the single portico (2) of Mar03 is similar to the corridor of House 8 in Block

C on the Byrsa Hill at Carthage; however, a single colonnade or corridor is also

characteristic of Classical Greek houses, particularly those from Olynthos. The evidence for

both of these houses is incomplete, so it is impossible to tell their original form, or to make

any definitive statements in regards to overall organisation, but what remains extant

suggests that these should not be considered *atrium*-type houses, and instead are more

similar to Punic, or Greek houses.

A further indicator of possible Punic influence can be seen in the recent excavations

along the viale Vittorio Veneto (Mar04; Figure 4.15.C). These excavations have revealed

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[631] Wilson 1990a, 124; and Wilson 1990b, 87, n. 25. For the house in Sardinia see Angiollio 1981, 43, and Fig. 21 (cf. Wilson 1990a, 375, n. 40).
[632] Giglio 2003, 732.
[633] Giglio 2003, 732.
[634] Wilson 1990a, 125.
[635] Giglio and Vecchio 2006, 125.

patchy evidence of a structure that may be representative of an open courtyard similar to those above, which had a cistern and central basin, with rooms around it. The foundations are *opus quadratum* limestone blocks, as appears to be standard for all the discussed houses, but they are also associated with another wall of *opus africanum* to the north.[636] *Opus africanum* has been found in other areas of the site. For example, another emergency excavation in the area outside the Church S. Girolamo revealed a partial *orthostate* of *opus quadratum* as support for walls of *opus africanum*. Giglio and Vecchio suggest that these are indicative of the second-century-BC building phase as they are associated with an *opus signinum* floor, and lie on top of earlier rubble masonry.[637]

Decorative Pavements

There is not a lot of information remaining for decorative pavements at Marsala from the second century BC. The best information comes from Mar02. Di Stefano describes walls with 'masonry-style' wall decoration as well as floors of *opus signinum* in the surrounding rooms, with the *tesserae* laid either in a lozenge pattern, or crosslets. The courtyard is also paved with *opus signinum* with the *tesserae* in a lozenge pattern. Two of the surrounding rooms and the central basin also provide evidence for a second paving of *opus tessellatum*. While the basin was paved with small white *tesserae*, the two surrounding rooms preserve evidence for geometric mosaics in black and white.[638] Floors of *opus signinum* are standard in the other houses. [639]

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[636] Giglio and Vecchio 2006, 126.
[637] Giglio and Vecchio 2006, 125.
[638] Di Stefano 1974, 22-23; Di Stefano 1976-1977, 768; and Giglio 1997, 126.
[639] See Giglio 1997, esp. 125-126.

4.4 SOLUNTO[640]

4.4.1 Historical background

The third principal Punic city on Sicily was ancient *Solus* / *Soleis* / *Soluntum*. Thucydides

writes that it, along with *Panormus* and *Motye*, was founded in the eighth century BC by the

Phoenicians when the Greeks first arrived on the island.[641] At this time it probably acted as

little more than a trading enclave.[642] The ancient sources are otherwise silent about its

occupational history until the fourth century BC when Diodoros lists it as one of the five cities

to remain loyal to the Carthaginians during their battles with Dionysios I, and he suggests

that it was subsequently taken, and possibly destroyed, by him.[643] The archaeological

evidence suggests two succeeding sites in the area, one on a lower site on the coast, with

no evidence later than the fourth century BC, and the other higher up on the plateau of

Monte Catalfano, with no evidence earlier than the third century BC (see below).[644] Diodoros

also mentions *Solus* in relation to the wars between Agathokles and Carthage, and in ca.

307 BC the settlement is referred to as having been given to Agathoklean soldiers as a

landing place on their way back from Africa.[645] Mentions of the settlement continue to be

infrequent. During the First Punic War it appears to have again been subject to Carthage,

with a base of Hanno being located nearby in ca. 264 BC, but the people of *Solus* reportedly

expelled the Punic garrison after the fall of *Panormos* in 254 BC and sided with Rome.[646] In

the Treaty of 241 BC the settlement would have become part of the Roman province, but it

does not appear to have retained any special privileges, and it remained a *decumana* that

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[640] For a general overview of the site and its identification as ancient *Soluntum* see for example: Stillwell 1976, 849-50; BTCGI XIX, 467-77; Manni 1981, 225-6; and Wilson 2000b, 721.
[641] Thuc. 6.2.6.
[642] Aubet 2001, 234.
[643] Diod. Sic. 14.48.5 (along with *Halicyae*, *Aegesta*, *Panormos*, and *Entella*); and Diod. Sic. 14.78.7.
[644] Stillwell 1976, 849; see also Wilson 2000b, 721.
[645] Diod. Sic. 20.69.3.
[646] Diod. Sic. 23.1.1; and 23.18.5.

was subject to the *lex Hieronica* (tithe system), and later, according to Cicero, ravaged by Verres.[647] The archaeological record, however, suggests prosperity at the site largely in the second and first centuries BC, with the latest evidence being an early third-century-AD inscription.[648]

4.4.2   Topography and urban plan

Solunto is located on the north-west coast of Sicily in the modern commune of Santa Flavia in the Province of Palermo, and only 15 km east of the capital (Figure 4.1). The hilltop settlement (Figure 4.16.A) has an advantageous location to the east of Capo Zafferano (B) and sits ca. 200 m above sea level on the south-east peak of Monte Catalfano. This provides not only natural protection from all sides, but also a prominent vista over the Tyrrhenian Sea. It is also located less than 1 km from the coastline, has good access to a natural harbour to the east (C), and the same coastal plains as that of Palermo to the west (D), while to the south is a large river valley that would have provided both resources and entry into the island's interior. Unlike its counterparts Palermo and Marsala, Solunto was gradually abandoned during the early Imperial period and remained void of medieval or modern rebuilding. This results in Solunto providing the best example of a Sicilian settlement of Punic origin during the mid-Republican period.

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[647] Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.43.103.
[648] *CIL* X, 7336; *ILS* 445. Bivona 1970, no. 48.
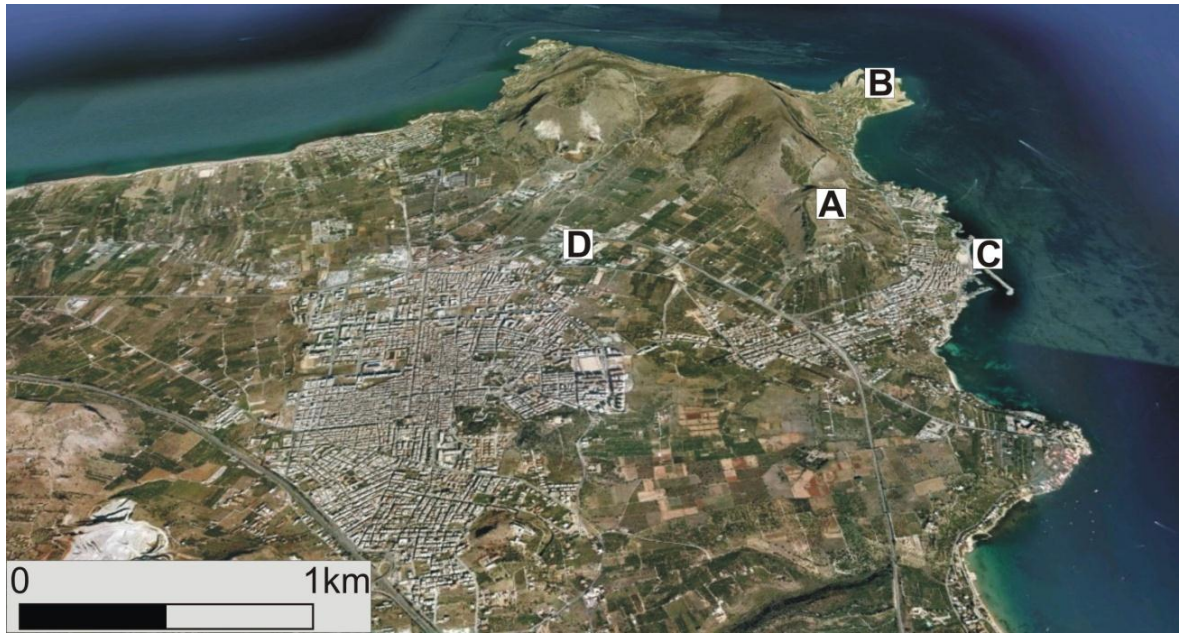
Figure 4.16. Satellite view of Solunto and surrounding landscape (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 DigitalGlobe, © 2012 TerraMetrics, by permission

A. Solunto; B. Capo Zafferano; C. natural harbour; D. coastal plains

The various excavations of Solunto have revealed a strict orthogonal plan based upon three *plateia* running north-east to south-west; with the central *plateia* transecting the middle of the site (Figure 4.17.A). This main *plateiai*, which was finely paved and nearly 6 m wide, is referred to as the via dell'Agora, because at its northern limit lies the civic centre of the town. This so-called *agora* incorporated many elements borrowed from the Greek repertoire of buildings including a stone theatre, a *bouleuterion*, a public cistern, a *stoa*, and a *gymnasium*. Alongside these are additional structures that are more familiar with Phoenicio-Carthaginian culture. These include a building that is comprised of an open air altar with three betyls – a so-called tripillar shrine – as one enters the *agora*.[649] There are also at least two additional buildings of possible cultic nature identified at the site. The oldest of these buildings, which is comprised of a series of labyrinth like rooms, is located at the

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[649] Tusa et al. 1994, 66-70; and Famà 1980.

highest point of the city, at the top of the via Salinas.[650] The second is situated lower down

and next to the theatre. It is again a different type of sanctuary that includes two rectangular

vaulted rooms. In the southernmost room was found the statue of Zeus-Baal, and it has

been proposed that the statue of Astarte-Artemis belonged in the other room. [651] It is

important to note that these structures are more modest than the monumental temples

familiar from the Greek world, which incidentally have not been found at Solunto.

Intersecting the *plateiai* is a series of eight *stenopoi*, which are also paved, and they range

between 3 and 5.8 m wide. The largest of these is in the centre and acts as a second

transecting axis that rises with the steep slope; it is referred to as the via Ippodamio da

Mileto (Figure 4.17.D). [652] This road extends from the eastern gate and its crossing with the

via dell'Agora acts as the main intersection of the extant domestic quarter.

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[650] Tusa et al. 1994, 28. Portale 2006, 63, however, suggests that this is a further example of
domestic architecture with a circular sweat-bath. As the public / domestic nature of the building
remains debatable, it is not included in this survey.
[651] Tusa et al. 1994, 29; Greco 2005, 30; and Albanesi 2006. See also Wilson 2005, 914-7, who
recognises additional *sacella* to the north of these rooms and above the *cavea* of the theatre.
[652] The other *stenopoi* are named after various excavators.
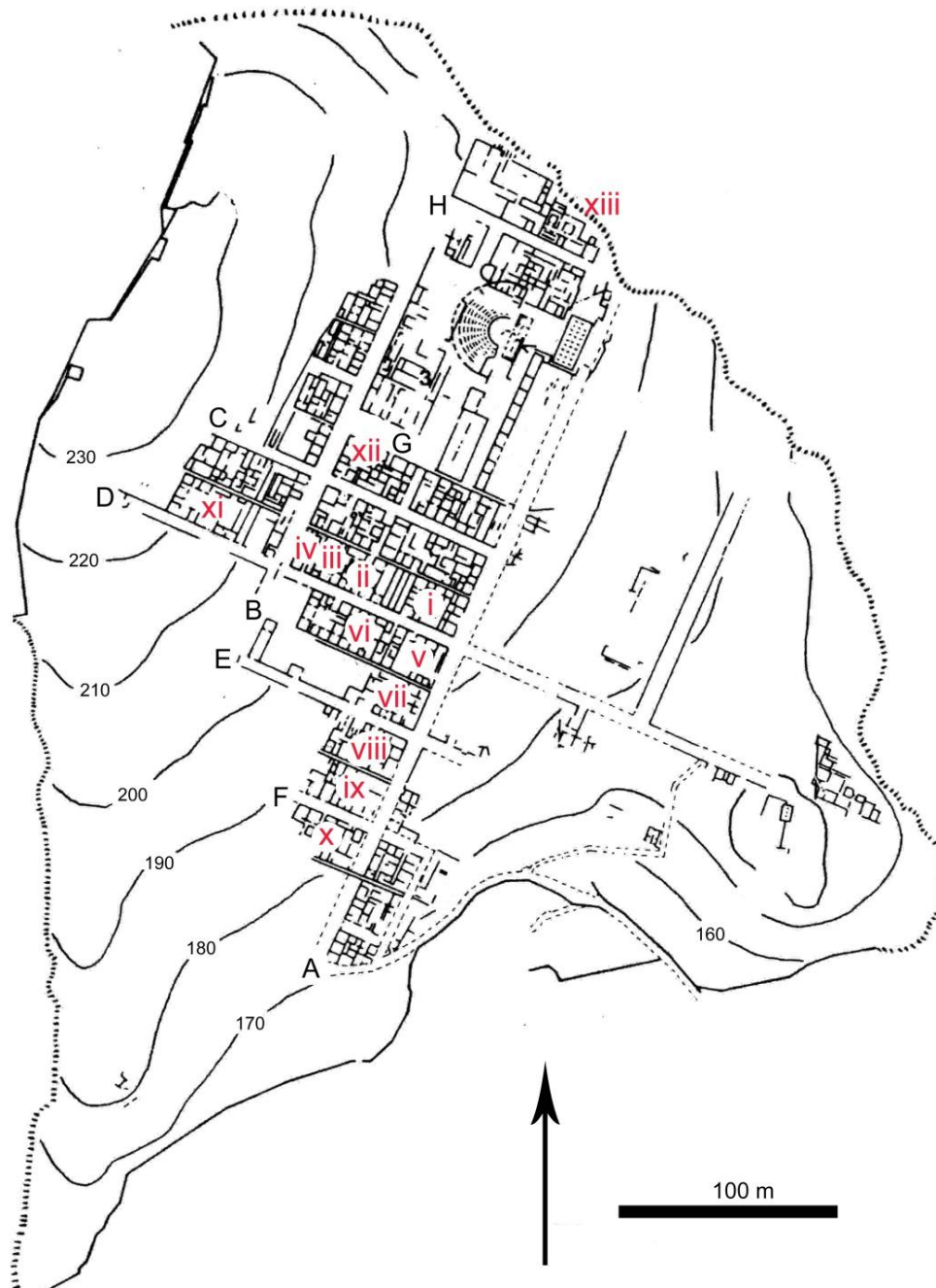
Figure 4.17. Town plan, Solunto (after Wilson 1990a, Fig. 132). © 1990, R.J.A Wilson, adapted by permission

A. via dell'Agora; B. via degli Artigiani; C. via Salinas; D. via Ippodamio da Mileto; E. via Cavallari; F. via Perez; G. via del Teatro; H. via Bagnera
i. Sol01 (Casa di Leda); ii. Sol02 (Casa con cerchio mosaico); iii. Sol03 (Casa a cortile); iv. Sol04 (Edificio con macina); v. Sol05 (casa con 'atrium tuscanicum'); vi. Sol06 (Casa di Arpocrate); vii. Sol07 (So-called ginnasio); viii. Sol08 (Casa del deposito a volta); ix. Sol09 (Casa del vano circolare); x. Sol10 (Casa del corridoio); xi. Sol11 (Casa delle maschere); xii. Sol12 (Bottega artigiana con abitazione); xiii. Sol13 (Casa delle ghirlande)

More than a dozen buildings of a domestic nature and portions of several more have been uncovered at Solunto (Figure 4.17). Together they provide the best evidence to date for houses likely constructed during the second century BC in Sicily (for the date of these buildings see below). Thirteen of these are surveyed here.[653] The houses at Solunto respect the orthogonal plan, and are located to the south-west of the ancient *agora* along the via dell'Agora and its westerly counterpart the via degli Artisani (Figure 4.17.A and B). A finely decorated building likely of domestic nature has also been uncovered to the north of the *agora* (Sol13; Figure 4.17.xiii). The *insulae* within these arteries measure ca. 40 by 80 m and are divided by a central *ambitus* that is between ca. 0.8 and 1 m wide, which appears to have remained in use throughout their history.[654] Only one of the *insulae* has been fully excavated and it is referred to as the Campione *Insula* (Figure 4.17.i-iv and Figure 4.18). Though the plan of the northern half is not complete, the Campione *Insula* in the second century BC has evidence for at least 10 houses of varying type and sizes (Figure 4.18.V, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XVI). The plans of four of these, those consisting of the southern half of the *insula*, are fairly well understood and are being examined in this study (Figure 4.17.i-iv and Figure 4.18.V-IX). There were also two large stores (Figure 4.18.VI); a variety of independent shops along the *stenopoi* (VI B, XIII, XIV); and a total of seven shops that line the via dell'Agora (I-IV and XVII-XX).[655] As the Campione *Insula* shows, the houses of Solunto display a variety of plans, and though their components are not easily determined, they all have evidence for a more-or-less central organisational space, main reception-type rooms, entrance rooms or corridors, and service areas, while many are also associated with

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[653] Not included in this survey are houses that are not described in any of the published material and of which there is little more available than a plan. This includes the northern half of the Campione Insula and numerous examples of areas where it is not possible to distinguish between a multi-room shop and a small residence. See for example the Quartiere periferico (Tusa et al. 1994, 47-9). This also does not include the so-called Casa delle due cisterne, whose plan does not convincingly indicate a residence (*contra* Tusa et al. 1994, 49-51).
[654] Natoli 1966, 188.
[655] Italia and Lima 1987, 62-63.

economic areas such as shops or workshops.[656] The latter areas can be either dependent or independent from the houses themselves.
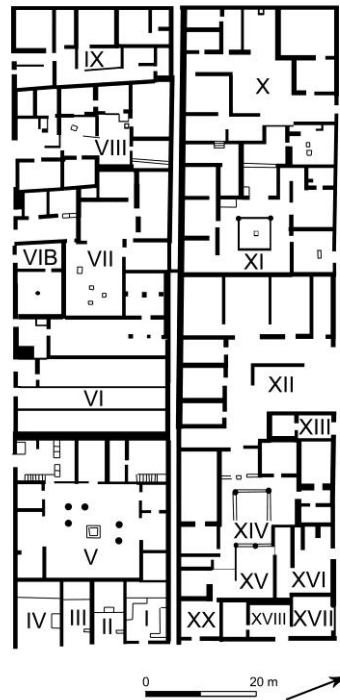
Figure 4.18. Campione *Insula*, Solunto (drawn by author). © 2012, Karen Aberle

A particularly interesting feature about the houses is their overall impression within the urban plan. The slope of the hill on which Solunto is located is steep; for example, between *plateiai* A and B it rises ca. 26 m to the west. The houses are built along terraces cut into the hillside that respect this terrain, and these different levels are connected by staircases along the *stenopoi*. This would have created the appearance of a dramatic stepped and entirely built hillside as one approached from the Tyrrhenian Sea.[657] This steep gradient also resulted in the plan of those houses on the downward slope to be on multiple levels, and often they have a double-storied colonnaded courtyard. The evidence further

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[656] Wölf 2003, 71.
[657] Natoli 1966, 192.

suggests that many of the houses along the via dell'Agora were fronted by independent shops, and that the eastern section of the first house of each *insula* rested above these shops.[658] Thus, from street level the buildings had a triple storied façade (Figure 4.19). [659] It is estimated that the height of Sol07 was ca. 15 m; this too would have created an imposing presence of the houses. Combined, these features of tall and ever rising houses could have given an impression similar to the one Appian had of the multiple storied houses from Carthage.[660]
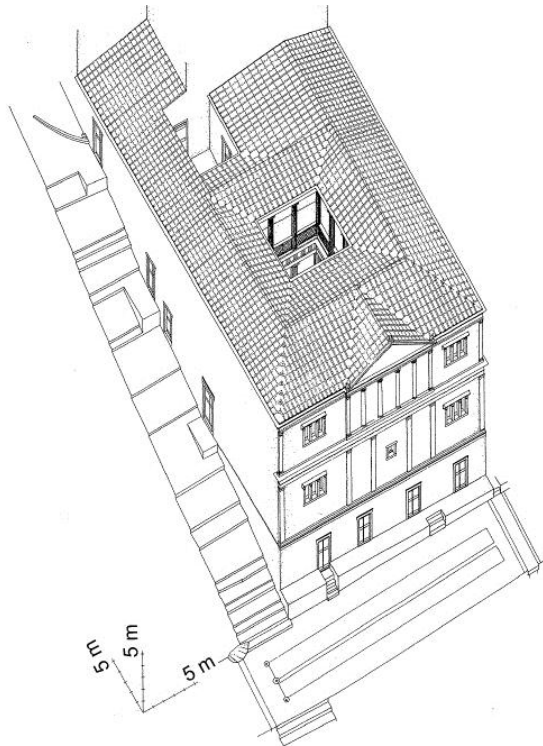
Figure 4.19. Isometric reconstruction of the façade of Sol07 – the so-called 'Ginnasio' (after Wölf 2003, Beil. 48). © 2003, Markus Wölf, by permission

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[658] See Sol01 and Sol07 below for examples.
[659] See Wölf 2003, 77-78, Beil, 38-39, 41-43, and 48.
[660] Appian, *Libyca* 128. It is uncertain if this was a deliberate attempt, but the initial impression of the town was probably unlike that of a Greek or Roman town of the same period. For a similar statement of this being a so far unique feature for Solunto see Campagna 2011, 168.

4.4.3 Excavation and publication

The remains of Solunto were first identified at the end of the sixteenth century by the Sicilian topographer Fazello, and a large portion of the centre of the ancient town has since been excavated. These excavations began as early as 1825 by private individuals interested in the decorative program of the houses; also discovered at this time were a cult statue of a seated goddess (Artemis-Astarte?) flanked by sphinxes, and ten years later the famous second- to first- centuries-BC statue of a seated god (Zeus-Baal Hammon?), both of which are on display in the Museo Archeologico Regionale at Palermo.[661] Subsequent excavations continued under the direction of Perez, Cavallari, and Salinas. Restorations of Sol07 were undertaken between in 1866 and 1869. Following this was a long break in excavation, with only a short period in 1920 under the direction of Gabrici. It was not until 1951 that more large-scale excavations of the entire site were undertaken by the Soprintendenza under the direction of V.Tusa. In 1959 the Soprintendenza collaborated with the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Palermo, and the subsequent uncovering of the majority of the houses belongs to the excavations in the 1960s under the direction of Natoli.[662] These various excavations were not systematically published, and information on the houses has relied primarily on sporadic articles, a decent archaeological guide to the site, and separate treatments of the decorative program.[663] A recent publication focusing on the domestic architecture of Solunto by Wölf has helped to fill out some of the information in this area, and a clearer picture of the nature of housing at Solunto is now available.[664]

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[661] Stillwell 1976, 849; and Greco 2005, 29.
[662] See Chapter 2.
[663] For the articles see for example: Natoli 1966; Italia and Lima 1987; and Famà 1987. For the Guidebook see: Tusa et al. 1994. For the decorative program see: Pernice 1938, 14-16; De Vos 1975; von Boeselager 1983, 55-60; and Greco 1997.
[664] Wölf 2003; however, Wölf's study focuses on Sol07, and only provides additional descriptions of its neighbours: Sol01; Sol03; Sol06; and Sol08; with mentions of particular features from other houses in his overall discussion on ground plan and room function (pp. 71-8).

4.4.4   Date

There are three main phases for the domestic architecture at Solunto. The first, the so-called

Punic phase, is characterised by the initial construction of non-colonnaded-courtyard

houses, and is likely contemporary with the layout of the new town. Natoli dates this phase

to the mid-fourth-century-BC.[665] The second, the late-Hellenistic phase, which is of most

importance for this study, is commonly characterised as a drastic rebuilding of many of

these structures into the more formal houses, often with colonnaded courtyards, that are

extant today. The date given by the excavators for this phase falls within the mid- to late-

second-century-BC.[666] This date is supported stylistically by the *opus signinum* and some of

the *opus tessellatum* pavements, as well as remains of 'masonry-style' wall painting (see

also below).[667] It is also the period in which a general urban transformation is seen across

the site.[668] The third, the early Imperial phase, is dated to the second half of the first century

BC or later. To this period belong further renovations to some of the houses, including

additional *opus tessellatum* pavements, primarily bichrome, and the elaborate wall paintings

of Sol01 and Sol11 that show a transitional phase between the Pompeian Second and Third

Styles.[669] As these later renovations fall just outside of the time period of this study they are

only briefly mentioned.

These dates are not unanimously accepted, however, and a lack of stratigraphic

excavations allows features to be interpreted along a sliding scale (Table 4.1). Portale, for

example, suggests that the major organisation of the town occurred in the late second to

early first centuries BC, and that it was at this time that the orthogonal plan was adopted and

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[665] Natoli 1966, 186.
[666] For the first two phases and their dates see: Natoli 1966; and Italia and Lima 1987.
[667] For general consensus of a second-century-BC date for the extant houses based upon
architectural details and decorative style see for example De Vos 1975, 200; von Sydow 1984, 350-7,
nos 21-22, 48-9; Wilson 1990b, 76; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 241; Greco 1997; Wilson 2000a,
141; and Greco 2011, 304, 311.
[668] Campagna 2011, 163.
[669] For dates based on the floor and wall decoration see De Vos 1975.

the colonnaded-courtyard houses were constructed.[670] Conversely, Wölf reconstructs the

building phases of Sol07 as more gradual. He acknowledges the first 'Punic' phase noted

above, but suggests that this phase also includes a sub-phase with evidence of a

colonnaded-courtyard house built in the early third century BC. To this later sub-phase he

attributes the current house, along with its monochrome *opus tessellatum* pavements and

'masonry-style' wall decoration. He then joins with the traditional chronology and suggests

that the *opus signinum* pavement of the courtyard (along with other features) belongs to a

separate (second) phase during the late Hellenistic Period.[671] He supports his chronology by

comparing the ground plan of this 'third-century-BC house' to 'contemporaries' at Tindari

(Tin02) and Monte Iato (Iato01).[672] The dates of these houses are also contested (see

Chapters 3 and 5), and therefore do not provide a valid enough argument to reconsider the

traditional dating of the houses at Solunto. Also debated is the date of many of the

decorative pavements. The majority of the *opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum* pavements

are commonly considered part of the second (Hellenistic) phase and contemporary with the

initial laying out of the house in the second century BC, while the bichrome mosaics are

dated to the third (early Imperial) phase.[673] Greco, however, suggests that the monochrome

opus tessellatum may also belong to the third phase (see also Sol01 below for the rationale

behind this argument).[674] In this study a date of the extant houses between the late second

and early first centuries BC, and Greco's chronology for the decorative pavements, is

adopted.

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[670] Portale 2006, esp. 70 ff.; and Portale 2007, 159-60. See also Portale 2001-2002, esp. 72 ff.
[671] Wölf 2003, 51-52.
[672] Wölf 2003, 101.
[673] See for example: De Vos 1975, 200.
[674] Greco 1997, 46-7.

Table 4.1. Proposed phases and interpretations of dates for the domestic architecture at Solunto

Phase	Features	Traditional	Portale	Wölf
1	Layout of the urban plan Construction: non-colonnaded-courtyard houses	4th / 3rd centuries BC		pre-200 BC
2	Renovation: construction of colonnaded-courtyard houses	mid- / late 2nd-century-BC to early 1st century BC	late 2nd to early 1st centuries BC	
2	Renovation: additional pavement laid. Mostly *opus signinum*.			late 2nd to early 1st centuries BC
3	Renovation: additional decorative pavements (mostly bichrome *opus tessellatum*) and 2nd to 3rd style wall paintings	Mid-1st-century-BC or later		

4.4.5 Domestic architecture

4.4.5.1 Sol01 (Casa di Leda)[675]

Figure 4.20 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol01 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.20. Plan of Sol01 – Casa di Leda (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 16). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

b. basin; c. cistern

<u>Major Features</u>

Sol01 is located at the junction of via dell'Agora and via Ippodamio da Mileto (Figure 4.17.i).[676] Its plan (Figure 4.20) is the best preserved, and thus the best understood, of the

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[675] Tusa et al. 1994, 61-4.

site. Along with its eponymous wall paintings and mosaic floors, this makes it the most often cited of all the houses at Solunto. The house provides a good example of how the steep terrain of the hill side was exploited. In the second century BC the house was demolished and reconstructed on three levels, with each of these having separate entrances from their respective streets.[677] The first level involves a series of shops, while the second level includes the main living quarter of the house, and the third level takes the form of the service quarters. It is important to stress that though the extant plan is on three distinct levels, this would not have been the impression given by its façade. The walls of the shops on the first level would have supported not only the rooms of the eastern side of the second level, but also the rooms of the second storey of the courtyard. Thus, to passers-by the house would have appeared as an immense, triple-storied structure; this was likely the situation for all of the houses along the via dell'Agora.

There are four shops along the via dell'Agora that are independent from the living quarters. Each shop has its own entrance directly from the *plateia*, and consists of a main area (i) and an upper *pergula* or loft-like area (ii) that is at least partially preserved as it was cut into an upper terrace. This area was accessed from the main level by wooden stairs on a stone platform.[678] The northern most shop (IV) preserves evidence of two L-shaped benches in the north-east and south-west corners, while its neighbour (III) has a large niche in its western wall, and a deeper *pergula* than the other three. The function of these features is not determined. The southernmost shop (I) preserves evidence of a small room connected to the *pergula* (not indicated on the plan), which provided access to the terrace between the

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[676] It is the south-eastern most unit of the Campione *insulae*.
[677] Italia and Lima 1987, 65.
[678] Wölf 2003, 72.

lower shops and upper main floor.[679] Shops I and IV both preserve evidence for what is

probably a central posthole, likely to support an extended floor of the *pergula*.[680]

The main living area is entered by means of a square entrance room (A) off the via

Ippodamo da Mileto, which is open to the centre of the courtyard. The entrance to Room F is

unclear, though it is generally reconstructed as being from the entranceway, suggesting that

this room was an entrance dependent, though it is commonly interpreted as a *cubiculum*.[681]

The courtyard (B) is surrounded by a double-storied, 4 by 4 colonnade.[682] In the centre of

the courtyard is a paved basin (b) that collected water and directed it into a large cistern (c)

underneath the eastern portico. This cistern, which was built into the terrace between the

shops and living quarters, was of the Punic elliptical type, and accessed from the small room

connected to the *pergula* in Shop I.[683] Directly across from the entrance is a large exedral

square room (H). Its size and location on the northern side of the courtyard suggests that

this was a main room of the house.[684] This is particularly important as Sol01 is one of the

few examples of domestic housing of Sicily that shows formal axial symmetry between the

entrance, central organisational space, and the main room of the house. Italia and Lima call

the plan of Sol01 'perfectly symmetrical' and state that it was transformed into a colonnaded

atrium.[685] Such identification is possibly supported by the small central basin area. Though

this is not a canonical *impluvium* in that it does not occupy the entire area surrounded by the

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[679] Tusa et al. 1994, 64.

[680] Tusa et al. 1994, 64, suggest it was used to support the roof of the shop.

[681] Tusa et al. 1994, 61; and Wölf 2003, 73. Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 240, connect Room F with the *pergula* of Shop I, though Tusa et al. clearly state that this small room is located on an intermediary level.

[682] The number of architectural elements in the fall provides evidence of two levels, the lower being Ionic and the upper Corinthian (Wölf 2003, 76). There is, however, some discrepancy of the order of the colonnade. Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 240, following De Vos 1975, 200-1, state that it is Doric with Ionic, and Greco 2005, 31, describes it as Ionic on both levels. The colonnade also shows remains for a parapet on the lower level and there is evidence in the fall for a balustrade on the upper.

[683] Wilson 2005, 913.

[684] Both its position across from the main entrance and its exedral form suggest that this could be classified as a *tablinum*. See Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 240.

[685] Italia and Lima 1987, 65. See also Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 240.

colonnade, the central position of the basin within the courtyard, along with the decorative border surrounding it (see below), suggest possible Roman influence. Further, on either side of Room H are rooms that have their own entrances onto the courtyard, and thus are similar to a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite. This is not, however, a canonical example. Room D communicates with Room H by means of a window in its eastern wall, and neither Room D nor J is a dining-room, but instead are of the 'small square room' type along with Room E. These are usually referred to as *cubicula* and viewed as sleeping rooms; this could be supported by the floor decoration that might provide evidence for the location of the bed (see below).[686] Room G is most likely the dining-room of the household, and it shows evidence for the location of the couches in the presence of a depression in the floor.[687] It is also the best decorated room of the house.[688] There are no remains of the eastern side of this level, though it is assumed that there would have been additional rooms whose floors laid on top of the walls of the lower level shops and were supported by arches. Wölf suggests that a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite with an *exedra* and adjoining dining-rooms was located in this missing section.[689] Though this is possible, there is no certain proof, and the remaining rooms of this level provide tangible evidence for the main rooms of the house.[690]

On the west, Rooms L-O are on the upper third level. This is interesting as the possible dining-room is the only room on this side of the main floor courtyard, and it is built into the terrace of the hillside. On either side of the Room G are staircases that led up to the

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[686] For the identification of these rooms as *cubicula* see for example: Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 240; Tusa et al. 1994, 61; and Wölf 2003, 73.

[687] De Vos 1975; Tusa et al. 1994, 63; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 240; and Wölf 2003, 66, and 73 all identify this as a *triclinium*.

[688] There are traces of 'masonry-style' wall painting from the first phase remaining under the mid-first-century-AD renovations. These renovations include panels with mythological subjects of the Dioscuri and Leda and the Swan on the northern wall. On the west wall was a central panel with a naked seated male figure, flanked by panels with winged male figures with torches. Between the panels are decorative plant stems, and below them is a dado in imitation marble. The floors are white *opus tessellatum*.

[689] Wölf 2003, 67-8, 72-73, and 81-83. See also Sol07 and Sol08.

[690] For similar critiques see: Portale 2006, 94; and Isler 2010, 317.

service rooms of the third level; traces within the travertine threshold block suggest that doors were used to close off this area.[691] The function of the rooms on the third level is not clear, though Room O is generally identified as a cistern with an attached area (N) for food preparation.[692] Wölf suggests that Room O might be a sweat-bath due its proximity with the 'kitchen' (N) and its *opus signinum* floor, but Trümper points out that it is rather large for such a purpose, and there is no evidence for a drain.[693] Room L also has its own entrance from the via Ippodamia da Mileto. This room is identified by Tusa et al. as a kitchen with an attached stable due to a series of 'troughs' or basins below slots in the wall, which separates Room L from Room M.[694] Bell, however, citing the similarity of these rooms with a public office on the southern end of the East Stoa at Morgantina, suggests that this may in fact be an example of a banker's room.[695] His supporting evidence for the identification at Sol01 includes evidence for a heavy cross bar 1.1 m. above the threshold in the door jambs; the spur wall which creates a large public area to the south and small private room to the north; and this latter room's private entrance from the living quarters below. Isler, however, does not find this argument convincing. He argues that the slots are too narrow for the exchange of money, and are more likely indicators of where stable divisions could have been placed. He is also uncertain what the need for such deep troughs would be.[696] It should also be noted that on this level there was likely a series of rooms that are now lost, which surrounded the courtyard above those on the middle level.

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[691] The stairs on the northern side were walled up at a later date (De Vos 1975, 197).

[692] De Vos 1975; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 240; and Greco 2005, 32, all refer to these as a cistern and kitchen. Tusa et al. 1994, also identify O as a cistern, but suggest the kitchen is Room L.

[693] Wölf 2003, 66; and Trümper 2010, 546, n. 73. For sweat-baths in Sicily see: Sol08 below; Morg01 and Morg08 (Chapter 5); and Iato04 (Chapter 5).

[694] Tusa et al. 1994, 63. See also Wölf 2003, 68.

[695] Bell 2005, 96. He also recognises a similar situation at three additional houses at Solunto and one at Agrigento in the so-called 'House of the Aphrodites' (Peristyle VI).

[696] Isler 2010, 319-20.

<u>Decorative Pavements</u>

The floors of the middle level of Sol01 are paved with white *opus tessellatum*, with the exception of Room E, which is paved with *opus signinum*. This latter floor preserves evidence of a central panel of *opus tessellatum* in the presence of a white and black frame in a wave pattern.[697] The *opus tessellatum* of the courtyard also shows traces of a black and white wave pattern, with a grey border, that acts as a frame around the mouth of the central basin. The *tesserae* of the entrance room (A), courtyard (B), dining-room (G), and main room (H) were laid in a diagonal fashion, while those of the small square rooms (D, E, F, and J) were laid in a more-or-less rectilinear fashion, thus differentiating these rooms. Traces of a tessellated central panel, now missing, is also visible in Room D (Figure 4.21), which has a red frame that is surrounded with a lead border. There may also have been a central panel in Room J. [698] These rooms also show possible evidence for the position of couches or beds as the northern end is marked off by *a scendiletto* of *opus sectile* cubes that is higher by ca. 4 cm.[699] Room F contains the highlight of the floors of Sol01, involving an extant central panel of polychrome *opus vermiculatum* that depicts an elaborate astronomic instrument. The motif consists of seven bronze-yellow elliptical rings encircling a red globe all within a wider circular frame on a dark blue-grey background (Figure 4.22). In the corners of the central panel were originally depicted personifications of the four blowing winds (only the figure in the upper left corner survives). The circular frame, the rings, and the globe are all contoured with strips of lead.[700] This is the only tessellated central panel at Solunto that remains *in situ*. It has been hypothesised that this may refer to the Planetarium

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[697] For the tessellated panels in Rooms D and J see von Boeselager 1983, 56; and Tusa et al. 1994, 62.
[698] De Vos 1975, 197; and von Boeselager 1983, 56.
[699] Perspective of the cubes is achieved in the use of three colours (grey, white, and green). De Vos 1975, 197; von Boeselager 1983, 56; Tusa et al. 1994, 61; and Wölf 2003, 73.
[700] De Vos 1975, 198-9; and von Boeselager 1983, 56-57.

of Archimedes, which was moved from Syracuse to Rome after the former's conquest during

the Second Punic War. [701]

Figure 4.21. ***Opus tessellatum*** **pavement with missing central panel and** ***a scendiletto*** **in** ***opus sectile,*** **Room D, Sol01 (Westgate 2000a, Fig. 4). © 2000, Ruth Westgate, by permission**

A   B
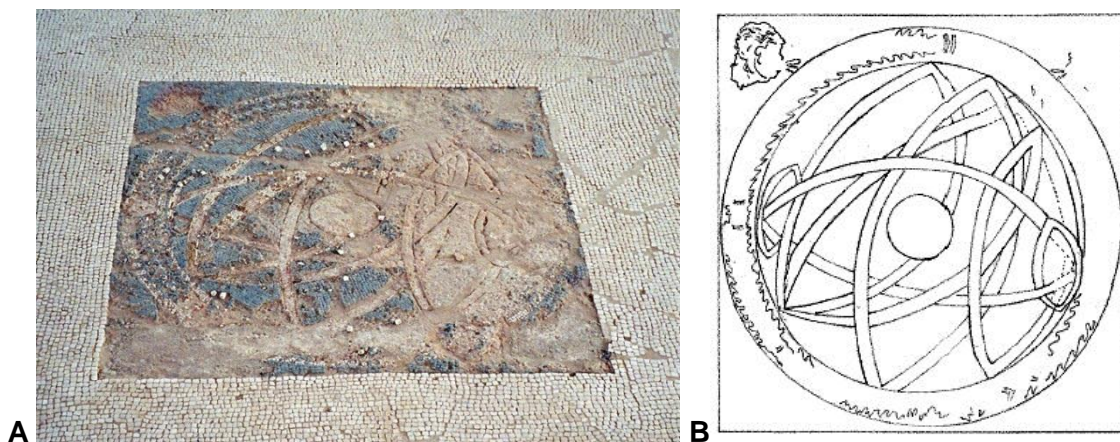
Figure 4.22. ***Opus vermiculatum*** **pavement with a central panel depicting an astronomic instrument, Room F, Sol01. A: Photo taken by author. © 2004, Karen Aberle; B: after De Vos 1975, Fig. 12. © 1975, BABesch, adapted by permission**

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[701] De Vos 1975, 199.

An odd feature concerning the decorative paving of Sol01 is that while the walls of the dining-room and main room are elaborately painted, their floors do not appear to have been given special treatment, as might be expected. Instead, such attention is reserved for the small square rooms. These rooms are often referred to as *cubicula*, with the perspective cubes marking off the location of the bed. Because of this identification, they are often assumed to have been private in nature. Their decorative treatment, however, suggests that these rooms served a variety of purposes, which probably included entertaining, signifying the problems attached with identifying rooms in houses as static areas. The treatment of Room E with *opus signinum*, while the rest of the living space was decorated with *opus tessellatum*, is also interesting. Though the combination of *opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum* in the same house is not unusual in and of itself, the singular treatment of only one room could suggest that this room was considered separate from the rest of the living quarter. Further, Greco suggests that perhaps the central panels are not contemporary with the *opus tessellatum* and *opus sectile* pavements of the remaining rooms, and that the *opus signinum* of Room F is a remnant of an earlier paving phase when all of the floors were paved with *opus signinum*, but had *opus tessellatum emblemata* inserted.[702] If she is correct, the majority of the extant pavements of the Sol01, as well as her neighbours described below, could date to the first century BC.

Sharing the *insula* with Sol01 are three houses that provide evidence for a different house type. Though there is evidence for renovations in the second phase, such alterations do not appear to have been as drastic as the larger houses in this study, and consist mostly of increasing the amount of covered space, while retaining much of their first phase plans.[703] The houses can be generally characterised as non-colonnaded-courtyard houses with a series of irregularly shaped and placed rooms (Figure 4.23).

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[702] Greco 1997, 46-7.
[703] Italia and Lima 1987, 67.
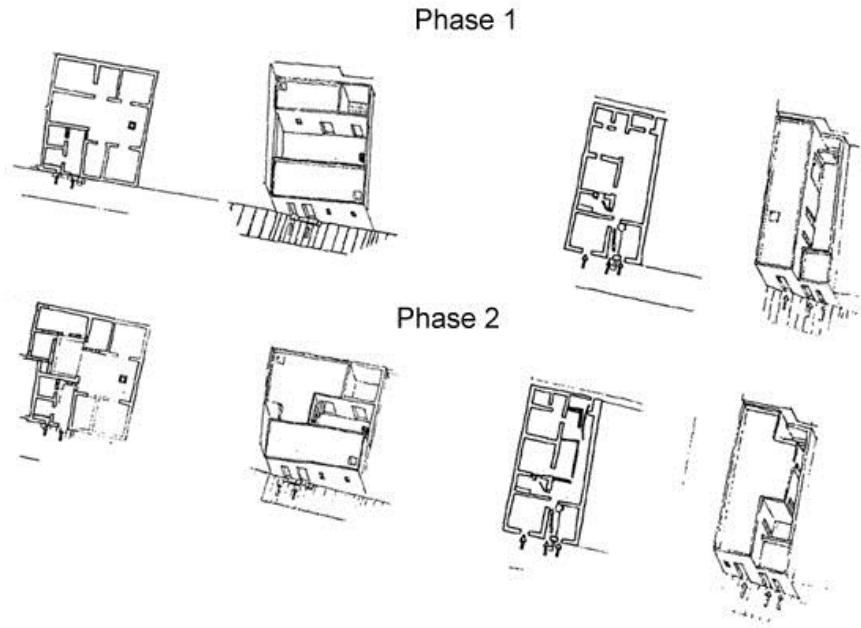
Phase 1

Phase 2

Figure 4.23. Phases of Sol02 (left) and Sol04 (right) (after Italia and Lima 1987, Tav. IX and XIV). © 1987, L'Erma di Bretschneider, adapted by permission

4.4.5.2   Sol02 (Casa del Cerchio in Mosaico)[704]

Figure 4.24 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol02 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.24. Plan of Sol02 – Casa del Cerchio in Mosaico (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 35). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

c. cistern

<u>Major Features</u>

Sol02 (Figure 4.17.ii) has two entrances from the *stenopos*. The main entrance leads into a

long narrow entrance corridor (Figure 4.24.A) that has two small rooms on its western side.

The southern room (B) has two entrances, one from the street, and a second one from the

entrance corridor. The northern room (C) has evidence for two square basins beside its door

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[704] Tusa et al. 1994, 97-8.

that are visible from the courtyard. Though the function of these rooms is unclear, similar

basins are often used to identify rooms at Solunto as stables, but as Bell's banker's house

theory for Sol01 has shown, they may also suggest a commercial function.[705] It is also just

as likely that they simply provided some domestic or storage function. To the east of the

entranceway is a large independent shop (I/i) with a distinct bipartite form, although there is

no way to determine whether it was considered part of Sol02 or the large stores to its east. A

central cistern (c) in the back room of this shop could suggest that this space was used as a

separate living space, possibly for a shop keeper, though this is pure speculation.

The entranceway of Sol02 leads to the south side of a large courtyard (D), which has

a large cistern (c) and provides direct access to two rooms. The first (E) is a non-descript

room on the north that also has a small entrance to the second room (F). This latter room is

most likely the main room. It has a second exedral door, is well-decorated, and is usually

identified as a *tablinum*.[706] Entered by means of a narrow off-centre door in the north-west

corner of Room F is a small room (G), which preserves evidence for windows in its northern

and eastern walls. This may suggest that it was used as either a sleeping- or dining- room.

Based on the placement of the mosaic the former is more likely, as its off-centre position

could mark out the area in front of a bed. To the north of Room F is a long narrow room (H)

of unknown function. Though dependent on Room F, the fine wall decoration of Room H

suggests that it too could be considered a main room. The reason for its double entrance

from the exedral square room is uncertain, though it may suggest that there was once an

internal cross wall.[707] It is important to note that the courtyard is not visible from the entrance

of the house, but instead is at a right-angle to it. While it is unclear if this was a deliberate

plan or the result of the small lot, the entrance-courtyard combination is similar to those at

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[705] For the identification as a stable see Wölf 2003, 74. For a commercial function see Bell 2005.
[706] See for example Tusa et al. 1994, 97.
[707] There is no trace of such a wall.

Punic sites, and the house might provide indication of survival of a Phoenicio-Carthaginian tradition, which is literally alongside houses that are more of the Greek or Roman traditions.[708] Wilson suggests that the main room (F) takes on a typically Punic characteristic in its U-shaped reception sequence.[709] While such a sequence typically has the main room beside the entranceway, and does not allow the guest to cross the courtyard in order to access it, the reception sequence of Sol02 Room F does ensure that this room is not visible from the street.

Decorative Pavements

Though the plan of Sol02 may make the house seem like it is a modest residence, its decorative scheme suggests otherwise.[710] The courtyard and its adjoining rooms are paved with *opus signinum* that most likely dates to their second phase of construction.[711] The importance of the exedral square room is marked out by the change in the *opus signinum* to a pattern of lozenges, while the house gets its name from the fine mosaic treatment in Room G. Here the *opus signinum* is set apart from its neighbours in that it is dominated by a large rosette resembling a reticule of rhombi that is surrounded by a narrow border with a meander design. The floor of Room H was paved with a white limestone plaster.[712]

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[708] See Sol01 above, with which it shares an *insulae*, and Sol06 below, which is directly across the *stenopos.* For the suggestion of this house retaining Punic characteristics see also Italia and Lima 1987, 67.

[709] Wilson 2005, 911, and Fig. 7.

[710] The walls of Rooms F, G and H are also finely decorated. There are traces of 'masonry-style' wall painting below the first phase of Pompeian Second Style with remains of stucco cornices and colourful garlands on yellow backgrounds (De Vos 1975, 196; and Tusa et al. 1994, 98).

[711] De Vos 1975, 197.

[712] De Vos 1975, 196.

4.4.5.3 Sol03 (Casa a Cortile)
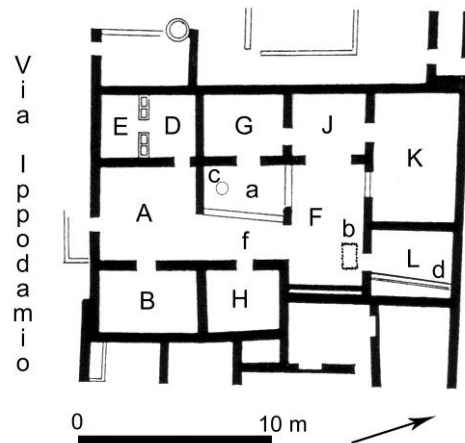
Figure 4.25. Plan of Sol03 – Casa a Cortile (after Wölf 2003, Abb. 18, adapted from Italia and Lima 1987, Tav. VI). © 1987, L'Erma di Bretschneider, adapted by permission

a. porch; b. terracotta slabs; c. cistern; d. channel / drain; f. corridor courtyard?

Major Features

Sol03 (Figure 4.17.iii) is located immediately to the west of the Sol02 in the Campione *Insula*. Like its neighbour, it is a non-colonnaded-courtyard house, which suggests retention of possible Punic characteristics, but its plan is slightly different (Figure 4.25). The house is entered from the *stenopos* through a large square entrance room (A), which is flanked on either side by entrance-room dependents. That to the east (B) is on a slightly lower level.[713] That to the west is divided into two (D and E) by a series of four basins similar to those seen at Sol01 (above).[714]

From the entrance room one is led by means of a corridor (f) into a large area (F), and the remaining rooms of the house are accessed from these two spaces. Along the south-west section of the corridor is a porch (a) that is on a level ca. 0.5 m higher, and

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[713] Wölf 2003, 69.
[714] Though Wölf 2003, 69, identifies this specifically as a stable area, there is no reason to assume these were not used for storage, or some other unknown function.

paved with *opus signinum.* It also preserves the mouth of an underlying cistern (c), with an intake in the north-east corner. Also at the north-east corner of the porch is a column *in situ*, which suggests a portico of some nature in this area. Wölf reconstructs the porch (a) as open, with the remaining portions of the house being roofed.[715] This reconstruction is unpersuasive. A section of terracotta slabs (b) lie in front of Room L, and provide a more plausible argument for space "f" being an unroofed corridor-type organisational space that runs the length of the inside of the house, and the porch being part of a roofed portico that includes the western section of Room F. Terracotta slabs provide better water resistance than *opus signinum*, and it is possible that the cistern intake was fed by drains off the portico. Further, Room L has a channel (d) running through it that connects to the *ambitus*, suggesting this was used for water run-off from an open corridor (f). The *opus signinum* pavement and column drum of the porch are possible indicators that this area was given preferential treatment. This could, therefore, be an argument for Room G, and perhaps Room J with its exedral opening, being identified as the main rooms of the house. This configuration with an open corridor (f) from which the rooms of the house were accessed is similar to that of its neighbour Sol04 (see below).[716] Open corridors are also seen at Kerkouane and in the so-called 'Hannibal Quarter' at Carthage (Chapter 2). Therefore, this plan could be evidence for retention of the original (Punic) layout of the plot. The function of the remaining rooms is uncertain.

Decorative Pavements

The only evidence for decorative pavements is the *opus signinum* in the porch (a).

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[715] Wölf 2003, 69, Abb. 20.
[716] For a similar reconstruction see Italia and Lima 1987, Tav XI.

4.4.5.4   Sol04 (Edificio con Macina)[717]

Figure 4.26 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol04 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.26. Plan of Sol04 – Edificio con Macina (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 34). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

a. millstone

<u>Major Features</u>

Sol04 (Figure 4.17.iv) provides a great example of a corridor house that has no indication of decoration or other similar extravagances, yet is situated among the larger, more elaborate houses that typically receive more attention.[718] This small residence has three entrances from the *stenopos* (Figure 4.26), with the primary entrance providing access to a narrow entrance corridor (A). On either side of this are two large shops (B and C), which are both accessible either from the entrance corridor, or their own entrance from the *stenopos*. The function of Room B, the larger of the two shops, is unclear, but in Room C the remains of the base of what is likely a kiln, and the presence of a lava millstone, which gives the house its name, suggest that it was a bakery.[719]

The entrance corridor leads into a small open area (D), which provides direct access to a single room on the western side (E). Beneath this latter room was found a large cistern, whose mouth is located in a niche in its northern wall. It is unclear how this cistern was fed. Cisterns in rooms adjoining courtyards are common at Solunto, but in most instances these are on the downward slope, and water runoff could have been channelled into the cistern

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[717] Tusa et al. 1994, 96.
[718] The house occupies the south-western most limit of the Campione *Insula*.
[719] Tusa et al. 1994, 96.

simply through gravity. This is not case with Sol04, perhaps suggesting that the cistern was fed by some other unknown means. The remaining rooms are accessed by a narrow open corridor leading from Room D along the eastern side of the house. The functions of these rooms is unclear, though the size of Room F suggests that it might have been the main room of the house, and the more private nature of Rooms J – N suggests these were the domestic and service quarters.[720] Like its neighbours Sol02 and Sol03, Sol04 suggests the retention of Punic characteristics, including a corridor-type organisational space and a small secluded room (J).[721] Italia and Lima also make special note of Room N, which they suggest is similar to open air rooms seen at Kerkouane.[722] Though they do not give an example of such a room from Kerkouane, it is possible that they are referring to the food-preparation areas that are often accessed from the narrow entrance corridors.

4.4.5.5   Sol05 (Casa con 'Atrium Tuscanicum')[723]

Figure 4.27 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol05 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.27. Plan of Sol05 – Casa con 'Atrium Tuscanicum' (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 15). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

c. cistern

Major Features

Sol05 is located immediately across the via Ippodamio da Mileto from Sol01 (Figure 4.17.v) and provides a good indication of how the larger houses of Solunto have a wide variety of

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[720] Tusa et al. 1994, 96-97.
[721] Italia and Lima 1987, 67.
[722] Italia and Lima 1987, 67.
[723] Tusa et al. 1994, 59-61.

plans (Figure 4.27). The house is built on three terraces that respect the gradient of the slope. Unlike Sol01, Sol05 appears to incorporate its living space on all three levels, and does not have formal separation between economic, living, and service quarters.[724] These are both important features that show flexibility not only in construction, but also in the perception of the layout of houses at Solunto.

The lower level has shops (A and B) fronting the via dell'Agora that, due to the slope of the hill south to north, are accessed by means of a ramp.[725] Unlike the shops associated with Sol01, these are small rooms that show no evidence for a *pergula*, and that on the north communicates with the residence proper. Room A is particularly interesting; it has two entrances, with one predictably from the *plateia*, like other shops along the via dell'Agora, as well as one from the *stenopos*, which is more in line with shops or residences that do not line the *plateia*. This second entrance is likely due in part to the presence of a water channel that enters the room from the *stenopos*. This channel is connected to a settling basin just inside the door, and the water is then directed into a large cistern under the floor.[726] From this room one could also enter into the lower section of the house.[727] The function of Room B, which is only accessible from the *plateia*, is unknown.

The second level in all likelihood constitutes the private section of the house, meaning that Room A may have also served more as an entrance room than a shop proper. Room H is a large space that was likely closed (i.e. roofed) and could be accessed from either the first or third level by means of stone staircases. It is possible that this large area acted as a organisational space for the private section of the house. To the south of this,

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[724] The lower floor of Sol05 is similar to that of Sol01, but the middle floor of the former is more in line with the cistern and *pergula* of the latter house, while the upper floor is on a terrace that is level with that of the middle section of its neighbour. To the north of Sol05, and on a terrace level with the service quarter of Sol01, is a separate dwelling altogether.

[725] Wölf 2003, 72.

[726] Wölf 2003, 72.

[727] This was likely by means of a wooden staircase, though no traces of this remain except for a gap in the western wall.

Room M, which also has its own access from the third level, is likely a service corridor. The remains of an *in situ* channel for the overflow of water suggests that it may have had an open ceiling. [728] The function of Rooms N, O, and P is unclear. Room N, which is of the 'small square room' type, has a niche in its west wall that is similar to a room in Sol06 (see below).[729] Rooms O and P are on the first level, and were likely service rooms. Room L, which is also a 'small square room' type, provides possible evidence for a sleeping room.[730] The alcove in the southern wall could indicate the location of a bed, though it is possible that this was a storage room.

The upper third level is entered through a main entrance from the *stenopos* into a narrow entrance room (C), which is open to the western portico (E) of the central courtyard (G); however, the line of sight from the street is broken by a short spur wall. To the south of the entrance is a large entrance-room dependent (D). Along the western side of the courtyard is a series of five stone bases, perhaps for columns, though there is no indication of column drums in the fill. The exact nature of the central courtyard (G) is uncertain, but it likely extended to the east over the lower sections of the house. The courtyard is erroneously referred to as an *atrium tuscanicum*. While it is possible that its roof was carried by means of intersecting beams with only a small opening over the central basin, this is nevertheless not a canonical type and there is no axial symmetry within the plan. Due to its size, Room F is likely the main room, and of a 'broad room' type. It is also very similar to Room H of Sol02.[731]

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[728] Tusa et al. 1994, 61.
[729] Tusa et al. 1994, 61.
[730] Wölf 2003, 73.
[731] For identification as a main room see also Wölf 2003, 73.

Decorative Pavements

Despite the large size of Sol05, its decoration was either relatively simple or now lost. The

only remaining evidence for formal paving is *opus signinum* in Room H, while the upper

courtyard (G) is paved with monochrome white *opus tessellatum*.

4.4.5.6   Sol06 (Casa di Arpocrate)[732]

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">
Figure 4.28 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the
plan of Sol06 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the
accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994.
Solunto. Rome.
</div>

**Figure 4.28. Plan of Sol06 – Casa di Arpocrate (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 36). Image
removed due to copyright restrictions**

c. cistern

<u>Major Features</u>

Sol06 (Figure 4.17.vi and Figure 4.28), is a good example of a moderately sized, though still

luxurious, colonnaded-courtyard house at Solunto.[733] The rooms on the east (G and M) are

on a separate terrace between 0.5 and 2 m below the main floor level.[734] Though openings

to these rooms from the main courtyard exist, it is unclear if there were rooms above them

and how these lower rooms were accessed. The rooms on the west (P, Q, S, T, U, V, and Z)

are on a terrace, 1.8 m above the main floor level, and accessed either by stairs, or the

plateia.

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[732] Tusa et al. 1994, 98-100; and Wölf 2003, 53-61.
[733] The presence of a double-storied courtyard (see below) suggests that there was a second storey,
though there is no direct evidence for how this level was accessed (see also Rooms C, U and V
below).
[734] Wölf 2003, 55.

There is evidence for a single area identifiable as a shop (Room Z), though its independence from the household makes it unclear whether it was considered part of the house itself. An interesting aspect of this room is that the southern and northern walls are thicker than the remaining walls of the house. It is possible that these were used as reinforcement for storage of a commodity with lateral thrust, such as grain. They could also be indicative of a need to support a superstructure, such as a tower, that extended higher than the other areas of the house.

The main area of the house is entered from the *stenopos* by means of a square entrance room (A), which provides direct access to the centre of the courtyard. A spur wall along the southern end likely acted as a screen from the main door to the colonnaded courtyard (D). Like many of the houses at Solunto, the entrance room has a dependent to one side (B), but the extant room is located on the lower terrace.[735] The courtyard had a double-storied 2 by 2 colonnade, and a paved central basin (E).[736] There is no evidence for a cistern below the basin itself, but collected water could have been channelled into the nearby cistern in Room M.

Immediately opposite the entrance is a square room (H) with a wide opening onto the courtyard. The fine decorative pavement (see below) suggests that this was clearly a main room. Room G, due to its size and decoration, was likely considered a main room as well. The off-centre door may indicate that it was used as a dining-room, though its large size suggests a more multi-functional area. Wölf proposes that the eastern suite of rooms is a Type II (Macedonian) three-room suite.[737] This is an erroneous assumption, if for no other reason than there is evidence for only two rooms (G and M). The wide entrance from the courtyard of Room M could suggest that it was also a main room, though its peculiar shape

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[735] Tusa et al. 1994, 99, identify this as a custodian room.
[736] Wölf 2003, 76, describes both storeys of the colonnade as Doric.
[737] Wölf 2003, 72.

and large cistern, which was fed by the central basin, has also led to the identification of this as a service room with an area for food preparation.[738]

Rooms O, P, and Q are particularly interesting. Tusa et. al. suggest that the western rooms (P and Q) could possibly be identified as a domestic shrine.[739] This is due to the presence of a small group of bronzes, dated to the first century BC, that were discovered in 1970 within the western wall of Room P. One of these was the statue of Harpocrates, which provides the house with its name.[740] Though this identification of a series of rooms set apart solely for the purpose of a large domestic shrine is a romantic notion, it would be a variance in domestic architecture that seems unlikely for a house of moderate size. Room O is well decorated and should be considered a main room, but the very narrow doorway from the courtyard may suggest that it had a more private nature than either Rooms G or H. Likewise, Rooms P and Q are on an upper level, and accessed by means of a semi-circular staircase in the north-east corner of Room O. This also suggests a more secluded nature.[741] The idea of a domestic shrine in Room P need not be rejected altogether. Likely examples of domestic shrines in rooms that are similarly accessed by a main room off the main courtyard have already been seen at Licata, and there is a further example in Iato01 (Chapter 5). In all instances, though, cultic activity was probably only one of several functions that the room performed.

The functions of the remaining rooms of the house are unclear. A very small square room can be seen in Room L.[742] Its secluded nature, by means of a long corridor (J), may suggest this is a small private bedroom, or even a servant's quarter next to the large service area (M), but neither of these are definitive identifications, and it is as likely that the room

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[738] Tusa et al. 1994, 100.
[739] Tusa et al. 1994, 100.
[740] It is perhaps also an indication of the spread of Egyptian cult at Solunto (Tusa et al. 1994, 100).
[741] Tusa et al. 1994, 100, suggest that this occurred at a later phase, and that Rooms P and Q were originally part of a separate dwelling.
[742] Ca. 2.1 m wide.

represents little more than a closet.[743] On the western side of the courtyard, and accessed via a small staircase, is a possible bathing area (S). This identification is based primarily on the platform along its western wall that could have supported a tub.[744] This room is connected to another (T), which is often identified as an area for food preparation due to its proximity to the bathing area.[745] Further service rooms might be indicated by Rooms U and V. Similar to the service rooms of Sol01, Rooms U and V are on a level above the main residence, and have their own entrance from the *stenopos*. Room U is paved with terracotta slabs and sits above a second large cistern, whose mouth was found in the eastern wall. The terracotta slabs and access to the cistern make this the most likely candidate for an area of food preparation in the plan of the house, but this identification is not certain, especially considering its apparent independence from the main space. Room C, which is of moderate size and square in shape, is entered directly from the courtyard and has a small niche in the west wall, similar to that in Room N in the neighbouring Sol05. It preserves evidence for a mortar pavement and wall decoration, resulting in it usually being identified as a sleeping room.[746] The room also has evidence for an opening ca. 0.72 m wide near the south-west corner, the sill of which is constructed from brick.[747] This opening is ca. 1.8 m high, and makes it level with Rooms U and V. Though Wölf specifically refers to this as a window, it is also conceivable that it represents a door, and that these areas were connected by a wooden ladder or staircase, or that it provided access to the upper level of a double-storied courtyard. The brickwork suggests that this sill is a later renovation or repair and it is possible that these areas were joined at a later period.

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[743] See Tusa et al. 1994, 100.

[744] Wölf 2003, 56; and Tusa et al. 1994, 100. Trümper 2010, 543, n. 73, argues that there is not clear evidence for waterproofing, nor a drain, that the platform at 0.44 m is too high, as well as too narrow, for a bathtub.

[745] Tusa et al. 1994, 100.

[746] Wölf 2003, 54; and Tusa et al. 1994, 99, both identify this as a *cubiculum*.

[747] This is not indicated on the plan, and only mentioned by Wölf 2003, 54.

<u>Decorative Pavements</u>

Room O is paved with a dense chip-pavement that likely dates to the post mid-first-century-BC renovations, but underneath this floor is an earlier *opus signinum* pavement that is probably contemporary with the second-century-BC building.[748] The courtyard, including the basin, is paved with *opus signinum* with *tesserae* of white marble. The highlight of the decorative pavements, however, occurs in Room H (Figure 4.29).[749] The floor is paved with *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in a lozenge pattern that surrounds a central panel. Within this panel is a large circular meander around a rosette, in which there is a reticule of rhombi. The pattern is very similar to that found in Sol02, which is located on the other side of the *stenopos*, and it is tempting to assume that they were prepared by the same artist. The entrance preserves evidence of a threshold mosaic also in *opus signinum* that has a meander design.[750]

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[748] Wölf 2003, 72. The walls of Room O were also finely decorated and show evidence for two phases. The first, which is likely contemporary with the *opus signinum* floor, comprises of remains of 'masonry-style' stucco. The second phase, probably contingent with the chip-pavement, suggests redecoration in the Pompeian Second Style in ample remains of stucco cornices found *in situ*, as well as coloured garlands on a yellow background.
[749] The walls preserve evidence for 'masonry-style' decoration (Wölf 2003, 55).
[750] Wölf 2003, 55, and Beil. 52.

Figure 4.29. *Opus signinum* **pavement with a concentric pattern and threshold mosaic, Room H, Sol06 (photo taken by author). © 2004, Karen Aberle**

4.4.5.7   Sol07 (the so-called 'Ginnasio')[751]

Figure 4.30 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol07 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.30. Plan of Sol07 – the so-called 'Ginnasio' (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 14). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

c. cistern

<u>Major Features</u>

Sol07 is located at the junction of the via dell'Agora and the via Cavallari (Figure 4.17.vii), and is the largest of the houses discovered at Solunto (Figure 4.30). The house is named after an inscription that was found nearby, which refers to a *gymnasiarch* named Antallos.[752] The house was excavated in the mid-eighteenth-century by Perez and restored in 1866 by

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[751] Tusa et al. 1994, 57-9.
[752] [Ἀν]ταλλος Ἀσκλάπου Ὀ[ρνιχᾶ]ς / [- - -] / [σ]τρῶσ[ιν] ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου: *SEG* XLI, 836 (cf. Campagna 2007, 113, n. 13).

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Cavallari, who arbitrarily raised some of the columns in the courtyard. These early excavations and restorations have contributed to a plan that is not entirely clear, though it does appear to be very similar to Sol01. So, while most of the houses at Solunto show wide varieties of plans, these two are unique in following a similar model.

Sol07, built on three separate levels, is believed to have had a triple-storied façade (Figure 4.19), with the middle level being doubled storied and resting on the foundations of the lower level. This lower level is characterised by four parallel shops that are independent from the house and have their entrance from a level platform along the sloping via dell'Agora.[753] Shops I and IV (Figure 4.30) preserve evidence of staircases, which are presumably to their respective *pergula* that are cut into the terrace of the hillside. On the second level the main living area is entered from the *stenopos* by means of a narrow entrance room (O), which is slightly off-centre and provides direct access and an open view to the west side of the courtyard. The plan of the two rooms on either side of the entrance is not entirely clear. Tusa et al. reconstruct a dependent to the east (N), though Wölf suggests that there is no indication of an opening on this side, and instead that it had a small opening onto the courtyard in its north-west corner.[754] And while Wölf reconstructs a dependent to the west (P), Tusa et al. indicate no communication between these two rooms.[755]

The characteristics of the large central courtyard are familiar with a paved, double-storied, 4 by 4 colonnade. In the centre is evidence for a small central basin, which collected water and directed it into a cistern beneath the floor.[756] The floor plan of the main level is characterised by a central main room (J) on the north side of the courtyard, which is square and exedral. Room J in size, shape, and decoration is very similar to Room H of Sol01. It is

[753] Wölf 2003, 72.
[754] Tusa et al. 1994, 59 (they suggest that this could be a porter's room); and Wölf 2003, 14.
[755] Wölf 2003, 14; and Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 14.
[756] The colonnade is reconstructed as being Doric on the lower section and Ionic on the upper, with evidence for an upper balustrade (Wölf 2003, 76).

also flanked by two small square rooms (H and L), that are dependent from it, and there is at least one pendant room (M) on the southern side. These rooms are commonly referred to as *cubicula*.[757] The remaining plan of Sol07 is unclear. It does not appear to have had formal rooms built into the hill on the western side of the courtyard, and the eastern section is no longer extant. Wölf reconstructs a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite on the eastern side of the house.[758] Though it is likely that this side did have formal reception rooms, and probably also a dining-room of some sort, there is no direct evidence for their layout, therefore, though possible, a three-room suite cannot be assumed.

In the north-west corner of the courtyard there is evidence for an internal staircase that led to the upper floor. Though also not well preserved, present evidence suggest that that this upper section had a shop (A) entered from the *stenopos*. Similar to Room A in Sol05, this area is characterised by a water channel with a settling basin that directed rainwater from the *stenopos* into a domestic cistern in the adjoining Room B. The location of the mouth of this cistern in this room might suggest that this was an area for food preparation. The function of the rooms on the northern half is also unknown, but they would have been connected to a series of rooms on the second floor surrounding the courtyard.

Decorative Pavements

There is not much remaining of the decorative pavement of Sol07. The floor of the courtyard is paved with *opus signinum*. In the porticoes the *tesserae* are inlaid to produce an overlaying lozenge pattern, while the central basin preserves a random scatter of *tesserae*.

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[757] For the identification of these rooms as *cubicula* see Tusa et. al. 1994, 59; and Wölf 2003, 73.
[758] Wölf 2003, 26-9, 72-3, and 81-3. For critiques of this arrangement see Portale 2006, 94; and Isler 2010, 317. See also Sol01 and Sol08.

Room J is paved with white *opus tessellatum* with the *tesserae* positioned in a diagonal fashion as is seen in Sol01.[759]

4.4.5.8   Sol08 (Casa del Deposito a Volta)[760]

Figure 4.31 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol08 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.31. Plan of Sol08 – Casa del Deposito a Volta (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 13). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

c. cistern

<u>Major Features</u>

Sol08 is located at the junction of the via dell'Agora and the via Cavallari (Figure 4.17.viii) and across the *stenopos* from Sol07. It is another example of a colonnaded-courtyard house at Solunto, and while many of its features are present in the houses already discussed, it also has a unique arrangement (Figure 4.31). As its name suggests, its distinctiveness lies primarily in the treatment of its service areas.

The house incorporates four levels into its plan, with the lower two comprised of an interesting arrangement of shops and service areas. Four separate shops (Figure 4.31.I, II, III and A), each with their own entrance, line the via dell'Agora, and while Shops A and III are entered directly from the *plateia*, its steep slope requires a ramp to Shops I and II.[761] These rooms do not have a bipartite plan, and it is unclear if they had a proper *pergula*. Two of the shops do, however, incorporate a rear room and a second level, but these secondary

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[759] The walls of Room J also preserve evidence of wall painting in the Pompeian Second Style (De Vos 1975, 203; Tusa et al. 1994, 59; and Wölf 2003, 73).
[760] Tusa et al. 1994, 54-6; and Wölf 2003, 61-4.
[761] Wölf 2003, 72.

areas are themselves formal elements of the plan, and should be considered separate rooms. For example, Shop I is connected to Shop i, presumably by a wooden staircase, but the back room is larger than that fronting it. More significant, however, is the combination of Rooms A and D. These two areas communicate with one another by means of a well-preserved stone staircase, and a second staircase in the latter room provides access to the courtyard on the third level. Thus, though Room A possibly functioned as a commercial area, it also acted as a secondary entrance room to the house itself.

The function of the rooms on the second level is not clear. The division of Rooms B and C, which have an independent entrance from the via Cavallari, are part of a later renovation, and Tusa et. al. suggest that the original room (i.e. B, C, and D) may have been a large stable.[762] This seems like an odd use for a space that has a large cistern located beneath its floor, and is connected to the main living area by means of a large staircase that entered into the centre of the courtyard.[763] Furthermore, this area preserves evidence for two transverse arches, thus suggesting that this room had a vaulted ceiling.[764] The consideration required to build this feature, a relatively new technique at this time, suggests this area was perceived as more than a shelter for livestock, and it is as plausible that this was a large storage space, or that the transitional area had a domestic function instead.[765]

The main living space provides an eclectic arrangement of room types. Superficially, the plan is very much like that of a Greek colonnaded-courtyard house, but a closer analysis reveals significant variations. The main entrance is from the *stenopos* by means of a square entrance room (F), and though it is centrally located, it also has a spur wall blocking any view from the street into the main living area. The entrance room also has two dependent flanking rooms (G and H). Wölf suggests that these might be an example of Vitruvius'

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[762] Tusa et al. 1994, 56.
[763] Admittedly, it could be argued that the cistern was the water supply for the animals.
[764] See also Shop 7 of Tin01 (Chapter 3).
[765] Wölf 2003, 61, suggests that these are storerooms.

description of a vestibule with a stable and porter's lodge.[766] Room G, however, is well

decorated, while Room H is also open to the courtyard, therefore such an identification

seems unlikely. The courtyard (J) has a 2 by 2 double-storied colonnaded courtyard with a

central basin that is paved with tiles.[767] Wölf reconstructs a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room

suite along the eastern section of this level, but there is no certainty as to the form of these

now missing rooms.[768] This description alone is standard for a Greek 'peristyle' type, but

some of the remaining rooms are less so. For instance, in the south-west corner, built on the

fourth level of the structure, is a large room (N) that probably represents a main room.

Though in shape and size it can be identified as a 'broad room' type, it does not have a wide

access onto the courtyard, and it is not opposite the entrance.[769] Its neighbour, Room M, is

not exedral, nor is it located directly across from the main entrance, and though it is easily

identified as a 'square room' type, its decoration and similarity in size to Room H of both

Sol01 and Sol06, may also suggest that it was perceived by the inhabitants as a *tablinum*.

Tusa et. al. suggest that a niche in the west wall may have been used for parchments.[770]

On the western side of the courtyard is a possible bathing area (O). It is similar to

Room S of Sol06 in that it is accessed by means of a stone staircase, and has a platform

paved with water resistant plaster against its back wall, but it does not have the adjoining

room to its north.[771] The remaining rooms surrounding the courtyard are no longer extant,

and thus remain pure speculation. Feature L is a large, built, cistern-tank that was likely

covered and had rooms on top. Wölf compares this to similar installations seen in the

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[766] Wölf 2003, 76. Vitr. *De arch*, 6.7.1.
[767] Wölf 2003, 62-3, and 76, reconstructs it as Ionic on the lower portion and Corinthian on the upper.
[768] Wölf 2003, 63-64, 72-73; and 81-83. For critiques of this arrangement see Portale 2006, 94 and Isler 2010, 317. See also Sol01 and Sol07.
[769] This room is at a slightly higher level and accessed from the courtyard by means of a step (Wölf 2003, 62).
[770] Tusa et al. 1994, 76.
[771] For the identification as a bathing area see Wölf 2003, 62; and Tusa et al. 1994, 56. Trümper 2010, 543, n. 73, questions this identification as well (see Sol06), stating that the platform is too high (0.57 m) for a bathtub and there is no safely identified drain.

Classical-Hellenistic Punic houses on the Acropolis at Selinunte.[772] The now missing eastern section probably contained additional rooms on top of the shop's foundations, but the form and function of these rooms cannot be determined.

On the upper level there is evidence for a series of rooms with an independent entrance from the *stenopos* similar to Rooms L and M in Sol01, and to a lesser extent Rooms U and V in the Sol06 (above). Tusa et. al. identify this as an area for food preparation (S) with a brick shelf (Q) and a bench along the west wall.[773] The long corridor (R) and back room fronted by six small basins they interpret as a stable. Wölf, however, suggests that the 'troughs' are part of Room S.[774] As per Bell (see above), this could also be evidence of a commercial function, similar to that connected to Sol01.

Decorative Pavements

There are minimal remains of the decorative pavement. Room G has evidence for white *opus tessellatum*, while Room M is paved with *opus signinum* with an all-over pattern of white marble *tesserae* laid in the shape of small crosslets that is surrounded by a narrow border.[775]

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[772] Wölf 2003, 62. For these houses see Di Vita 1953.
[773] Tusa et al. 1994, 56.
[774] Wölf 2003, 62.
[775] Room G and Room M show evidence for painted walls.

4.4.5.9   Sol09 (Casa del Vano Circolare)[776]

Figure 4.32. Plan of Sol09 – Casa del Vano Circolare (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 12). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

c. cistern

Major Features

Sol09 is located at the junction of the via dell'Agora and the via Perez (Figure 4.17.ix). Though the plan of the house contains rooms that are common to the other large houses already examined at Solunto, it might also preserve some Punic characteristics (Figure 4.32). The house is built on four levels. The bottom most consists of a series of three shops (Figure 4.32.I, II, and III), each with their own entrance from a ramp that levels the 3 m gradient of the via dell'Agora.[777] Two of these shops have a familiar bipartite form (I and II), and all are slightly larger than their counterparts that line the via dell'Agora. The function of the shops of Sol09 is unclear, but Shop III has evidence for an oven attached to its northern wall.[778] The back room of Shop II also preserves evidence for the mouth of a cistern cut into the upper terrace. There is no direct evidence for staircases to a *pergula* in the two northern shops, but Shop I does preserve evidence for a staircase, which provided access to a back room (i) on the upper second level. This back room leads into the main living area by means of a second stone staircase, and provides yet another example of shops at Solunto

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[776] Tusa et al. 1994, 53-4.

[777] Wölf 2003, 72.

[778] This feature is characterised by a structure 1.5 x 1.24 m with a height of 0.5 -0.7 m surrounded by an *opus signinum* lined pool (Wölf 2003, 72).

communicating with their attached house. A further shop (IV) is located on the upper fourth level with its own entrance off the *stenopos.*

The main living area is located on the third level, and is accessed from the *stenopos* by means of a narrow entrance room (A) that has an entrance dependent at its northern end (B). This latter room preserves evidence of square basins in its southern and western walls, which leads Wölf to identify these as troughs and the room as a stable.[779] The entrance room (A) does not lead directly into the courtyard (C), but is at a right-angle to it, and is therefore more like the entrance corridor of a Punic house. Tusa et. al. suggest that the colonnade, of which evidence for only two columns remain *in situ*, is a later addition. The central cistern does not preserve evidence for its mouth, and so cannot provide any indication of whether this was fed by a central basin. Due to their size, location, and decoration, Rooms D and E can be considered main rooms. Tusa et. al. identify Room D as a *triclinium*, while Wölf identifies it more generally as a main room.[780] Though the function of these rooms likely varied, Room E is a more likely candidate for a dining-room proper due to its off-centre door and concentric floor paving.[781] Rooms F, G, and H are of the 'small square room' type, and commonly identified as *cubicula*.[782]

In the north-west corner of the courtyard is a long and very narrow corridor that provides access to a group of service rooms that are between 1.7 and 2.5 m above the courtyard. Though the function of Rooms L and M is unclear, the neighbouring Rooms N, O, and P are possible candidates for a bath-suite, with the circular Room O being identified as

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[779] Wölf 2003, 74.
[780] Tusa et al. 1994, 54; and Wölf 2003, 73.
[781] The off-centre door might be due to necessity and a result of the room being fronted by a long corridor; however, this could have also been the deciding factor in choosing this room as the location of a dining-room. See below for the pavement.
[782] Tusa et al. 1994, 54 (who also erroneously identify Room E as a *cubiculum*), and Wölf 2003, 73, refer to these as *cubicula*.

a sweat-bath.[783] This identification, however, is based more on room shape than any specific installation.[784] The anteroom (N) has evidence for benches along its wall, and the small Room O retains traces of bichrome wall painting. The proximity of Rooms L and M to a possible bath-suite may indicate access to water and possible identification as an area for food preparation

Decorative Pavements

Sol09 preserves a good portion of its decorative pavement. The centre of the courtyard and Rooms F and G were paved with *opus signinum*, while the main rooms were given special treatment. Room D, for example, preserves a fine *opus signinum* floor with an all-over pattern of bichrome marble *tesserae* in the form of small crosslets, while the *opus signinum* floor of Room E was embellished with a central panel of polychrome *opus tessellatum* (no longer extant).[785]

4.4.5.10   Sol10 (Casa del Corridoio)[786]

Figure 4.33 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol10 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.33. Plan of Sol10 – Casa del Corridoio (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 11). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

b. cistern mouth; c. cistern

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[783] Tusa et al. 1994, 54; Wölf 2003, 74; and Trümper 2010, 539.
[784] See Morg01, Morg08, and Iato04 (Chapter 5) for other possible examples of sweat-baths in Sicily.
[785] Tusa et al. 1994, 54.
[786] Tusa et al. 1994, 51-52.

<u>Main Features</u>

Sol10 is located at the junction of the via dell'Agora and the via Perez (Figure 4.17.x). Though incomplete, the basic plan consists of a corridor house of a type similar to Sol03 and Sol04 (Figure 4.33). Two independent shops (I and II) line the via dell'Agora, and while that to the south consists of a relatively small single room, that on the north is larger and has a *pergula* built into the second terrace of the *insula*. The main living space is entered by means of a large square entranceway (N), which provides a right-angled access to the interior. In the south-west corner of the entranceway is a large bench or platform (O) of unknown function. It is possible that this area served as both a shop and an entranceway. Enterable from both the entranceway and courtyard is a small, narrow room (P) that preserves evidence for a large cistern (c) with a cover of two stone blocks. The overflow of the cistern was directed to the *plateia* by means of a brick channel. The corridor-type organisational space (A) preserves evidence for a second mouth to this cistern and provides access to the remaining rooms of the house by means of a steep ramp. The plausible functions of these rooms are unclear. Only a single room (B) preserves any evidence for decorative pavements (see below), and this is located next to a relatively large room (E), which possibly functioned as the main room of the house. A second large room (M), accessible from a narrow passageway (J) that led from the courtyard to the *ambitus*, preserves evidence for a second large cistern built into the lower terrace (L). This feature and its proximity to the *ambitus* may suggest that this was the food-preparation area. The plans of the remaining rooms are incomplete, though Tusa et al. identify Rooms F and G as *cubicula*.[787]

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[787] Tusa et al. 1994, 52.

The only evidence remaining for decorative pavements is a patch of *opus signinum* in Room

B. The pattern, if any, is unclear.

4.4.5.11   Sol11 (Casa delle Maschere)[788]

Figure 4.34 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol11 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.34. Plan of Sol11 – Casa delle Maschere (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 33). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Main Features

Sol11 is located along the via Ippodamo da Mileto above the Campione *Insula* (Figure

4.17.xi). There is evidence for a large shop (Figure 4.34.q) that is entered from this major

thoroughfare, though there are no remaining features to suggest function. The house is

likely similar to that of Sol05 in that it appears to be a multiple-courtyard house on two levels

that were dictated by the terracing of the steep terrain. The plan of the lower organisational

space, which was likely a closed (i.e. roofed) area and approached from the *stenopos* on a

lower third level by means of a staircase (a), is largely obscured by the modern excavation

offices. The large Room c, however, was probably a main room, and preserved evidence for

elaborate wall paintings of the Pompeian Second Style, after which the house is named.

These are now on display in the Museo Archeologico Regionale at Palermo. There is also

evidence for a ramp (d), which led to the upper courtyard, and had at least two small rooms

entered from it.

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[788] Tusa et al. 1994, 96; and De Vos 1975, 195-6.

The main living, or reception, space was likely located on this upper level around a paved, but non-colonnaded, courtyard, with the lower level consisting of the more 'private' domestic area. The eastern end of the upper courtyard was approached from the *stenopos* by means of a narrow entrance room (e), which was provided with a screen into the interior of the house. In the centre of the western side of the courtyard is a moderately-sized square room (m). Though this room preserves evidence for only white plaster floors, it has stucco walls with a cornice. This, along with its similarity in form to Sol06 Room H, could indicate that it served a similar function as a main room. The remaining rooms surrounding the courtyard are highly irregular. For instance, directly across from the entranceway is a moderately-sized room (g), which has a wide entrance onto the courtyard and is decorated with a chip-pavement floor with polychrome *crustae*. The size, location, and decoration could suggest that this was also a main room, but it communicates with the corridor (d) from the lower level, and a smaller square room (h), which has a second entrance from the courtyard. These multiple entrances would be a very irregular arrangement for a reception room, and would suggest that permanent dining couches were not used. It is possible that additional reception rooms were located on the eastern side of the courtyard, above the rooms on the lower terrace. On either side of Room m are two narrow rooms that are entered from the courtyard. That on the north provides access to a further room on an upper fourth terrace. Lining the north and west walls of this latter room are a series of frescoed benches. The decoration suggests importance for the room, but there are no further clues to indicate function. Its exclusion from the courtyard suggests this was also a room of a secluded nature. To the west of the entrance way is another moderately-sized room with a wide opening onto the courtyard. This room provides the only access to a further square room in the south-west corner of the house. All of these interconnecting rooms are a feature not commonly seen in either Greek or Roman courtyard houses, and could be evidence of a retention of Punic practice where this is more common (though not universal).

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The only decorative pavements remaining from Sol11 are those in the courtyard and Room G. Both preserve evidence for a scatter of polychromatic *crustae* in green, yellow, purple, grey, and black. While the main pavement of the courtyard was a monochrome (white) *opus tessellatum* with rectangular *tesserae* reminiscent of a *pseudo-figlinum* pavement, that of Room G was a more irregular chip-pavement. Both of these are suggestive of pavements that date to the Imperial period rather than earlier, and they are therefore likely contemporary with the renovations that resulted in the wall-paintings found in Room c.

4.4.5.12   Sol12 (Bottega Artigiana con Abitazione)[789]

Figure 4.35 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol12 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.35. Plan of Sol12 – Bottega Artigiana con Abitazione (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 31). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Main Features

Sol12 is located in the north-west corner of the *insula* immediately to the south of the *agora* and theatre complex, and is accessed from a plaza (the via del Teatro) that opens off of the via degli Artigiani (Figure 4.17.xii). This house has the most unusual plan of all those surveyed in this study (Figure 4.35). Essentially, it consists of a corridor house (Rooms a – h) and a bipartite shop (m/n) that are joined by a non-colonnaded open courtyard (i).

The bipartite shop (m/n) is located on the upper terrace, and both rooms have access to the rest of the house. Tusa et al. refer to this as a living area, but their size and

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[789] Tusa et al. 1994, 91-2.

form suggest the identification as a shop.[790] The front room (n) is paved with terracotta slabs and has a bench along the western wall (q), which could also be used to support this area as having a more commercial, rather than purely domestic, nature. The middle terrace consists of a slightly irregularly-shaped and uncolonnaded courtyard (i) that preserves evidence for a Punic-type elliptical cistern (l), and a single Room (p) opening off of it, which is connected to the front shop (n) by means of a staircase. Also accessed from this staircase is a small room (o), which provides evidence for a drain hole in the outer northern wall.[791]

What was presumably the main living space is located on a third lower terrace. It is accessed from the via del Teatro by means of a narrow entrance room that was paved with *opus signinum*, and has a remains of a stone shelf on the south wall. At a right-angle to the entranceway is a corridor-type organisational space (b). It is presumed that this was an open space due to a small rectangular hole drilled into the northern wall, which would have allowed for the drainage of rainwater. The corridor provides access to an additional six rooms. Three of these rooms (e, g, and h) are relatively large square rooms and all preserve evidence for plastered walls. Of these, however, only Room e preserves evidence for a decorative pavement, and this suggests that it was likely the main room of the house, though its entranceway is not directly on the courtyard. The function of the remaining rooms is unclear. Room h communicates with the middle terrace by means of a staircase on the western side of the room. At the southern end of the corridor is a narrow room (f), which is on a slightly lower level and accessed by a series of two steps. Also entered from the corridor are two small square rooms (c and d). They also preserve evidence for plastered walls and *opus signinum* floors.

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[790] Tusa et al. 1994, 92.
[791] Wilson 2005, 913.

Opus signinum is preserved in four rooms (a, c, d, and e). The pattern of these pavements, if indeed they had any, is uncertain.

4.4.5.13   Sol13 (Casa delle Ghirlande)[792]

Figure 4.36 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Sol13 at Solunto. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tusa, A.C., Italia, A., Lima, D. and Tusa, V. 1994. *Solunto*. Rome.

Figure 4.36. Plan of Sol13 – Casa delle Ghirlande (after Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 24). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Main Features

The final house from Solunto chosen for discussion is Sol13, which is located within the northernmost known *insula* of the site (Figure 4.17.xiii). The plan of this house is fragmentary (Figure 4.36), with a portion being destroyed by the collapse of the hillside to the north. The decorative pavements also appear to have been largely renovated during the third (Imperial) phase (see below) and the relevance of the house to this discussion of mid-Republican material is minimal; therefore, its description here is kept to a minimum.

The house is accessed by means of a narrow entrance room (a), which is at a right-angle to, and on a separate terrace from, the courtyard (d). The central basin of the courtyard was surrounded with blocks that had a moulded edge and a 3 by 3 colonnade.[793] As many as three rooms surrounding the courtyard, all with bichrome *opus tessellatum* pavements, are identifiable as main rooms (e, g, and i). It is likely that the principal main

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[792] De Vos 1975, 203-5; and Tusa et al. 1994, 79-81.
[793] Evidence for only five columns remain *in situ.*

room was the large square room (i) that commands the western portico, although it is quite possible that there were additional, perhaps larger rooms, on the north side of the courtyard that are now lost. Entered from the southern portico are two long rooms (e and g). Between these long rooms is a smaller room. The function of this small square room is unclear, but the *pseudo-scendilleto* pattern and (now missing) central panel could be indicative of a well-decorated sleeping room. This room also preserves evidence for a central post hole, perhaps suggesting support for an upper *pergula*-like level, and a drain hole in the southern wall.[794] Also accessible from the courtyard is a very small room on an upper terrace, which was approached from a staircase (h). This latter room is similar to the so-called bathing areas of Sol06 (S) and Sol08 (O), but this room in Sol13 lacks any evidence for a bench to support a hip-bath, or water-proofing plaster or pavements, and it is possible that it was connected to a no longer extant upper floor. The final identifiable room in the plan (l) is located to the north of Room i. A spur wall between it and the courtyard shows that this room was not immediately accessible from the courtyard, but rather must have been reached from the room to its east, now lost, on the north side of the courtyard.

Decorative Pavements

The entire main level of the house, so far as it survives, preserves evidence for decorative pavements.[795] The courtyard is paved with chip-pavement that has an irregular scatter of polychromatic *crustae*, while the surrounding rooms (e, f, g, and i) all have bichrome (black and white) *opus tessellatum* pavements. Both of these paving types (*opus scutulatum* and bichrome *opus tessellatum*) are suggestive of a first-century-BC, or even a little later, date. Rooms g and i have concentric patterns that consist of an adjusting border and central panel of plain white *tesserae*, and an undecorated frame of black *tesserae*. The pseudo-concentric

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[794] For a similar room see Iato01 Room 18 (Chapter 5).
[795] For the best description of these see De Vos 1975, 203-5

pavement of Room c is slightly more decorative. The adjusting border is also monochrome white *tesserae*, but the central field consists of an all-over lozenge pattern fashioned with black *tesserae*. The pavement of the smaller Room f is also slightly more detailed. The floor is paved with white *tesserae*, but preserves evidence for a missing central panel. Further, in the southern section of the room are remains of *a pseudo-scendilleto* pavement in the form of a linear pattern in black *tesserae*.

4.5 BRIEF SUMMARY OF SETTLEMENT TYPE

The extant evidence for domestic architecture from the Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation settlements of Palermo, Marsala, and Solunto do not provide a straightforward housing type like those seen in the previous chapter. For example, though the houses in the current chapter are all positioned within *insulae* that adhere to an orthogonal urban plan, the plans and sizes of the houses within these *insulae* appear to be more flexible than their contemporaries from the southern coast, and are comprised of a variety of non-colonnaded-courtyard houses, including the more traditional Punic corridor-house type, along with large, well-decorated colonnaded-courtyard houses, and perhaps even reception hall and colonnaded courtyard combinations. This variety in plans is particularly true for Solunto, the site from which we have the most extant evidence. For example, the Campione *Insula* alone provides evidence for at least 10 houses of varying types and sizes. Solunto is also the most culturally eclectic of the sites examined, and preserves evidence for houses that incorporate a variety of Greek, Punic, and Roman traditions. Further, as a whole, the houses from this chapter adopt what might be considered as monumentality or extravagance in size and decoration at least one generation before those seen in Chapter 3; however, this trait still lags behind the houses that were built within the indigenous interior of the island.

Chapter 5: Urban Domestic Architecture of the Indigenous Foundation Settlements

5.1 INTRODUCTION TO SETTLEMENT TYPE

Figure 5.1. Map of the indigenous foundation settlements (Google Earth, labels added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 Cnes/Spot Image, by permission

Evidence for domestic architecture constructed during the mid-Republican period in Sicily has been chosen from three sites that fall under the category of an indigenous foundation settlement; these are Morgantina, Monte Iato, and Segesta (Figure 5.1). Both Morgantina and Monte Iato satisfy the criteria for case studies as laid out in Chapter 1, and are also two of the most systematically excavated and well published archaeological sites of the island. Segesta just narrowly meets these criteria, and consists of only a single, recently excavated, house that dates to the second century BC and preserves evidence for a courtyard. There are additional sites within the indigenous foundation type that provide further evidence for

possible Republican housing, in particular that at Centuripe.[796] They do not, however, meet the chosen criteria, and are therefore not described in this study.

There are distinct differences between the settlements discussed below. For example, Morgantina is located in what is traditionally considered Sikel territory, while both Monte Iato and Segesta are in Elymian territory, thus it would be tempting to look for divergent inter-site practices based upon these apparent ethnic differences. While such labels need to be approached with caution (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.2.2), there are some distinct differences that could be related to their geographical position. For example, while Monte Iato and Segesta, which are located in the centre of the Phoenicio-Carthaginian *epikrateia*, are the only sites being considered in this study to have extant evidence of Greek-style stone temples, Morgantina, which is located closer to the eastern 'Greek' portion of the island, instead preserves a main sanctuary likely dedicated to local Chthonic deities, and later shrines to Demeter and Kore that are located within the *agora*.[797] The significance of these variances deserves more study, though it could be suggested that these features might reflect ideologies that developed through prolonged contacts with neighbouring Greek and Phoenicio-Carthaginian settlements. For example, it could be argued that the choice to use resources to build Greek-style temples at Segesta and Monte Iato by the indigenous populations was based not solely on the religious needs of the population, but also as an outward ideological expression related to the Phoenician control of this area by constructing outwardly Greek-style buildings. This would not have had the same impact at Morgantina, which was in 'Greek' territory, and likely under the economic, if not political, influence of Syracuse. That this latter site has yet to provide convincing evidence for the construction of a stone temple, but rather appears to have dedicated resources towards the building of an

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[796] For the first-century-BC house at Centuripe see Rizza 2002.
[797] For Monte Iato see Bloesch 1984 (Studia Ietina, vol. II); and Isler 2000. For the sanctuary at Morgantina see Edlund-Berry 1990. See also below.

indigenous cult centre, could itself be a reflection of an 'indigenous' identity, although of course temples may await discovery in the extensive parts of the city still unexcavated.[798]
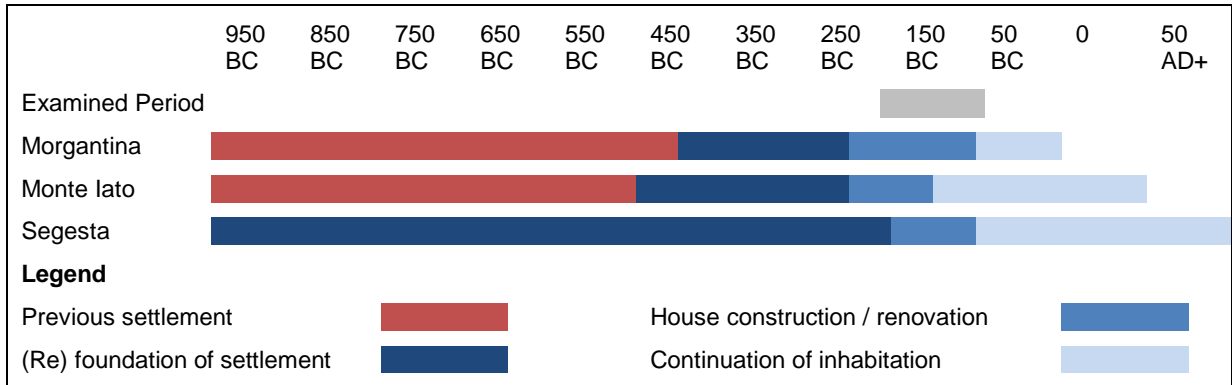
Figure 5.2. Occupational histories of the indigenous foundation settlements

Despite such variances, all three sites share many more similarities. They are all hilltop settlements located in the interior of the island with long occupational histories that stretch back into prehistory (Figure 5.2). These settlements show evidence for increasing contact with Greek material culture starting in the Archaic period, as well as indicators of Phoenicio-Carthaginian trade and interaction. This leads to a long milieu of a somewhat mixed cultural heritage for the settlements that is different from the impression given from the other sites in this study. All three areas also have features of their urban fabric that lend to their common classification, at least superficially, as 'Greek' or 'Hellenised' sites in the secondary sources. These include a Greek-style theatre and a central area that can be identified as an *agora*, with evidence for a *bouleuterion* and *stoae*. Their evidence for domestic architecture is similarly classified as being 'Greek', but as the following case studies show, the houses from Morgantina, Monte Iato, and Segesta are quite different than

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[798] For Morgantina, Tsakirgis makes note of evidence for "a Doric stone entablature and numerous fragmentary [Ionic] carved mouldings" (Tsakirgis 1995, 126. See also Antonaccio 2005, 99). This may suggest construction of a Doric temple and an early fifth-century-BC Ionic altar (respectively), though such structures should not be presumed without further evidence for foundations or additional architectural elements that would suggest the construction of a large stone building of this nature.

those from all of the other sites surveyed, including those from the Greek foundations in Chapter 1. The houses at Morgantina and Monte Iato, for example, are among the earliest extant examples of large colonnaded-courtyard houses on the island, and are traditionally dated as much as a century before those of the other sites being examined. The possible significance of this will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

5.2 MORGANTINA[799]

5.2.1 Historical background

The site of Morgantina is associated with references to the settlements of *Murgantia* (Livy), *Morgantion* (Strabo), *Morgantinae* (Diodoros), among others, and Cicero and Pliny both refer to the inhabitants as the Murgentini. The foundation history of Morgantina states that the Morgeti, from the area around Rhegium, were led into Sicily from Italy by King Morgetes.[800] The archaeological evidence suggests a settlement in the area as early as 3000 BC, with continuous occupation starting about 1000/900 BC on the Citadella hill.[801] The next chronological mention of the settlement is by Diodoros who states that it was captured by the Sikel leader Douketios in ca. 459 BC.[802] It is suggested that this event is representative of a new foundation lower down on the Serra Orlando ridge.[803] Morgantina is listed by Thucydides as being handed over to Camarina at the end of the Sicilian Expedition.[804] This would have been short lived as Diodoros has it being recaptured by Dionysios I in ca. 396 BC during his wars with Carthage.[805] Morgantina does not appear to

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[799] For a general overview of the site see for example: Stillwell 1976, 594-5; BTCGI XVIII, 724-751; and Tsakirgis 1995.
[800] Strabo 6.1.6; and Dion. Hal. 1.12.3.
[801] For a review of the archaeological evidence concerning the first settlement at Morgantina see for example Antonaccio 1997, 168-9.
[802] Diod. Sic. 11.78.5.
[803] Bell 1980.
[804] Thuc. 4.65.
[805] Dioc. Sic. 14.78.7.

have been under Syracusan control during the fourth century BC, however, and is reported

to have offered refuge to an exiled Agathokles.[806] It is likely to have formally become part of

Syracusan territory when he reclaimed control of Syracuse, and though it is never

mentioned specifically as part of Hieron II's territory, this is assumed, and therefore it would

not have been part of the Roman province in the Treaty of 241 BC. In the early stages of the

Second Punic War, however, Morgantina is described as having revolted and joined

Carthage, and is mentioned as a base for Hippocrates. This was reportedly following the

betrayal of a Roman garrison where great quantities of grain and supplies had been

accumulated for the Romans.[807] This suggests that Romans were living in the city as early

as the third century BC. Morgantina is believed to have joined Carthage's side again in 211

BC after Marcellus had departed the island. This final revolt is reported as being squashed

by Cornelius, and Livy states that the city was given by Rome to a group of Spanish

mercenaries as payment.[808] The settlement is mentioned again in relation to the slave

revolts, but by Cicero's time the impression is given that it had been ravaged by Verres and

was in decline.[809] Strabo (first century AD) describes Morgantina as no longer a city.[810]

5.2.2   Topography and urban plan

Morgantina (Figure 5.1) is located in the central eastern interior of the island 2 km north-east

of the modern town of Aidone (Figure 5.3.B) in the Province of Enna. The site was first

identified as that of ancient Morgantina by Erim, and though some debate remains, this

identification is commonly accepted.[811] The ancient city is strategically located on the

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[806] Just. *Epit.* 22.2.1.
[807] Livy 24.36.10; 24.38.3; and 24.39.10.
[808] Livy 26.21.12; and 26.21.17.
[809] For the slave revolts see: Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.26; 34/.35.9.11; and 36.4.5-8. For a settlement in decline see for example: Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.18.47; and 2.3.43.103.
[810] Strabo 6.2.4.
[811] For the original identification of the site on the Serra Orlando ridge as Morgantina see Erim 1958. For the debate see Manni 1981, 204-5; 207; and Wilson 1985b, 298. See also Wilson 2000b, 718.

eastern side of the 2 km long Serra Orlando ridge (A), which provides a plateau over the hinterland of the plains of Catania (C). The Hellenistic town spans two lows hills, while an Iron Age and Archaic settlement took advantage of the higher Cittadella Hill on the eastern end of the ridge (D). The terrain provides protection on all sides as well as a dramatic view over, and access to, the fertile plains below.
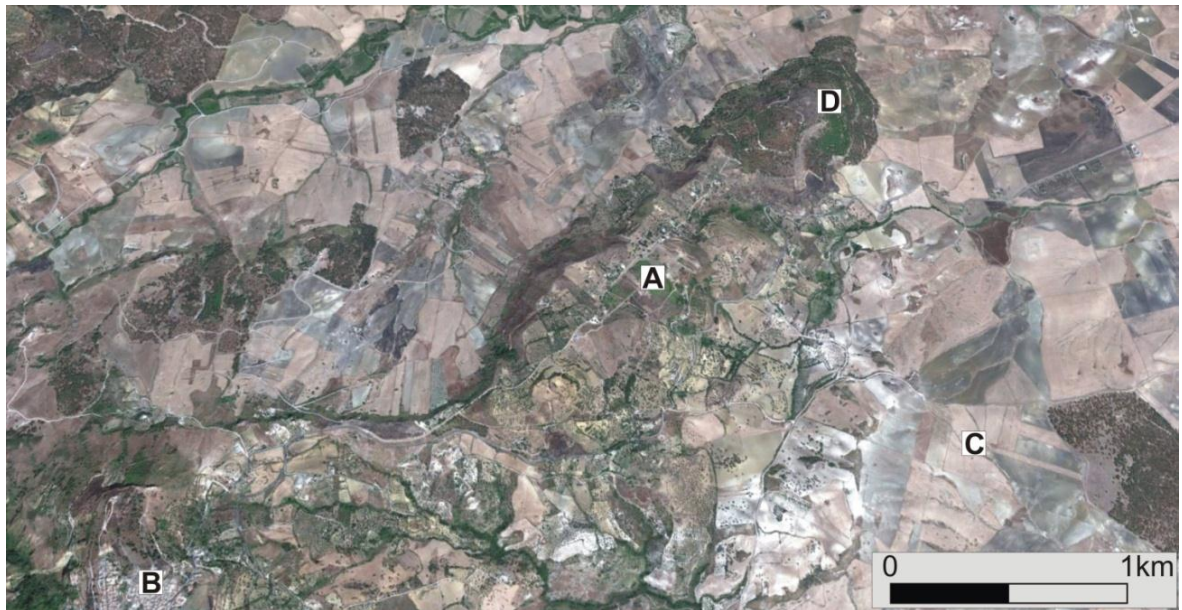
Figure 5.3. Satellite view of Morgantina and surrounding landscape (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google Earth, © 2012 GeoEye, by permission

A. Serra Orlando Ridge; B. Aidone; C. Plains of Catania; D. Citadella Hill

The excavations of the site have revealed an orthogonal street plan (Figure 5.4). Bell has attributed this to the reforms of Douketios in the mid-fifth-century-BC.[812] Though little evidence for the plan of this earlier settlement remains, evidence suggests an orientation similar to that seen in the third century BC, and recent excavations of the fifth-century-BC House of Eupolemos have revealed evidence for an *insula* measuring ca. 38.5 by 106 m,

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[812] Bell 1980, 195; and Bell 1988, 338. For Douketios and Morgantina see Diod. Sic. 11.78.5.

which was divided by a longitudinal *ambitus*.[813] What is visible of the ancient town today comes from a major period of renovation in the third century BC.[814] The site is centred around a trapezoidal *agora* that is situated on two levels. These are joined by a large stepped area (I) that is referred to as the 'Great Steps', which possibly acted as the *ekklesiasterion* of the city. The upper *agora* contains, among other buildings, three *stoae* (II), a *bouleuterion* (III), and a *macellum* (IV). The lower area is dominated by a Greek-style theatre (V) and two large granaries (VI). A Hellenistic bath complex on the western limit of the site has also been uncovered. As is the case with most of the case studies being examined, there is no direct evidence of a *peripteral* Greek-style temple at Morgantina. The *agora*, however, includes a central sanctuary believed to be dedicated to Chthonic deities (VII), as well as additional shrines associated with Demeter and Kore.[815] This has led Tsakirgis to suggest that:

> … many of the residents of Morgantina in the third century were native Sikels with only a veneer of Greek culture.[816]

This is an important assertion regarding the identity of the site's inhabitants.

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[813] Within this *insula* are lots that are ca. 17.5 by 18.5 m. For the fifth-century-BC urban plan see: Childs 1979, 378-9; Bell 2000; and Bell 2008.
[814] For the Hellenistic city see Sposito 1995.
[815] Edlund-Berry 1990; Sposito 2008; and Bell 2008.
[816] Tsakirgis 1995, 131. Antonaccio has a similar impression for Archaic and Classical Morgantina where she describes it as "neither wholly Greek nor indigenous, but hybrid" (Antonaccio 2005, 100).

Figure 5.4. Morgantina urban plan (after Cerchiai et al. 2004, 234). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

I. Great Steps; II. *stoae*; III. *bouleuterion*; IV. *macellum*;
V. theatre; VI. granaries; VII. chthonic sanctuary;
1. Morg01 (House of Ganymede); 2. Morg02 (House of the Arched Cistern);
3. Mor03 (House of the Official); 4. Insula IV – Morg04, Morg05, Morg06, and Morg07
(Houses of Palmento, Mended Pithos, Double Cistern, and Gold Hoard);
5. Morg08 (House of the Doric Capital); 6. Morg09 (House of the Tuscan Capitals);
7. Morg10 (Pappalardo House)

Through extensive excavations of the site the plan of 15 complete, or near-complete, houses and portions of several others have been recovered. On par with Solunto (Chapter 4), Morgantina provides some of the finest examples of Sicilian domestic architecture from the period being examined. Ten of these houses are discussed here.[817] The houses of Morgantina rise to the east and west of the *agora* on the Boscarini and Trigona Hills respectively and adhere to the orthogonal plan of the city (Figure 5.4). The majority of the information comes from the west hill which spans across a wide plateau and comprises the major domestic quarter of the city. The main road, *plateia* B, runs east to west bisecting the west hill. Parallel to this and entering the north-west corner of the agora is *plateia* A. Transecting *stenopoi* have also been located. The *insulae* on the Trigona, of which there is more evidence, show evidence for a central *ambitus*, but on either side of this the plans of the houses themselves vary. The size of the *insulae* varies due to the length of the hill. They

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[817] The House of the Silver Hoard was destroyed ca. 211 and never reoccupied, while the South-west house provides no obvious evidence for rebuilding or renovation during the second century BC. The plans of the House of the Antefixes and the South-east House are incomplete and too fragmentary to make any clear identification as to layout or room type, and it is unclear to what phase these features may belong. For these reasons these houses are not included in this survey. See also the fifth-century-BC House of Eupolemos mentioned above.

have an average width of 37.5 m and a length between 60 and 120 m with an *ambitus* of ca.

0.85 m wide. Less information is known from the east hill as after 1960 the excavations

focused on the larger west hill. What can be reconstructed of the street plan from the limited

excavations suggests that it was not as regular as the west hill. The three houses uncovered

on the Boscarini were built partly on terraces that overlooked the *agora*, and it is assumed

that there was at minimum an alley, if not a proper *stenopos*, along this terracing that

allowed access to the western side of the buildings. There is also at least one *stenopos*

visible to the east of Morg08.

5.2.3   Excavation and publication

The excavations at Morgantina are extensive in both space and time. They were begun in

1884 by Luigi Pappalardo, and his work included uncovering two buildings of a domestic

nature, the largest of which is Morg10.[818] Paolo Orsi also conducted trial trenches in 1912.[819]

It was not until 1956, however, that more systematic excavations were begun by Princeton

University under the direction of Stillwell and Sjöqvist. These, along with continuous projects

by the Universities of Illinois, Virginia, and Wesleyan under the directions of Allen, Bell, and

Antonaccio respectively, have revealed the remains of Iron Age and Archaic settlements on

the Cittadella, and a large portion of the Hellenistic town along the Serra Orlando ridge. The

excavations of the site are generally well published, particularly in the form of preliminary

reports in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, and formal excavation reports in the

Morgantina Studies Series published by Princeton University Press.[820] Nevertheless, while

the houses are mentioned in the relevant preliminary reports, their descriptions are brief.

The unpublished dissertation of Tsakirgis remains the best description of the houses

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[818] Pappalardo 1884, cf. Tsakirgis 1995, 123; 146.
[819] Orsi 1912; and Orsi 1915.
[820] See Morgantina Studies.

themselves, while short articles by the same author provide a good overview of the mosaics.[821]

5.2.4   Date

Specific dating evidence for each of the houses will be considered in their appropriate section, but it is worthwhile to make some introductory statements about the chronology, as the dates traditionally applied to the site make Morgantina especially important in the study of houses of mid-Republican Sicily. If the dates outlined in Table 5.1 are correct, Morgantina is the only site on the island that offers the chance to examine major changes within the same house that appear to postdate the 211 BC Roman occupation of the entire island, and which are not obscured by rebuilding during the Imperial period. This makes the houses at Morgantina unique, and though the majority were constructed during the third century BC, while the settlement was still within Hieronian territory, it could be argued that the ability to analyse changes within these house once they become part of the Republican province makes the domestic architecture at Morgantina the most relevant for a study that is centred upon analysing the initial impact that this Roman hegemony had. This importance is reflected in the following detailed descriptions, which conclude with an additional synopsis of what appears to be specifically second-century-BC features.

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[821] See Tsakirgis 1984; Tsakirgis 1989a; and Tsakirgis 1990. For the relevant preliminary reports see case studies below.

Table 5.1. Proposed phases and interpretation of dates for the domestic architecture at Morgantina

DATE	CHARACTERISTICS AND DATING EVIDENCE[822]
Pre 3rd century BC	**Phase Alpha = Earlier Buildings I?** Evidence for walls beneath extant structures. Most of these walls are not on direct alignment with the later buildings (*contra* the House of Eupolemos).[823] There is also pottery dating to the 5th and 4th centuries BC found throughout the site.[824] The earliest coins from the mint at Morgantina appear to date to the late 460s.[825]
Early 3rd century BC	**Phase Beta = Earlier Buildings II?** Evidence of walls beneath Morg02 and Morg03 suggest a building program on axis with the later buildings that can be dated to the Agathoklean / Early Hieronian period on the basis of associated coin evidence.
Mid-3rd-century-BC	**PHASE A = INITIAL CONSTRUCTION** Coin and ceramic evidence from beneath the floors of four houses suggests a *terminus post quem* for the first phase of construction of the late 4th – early 3rd centuries BC, with no material after the mid-3rd-century-BC.[826] These houses are: Morg01, Morg02, Morg03, and Morg10; the other houses are dated based on analogy to these.
2nd century BC	**PHASE B = RENOVATION AND REBUILDING** Characterised by repairs and rebuilding of existing buildings including: Morg01, Morg02, Morg03, Morg08, Morg09, and Morg10.There is also construction of new houses including the north-west corner of *Insula* IV (Morg04 – Morg07).

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[822] This chronology is clearly set out by Tsakirgis in her study of the domestic architecture (Tsakirgis 1984, 419-446). Tsakirgis' dates are based on the chronology of the ceramic evidence of Stone 1981, 1-45. The classification titles of Phases alpha, beta, A-B etc. are the author's.

[823] Bell 2000; and Bell 2008.

[824] Tsakirgis 1984, 421-5.

[825] Rutter 1997, 140.

[826] This is based upon the finds of good black glaze pottery but no Campana C ware. Coin evidence consists of a Bronze coin of Hieron II under the threshold of Room 16 of Morg01 (Tsakirgis 1984, 83; 115, n. 190) and coins of Agathocles and Hieron II beneath the floor of Morg03 (Tsakirgis 1984, 298, n. 526). For a more recent and succinct overview of the dating evidence for Morg01 see Bell 2011, 105-110.

DATE	CHARACTERISTICS AND DATING EVIDENCE[822]
ca. 35 BC	**ABANDONMENT**
	The end of Phase B is marked by a destruction level in most of the houses that is characterised by layers of burning and indications of charred wood. The fill for this level, and the associated coin and pottery deposits, provide a *terminus ante quem* for Phase B of the mid-1st-century-BC. This date is based on a fill across the site and associated coin and pottery deposits that contain no Italian red ware or Imperial coins, but do include 'pre-*sigilata*' red ware and Campana C black-gloss ware with coins of Sextus Pompey.
	This level has also been assigned a literary milepost of ca. 35 BC and Octavian's punishment of the island after it supported Pompey.[827]
1st century AD	**PHASE C = SHORT REOCCUPATION**
	There is limited evidence for a short period of occupation on the Trigona Hill only. Coin and ceramic evidence includes red ware of late Augustan and Tiberian date, with the latest datable find from a domestic context being a coin of Caligula.[828]

There have been some challenges to this dating. For example Mancini, basing her opinion on the similarity of the house types to those at Delos, and their decoration to other sites in Sicily, believes that the houses at Morgantina are more likely to date to the second century BC.[829] She also feels that the chronology is too reliant on historical milestones, thereby forcing the domestic architecture into a limited time span, and not allowing Morgantina a period of revival that is seen at other second-century-BC sites on the island.[830] She is partly correct. In published material the focus of the domestic architecture at Morgantina is centred on the third-century-BC features. While the role of the second-century-BC rebuilding is not disregarded altogether, it is overshadowed by the previous century. The majority of what remains extant, however, is the renovated second- to mid-first- centuries BC structures, and they should be treated as such. The indication for a Hieronian phase before this rebuilding, however, is supported by coin and ceramic deposits,

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[827] Stone 1983, 11-22 (also Stone 2002).
[828] See Tsakirgis 1984, 149.
[829] Mancini 2006, 174. Mancini only examines Morg01 and Morg09, the latter of which is dated to the second century BC by Tsakirgis.
[830] Mancini 2006.

and there is no reason to assume that the initial construction does not belong to this period. Furthermore, down-dating the initial construction to the second century BC would provide an even shorter occupation period for the houses, and suggest that there was little domestic building in the more prosperous third century BC. This would seem to be illogical. For this reason, it is the traditional dating that will be followed in this study; however, indicators of specific second-century-BC features and renovations will be highlighted in the final section of each house description.

5.2.5 Domestic architecture

The mid-Republican houses at Morgantina fall into one of four distinct groups. The first is characterised by houses that were built in the third century BC, but appear to have had dramatic reductions of their ground plans in the following century. These are Morg01, Morg02, and Morg03. In each instance the original third-century-BC house is believed to have been divided into two separate dwellings. This does not necessarily mean that they should be perceived as having an overall reduced living area. The second-century-BC staircases in Morg01 and Morg03 suggest a formal second storey was included at this time, therefore expanding the actual living space. Furthermore, it is also possible that the divisions seen do not represent two independent dwellings. In each instance, the decorative program of each section is clearly different, and it is possible that the renovations reflect a further separation of a domestic section of the house from an area perceived as more of a formal reception area.[831] This is how Tsakirgis reconstructs the two courtyards of the Phase-A plans of Morg02 and Morg03, and Westgate proposes that the division of Morg01 could represent the desire for a similar division.[832] The second group of mid-Republican houses at Morgantina are represented by new structures that date wholly to this period. These are

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[831] For the implications of this see Chapter 6.
[832] Tsakirgis 1984, 126 ff. and 211 ff.; and Westgate 2000b, 423.

Morg04, the Morg05, Morg06, and Morg07. This group of houses are more proper examples

of constricted living spaces at Morgantina. The third group is similar to the first in that they

took their original form in the third century BC, but instead of being divided they appear to

have been expanded. These are Morg08 and Morg09. This group is particularly important

for it discredits the idea of a complete recession in building size at Morgantina post Roman

occupation. The final fourth group is represented by a single dwelling, Morg10. Evidence

suggests that this house was built during the third century BC, and while few structural

renovations appear to have been made during the following century, a major change can be

seen in the decorative pavements, it is this last feature that is the most significant for this

study.

5.2.5.1   Morg01 (House of Ganymede)

Figure 5.5 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the
plan of Morg01 at Morgantina. For a further description of the main features see the
accompanying text. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1990. "The decorated pavements of
Morgantina II: the *opus signinum*." *AJA* 94, 425-43.

**Figure 5.5. Plan of Morg01 – House of Ganymede (Tsakirgis 1990, Fig. 6). Image
removed due to copyright restrictions**

Major Features

Morg01 is located at the southernmost limit of the Boscarini Hill (Figure 5.4.1). [833] It is a large

colonnaded-courtyard house (Figure 5.5), though its architecture is very poorly preserved,

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[833] Excavations of Morg01 were undertaken in 1956, 1957, and 1959. They are mentioned in the
second and fourth preliminary reports of the site (Sjöqvist 1958, 162; and Sjöqvist 1960, 131-3). In
the second preliminary report Morg01 is referred to as the House of the Griffin due to a fragmentary
mosaic in Room 1 that is no longer extant. See also Tsakirgis 1984, 70-84; and most recently Bell
2011. For the tessellated mosaics see also: Phillips 1960; von Boeselager 1983, 20-24; Tsakirgis
1989a; Portale 1997, 89-91; and Portale 2001-2002, 78-79.

with a portion of the western side probably having fallen down the slope. The entrance, marked by an outer step block, is on this west side and leads into a square entrance room (21), which is slightly off-centre from the courtyard and screened by a large wall. The south wall of the entrance room has a narrow doorway that provides access to Room 22. This latter room is suggested to be a latrine due to the presence of two U-shaped exit drains, which run through the room and empty onto the street, and could have been used as a flushing mechanism.

The rectangular courtyard is reconstructed as originally having a 3 by 7 colonnade.[834] As it stands today, the courtyard is divided into two areas by a wall perfectly aligned with the north wall of Room 2. This dividing wall bonds to the screen wall of the entrance room, which replaces the fourth through sixth columns of the western colonnade. This suggests that the house was divided into two separate units at a later phase. A cistern in each half of the house could also be representative of two households.[835]

Three of the rooms opening onto the eastern portico, Rooms 1, 2, and 4, are commonly referred to as *androns* based on their elaborate mosaic pavements and doors that are just slightly off-centre (see decoration below). While Room 14 is the most elaborately decorated of the three, Room 1 is the largest, and although it preserves no extant central panel, it is possible that this was lifted in antiquity, and this could suggest that it was the finest pavement of the house. The smaller size of Rooms 2 and 14 led Bell to suggest that these were *oikoi triklinoi* or *triclinia*, and intended for more intimate gatherings

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[834] Only seven columns remain *in situ.* These are constructed from circular bricks, but limestone column drums were also found, suggesting perhaps two periods of decoration (Tsakirgis 1984, 74). The order of the colonnade was Doric, based on the discovery of three limestone capitals and two column drums that were stuccoed with twenty flutes with arises.
[835] The first cistern is between the first and second columns of the eastern colonnade; its location in the *stylobate* suggests that it is original to this phase. Likewise, broken paving around the other cistern in the southern portico suggests that this is perhaps a later addition. A decorative *puteal* found in Room 2 is likely to have belonged to one of these cisterns. It is similar to the one found in Morg08; it is made from reddish terracotta with three bands of moulded decoration; from top down: egg-and-dart, guilloche, wave (Tsakirgis 1984, 84).

than Room 1, which could hold the more traditional seven couches.[836] Between these rooms is the largest room of the house (11). In plan it is a 'broad room' type with a narrow door. There is no indication of decorative pavements, but on the exterior of the door was found stucco that was moulded to form a frame, suggesting importance of the room. Another broad room (17) can be seen opening onto the north portico. Little decoration other than minute traces of plaster remained. It does, however, have a series of rooms dependent upon it, which are more utilitarian in nature (see below). Therefore, it is likely that Room 17 was not a reception room, but the main domestic (utilitarian) room of the household.

The main service quarter appears to be at the eastern section of the house, it is accessed by a long thin corridor, which at position 5 has a separate doorway leading outside.[837] The main characteristic feature of this annex can be seen in the odd curvilinear shape of the walls of Room 8. Stillwell suggests that the room was built around large *pithoi*, though Tsakirgis finds this unlikely as they would have only been able to be filled by small amounts.[838] Other rooms of similar shape in Sicily are suggested to be sweat-baths.[839] Though there is no indication of drains or other installations, the *opus signinum* floor of Room 7 could be indicative both of room hierarchy and water protection. Other possible service rooms can be seen on either side of Room 17, with Room 15 being identified as a food-preparation area due to large quantities of coarse ware found.[840] It also has an *opus signinum* pavement. Tsakirgis identifies Room 10 as a possible sleeping room.[841] This comes primarily from the presence of a raised platform on the southern side of the room that is paved with *opus signinum*, and is thought by her to support a bed or mattress.[842] It is

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[836] Bell 2011, 119-20.
[837] The lack of a door jamb or threshold block suggests perhaps this was a later addition.
[838] See Tsakirgis 1984, 112-3, n. 167.
[839] See Morg08 and Iato04 (below); and Sol01 and Sol09 (Chapter 4).
[840] For the identification of Room 15 as a 'kitchen' see Tsakirgis 1984, 81.
[841] Tsakirgis 1984, 79-80.
[842] A similar room can be seen in Morg04 below (Room 6).

connected to a room (9) with a simple beaten earth floor, but the walls indicate that it was stuccoed and painted in the 'masonry-style'. Though sleeping in these rooms is possible, their dependency on Room 11 suggest that both should be identified more generally as main-room dependents. It is also possible that the paved platform was used to support a bathtub.[843] A final amenity might be seen in Room 13. The floor is mostly formed by a large outcrop of bedrock that was not levelled. This is unusual, and though no foundation steps have been found, Tsakirgis suggests that this might be a stairwell.[844]

Decorative Pavements

Morg01 is arguably the best decorated house at Morgantina, and as such typically receives more attention in modern scholarship than any of its counterparts. This is due to the tessellated mosaics found in the so-called dining-rooms (1, 2, and 14), and though these mosaics most likely date to the earlier Phase A, they are described here as they are early examples of trends that become popular in the second century BC throughout the island.[845]

All three rooms have a concentric pattern with at least two having a 'doormat' mosaic. The central panel of Room 1 is missing. It was surrounded by 2 frames, the inner consisting of a polychrome perspective meander; while the outer is patterned with red waves (Figure 5.6.A).[846] The outer adjusting border is paved with white chip-pavement. The 'doormat' is no longer extant except for a single curve of red *tesserae*, which is interpreted as part of a griffin, and a meander border (B).[847] The mosaics of Room 2 are slightly better

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[843] For similar platforms see Morg02 Room 21; Morg03 Room 10; Morg04 Rooms 6 and 10; Morg06 Room 2; and Morg09 Room 13; as well as Sol06 Room S; and Sol08 Room O (Chapter 4). For main-room dependents with evidence for bathing areas see Lic01-Lic05 (Chapter 3). See also the summary of room types in Chapter 6.
[844] Tsakirgis 1984, 80.
[845] For an in depth discussion see: Phillips 1960, 244-262. The walls of Room 1, though plastered, show no sign of paint, and the mosaic, though still of exceptional quality, is less intricate than the other two. The walls of Room 14 have painted moulded stucco.
[846] The meander is grey, white, red, and blue.
[847] Sjöqvist 1958, 162; and Bell 2011, 112, and Tav. VII a-b.

preserved (C). The central panel, which is centred with the room and not the doorway, has a polychrome perspective meander.[848] There is no frame and its adjusting border also consists of a white chip-pavement. Meanwhile, the 'doormat' is aligned with the off-centre doorway, not with the main panel. This might be a positive identification for the placement of dining couches as its location could indicate a gap in the couches, rather than a desire for symmetry in the room which is achieved by the central panel.[849] The 'doormat' mosaic consists of a yellow and black fillet on a white ground that is framed with a vine scroll. This is the "only border with a naturalistic motif found at Morgantina".[850] The eponymous Ganymede mosaic is the central panel of Room 14, and consists of a figural motif depicting Ganymede and Zeus in the guise of an eagle (Figure 5.7). There is no definite 'doormat' for this room, but following Tsakirgis, the section behind the door is…

> … far less carefully laid than the rest of the floor. This could imply a repair to the floor after some damage or the removal of a 'doormat' mosaic like that in Room 2.[851]

The adjusting border is *opus tessellatum* and not chip-pavement. The central panel is like Room 2 in that it is centred in the room, and not to the doorway. It also has a meander frame that is not unlike those of the other two rooms, except that it is itself framed by red strips and is made with more regularly shaped *tesserae*. These mosaics are often referred to as 'transitional' mosaics as their technique is similar to the pebble mosaic tradition except that they use *tesserae* instead of pebbles.[852] If the dating for Morg01 is correct, they are among the earliest known versions of this technique, thus leading Phillips to suggest that the *tessera* technique has a Sicilian origin.[853] Though this has been convincingly refuted in the

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[848] The meander is blue, black, and red.
[849] Westgate 2000a, 104.
[850] Tsakirgis 1984, 77.
[851] Tsakirgis 1984, 81.
[852] Phillips 1960, 247. See also Dunbabin 1979 for the development of the tessellated technique.
[853] Phillips 1960, 262.

light of more recent evidence, they remain early examples of tessellated mosaics, particularly on the island.[854]

Morg01 consists of little other evidence for decorative pavements except for plain *opus signinum* on the raised platform of Room 10 and the floors of Rooms 7 and 15, and *opus signinum* of the porticoes with white *tesserae* in rows of all four porticoes. The *tesserae* in a small section of the southern portico are spaced further apart than the rest of the pavement. Between the columns on the southern section there are also patches of an indiscriminate scatter of blue, white, and yellow *tesserae*.[855] Tsakirgis believes that this is evidence for repairs during Phase B, while Westgate parallels this to tessellated mosaics, which occasionally have decorative strips between columns.[856] The basin of the courtyard is paved with a ceramic pavement that was later covered with plaster.[857]

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[854] von Boeselager 1983, 24; Tsakirgis 1989a, 396, and 412-3; and Dunbabin 1999, 21.
[855] The walls provide little information as to painting. Room 2, 9, and 14 suggest 'masonry style', with the latter two having moulded stucco. Stucco moulded to form a door frame can also be suggested on the inside of Room 14 and outside of Room 11.
[856] Tsakirgis 1984, 75; and Westgate 2000b, 422.
[857] Specifically *opus spicatum* (Tsakirgis 1984, 73).

Figure 5.6 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting *opus tessellatum* from Morg01, Rooms 1 and 2. On the top left was a detail of the polychromatic frame of Room 1 with a double meander motif in perspective bordered by a red wave motif; on the bottom left was a detail of the 'dormat' mosaic from Room 1 with a double meander motif frame (for a comparable image see: http://www.viaggiscoop.it/foto/4020/9585/96970.jpg). On the right was the central panel consisting of a polychromatic perspective meander motif in an all-over pattern, and a 'doormat' mosaic consisting of a yellow and black fillet motif on a white ground that is framed with a vine scroll motif (for a comparable image see: http://www.enonews.it/public/immagini/2011/11/Morgantina/Morgantina_Mosaico_con_tralci_di_vite(1).jpg and http://www.squinchpix.com/Tranche2/Tiny/t~Morgantina_DSC0947.jpg). For further descriptions see the accompanying text. Original source: Phillips, K.M. 1960. "Subject and technique in Hellenistic-Roman mosaics: a Ganymede mosaic from Sicily." *ArtB* 42, 244-62.

Figure 5.6. *Opus tessellatum*, Rooms 1 & 2, Morg01 (after Phillips, Figs. 1-3). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 5.7 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting *opus tessellatum* from Morg01, Room 14, with a central panel consisting of a figural motif of Ganymede and Zeus in the guise of an eagle framed by a perspective meander motif that is bordered by red strips (for a comparable image see: http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-lNXNDKzvrDk/TXLxFhKW0LI/AAAAAAAAAcM/cTDu5n74Rqc/s1600/07_32morgantina.jpg). For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: Phillips, K.M. 1960. "Subject and technique in Hellenistic-Roman mosaics: a Ganymede mosaic from Sicily." *ArtB* 42, 244-62.

Figure 5.7.Ganymede Mosaic, Room 14, Morg01 (after Philips, Fig. 4). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

<u>Second-Century-BC Features</u>

Dating for Morg01 is difficult as the majority of the foundations lie directly on the bedrock,

and there is little soil under the floors. There is, however, evidence for an earlier building to

the north of the house, including the remains of a wall under the foundations of Room 18,

and a cistern under Room 16, which had gone out of use before the construction of

Morg01.[858] A ceramic deposit under the floor of Room 17 revealed material dating between the late fourth and early third centuries BC, and serves as a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the house.[859] Found beneath the mosaics was third-century-BC pottery, while a coin of Hieron II (275 – 215 BC) was beneath the threshold block of Room 16.[860] The fill of the cisterns contain material from the third century BC, with the exception of one Hispani coin which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the Phase-A wall construction of the second century BC. This along with the similar construction that is seen in other houses at the site suggests a date for Phase A to the second half of the third century BC, but before ca. 211 BC.[861] Phase B, however, is unclear, though it is thought that the cistern fill is evidence of the ca. 211 BC destruction of the site, and Phase B is therefore the subsequent rebuilding.[862] This phase is characterised by the possible division of the house into two separate dwellings by partition walls in the courtyard, the more carelessly-laid *opus signinum* of the south portico, and the possible addition of a latrine next to the entrance room.[863]

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[858] The cistern contained pottery dating to the fifth and fourth centuries BC (Bell 2011, 106).
[859] This includes a black glaze *kantharos* and fragments of a Gnatia *skyphos.* See Tsakirgis 1984, 115, n. 191.
[860] Black glaze ware and no Campana C ware.
[861] Tsakirgis 1989a, 397-400, and 412. See also Bell 2011, 109, who suggests that it was constructed around the middle of the century ("fu costruita verso la metà del III sec. a.C").
[862] See above for Mancini's critique of these dates.
[863] There is no firm evidence for when Morg01 went out of use, but it is believed that the entire east hill was not reoccupied post the ca. 35 BC abandonment.

5.2.5.2   Morg02 (House of the Arched Cistern)
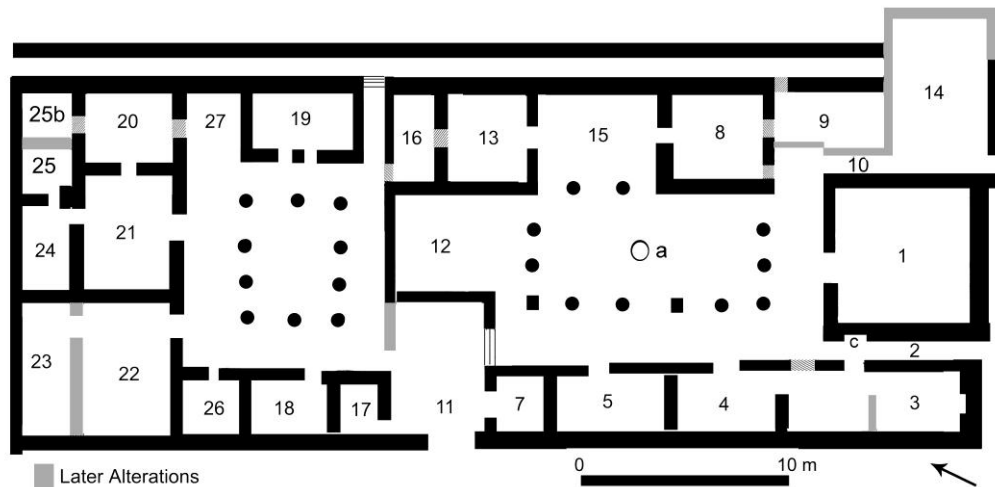
Figure 5.8. Plan of Morg02 – House of the Arched Cistern (drawn by author). © 2012, Karen Aberle

a. fountain; c. arched cistern

<u>Major Features</u>

In its present form Morg02 is traditionally characterised as two dependent, yet separate, colonnaded-courtyard houses (Figure 5.8).[864] Both sections are entered via a communal entrance room (11) off *stenopos* W4, between *plateiai* A and B (Figure 5.4.2). The entrance is marked on the street by an area of stone pavement in front of its door.[865] The entrance room has two small rooms opening off it (Figure 5.8.7 and 17). Both are rather simple, and it is possible that these represent an example of Vitruvius' description of a vestibule with a stable and porter's lodge, though both seem rather small for a stable proper.[866]

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[864] Morg02 was excavated between 1960 and 1962. For the preliminary reports see: Stillwell 1961, 279-80; Sjöqvist 1962, 138-40; and Stillwell 1963, 168-169. See also Tsakirgis 1984, 125-151. For the original third-century-BC house Tsakirgis describes the southern portion as the public section with the northern portion being the private section. Though traditionally treated as two separate housing units, it is also possible that this was a multiple-courtyard house (see Chapter 6).

[865] A similar pavement is seen at Morg03. Nevett suggests that strategies such as this, which were used to draw attention to a house from street, "were also a forum for competition between different households and were a means of conveying information about the wealth, status and identity of their occupants." (Nevett 2009b, 129).

[866] Vitr. *De arch*, 6.7.1. Room 17 has a pavement of square terracotta slabs.

The Southern Section

The larger southern courtyard has three porticoes around an unpaved basin with evidence of an ornamental fountain (a).[867] The courtyard is surrounded by a 6 by 3 colonnade, which has a peculiar element in that the north-west corner is fitted with a square pier that has an engaged column on the north. [868] The fourth support along the western colonnade is a similar pier, but without the engaged column. The reason for these piers, as opposed to columns, is unknown.

In form the southern portico is a 'broad portico' type in that it is a metre wider than that of the north, but its flooring is the same *opus signinum* of the west portico, while a section of chip-pavement preserved in front of Room 12 suggests that the northern portico had a separate paving.[869] Tsakirgis argues for a different configuration of the courtyard, with four colonnaded porticoes in Phase A.[870] The main reason for this is that before doors were added to the southern wall of Room 8 the only access to that room, and its partner Room 13, would have been to walk through the basin. To this original configuration she adds the chip-pavement of Room 15. There is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

The chip-pavement floor of the northern portico may be related to the function of the two largest, and facing, rooms of the house. Both can be identified as square main rooms,

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[867] The basin of the fountain is rounded with three stepped levels on the inside. Also found in the courtyard were fragments of white marble and a small lion's head spout, as well as two drains that are all thought to be features of this installation (Tsakirgis 1984, 126-127).

[868] A single limestone Doric stuccoed drum was found in the southern section, while the two columns *in situ* on the west side were made from brick. This suggests two decorative phases. The columns rested on stone bases that were cut from the same piece of stone as the *stylobate* block. The circular portion of the base and the column shafts were covered with stucco, while the square portion was covered by the *opus signinum* of the portico. Many other elements of the colonnade were recovered, but the variety leads to uncertainty regarding the order. Doric is assumed, as it is the most common feature, and also the most common for domestic architecture. For a description of the finds see Tsakirgis 1984 128-130.

[869] In its original form, Room 9 would have acted as the extension of this *pastas*.

[870] Tsakirgis 1984, 127.

with the entrance of Room 1 being wide, and that of Room 12 exedral.[871] Room 1 is the largest main room at Morgantina and its identification is supported by its size, occurrence off a broad portico, as well its decoration. Tsakirgis identifies Room 1 as an *andron*.[872] There is not, however, any indication for permanent dining couches, and it is likely to have been a large multi-function reception room of the type seen at Delos. The exedral opening of Room 12 is thought to have been screened by a folding door, as a limestone sill and bronze pivot plate were found *in situ*. Tsakirgis suggests that the chip-pavement in the southern portico mentioned above was used to distinguish this side of the courtyard as well.[873]

As noted, a group of three important rooms can also be seen off the eastern portico (Rooms 8, 13, and 15). The central room is paved with chip-pavement and open to the basin of the courtyard, but separated from it by two columns *in antis*. The two flanking rooms are paved with *opus signinum* and have traces of painted and moulded plaster. The doors on the southern wall of Room 8 and the northern wall of room 13 are later additions, probably dating to Phase B. Rooms 4 and 5 were likely important rooms as well based on the *opus tessellatum* of the former and chip-pavement of the latter. Room 14 can also be considered a main room based on its size and decoration. In shape it is a 'long room' type, and the corridor (10) suggests that it had a more secluded nature. This is also a Phase-B addition as suggested by its violation of the *ambitus*.

The eponymous arched cistern is in Room 2 beside the main room of the house. Above the bottle shaped cistern is an arch of five *voussoir* blocks in a niche of the wall and a *puteal* that encloses the mouth on three sides.[874] The cistern was fed by lead pipes of a high

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[871] Westgate suggests that these rooms "allowed the owner to use different rooms in summer and winter, an ideal recommended by Vitruvius (*De arch.* vi. 4)" (Westgate 2000b, 417).
[872] Tsakirgis 1989a, 408.
[873] Tsakirgis 1984, 127.
[874] The *puteal* is decorated with moulding on the bottom and dentils on the top.

pressure water system of the city located under the floor.[875] Across from the cistern is a door

that leads to a bathing area (3). This identification is based on the remains of a basin in the

southern wall, in which would have been placed a (presumably) terracotta tub, and the basin

would have allowed for the circulation of warm air to heat the water (Figure 5.9). The basin

is plastered with waterproof stucco, has a drain in the north-east corner, and a terracotta

pipe, likely representative of flue, in the south-east corner. This feature is part of the Phase-

B rebuilding, and coincides with doubling of the south wall of the house, in which several

lava stones frame an opening ca. 0.6 m wide that likely acted as a means of heating the

water.[876] This, therefore, represents evidence for a heated immersion tub. A possible hearth

was found next to the door that leads into Room 4.[877] While Tsakirgis suggests that this was

used for heating water, and Trümper suggests perhaps its use was related to Room 4 more

so than the bathing area proper, there is no reason to suppose this feature was not simply

evidence for heating the room in general.[878] A heated room that was part of a bath-suite

would provide extra comfort and luxury. The screen wall and doorway from the southern

courtyard are thought to be later additions, perhaps when this room was made into a bath-

suite. Finally, next to the three-room suite is a possible food-preparation area (16). Its

identification is based on a floor paved with square terracotta slabs, a trough running along

the east wall that was filled with greasy black ash and pottery, and a drain that ran from this

trough into the north courtyard.

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[875] Tsakirgis 1984, 132.
[876] Trümper 2010, 537.
[877] The hearth is characterised by four flat terracotta slabs, and a tile lined circular pit sunk into the *opus signinum* floor; the pit was filled with ash.
[878] Tsakirgis 1984, 132-3; and Trümper 2010, 537. n. 29.

Figure 5.9. Basin for an immersion bathtub, Room 3, Morg02 (Trümper 2010, Fig. 15). © 2010, Monika Trümper, by permission

The Northern Section

The northern section of Morg02 is less elaborate with smaller rooms, which has led to it being described as the private section of the original third-century-BC house.[879] In the second century BC, however, it would have been like the southern section with a variety of room types around the same courtyard. The northern courtyard has a complete 4 by 3 colonnade that surrounds a paved basin, and has porticoes paved in *opus signinum*.[880] The northern side is a 'broad portico' type. This courtyard is likely to have originally had only a

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[879] Tsakirgis 1984, 126.
[880] The columns are constructed from circular bricks, and though there is no evidence of stucco, fragments of Doric capitals have been found, suggesting its order.

single portico, and the four-sided colonnade should be considered a second-century-BC addition.[881]

Though relatively small, Rooms 19, 22, and 21 are all candidates for main rooms in the form of a 'broad room' type, and all three have *opus signinum* floors, though none of them have a wide opening onto the courtyard. Additionally, Rooms 20, 21, and 22, though not a three-room suite, all appear to have been decorated, but little can be said about their possible function.[882] Room 21 has a low platform in the north-east corner built of rubble that has an unknown utility, though it is possible that it was used to support a terracotta hip-bath.[883] The original red stucco on the wall behind, and *opus signinum* underneath, suggest this was a second-century-BC addition.[884] A *pithos* was found in the north-east corner of Room 22. This feature suggests that this was a service room of some sort, which is contradicted by the stuccoed and painted walls. Excavations below the floor, however, suggest that the decoration on the east wall may belong to an earlier phase and there is evidence that the northern wall was built upon an earlier rubble wall. There is no indication of date for the earlier wall, but the fill above and below a drain under the floor of Room 22 indicate, like the evidence in the courtyard, that this early phase belongs to the early Hellenistic period.[885] Rooms 25 and 26 may represent sleeping rooms due to their relatively small size and decorative pavements (see below).[886] Tsakirgis suggests a sleeping room for

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[881] A sounding trench was dug in the northern portico to test this. It revealed an earlier rubble wall beneath the north stylobate and sherds associated with this feature suggest it dates to the early Hellenistic period. Sherds consisted of Hellenistic black glaze pottery, but no Campana C or red ware. Associated with these walls is a terracotta drain pipe and a floor of small terracotta cubes beneath the later *opus signinum floor*, as well as the cistern and stucco lined settling basin that are thought to have continued to be used in the subsequent period (Tsakirgis 1984, 141).

[882] The latter two having stucco painted a deep red (Tsakirgis 1984, 143).

[883] For similar platforms see Morg01 Room 10; Morg03 Room 10; Morg04 Rooms 6 and 10; Morg06 Room 2; and Morg09 Room 13; as well as Sol06 Room S; and Sol08 Room O (Chapter 4). See also Chapter 6.

[884] It resembles structures seen in Morg04 Room 10; Morg06 Room 2; and Morg09 Room 13.

[885] Pottery includes good Hellenistic black glaze, but no Campana C black gloss or red wares.

[886] Tsakirgis 1984, 140; and 145 suggests they are *cubicula*.

Room 24 as well due to it having a threshold mosaic.[887] All three of these rooms also have pavements with *a pseudo-scendiletto.*

Decorative Pavements[888]

The Southern Section

The decorative pavements of Morg02 are hard to date, particularly for the *opus tessellatum*, as no test trenches have been dug below these floors. Based on construction of the house, it would appear that the pavements primarily belong to the earlier Phase A, and this is possibly the case for the floors of chip-pavement, and some of the *opus signinum*, but there are many indicators that suggest that the *opus tessellatum* belongs instead to the renovations of Phase B.[889] This includes their technique; unlike the third-century-BC mosaics of Morg01, these are not transitional mosaics, and their motifs, such as *trompe l'oeil* patterns, and a "sobriety in color", links them more with the second- to first- centuries-BC mosaics from Campania.[890]

The *opus tessellatum* pavement of Room 1 is mostly missing. The adjusting border and central field have white *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion, while the frame consists of a white interlocking double meander, rendered in perspective, on a blue background (Figure 5.10.A).[891] Little remains of the *opus tessellatum* of Room 12 as well. The adjusting border and central field are white with the *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion, while the central panel is missing, except for a few white *tesserae*. The frame, however, takes the form of a

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[887] Tsakirgis 1989a, 403.
[888] Evidence for wall decoration throughout the house comes from 'masonry style' in Rooms 1, 2, 4, 14, and15, painted and moulded stucco in Rooms 8, 13, and 27, stucco painted red in Rooms 21 and 22, and scattered remains of stucco in Rooms 10, 12, and 20.
[889] Chip-pavement is seen in Rooms 5, 15, and the southern portico.
[890] Tsakirgis 1989a, 413. For the third-century-BC transitional mosaics of Morg01 see most recently Bell 2011.
[891] Tsakirgis 1989a, 402. The walls of Room 1 preserve lower portions of moulded and painted stucco in the 'masonry style', while a cornice crowns the room, and there is evidence for a door frame on the inside. Also of interest is an unusual horizontal arch above the door constructed from three blocks pierced with holes, perhaps for hanging decorations. See Tsakirgis 1984 130-131.

blue and white wave pattern, which is edged on the inside and outside with a blue and white checkerboard (Figure 5.10.B).[892] The best preserved *opus tessellatum* floor of the southern section is that of Room 4 (Figure 5.10.C). The mosaic is composed of an adjusting border and central field of white *tesserae* that are laid in a rectilinear fashion, whereas the frame is particularly elaborate. It is patterned with a white guilloche outlined in blue.[893] The knots of the guilloche consist of alternating red and yellow triangular *tesserae*, and within the loops are small rosettes that alternate in red, yellow, and blue.[894] Two rooms (3 and 11) in the southern section show evidence for plain white *opus tessellatum*. The *tesserae* of Room 3 are laid in a diagonal fashion.[895] The floor of Room 11 is no longer extant and evidence of the pavement type there is based upon the discovery of a large number of *tesserae* in the area.[896]

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[892] Tsakirgis suggests that this colour sobriety links this mosaic with "the emergent black-and-white mosaics of the first century BC" (Tsakirgis 1989a,413).

[893] The exterior edge of the frame consists of two rows of purple *tesserae* and the interior edge consists of two rows of blue *tesserae*.

[894] Tsakirgis 1989a, 402. Tsakirgis also makes note of the specially cut triangular stones in each knot which is a technique more common in third-century-BC mosaics. She says that these *"are simply tesserae cut in half, [which] were necessary because of the difficulty of framing the curvilinear guilloche with lines of squared tesserae"* (Tsakirgis 1989a, 414).

[895] Tsakirgis 1989a, 402. Tsakirgis also suggests that the floor of Room 3 was laid before the room was renovated as a bathing area, and this would explain why there is a mosaic floor in a room "of a decidedly utilitarian purpose" (Tsakirgis 1989a, 409). This need not be the case, however, and instead could be explained by the fact that a mosaic floor was laid to enhance the perceived luxury of a bath-suite.

[896] Tsakirgis 1984, 125.

Figure 5.10 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting three *opus tessellatum* frames from Morg02. On the top left was a detail of the white interlocking double meander motif on a blue background from Room 1; on the bottom left was a detail of the white guilloce motif outlined in blue, with the knots of the guilloce consisting of triangular *tesserae*, and within the loops small rosettes from Room 4; and on the right was a detail of the blue and white wave motif, which was edged on the inside and outside with a blue and white checkerboard from Room 12. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1989. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina I: the mosaics." *AJA* 93, 395-416.

Figure 5.10. *Opus tessellatum* frames of Rooms 1, 12, and 4, Morg02 (after Tsakirgis 1989a, Figs. 16, 19, 18). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

A. Room 1; B. Room 12; C. Room 4

Opus signinum is also used throughout the southern section. Inset white *tesserae* laid in rows are seen in the south portico, as well as Rooms 8, 10, 13, and the northern half of Room 9, while the southern half of this latter room is characterised by cruder white *tesserae* laid in a lozenge pattern. This latter feature is a possible indication of a Phase-B renovation. Between the two fields of Room 9 is a single strip inlaid with white lozenges that have a single blue *tessera* in their centre.[897] This strip was presumably laid where the wall that divided the original room from the broad portico once stood. Also indicative of a Phase-B renovation is that the north portico was paved not with *opus signinum*, but with chip-pavement. Room 14 deserves special mention. The floor is paved with *opus signinum* that has a central field with a pattern of poised squares laid with white and blue (or green) *tesserae*. These are surrounded by an adjusting border of *tesserae* laid in rows.[898] This is, therefore, a pseudo-concentric pattern, but Westgate further notes that an increased density of the *tesserae* in the centre may be a borrowing of concentric composition in eastern

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[897] Tsakirgis 1990, 430.
[898] Tsakirgis 1990, 430.

mosaics.[899] Its particular significance lies in the fact that this is likely evidence for a Phase-B pavement as the room violates the *ambitus.*

The Northern Section

The basin of the northern courtyard is finely paved with terracotta slabs, and though there is no clear indicator as to its date, the fact that this courtyard was altered in Phase B, and that there is evidence for *opus signinum* below it, likely means that this pavement, along with others in the northern section of the house, also dates to this period.[900] Unlike the southern section, there is no evidence for chip-pavement in the northern section, and the only evidence for *opus tessellatum* is the threshold mosaic of Room 24 (Figure 5.11). This mosaic, which is set into an *opus signinum* floor, consists of two white panels, one against each door jamb, and a central panel of cubes in perspective, which is framed by two rows of white *tesserae*.[901] The main pavement of Room 24 is *opus signinum* with possible indication of *a pseudo-scendiletto* in that the eastern section of the room consists of a field of *tesserae* laid in a lozenge pattern, while that of the western section has a field of *tesserae* laid in rows (similar treatments are also seen in rooms 25 and 26 below).[902]

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[899] Westgate 2007a, 319.
[900] A simpler pattern of the terracotta slabs occurs in Rooms 16 and 17, thus suggesting they have a service function.
[901] The colours of the cubes are yellow, red, and blue.
[902] For the pavement of Room 24 see Tsakirgis 1990, 430.

Figure 5.11 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting the threshold mosaic from Morg02 Room 24, which consisted of two white panels, one against each door jamb, and a central panel of cubes in perspective, that was framed by two rows of white *tesserae*. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1989. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina I: the mosaics." *AJA* 93, 395-416.

Figure 5.11. *Opus tessellatum* threshold mosaic, Room 24, Morg02 (after Tsakirgis 1989a, Fig. 20). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

The remaining decorative pavements are of *opus signinum*. The porticoes and Room 21 are all paved with plain *opus signinum*. This is somewhat peculiar as Room 21 is presumably the main room of this section of the house. The reason for an aesthetically lower treatment of plain *opus signinum* for the main room of this sections is likely because its pavement dates to the third century BC, when the northern section was in all likelihood the 'domestic' quarter, and therefore it would not have served a reception function.[903] The reason for the suggestion of this floor belonging to Phase A, is that the platform in Room 21 appears to sit on top of the *opus signinum*, and therefore the latter pre-dates the platform. It would appear that the more embellished pavements of Phase B were laid in rooms that did not already have paving.

Room 25 has a similar decorative scheme to that of 24, but without the tessellated threshold. Instead, the threshold mosaic consists of a six-petal rosette within a circle. There is also *a pseudo-scendiletto* pavement with *tesserae* laid in rows in the eastern field, while the western field has a lozenge pattern.[904] Similar to this is Room 26. This floor consists of a threshold mosaic, and the field in the western part consists of white *tesserae* in rows that are laid in a diagonal fashion, while the *tesserae* of the eastern part, also in rows, are laid in a

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[903] It is also possible that Morg02 was not separated into two separate units during the second century BC, and that this continued to be used as a domestic (and not reception) main room. See Chapter 6.
[904] Tsakirgis 1990, 430.

rectilinear fashion (this is also an example of a *pseudo-scendiletto*). Lastly, the *opus signinum* pavement of Room 27 differentiates the area from the portico by having a lozenge pattern of inset *tesserae*.

<u>Second-Century-BC Features</u>

Morg02 is the only building at Morgantina that has evidence not only from all three phases noted above (i.e. from the third century BC to the first century AD), but also for the earlier fifth century BC.[905] The construction of the visible structure is dated to the mid-third-century-BC (Phase A) based on sherds beneath the floors of the northern section that contained Hellenistic black glaze, but no Campana C or Italian red ware.[906] The alterations are dated to the second phase based on the assumption that these were done after the ca. 211 BC destruction. Phase B is characterised by the division of the house in two by the addition of a spur wall on the northern side of the entrance room (11). The smaller northern courtyard may have been provided with a full portico at this time. The wall separating Room 22/23 appears to have been rebuilt, and a dividing wall was added in Room 25. Also added at this time was a stairway next to Room 19 that led to the *ambitus*. The southern section also had alterations with a change in the configuration of Rooms 8, 13, and 15, as well as the possible removal of columns from the eastern portico in front of these rooms, and two doors cut into the south wall of Room 8. Room 9 was formed at this time, and the door to the *ambitus* in its east wall was blocked, while Room 14 was extended to cover the *ambitus*.[907] Alterations were also done in the bathing area, including blocking of a door and the addition of a spur wall. Dating for Phase B comes from a silver hoard found in the fill of Room 23 that contained 18 silver Roman *denarii* that date between ca. 125 and 55 BC. This hoard

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[905] This early evidence comes from excavations beneath the southern courtyard that revealed walls parallel to those above. Its date is based on associated sherds including Attic red figure (Sjöqvist 1962, 140).
[906] Sjöqvist 1962, Fig. 21.
[907] The violation of the *ambitus* also suggests a second-century-BC date.

provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction level of the room, and this is applied

across the house.[908]

5.2.5.3   Morg03 (House of the Official)

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Figure 5.12 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Morg03 with the Phase B alterations emphasised. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Stillwell, R. 1963. "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1962: preliminary report VII." *AJA* 67, 163-71.
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Figure 5.12. Plan of Morg03 – House of the Official (after Stillwell 1963, Fig. 11). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Major Features

Morg03, located at the southernmost end of *stenopos* W5 (Figure 5.4.3), is so well built with

ashlar masonry that it was initially thought to be a public building with official function.[909] Its

location overlooking the plains to the south, and particularly fine construction, could have

implications for how the owner of the house wanted to be perceived, like the houses on the

eastern hill.[910] Morg03 is similar to Morg02 in that it is comprised of two colonnaded-

courtyards that are originally thought to have been part of a single house (Figure 5.12). A

major difference, however, is that during the second century BC Morg03 has two units that

are independent from one another as the originally square entrance room of Phase A was

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[908] To Phase C, post ca. 35 BC, belongs the removal of the south wall of Room 9, additional walls in Room 19, which lie on top of an ashy layer, both courtyards being turned into *cryptoportici*, and the abandonment of Rooms 23 – 25. Dating for this phase is based on: ashy layer beneath the cross walls of Room 19 that had associated Campana C block gloss and 'pre-*sigillata*' Italian red-gloss wares. The end of this phase is marked by an ashy layer in Rooms 3, 5, 16, 19, and the south courtyard.

[909] Morg03 is one of the few houses at Morgantina that is fully excavated, and this excavation took place in 1958 and between 1962 and 1963. For the relevant preliminary reports see: Stillwell 1959, 170; Stillwell 1963, 166-68; and Sjöqvist 1964, 144. See also Tsakirgis 1984, 210-28.

[910] See Morg08 below. For the use of household façades as a means of expressing wealth, status, and identity see Nevett 2009b.

changed to provide two separate entrances (1 and 8) in Phase B. Also similar to Morg02, the entrance to the house is marked by the stone paving of *stenopos* W5, which takes into account both entrances, and therefore probably also belongs to Phase B.[911] Morg03 is unique at Morgantina in that it has an independent workshop added at a later date to its northern façade; this is referred to as 'The Potter's Workshop'.

The Northern Section

The larger northern section consists of a central 3 by 3 colonnaded and paved courtyard.[912] The northern colonnade is different than the others in that the column bases and *stylobate* block were cut from a single stone, suggesting that it is from a different phase than the other colonnades. In addition to this, the intercolumniation of the north colonnade is smaller than the other three, and their respective porticos have a coarser *opus signinum*. This suggests that the full colonnade is a second-century-BC feature.[913] The courtyard has a 'broad portico' type on its north with two small square rooms on either side; one is exedral (15), while the other is not (14). The fine decoration of the latter suggests that it was used as a reception room. Room 7 is a Phase-B addition, and could represent a 'broad room' type due to its size and alignment, though there is no evidence for decoration to confirm such identification. A main room of some nature would be an expected identification for Room 17 as it opens onto the broad portico. The nature of this room, however, is unclear. Stillwell identifies this room as an outdoor courtyard, based in part on a cistern in the middle of the floor.[914] Tsakirgis thinks this is unlikely, however, due to the doorway, and argues that water could have been

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[911] See Morg02 above.
[912] The columns are made from brick, and while stucco flute fragments were found in the fill, there is no clear indication of the order. (Tsakirgis 1984, 218). The column bases and *stylobate* block of the northern portico are similar to Morg02 above and Morg06 below.
[913] Tsakirgis 1984, 218.
[914] Sjöqvist 1964, 144.

piped into the cistern as is seen in other houses at the site.[915] The discovery of what is described as a stone altar in this room supports importance for the room, but its purpose remains unclear. Room 12, a square room, is a possible dining-room based upon its concentric mosaic. It is entered from the extension of the broad portico and not the courtyard. A possible food-preparation or bathing area may be seen in Rooms 10 and 11. The floor of Room 10 is no longer extant, but the original excavator reported an *opus signinum* floor with an upward projecting lip parallel to the east wall that could prevent water runoff. This room also has a platform in the south-west corner, also paved with *opus signinum*, which could have been used to support a terracotta bathtub, and a drain in the south-west corner that ran into the *ambitus*.[916] Finally of note is the staircase (13) that was added in Phase B, suggesting that an upper floor can also be reconstructed for this period.[917]

The Southern Section

The smaller southern section is grouped around a three sided 3 by 4 colonnaded courtyard in the south-west corner of the house.[918] The southernmost portico is likely a later addition as the southern *stylobate* of the basin is different. Rooms 4 and 5 can be considered square main rooms, but only Room 5 has evidence for decoration. The off-centre door and corner position are possible indicators that this was used as a dining-room.[919] Similarly, the off-centre door of Room 4 could indicate that it may have been a dining-room, at least in Phase

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[915] Tsakirgis 1984, 297, n. 510 and 511.
[916] Tsakirgis 1984, 219, identifies this room as a 'kitchen', while Trümper 2010, 545, n. 71, makes note of the platform as a possible support for a terracotta tub. Other indicators for food preparation are finds of broken pottery and animal bones. For similar platforms see Morg01 Room 10; Morg02 Room 21; Morg04 Rooms 6 and 10; Morg06 Room 2; and Morg09 Room 13; as well as Sol06 Room S; and Sol08 Room O (Chapter 4). See also the summary of room types in Chapter 6.
[917] It is unclear whether or not there was a staircase in Phase A.
[918] Various architectural fragments including Corinthian capitals suggest this was the order of the southern courtyard.
[919] Tsakirgis 1990, 437, refers to is as an *andron*.

A, but it preserves no indication for a decorative pavement, while other rooms do, and the addition of the door into Room 3 would suggest that in the later phase permanent couches were not used.[920] Instead, it is probably better to identify this simply as a square main room as well. Rooms 2 and 3 are particularly interesting. The importance of Room 2 can be seen in the two columns *in antis*, and in form it and Room 3 are similar to sleeping room complexes in Morg08 (Rooms 3/4) and Morg09 (Rooms 8/9 and 5/6). As it stands today, Room 3 can only be entered from Room 4, but there is evidence for doors also connecting it with Rooms 1 and 2 at an earlier period, suggesting it was not a sleeping room. A similar group of Rooms can be seen in Rooms 4, 5, and 6 in Morg10. Also interesting is the staircase in the entrance room, also belonging to Phase B, which shows traces of wooden treads and risers in the calcined stone wall.[921]

The Potter's Workshop

At some point, probably in Phase B, a series of four rooms was constructed along the north wall of the house. This north wall no longer exists, therefore it is unclear how or if they communicated with the main structure, but the lack of a visible door into Room 23/24 suggests that there might have been an access point from Room 17. This section was identified as a potter's workshop because of the discovery of three kilns made from brick and tile sunk into the floors of Rooms 23 and 24, and the fill of its cisterns that contained Campana C black-gloss ware, some thin ware, and 'pre-*sigillata'* Italian red-gloss ware.[922]

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[920] Tsakirgis 1984, 214.
[921] Tsakirgis 1984, 211.
[922] Tsakirgis 1984, 221.

The Northern Section

Morg03 also has evidence for Phase-B pavements. While the north portico, and its western extension (15), was paved with a fine *opus signinum* that had white *tesserae* laid in rows, the *opus signinum* of the east, west, and south porticoes is coarser, perhaps supporting that these were a later Phase-B addition when the remaining three sides of the colonnade were added. *Opus signinum* also occurs in Rooms 16, 17, 18, and 20. It is not clear what phase these belonged to, but the fact that the walls of Rooms 16 and 20 were moved in Phase B suggests these too should be dated to the later alterations. The most interesting decorative pavements come from Rooms 12 and 14. The latter has what Tsakirgis calls the "finest floor in the house", referring to a white chip-pavement floor that has a plain 'doormat' made from white *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion, and a central panel that is framed by a single row of red terracotta.[923] The central panel is a large white perspective meander with green, red, and blue accents (Figure 5.13).[924] The meander incorporates *tesserae* alongside strips or pieces of stone to form the pattern, and thus is a transitional mosaic similar to those seen in Morg01. Because of this it is dated to Phase A. A second fine mosaic can be seen in the adjoining Room 12. [925] This room probably dates to Phase B as it was altered in this phase from a single large room to two smaller rooms. Its floor is paved with *opus signinum*, and has a border of inlaid *tesserae* in rows and a central field of lozenges.[926]

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[923] Tsakirgis 1984, 220.
[924] Tsakirgis 1989a, 400-1.
[925] The walls of Room 12 were stuccoed and finely painted to imitate veined marble. The only other evidence of wall painting for the house comes from some plaster in Room 5, and heavy stucco in Room 3 that continues over the blocked doors (thus suggesting a Phase-B date for this alteration).
[926] Tsakirgis 1990, 431.

Figure 5.13. *Opus tessellatum* central panel, Room 14, Morg03 (Tsakirgis 1989a, Fig. 14). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

The Southern Section

There is little evidence for formal paving in the southern section except for *opus signinum* floors of Rooms 2, 3, and 5; it is unclear to which period these belonged. While evidence for an *opus signinum* pavement beneath the southern end of the courtyard may indicate that the floor above dates to Phase B, these earlier floors are associated with two rubble walls that are likely earlier than Phase A. The *opus signinum* of Room 3 has no inset *tesserae*, and that of Room 2 has *tesserae* laid in rows with a threshold mosaic where every other row is spaced more widely apart.[927] The pavement of Room 5 is particularly fine in that it has a central field of *tesserae* laid in a lozenge pattern surrounded by a frame of *tesserae* in a double meander that alternates with squares, which have a centre of nine white *tesserae*, and an adjusting border with *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion.

The Potter's Workshop

The floors of all four rooms in the potter's workshop are paved with *opus signinum* and the walls of Room 23 show traces of plaster. This is, as Tsakirgis states, "unnecessarily fine

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[927] Tsakirgis 1990, 431.

decoration for a shop."[928] Along with the indication that the kilns were built on top of the

pavement, this might suggest that these rooms had a previous function.

<u>Second-Century-BC Features</u>

The dating of Morg03 is fairly secure. Test trenches beneath the southern end of the

southern courtyard uncovered an earlier *opus signinum* floor in association with two rubble

walls, while a further test trench in Room 5 uncovered a plaster lined basin, suggesting a

previous building on the site, perhaps dating to the early third century BC, similar to the one

under Morg02. Coins of Agathokles (304-287 BC) and Hieron II (274-215 BC) found on top

of the floor of this previous building provide a third-century-BC *terminus post quem* for

Phase A of the current building. A late third- to early second- centuries-BC *terminus post*

quem for Phase B (and therefore a *terminus ante quem* for Phase A) derives from a few

sherds of early Campana C black-gloss ware beneath the floor of Room 9. The *terminus*

ante quem of Phase B is provided by six *asses* of Sextus Pompey (ca. 35 BC) in the fill on

top of the floor in the southern section. To Phase B belongs the division of the house into

two separate units and the associated changes to the entrance room and surrounding area,

including the addition of a staircase. The only major alteration to the southern section

consists of a southern portico on the south side of the courtyard, but doors from Rooms 1

and 2 into Room 3 were likely blocked at this time. The northern section, on the other hand,

has major alterations including: the building of Room 7; the ramp to the eastern portico

replaced by stairs; the division of Room 9/12 into two separate rooms and Room 10/11/13

into three; the removal of a cross wall in Room 17, making it more like a 'broad room' type;

the alteration of the northern walls of Rooms 15 and 16, the former slightly shifted to the

north, and the later given a slight jog, the purpose of which is unknown; the provision of

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[928] Tsakirgis 1984, 223.

porticoes for the east, west and south sides of the courtyard, as well as a central basin; and

the addition of the potter's workshop on the north side of the house.[929]

5.2.5.4   Morg04 (House of the Palmento)
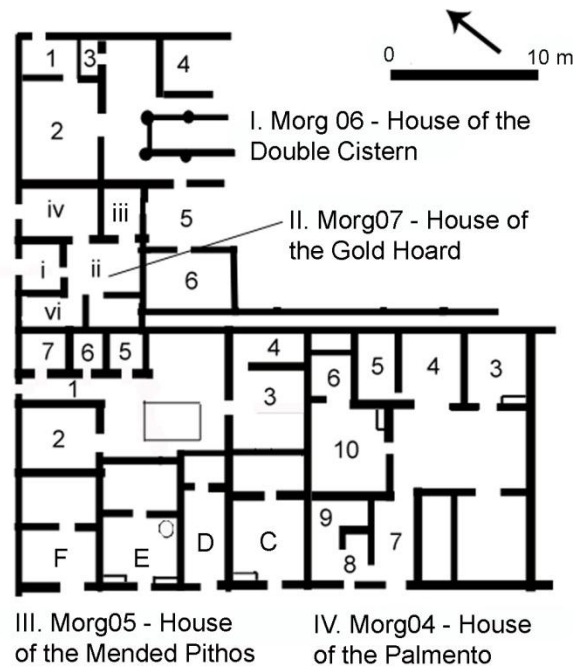
Figure 5.14. Plan of the north-east corner of *Insula* V - Morg04, Morg05, Morg06, and Morg07 (drawn by author). © 2012, Karen Aberle

Not all of the houses excavated at Morgantina are characterised by renovations to earlier

structures. There is a group of structures to the south of Morg02 (Figure 5.4.4 and Figure

5.14) that appear to rest on foundations of earlier buildings.[930] There is no direct evidence

for destruction of these earlier buildings, but numismatic evidence and construction

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[929] There is no evidence of Italian red ware or other indications of habitation after Phase B.
[930] The Morg04, Morg05, Morg06, and Morg07 were all excavated in 1966, and though the latter three are mentioned in the ninth preliminary report, they are unnamed. For Morg04 see Stillwell 1967, 247; and Tsakirgis 1984, 171-77. For Morg05 see: Stillwell 1967, 247; and Tsakirgis 1984, 166-171. For Morg06 and Morg07 see: Stillwell 1967, 248-89; and Tsakirgis 1984, 155-166.

techniques suggest that the extant houses were constructed in Phase B, and therefore after ca. 211 BC. As such they provide good examples of new second-century-BC construction.

<u>Major Features</u>

Morg04 (Figure 5.14.IV) is located on *stenopos* W4, to the south of *plateia* B. The house has not been completely excavated, and the plan of the southern rooms is fragmentary due to the presence of an olive tree and modern building, while the courtyard contains the remains of a modern mill (*palmento*). Despite its partial plan, Morg04 remains one of the most complete examples of domestic architecture that was constructed in Phase B. The entrance to the house was by means of a lateral narrow entrance room (7) that led to the north-east corner of a non-colonnaded courtyard. There is no evidence for columns or a paved basin, though the northern end is distinguished by an *opus signinum* floor suggesting there may have been a "rudimentary *pastas*" with a shed like roof.[931] The best-decorated rooms are 4 and 5 which led Tsakirgis to suggest this was a two-room variation of a three-room suite.[932] It is, however, better identified as a main room and dependent. Due to its shape and location, Room 10 is a good candidate for a square main room. Like Room 21 of Morg02, it has a platform in its south-east corner with an unknown function, though support for a terracotta bathtub is possible. Tsakirgis suggests that Room 6, another main room dependent, is a sleeping room due to a platform that may have supported a mattress.[933] The form of the rooms, however, is reminiscent of Rooms 1 and 2 at Licata (Chapter 3), as well as Rooms 15 and 16 of Morg01, and it is possible that the platform, which was paved with

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[931] Tsakirgis 1984, 173.
[932] Tsakirgis 1984, 175.
[933] Tsakirgis 1984, 175-6, refers to it specifically as a bedroom.

opus signinum, was built to support a bathtub.[934] Finally, the function of Room 8/9 is unclear, but due to its bipartite form, entrance from the street and proximity to the shops of Morg05, a commercial function is possible.[935] If this is the case, then it is the only shop at Morgantina to show direct evidence for communication with the house.

Decorative Pavements

As would be expected for a modest house, decorative pavements for Morg04 were minimal.[936] O*pus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in rows can be seen in the northern portico and Room 5. The finest floor is in Room 4, which has a central field of *opus signinum* inset with white *tesserae* in a lozenge pattern, and a border that has white crosslets with blue centres.[937] The platform of Room 6 is paved with *opus signinum* without inlaid *tesserae*, while its floor was paved with white plaster.[938] Evidence for *opus signinum* also occurs in Room 10, but there is not enough remaining of the pavement to determine whether there was a decorative pattern.

Second-Century-BC Features

The date for the construction of Morg04 is not secure, and is based on analogy with its southerly neighbour, Morg10, which was the first house excavated at the site in 1884. The walls of Morg04 are thinner, and have reused tile and small un-coursed stones in the rubble, which is uncharacteristic of Phase A. They also abut the walls of their larger neighbour, but

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[934] For similar platforms see Morg01 Room 10; Morg02 Room 21; Morg03 Room 10; Morg06 Room 2; and Morg09 Room 13; as well as Sol06 Room S; and Sol08 Room O (Chapter 4). For main room dependents with evidence for bathing areas see Lic01-Lic05 (Chapter 3). See also the description of room types in Chapter 6.
[935] There are no associated finds to prove, or disprove, this theory.
[936] For all of the floors see Tsakirgis 1990, 434.
[937] There are remains of stucco on the walls of Room 5 and remains of plaster on the walls of Room 10.
[938] The paving of the platform is reminiscent of Room 10 in Morg01.

do not bond with them. Due to these features the house is dated to the second-century-BC

Phase B, but this has not been confirmed by ceramic or numismatic evidence.[939]

5.2.5.5   Morg05 (House of the Mended Pithos)

<u>Major Features</u>

Morg05 (Figure 5.14.III) is one of the smallest completely excavated houses of the site. The

house is entered from *plateia* B, which is not normal because the entrance to most of the

houses at the site is located on the *stenopoi*. The reason for this house's unusual entrance

is likely due to the presence of a series of shops located along its long side (C, D, E, F).The

entranceway (1) is, like its neighbour's, a narrow entrance room, which is latteraly placed.

The evidence for the courtyard suggests three covered porticoes, with no indication of

columns, around a central basin. The western limit of the courtyard is marked by the walls of

the shops, with the cistern being on this side. Due to its location on the north side, and its

size, Room 2 is best identified as a square main room. Despite a lack of evidence for a

formal pavement, the larger Room 3 is a likely candidate for a 'broad room' type, though

Tsakirgis suggests that like Morg04 this and Room 4 are a two room variation of a three-

room suite.[940] She also suggests that Room 4 was a sleeping room.[941] It is, however, also

possible that this was a main-room dependent. Likely service rooms can be seen in the

small square rooms lining the eastern side of the entranceway. A stone-lined pit in the

centre of Room 6, and a drain in Room 7 that originates to the south, may suggest some

sort of water function, perhaps a food-preparation area, but there are no material remains to

support this.[942]

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[939] The house appears to have been reoccupied in Phase C as Italian red ware pottery was found on top of the floors of Rooms 5 and 8.
[940] Tsakirgis 1984, 167.
[941] Tsakirgis 1984 168, refers to it specifically as a bedroom.
[942] Tsakirgis 1984, 168, who suggests this was a 'kitchen'.

A series of four shops on the west side of the house occupy half the width of the housing block (Figure 5.14.C, D, E, and F). All four have a bipartite division, are separately entered from *stenopos* W4, and show no indication of communication with the living quarter. There is also no indication of whether any of them had an upper *pergula*. It is possible that Shop F was a smithy: the room has a brick basin built against the east wall, and large quantities of slag were found during excavation.[943] The only features of note in the other shops are platforms. Shop C has one its north-west corner, and Shop E has three: two rectangular platforms flank either side of the door, and the third is a round platform in the south-east corner.

Decorative Pavements

The evidence for pavements in Morg05 is minimal. Terracotta slabs pave the basin of the courtyard, while the floors of the south and east porticoes have a ceramic pavement.[944] The only evidence for more decorative pavement is seen in traces of *opus signinum* in Rooms 2, 3 and 4, but these floors are too damaged to determine a decorative pattern.[945]

Second-Century-BC Features

The Phase-B date for Morg05 is fairly secure. Excavation under the current floor of Room 3 revealed an *opus signinum* floor. Associated with this earlier floor were five silver coins of the fourth century BC, and a bronze coin of Hieron II, thus suggesting a *terminus post quem* of the present structure to the mid- to late- third-century-BC. Ceramic evidence of Campana

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[943] Tsakirgis 1984, 170.
[944] Specifically *opus spicatum* (Tsakirgis 1984, 167).
[945] There are no traces of wall treatment. For the floors see Tsakirgis 1984, 167; and Tsakirgis 1990, 434.

C black-gloss ware under the floors of Room 4 and the courtyard suggest a later *terminus post quem* of the first quarter of the second century BC.[946]

5.2.5.6   Morg06 and Morg07 (Houses of the Double Cistern and Gold Hoard)

<u>Major Features</u>

Morg06 (Figure 5.14.I) is located on the corner of *Plateia* B and *stenopos* W3, and Morg07 (Figure 5.14.II) is its westerly neighbour. Though all evidence points to these being separate dwellings, their architectural history is deeply intertwined with one another, and as such they are being described together. Only a section of Morg06 has been excavated.[947] There is no indication of where the main entrance to the house was. A door from *stenopos* W3 is located in the wall of Room 1, but the lack of door jambs, the presence of a shop-type threshold block, and uncertainty as to whether or not it communicated with Room 2 suggests that this was not a primary entrance. The courtyard is not fully excavated, and only two columns are visible at the northern end of a paved basin.[948] Also visible is the north portico and portions of the east and west, and the northern end does appear to be a 'broad portico' type with an eastern exedral extension. The extension is slightly wider than its portico and provides access to a small, but well-decorated, room (3).[949] This latter room is likely a Phase-C addition. Room 2 is a probable candidate for a 'broad room' type due to size and location. It has two interesting features: a rubble platform of unknown purpose in the north-east corner,

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[946] There is also no direct evidence for habitation in Phase C, but it is assumed based on the fact that the cistern was filled and covered with a wall, and the presence of '*sigillata*' Italian red-gloss ware in the associated shops. For the dating evidence see Tsakirgis 1984, 271, n. 251 and 252.

[947] Trenches have been dug to its south, but these do not help clarify the plan, and as they may appear to belong to a third structure they are not discussed here.

[948] The columns are made from circular bricks and are similar to those of the south courtyard of the Morg02 and the north courtyard of Morg03 in that the *stylobate* and bases were a single piece, suggesting a Phase-A construction.

[949] The northern wall of Room 3 is made from brick, suggesting not only that Rooms 1 and 3 were originally combined, but also that this belongs to further renovations during Phase C, as the use of brick work is not typically a Phase-B characteristic. Further evidence for a later date comes from the decorative pavement. The paving of this room consists of *opus signinum* that was constructed from sherds of '*terra sigillata*' (Italian red-gloss ware) that date post ca. 5 BC (Tsakirgis 1990, 441)*.

as is seen in Room 21 of Morg02 and Room 10 of Morg04, and a cylindrical cistern near this platform that is joined to a second bottle-shaped cistern in Room 1 by a tunnel, providing the name of the house. As mentioned above, the platform could have been used to support a terracotta bathtub, and the proximity of the double cistern to the platform in this room could be seen as further support for this.[950]

Morg07 is a tiny structure that appears to have been built on top of the north-west corner of Morg06. It is entered from *plateia* B by means of a square entrance room (i) into a small central courtyard (ii). There is no indication of either a stylobate or porticoes, though it is possible that there was a shed-like roof that extended between Rooms iv and vi. The identification as an unroofed area is based on terracotta slab paving, and an outer step in front of Room iv that is similar to those of main doors that prevent water from washing in. Room iv is the only room of note. It is possibly evidence for a main room in that it is considerably larger than the others, and it may have been finely decorated, but it also has an entrance from *plateia* B, which suggests that it could have served a commercial or storage function.

Decorative Pavements

The basin of the courtyard and the east portico of Morg06 are paved with terracotta slabs.[951] The north and west porticoes are paved with *opus signinum*, as were Rooms 2, 3 and 5. While there is not enough surviving information to determine a decorative pattern for Room 2, the *tesserae* of Room 5 are a scatter of polychrome chips, and the floor of Room 3 preserves an all-over geometric meander and a threshold mosaic of a white-six-petal rosette

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[950] For similar platforms see Morg01 Room 10; Morg02 Room 21; Morg03 Room 10; Morg04 Rooms 6 and 10; and Morg09 Room 13; as well as Sol06 Room S; and Sol08 Room O (Chapter 4). See also the summary of bathing areas in Chapter 6.
[951] The tiles of the east portico are described by Tsakirgis 1984, 157, as being varying shapes and sizes.

within a circle (Figure 5.15).[952] Between the petals are white and blue poised squares. All of

the floors of Morg07 were of beaten earth, with the exception of the terracotta slab paving of

Room ii.[953]

Figure 5.15 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting examples of *opus signinum* from Morg06. On the left was a detail of the threshold mosaic from Room 3, which consisted of a white-six-petal rosette motif that had white and blue poised squares between the petals, all within a circle; on the right was a detail of the pavement of Room 5, which consisted of a scatter of polychrome *tesserae*. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1990. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina II: the *opus signinum*." *AJA* 94, 425-43.

Figure 5.15. *Opus signinum*, Room 3 (left) and Room 5 (right), Morg06 (after Tsakirgis 1990, Figs. 16 and 17). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Second-Century-BC Features

Morg06 provides the best dating indicators for the entire *insula*. A foundation trench in Room

4 revealed that the east wall lies on top of a hardpan with associated fourth-century-BC

pottery, suggesting an early Phase beta for the previous buildings of the *insula*. The Phase-

B evidence comes from the packing of the floor of Room 6, which contained Campana C

pottery, thus providing a *terminus post quem* of the first quarter of the second century BC,

and an ashy layer above this floor with 'pre-*sigilatta*' Italian red-gloss ware sherds, thus

suggesting a *terminus ante quem* of the mid-first-century-BC.[954] The Phase-B date for

Morg07 is less clear. The hoard from which the house gets its name was found beneath the

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[952] Room 5 is also interesting for plaster preserved on the west wall, which has a *trompe l'oeil* pattern made from cubes of white, green, and black. Tsakirgis 1984, 159, notes its similarity to a design seen in Morg09 and at Agrigento. The only other evidence for wall treatments are traces of stucco in Room 2. For the decorative floors of Morg06 see Tsakirgis 1990, 434-5.

[953] Like Room 5 in Morg06, Room iv Morg07 has some indication of elaborate wall decoration. In the fill of this room was found a fragment of painted stucco that depicts a light brown tendril (Tsakirgis 1984, 266, n. 215). The proximity of these rooms suggests that these may be from the same decorative program.

[954] For the dating evidence of Morg06 see: Tsakirgis 1984 37, n. 94, 158-159, 161-2, and 263, n. 191.

floor of Room vi. It consists of 44 gold coins ranging from the reign of Phillip II (359 – 336 BC) to the Reign of Pyrrhos (297-272 BC). These, in addition to coins of Hieron II (275-215 BC) that were found below the floors, provide a *terminus post quem* of the third century BC. Other indicators may help to narrow this down. A layer of ash below the floor of Room iii, and the violation of the *ambitus*, similar to Morg02 across the street, suggests it dates to post ca. 211 BC restructuring.[955] The implication that it also takes over part of Morg06 suggests it was built after this second-century-BC structure went out of use, but there are no clear *terminus ante quem* indicators that would definitely identify this as a second-century-BC structure and not later.[956]

5.2.5.7 Morg08 (House of the Doric Capital)

Figure 5.16. Plan of Morg08 – House of the Doric Capital (drawn by author). © 2012, Karen Aberle

c. cistern

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[955] For the dating evidence of Morg07 see: Tsakirgis 1984 126, n. 221, 162, 163, and 165.
[956] Tsakirgis 1984, 165.

<u>Major Features</u>

Morg08 is located on the east hill (Figure 5.4.5).[957] The plan of the house is not complete

(Figure 5.16). The southern and western portions are believed to have fallen down the hill,

and the south-eastern section has not been fully uncovered. It is comprised of a

colonnaded-courtyard house with an annex of rooms to the south of this. Its location in the

centre of the city, atop a terraced hill, leads to suggestions that the courtyard was planned to

have a vista of the *agora* below.[958] Although this may be a romantic modern impression due

to a lack of obstructing walls, it cannot be assumed a deliberate attempt in antiquity. The

house would have been visible from the *agora*, however, and probably acted as an

ostentatious display of the owner's wealth and perceived importance.[959] The entrance is

uncertain, but based on other houses at Morgantina it is thought to be on the west. The only

evidence for such an entrance is a flight of stone steps from an alley between the *agora* and

east hill (i). These do not end with a proper entrance room, but proceed directly into the

portico. If this were the case in antiquity as well then the lack of a formal entranceway

indicates a peculiarity in the plan of Morg08.[960]

The courtyard has 3 by 3 colonnade with a fully-preserved paved central basin, and

two cisterns (c) in the porticoes.[961] The north and east porticoes are wider than the other

two, and there is a change in the pattern of the *opus signinum* floor of the eastern,

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[957] Morg08 was explored in three seasons of excavation in the 1950s, but was never fully excavated. For the preliminary reports see Sjöqvist and Stillwell 1957, 157-7; and Sjöqvist 1958, 161, where it is referred to as the 'Villa". See also Tsakirgis 1984, 46-70.
[958] See for example Mancini 2006, 169.
[959] See Nevett 2009b, for a similar discussion.
[960] Tsakirgis 1984, 48.
[961] The circular brick columns of the portico were originally stuccoed and painted red. The faceted stucco on the base of the middle column on the southern side suggests the order was Doric. There are, however, no remains of the entablature. The cisterns both have terracotta pipes that run under the floor and out of the building. Also found in the courtyard was a fragment of a decorative *puteal* made from pinkish terracotta that had a bead-and-reel moulding above a *triglyph* and *metope* frieze with palmettes (Tsakirgis 1984, 70).

suggesting that these two porticoes provided access to the main rooms of the house.[962] The northern side of the house consists of six integrated rooms. Rooms 1 and 2 are both relatively large and have decorative pavements, suggesting they are main rooms. Room 1, a 'broad room' type that was finely decorated, does not have a wide opening onto the courtyard, and was probably lower in hierarchy than the similarly decorated Room 8 (see below). Equally, Room 2 does not communicate with the courtyard, and was paved with chip-pavement, perhaps suggesting that it served more of a utilitarian nature. The latter room, if not both, should be identified as a domestic main room that was not intended for reception. Rooms 3, 4, 5, and 6 are an interconnecting suite of four rooms with Room 3 acting as an anteroom for the other three.[963] The party wall between Rooms 5 and 6 is thinner and built with smaller rubble than the other interior walls of the house. It does not bond with the eastern wall, and it lies on top of a chip-pavement floor that is seen in both rooms. This all suggests that it was originally a single room that was divided, likely in Phase B, but there is no evidence for a date. Tsakirgis suggests that Room 5/6 was the *andron* of the third-century-BC house.[964] There is no real indication of what these rooms were used for in Phase B, but Tsakirgis suggests that Rooms 4 and 6 are similar in size to the *cubicula* of Pompeii and are possible examples of sleeping rooms.[965] Such identification is supported particularly in Room 4, which preserves evidence of a bipartite plan and a window in the northern wall; both features are common for other identified sleeping rooms.

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[962] The change of pattern was from rows of *tesserae* to a lozenge pattern.
[963] This resembles in its original form Rooms 2-4 of Morg03; as well as Rooms 5-7 and 8-10 of Morg09, though the anteroom in these later examples does not provide access to the larger rooms.
[964] Tsakirgis 1984, 59. The criteria she lists are based on comparison with Olynthos as set out by Graham and Robinson 1938: located in the corner of the house, often with a window (seen in the north wall) and an anteroom, and was of a similar size to their examples.
[965] Tsakirgis 1984, 57-58.

A three-room suite (7, 8 and 9) commands the eastern portico.[966] In its present form it consists of three independent rooms entered from the courtyard (Type-III). The evidence suggests, however, that this was not the original plan. Doors from Room 8 into Rooms 7 and 9 have been blocked, and the entrances of the two side rooms appear to be later additions.[967] Also interesting about these rooms is that Room 7 had a further door communicating with Room 6 (the possible *andron*) that was also later blocked. There is evidence for decoration of all three rooms, but Room 9 was paid special attention (see below).

A final feature of the courtyard is a pair of small rooms that may represent a bathing area (12) and latrine (16).[968] Room 12 has a tripartite form, consisting of an entrance (or anteroom), a raised platform in the south-east corner, and a small space enclosed by a partition wall in the south-west corner. This small room has a 'doormat' mosaic in the anteroom with the inscription EYEXEI of white *tesserae* in the *opus signinum* floor. Tsakirgis suggests that the inscription "was likely meant to wish good health to the visitor of the bathroom".[969] The identification as a bathing area by Tsakirgis is based primarily on the platform, which is paved with waterproof *opus signinum* on the top, and has a raised lip on its edge, perhaps to prevent water flow. In addition to this, at floor level in the south-west corner is a lead pipe that leads into Room 16, and then flows south. Tsakirgis suggests that the pipe could channel the used water from the bathing area, through a latrine trench on the east side of Room 15, and out of the house.[970] Trümper, however, does not believe that this is a bathing area. Her argument is that the platform, at ca. 0.9 m high, would have been too high to serve a bathing facility. Instead she suggests that this was a reception room, with the

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[966] Tsakirgis 1984, 59-61.
[967] There are no threshold blocks, and the jambs of Room 7 are of brick and not the common ashlars.
[968] Tsakirgis 1984, 80.
[969] Tsakirgis 1990, 441, n. 106. She interprets this as being εὐ ἔχει [?] from Plato Gorgias 464°, which is a term Socrates uses when discussing bodily health.
[970] Tsakirgis 1984, 61-62.

strips of unadorned pavement along the eastern and western walls indicating the location of dining couches, and noting that drains are also a common feature of dining-rooms.[971]

A combination of these two interpretations provides a more convincing suggestion as to room function (and identification). While Trümper is correct that the height of the platform is irregular from other features identified as platforms for bathtubs throughout the houses examined in this study, the suggestion that in this instance the platform represents a dining couch is not convincing, if for no other reason than this would be a rare feature for a common activity.[972] The length and width of the platform in Room 12 (ca. 1.2 x 1.6 m) would have allowed movement around a basin, and it is possible that a temporary step allowed access to this. What is most convincing about Trümper's argument is the unadorned strips of pavement along the walls, but dining couches on opposite sides of a room, and not adjacent to one another, would be an uncharacteristic arrangement. Instead, these could be indicative of the placement of benches, where bathers would rest while they were 'waiting for their turn' in the bathtub. It is proposed here that this room was part of the reception repertoire, but one that was centred on a communal bathing activity, and not dining (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.4).

To the south of the colonnaded courtyard is an annex of rooms opening off a long corridor. The walls of Rooms 14 and 9 do not bond, and there is evidence of *opus signinum* pavement under the beaten earth floors of Rooms 20, 22, and the corridor, suggesting that

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[971] Trümper 2010, 540, n. 42.
[972] Examples of the dimensions of some of the other possible bathtub platforms are (length x width x height): Morg01 Room 10, ca. 2.9 x 1.2 x 0.4 m; Morg02 Room 21, ca. 1.4 x 1.3 x 0.3 m; Morg04 Room 10, ca. 0.8 x 0.9 x 0.5 m; Morg09 Room 13, ca. 0.8 x 1.7 x 0.6-0.9 m; Sol06 Room S, ca. 0.7-0.8 x 1.0 x 0.4 m; and Sol08 Room O, ca. 1.3-1.7 x 1.9 x 1.6 m).

the annex was a later feature, probably dating to Phase B.[973] There is also evidence to

suggest that this was the domestic quarter of the later house.[974] For example, Room 14 is

most likely a food-preparation area based on considerable quantities of ash found on the

floor, and a stone-lined gutter that channelled water into a cistern in Room 18. Also found in

this cistern were large quantities of course ware and a buff-clay brazier with no glaze.[975]

Evidence for a second storey comes from a possible stairwell in Room 13 where there is a

stone foundation for what is presumed to have been a wooden staircase.[976] This new

section of the house may have also incorporated a bath-suite. Recent studies have identified

Room 22 as a sweat-bath, and the evidence for a paving of terracotta slabs in Room 21

could represent an anteroom.[977] There is no indication of waterproofing in Room 22, or how

this room may have been heated, and its function is less clear than that of sweat-baths in

the Sol09 (see Chapter 5), and Iato04 (see below).

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[973] This expansion of Morg08 is also rejected by Trümper. Her argument is that the southern wall of the house changes orientation three times for no apparent reason, the south wall of Room 9 is not a façade wall, and the south-west corner of the same room is not an outer corner but instead the wall runs parallel with Room 14 with no apparent gap. She also states that there is no evidence for service rooms for the third-century BC building, and "it would be astonishing if this house had been enlarged after 211 BC, while at the same time, most of the other large houses in Morgantina (with the notable exception of the House of the Tuscan Capitals) were subdivided into smaller units" (Trümper 2010, 540, n. 42). The first part of her argument focusing on the walls of Room 9 is convincing, and this area probably did look different in Phase A, and likely included service rooms, but this does not mean that the annex was not re-built and / or expanded during Phase B. As will be discussed next, Morg09, which she refers to, incorporates other houses into its plan, and this is possible for Morg08 as well, and definitely not 'astonishing'. Furthermore, as the above houses have suggested, there was no single response to the Phase-B rebuilding, and their second-century-BC form was likely to be based on a variety of factors of which we cannot be sure. One possibility is not only the degree of destruction / preservation of the earlier structures, but also that the surviving houses may not have provided what the second-century-BC inhabitants of Morgantina perceived as important.
[974] Tsakirgis 1984, 62.
[975] Tsakirgis 1984, 63.
[976] There is no evidence for a Phase-A staircase.
[977] Wölf 2003, 91; Isler 2010, 319; and Trümper 2010, 540. Tsakirgis 1984, 65-6, describes Room 22 as a circular feature with no apparent door that has a channel leading into it from the service corridor, and the terracotta slabs of Room 21 as being uneven and not in the standard checkerboard fashion. She identifies this as a secondary courtyard; however, she also recognises a water function for this area of the house and mentions a large terracotta drain exiting Room 17 and connecting with the drain that served the latrine.

On the façade of Morg08 is a series of two shops that each has two entrances, one

from the alley and one from a communal corridor. Neither shop shows any indication for

communication with the interior of the house. Shop A consists of two dependant rooms, with

no indication of an upper *pergula*.[978] The back room has four large circular depressions in

the floor, perhaps an indication for the placement of *pithoi*. Shop B is a single room with a

terracotta slab floor, and an oven in the south-west corner, and has been interpreted as a

baker's shop, but there are no finds to corroborate this.[979] The walls of the shops bond with

the terrace and are therefore contemporary, and their construction is of the same type of the

house itself. This suggests a Phase-A construction.[980]

Decorative Pavements

Morg08 has a variety of formal pavements throughout.[981] The dating of these floors is

unclear. Tsakirgis believes that they likely date to the initial building of the house.[982] The

house was, however, occupied into the first century BC and the style of the majority of the

pavements is more similar to those of the other houses discussed here, which, with the

exceptions of Morg01 and Room 14 of Morg03, are likely part of the Phase-B renovation.

A chip-pavement floor adorns Rooms 2, 5, 6, and 9. The pavement of Rooms 5 and

6 is possibly part of the first phase of the house as it lies underneath the later wall that

divided the original single room.[983] The pavement of Room 9 is of particular note. The floor is

chip-pavement with a border that is inset with a scatter of polychrome *crustae*, and a central

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[978] The front room was moderately decorated with an *opus signinum* floor and walls that were
stuccoed and painted red.
[979] Tsakirgis 1984, 51.
[980] Tsakirgis 1984, 48-51.
[981] There is not a lot of evidence for wall decoration, but the front room of Shop A preserves some red
painted stucco, while on the walls of Room 9 a trace of moulded stucco remains, painted to imitate
masonry, and in the fill of Room 8 were found two fragments of painted stucco moulded in a dentil
and bead-and-reel design.
[982] Tsakirgis 1990, 427.
[983] To the first period probably belongs the front room of Shop A, which was paved with brick, and
Room 21, which was paved with flat terracotta slabs.

field of inset blue *tesserae* in a lozenge pattern.[984] This provides a good example of *opus scutulatum* with a pseudo-concentric pattern.

With the exception of the ceramic pavement basin, the rest of the house is paved with *opus signinum*.[985] Room 4 has no inset *tesserae*. This room is a possible sleeping room. Tsakirgis notes that other similar rooms at Morgantina are correspondingly decorated, and the *tesserae*, were presumably "omitted because the rooms were used only for sleeping."[986] This is contradictory to many of the decorative pavements from other possible sleeping rooms at Morgantina, which preserve some fine examples of decoration.[987] What this could, indicate, however, is that the purpose of these less decorated rooms was solely for sleeping, and that they were not multifunctional rooms. The *tesserae* in Room 15 are laid in an all-over lozenge pattern with no evidence for a border.[988] *Opus signinum* is also found on the platform of the bathing area (Room 12). The north and south porticoes have *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in rows, while the east portico has a lozenge pattern that probably was used to highlight the three-room suite.[989] Rooms 1 and 8 both have an *opus signinum* pavement with a central field that has inset white *tesserae* in a lozenge pattern, the crossings of which are highlighted with the insertion of blue *tesserae*. These are surrounded by a border with *tesserae* laid in a double meander that alternates with squares.[990] Similar to Room 14 of Morg02, this is a pseudo-concentric pattern. The eastern side of Room 1 is also singled-out with an additional adjusting border of *tesserae* in rows. Room 3 has an *opus*

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[984] Tsakirgis 1990, 428. The *tesserae* of the scatter are blue, green, and purple. The walls of Room 9 show traces of stucco moulded to imitate masonry.
[985] Tsakirgis refers to the ceramic pavement of the basin as specifically *opus spicatum*, "fully preserved, with inset large white tesserae in rows" (Tsakirgis 1984, 52).
[986] Tsakirgis 1990, 436. See for example Room 3 in Morg03 (though it is doubtful that this was a sleeping room in Phase A), Room 24 in Morg09, and Room 15 in Morg01, which is more likely a food-preparation area than a sleeping room.
[987] See for example: Morg02 Rooms 24, 25, and 26; Morg09 Rooms 5/6 and 8/9.
[988] Tsakirgis 1990, 428.
[989] Tsakirgis 1990, 428.
[990] The colour of these *tesserae* is white. Within the squares are poised squares of blue and white *tesserae*. See Tsakirgis 1990, 427-428.

signinum threshold mosaic in the form of rows of poised squares of two blue and two white *tesserae*, while the centre of the room itself has a double meander pattern alternating with squares that are decorated inside with the same poised squares (Figure 5.17).[991] Of importance for this discussion regarding the date of the mosaics though, is a 'doormat' in front of Rooms 5 and 6. It is slightly higher in elevation and of a different technique than the floor of the anteroom (3), which could suggest that the former represents a second paving.[992] This is used to date the remaining *opus signinum* floors to Phase A, but caution should be used when suggesting specific dating phases based on technique alone.

Figure 5.17 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting the *opus signinum* from Morg08 Room 3. On the left was a detail of the all-over pattern in the centre of the room, which had a double meander motif alternating with squares that are decorated inside with poised squares; on the right was a detail of the threshold mosaic, which was an all-over pattern of blue and white poised squares. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1990. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina II: the *opus signinum*." *AJA* 94, 425-43.

Figure 5.17. *Opus signinum*, Room 3, Morg08 (after Tsakirgis 1990, Figs. 2 and 3). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Left. Double meander of the main floor; Right. Rows of poised squares of the threshold mosaic

The highlight of the decorative scheme of Morg08 is the *opus signinum* pavement of Room 12 with the EYEXEI inscription (Figure 5.18). This stands out as pavement

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[991] The threshold mosaic is edged with a single row of alternating white and blue *tesserae*.
[992] This latter 'doormat' is described by Tsakirgis 1984, 57; and Tsakirgis 1990, 442, as being slightly higher in elevation and cruder in technique in that the *tesserae* are larger and haphazardly laid, and she suggests that it was a later addition when Rooms 5 and 6 were divided into two separate rooms.

inscriptions are not common.[993] Room 12 also has a border with *tesserae* in rows and a central field in a lozenge pattern.[994] O*pus signinum* is also seen below a supposed beaten earth floor of the service corridor and Rooms 20 and 22. This is suggestive that *opus signinum* was used in Phase A alongside paving of chip-pavement. It is unclear, however, why this formal paving in the annex was covered up when the renovations took place. Though it is possible that this floor belongs to an earlier house, of which there is to date no other evidence, it is also possible that the annex did not have a beaten earth floor as the excavators assume. Loose *tesserae* in Room 7 may suggest that this room was also decorated.
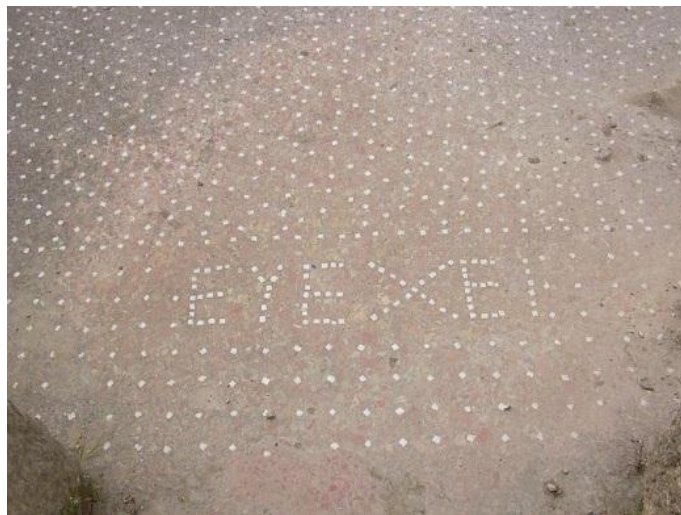
Figure 5.18. *Opus signinum* **inscription, Room 12, Morg08 (Anonymous 2008a). © 2008, Wikimedia Commons, with permission**

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[993] Other examples of pavement inscriptions in Sicily from this period include: a mosaic out of context at Salemi (von Boeselager 1983, 31-34); one on the acropolis at Segesta (Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 112, and Fig. 9); one in a bath complex at Megara Hyblaea (Vallet et al. 1983, 15), and four from houses at Tindari (Tin01), Palermo (Pal08), Monte Iato (Iato01), and Segesta (Seg01). For these domestic inscriptions see the relevant descriptions in Chapters 3, 4, and below, and the further discussion of this feature in Chapter 6.
[994] Tsakirgis 1990, 428.

<u>Second-Century-BC Features</u>

The chronology of Morg08 is difficult. It was built on a terrace that was created by levelling the hillside, and the test trenches below its floors consisted of sterile sand with no datable ceramic or coin evidence.[995] It does appear to have had two building phases: construction and renovation. Sjöqvist dates the first to the second century BC, while Tsakirgis, basing her dates on analogy with the other houses at Morgantina and the chronology established above, identifies the first as Phase A (third century BC), and the second to Phase B (second century BC).[996] To this latter phase specifically is attributed a strengthening of the walls of the back room of Shop A; the doubling of the east wall of Room 5; the division of Rooms 5 and 6; Rooms 7, 8, and 9 being converted from a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite to a Type-III (Italian) version; the southern annex; and the staircase to an upper storey.[997]

5.2.5.8   Morg09 (House of the Tuscan Capitals)

Figure 5.19 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a diagram illustrating the plan of Morg09 at Morgantina with the Phase B alterations emphasised. For a further description of the main features see the accompanying text. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1990. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina II: the *opus signinum*." *AJA* 94, 425-43.

Figure 5.19. Plan of Morg09 – House of the Tuscan Capitals (after Tsakirgis 1990, Fig. 13). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[995] Tsakirgis 1984, 66.

[996] Sjöqvist 1958, 157; and Tsakirgis 1984, 104, n. 115.

[997] The abandonment and destruction of the house is also clear in the stratigraphy which shows below a tile fall distinct traces of burning, and several coins of the first half of the first century BC. Room 5 has evidence of 'pre-*sigillata*' Italian red-gloss ware and late Campana C black-gloss ware in the associated level (Tsakirgis 1984, 67-68).

<u>Major Features</u>

Morg09 is located at the junction of *plateia* B and *stenopos* W4 (Figure 5.4.6), and appears to have incorporated three courtyards and their associated rooms into a single dwelling (Figure 5.19). The house is not completely excavated and a large portion of the western section has fallen down the hill.[998] Because the western section of the house is not excavated, it is unclear if this courtyard had a separate entrance.[999] In its current state, the western courtyard is approached from the eastern courtyard. Though little more than a hypothesis, it is possible that the eastern section functioned as a front reception hall, the western section was a back colonnaded courtyard, perhaps a decorative garden, and the northern section was a smaller domestic courtyard (see Chapter 6). A second corridor from the northern courtyard was later blocked, perhaps suggesting that this area later became an independent unit.

The Eastern Section

The section of the house around the east courtyard is reminiscent of the houses on Boscarini Hill in that it is entered directly into a portico in the central courtyard. The present floor of the square entrance room (1) is paved with plaster, though this covers an *opus signinum* floor, and the entrance to the courtyard is marked off not by a door, but by an engaged brick column against its northern and southern walls.[1000] In its final form, the east

[998] The majority of the excavations of Morg09 were completed in the 1957 season and are reported in the corresponding preliminary report (Sjöqvist 1958, 160-1). Further excavations of the northern section were undertaken in 1966, as well as test trenches in 1960, 1961, and 1980; these latter excavations are unpublished (see Tsakirgis 1984, 186-206).
[999] At the western limit of a trial trench along *stenopos* W5 are two upright jambs and a threshold block. It is possible that this served as an entrance to the western portion of the House (Tsakirgis 1984, 195-6).
[1000] These elements lie on top of an *opus signinum* floor with *tesserae* in a lozenge pattern and a threshold mosaic of scattered blue and white *tesserae* at its western end; it is assumed that these belong to the earlier Phase A and that the plaster flooring is a Phase-B alteration. Corresponding to this is a dividing wall in Room 2/3 that also lies on top of an *opus signinum* floor; there is no indication as to the purpose of these rooms.

courtyard has three porticoes, which surround a small basin paved with terracotta slabs and marked at each corner by a column.[1001] A small platform of unknown use lies against the south-east corner of the basin, and a square *puteal* made from stone for the cistern was found against the west wall.

Based on its elaborate pavement, Room 10 can be considered a square main room. Another likely candidate for a main room is Room 13. Though a 'broad room' type, it does not have a wide opening onto the courtyard, and the paving is plain *opus signinum*, suggesting perhaps it was a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception. There is a platform built from ashlars on the south wall across from the door that is similar to platforms built from rubble in the main rooms of other houses from the site.[1002] Though the function of this platform is uncertain, it is possible that it was used to support a terracotta hip-bath.[1003] Two possible sleeping rooms are located on the east courtyard (5/6 and 8/9). This identification is based both on their room-with-anteroom combination, as well as their decoration as they both have *a pseudo-scendiletto* pavement. An interesting feature of Room 6 is that, like the entrance room, there are two engaged columns on the inside of the room. They coincide with the change in the pavement pattern, and could be indicative of an alcove for a bed. In both instances these engaged columns are Phase-B alterations. The presence of the possible sleeping rooms leads Westgate to suggest that this was a "comfortably furnished" private area of the house.[1004] The eastern portion of the courtyard was most likely a service area. A corridor (17) provides access to Rooms 16 and 18 from the entrance room. The eastern wall of Room 18 is a later addition as it does not bond with its

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[1001] The columns are constructed with the standard Morgantinian circular bricks.

[1002] Morg02 (Room 21), Morg04 (Room 10), and Morg06 (Room 2).

[1003] For similar platforms see Morg01 Room 10; Morg02 Room 21; Morg03 Room 10; Morg04 Rooms 6 and 10; Morg06 Room 2; as well as Sol06 Room S; and Sol08 Room O (Chapter 4). See also the summary of room type in Chapter 6.

[1004] Westgate 2000b, 419.

adjacent north wall, and the entrance to Room 16 is blocked by a trough in the floor. Several

millstones and oil presses were found in Rooms 14 and 15.[1005]

The Western Section

The western section of Morg09 lies on a level 1.1 m. lower than the eastern portion, and is

accessed via a narrow sloping corridor (19) off the north portico of the east courtyard. Only

the east portico and portions of the north and south are visible, and there are five extant

columns on the east of the *stylobate*.[1006] There is a cistern in the southern portico, and

similar to Morg06, the cistern is connected to a second one located in Room 22. This latter

room can be identified as a main room based on size and decoration. Tsakirgis refers to it

specifically as an *andron*, though it is more probably a multi-functional reception room.[1007] It

is also reminiscent of Room 12 of Morg02 in that a folding door was used to close off the

space.[1008] Two other well-decorated rooms are the exedral square room (20) and its

dependent (21), both of which should also be considered main rooms with varying functions.

Little remains of the rest of the western section. Westgate suggests that this was an

elaborate "garden court".[1009] It is unclear what her evidence is for this, though it may lie in a

lack of evidence for pavement of the basin.

The Northern Section

Tsakirgis describes the northern section as being "by far the most carelessly built", but it is

potentially important as it is sometimes referred to as an *atrium*.[1010] This identification is

based primarily on the presence of a small unpaved basin with a Tuscan column at each

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[1005] Sjöqvist 1958, 160.
[1006] The columns are made from circular bricks, and the southernmost column of the eastern
stylobate preserves white stucco flutes of the Doric order.
[1007] Tsakirgis 1989a, 408.
[1008] Tsakirgis 1984, 194.
[1009] Westgate 2000b, 418-9.
[1010] Tsakirgis 1984, 197; and Wilson 1990b, 87, n. 25.

corner.[1011] Within the basin is an *impluvium*-like feature. This was created by laying two parallel rows of bricks, narrow side up, with tiles between them, to produce a frame that resembles a trough. There is, however, no *fauces*, no evidence for a *tablinum*, and no axial symmetry. There is also minimal decoration. All of these features suggest that it was more likely a domestic courtyard rather than an area that had any particular socio-political function.

The northern section is entered via a slightly off-centre square entrance room (27) from *stenopos* W4, and it must have had a short flight of steps as the difference in floor level is 0.71 m. There would have also been no view of the courtyard from the street as the doors from the street and onto the courtyard are not aligned. Dependent on the entrance room is a simple room (28), with a platform in the south-west corner that takes up almost one-quarter of the room. The function of this room is unclear, but it has been referred to as both a porter's lodge and a shop.[1012] Another possible candidate for a shop is Room 30, which was entered from the *stenopos* and had a pit made from courses of brick set into the middle of the floor. The rooms on the south side of the courtyard are generally speaking small and non-descript. Room 24, the only decorated room of this section, is a canonical 'small square room' type and might have been a sleeping room. The final area of interest comes from a group of three rooms (32) on the eastern side of the courtyard. Their function is unclear. In form they are very similar to the Type-I (Hellenic) three-room suites from Eretria, but are rather small and therefore should not be considered a main-room suite. Their configuration is also similar to the bath-suite in Morg08 (Room 12), but there is no further evidence to support a similar identification.

[1011] These columns are made from circular bricks, and their two associated stone Tuscan capitals are carved from white limestone.
[1012] Tsakirgis 1984, 199.

The Eastern Section[1013]

The highlight of the decorative pavements is in Room 10, which combines the *opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum* techniques. The room has an adjusting border made from *opus signinum* with white *tesserae* laid in a double meander alternating with squares; this border is wider on the east by almost a metre. Inside this is a central field of *opus signinum* with white *tesserae* in a lozenge pattern, followed by a tessellated frame with blue and white waves, and a central panel of white *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion (Figure 5.20).[1014] Tsakirgis suggests that the 'sobriety' of colour of the frame (i.e. white on blue) denotes "a move toward the black-and-white mosaics which appeared in the late first century B.C".[1015] This floor belongs to the Phase-B renovations as the room violates the *ambitus*.

Figure 5.20 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting the *opus tessellatum* frame of Morg09 Room 10. On the left was a depiction of the floor *in situ* with its monochrome white central panel that is framed by a black wave motif; on the right was a detail of the wave motif. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1989. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina I: the mosaics." *AJA* 93, 395-416.

Figure 5.20. *Opus tessellatum* frame, Room 10, Morg09 (after Tsakirgis 1989a, Figs. 22 and 23). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

The possible sleeping rooms (5/6 and 8/9) are also well-decorated. Room 5 has an *opus signinum* floor decorated with a central field of poised squares in white and blue *tesserae*, and a border that has a single row of alternating white and blue *tesserae.* On the

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[1013] The only evidence for wall treatments for the eastern section is traces of plaster in Room2/3, unpainted stucco in Room 10, and red painted stucco in Room 19.
[1014] Tsakirgis 1989a, 403-4.
[1015] Tsakirgis 1989a, 411.

northern wall the paving forms a lip, suggesting it was laid after the wall, and was a Phase-B

alteration. The floor of Room 6 is also *opus signinum*, but in this room it is inset with white

tesserae in rows, which are closely set at the south (6 – 7 cm) and widely set at the north

(13 – 15 cm), likely an indication of a *pseudo-scendiletto*. There is also a small rosette,

which is framed with two rows of white *tesserae*, that is located to the west of the door. This

likely represents a 'doormat' mosaic, and would then represent an even later change in the

position of the door. Tsakirgis describes the rosette as being…

> … rendered in a mosaic technique, i.e. with the *tesserae* touching each other; however, between the petals the *signinum* appears.[1016]

Rooms 8 and 9 are not as elaborate as their counterparts, but do have an *opus signinum*

floor with scattered polychromatic *tesserae*. These rooms, like Room 10, violate the *ambitus*

and suggest a Phase-B date; therefore, their floors can also be attributed to this period.

Room 7 and the porticoes are paved with *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in rows, and

Rooms 12 and 13 have plain *opus signinum* pavements. The only rooms of the eastern

section that are not paved are those identified as service rooms (4, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18).

Figure 5.21 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting a detail of the *opus signinum* 'doormat' mosaic from Morg09 Room6, which consisted of a rosette motif with the *tesserae* closely set together that was framed by two rows of *tesserae*. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1990. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina II: the *opus signinum*." *AJA* 94, 425-43.

Figure 5.21. *Opus signinum* rosette, 'doormat' mosaic, Room 6, Morg09 (after Tsakirgis 1990, Fig 14). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Room 1 preserves an *opus signinum* floor with *tesserae* laid a lozenge pattern and a

threshold mosaic that has a scatter of blue and white *tesserae*. Rooms 2 and 3 also show

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[1016] Tsakirgis 1990, 433.

evidence for *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in rows.[1017] These floors are possibly original to Phase A due to the dividing wall between 2/3, and the overlying paving of white plaster. This may, however, also be a later Phase -B or -C addition.

The Western Section

The entire pavement program of the western section dates to Phase B. All three porticoes are paved with *opus signinum* with white *tesserae* laid in rows.[1018] The *tesserae* are closer set in the northern portico. Rooms 20 and 21 both have particularly fine pavements. That of Room 20 is interesting in that it is paved with 'western' *opus signinum*, but takes on the more 'eastern' concentric pattern.[1019] The adjusting border consists of rows of white *tesserae* and the frame is a double meander alternating with squares that have a single blue *tesserae* in their centre. The central panel is composed of a large, twelve-petal, rosette framed within a circle (Figure 5.22). Running through the mid-point of each petal is a circle of blue *tesserae*, and between the petals are poised squares of blue and white. Outside the framing circle are crosslets of white and blue *tesserae*.[1020] The threshold to Room 21 is set apart with white *opus tessellatum* laid in a rectilinear fashion, while the floor of the room itself is paved with white chip-pavement that has inlaid *crustae* of blue *tesserae* that are spaced wide apart in the centre and closer at the side.[1021] This creates a pseudo-concentric central field and border. The threshold of Room 22 has an *opus tessellatum* meander strip rendered in blue on white (Figure 5.23).[1022] Like the white-on-blue wave pattern from Room

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[1017] Tsakirgis 1990, 432.
[1018] The walls of the courtyard are plastered and painted red, like the walls of the connecting corridor (Room 19). The walls of Rooms 20, 21, and 22 all show evidence for 'masonry-style' wall painting.
[1019] Westgate 2007a, 319.
[1020] Tsakirgis 1990, 434.
[1021] Tsakirgis 1990, 434. For the threshold mosaic see Tsakirgis 1989a, 404.
[1022] The walls of Room 22 also deserve special mention; in addition to evidence of 'masonry-style' painting that is enhanced by pattern of *trompe l'oeil* squares above a red dado, there are remains of a rounded pilaster moulded from stucco just east of the door, thus suggesting it is an example of the first phase of Pompeian Second Style wall painting. Tsakirgis 1984, 285, n. 392, notes that this has parallels with Morg06 and Agrigento.

10, Tsakirgis suggests that this indicates a move toward the more western black-and-white decoration.[1023] The main pavement of Room 22 is *opus pseudo-figlinum* with pieces of *crustae* in the centre of the room.[1024] This too is interesting as it represents the combination of the threshold mosaic and *opus pseudo-figlinum* characteristics of western mosaics combined with the eastern technique of *opus tessellatum* and a move towards a concentric pattern.[1025]

Figure 5.22 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting a detail of the *opus signinum* central panel from Morg09 Room 20, which consisted of a large, twelve-petal, rosette motif that had a circle of blue *tesserae* running through the mid-point of the petals, and blue and white poised squares between the petals, all within a circle that was framed by a single row of white *tesserae* with crosslets of white and blue tesserae in the corners. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1990. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina II: the *opus signinum*." *AJA* 94, 425-43.

Figure 5.22. *Opus signinum* rosette, central panel, Room 20, Morg09 (after Tsakirgis 1990, Fig. 15). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

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[1023] Tsakirgis 1989a, 411.
[1024] Tsakirgis 1984, 194. See also: Tsakirgis 1989a, 404-5; and Tsakirgis 1995. The floor of Room 22 can also be dated post ca. 150 BC due to a fragment of Campana C black-gloss ware found beneath the floor during consolidation (Tsakirgis 1989a, 404, n. 30). Tsakirgis 1989a,413, also suggests that perhaps this floor should be dated to the first century BC based on comparisons with its appearance at other sites.
[1025] Tsakirgis 1989a, 409.

Figure 5.23 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting the *opus pseudo-figlinum* with *crustae* main pavement and *opus tessellatum* threshold mosaic from Morg09 Room 22. On the top was a depiction of the floor *in situ*; on the bottom left was a detail of the centre section of the pavement, which included the *crustae*; and on the bottom right was a detail of the blue on white meander motif from the threshold. For a further description see the accompanying text. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1989. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina I: the mosaics." *AJA* 93, 395-416.

Figure 5.23. *Opus pseudo-figlinum* (top)*,* with *crustae* (detail bottom left), and an *opus tessellatum* threshold mosaic (detail bottom right), Room 22, Morg09 (after Tsakirgis 1989a, Figs. 24, 25, 26). Image removed due to copyright restrictions

The Northern Section

The paving of the northern section is minimal, but is also probably from Phase B. *Opus signinum* only occurs around the courtyard and in Rooms 24 and 35.[1026] The pavement in Room 24, a possible sleeping room, is *opus signinum* without inset *tesserae*.[1027]

Second-Century-BC Features

What remains extant of Morg09 is primarily a Phase-B construction with little indication of what the house looked like in Phase A. For example, it is clear that the north-south walls of Rooms 2/3, 18, and 12-15 are later additions as they do not bond with their adjacent east-west walls, and are of a lesser quality, perhaps suggesting second-century-BC renovations. It is also assumed that all of the rooms on the west are later alterations as they violate the a*mbitus* of the *insula*. Further, the mosaics in Rooms 10 and 22 are not transitional mosaics as are seen in the third-century-BC pavements of the site, but are true tessellated mosaics, which suggests that they were laid at a later period. Campana C black-gloss ware was found under the pavement of these two rooms, further indicating a second-century-BC date for the

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[1026] Room 24 also has walls with well-preserved red stucco.
[1027] For a possible relationship between sleeping rooms and plain *opus signinum* see the decorative pavement of Room 4 of Morg08 above.

mosaics, and probably the major renovations associated with them.[1028] The date for the north section is less clear than the other two, but the nature of its thinner rubble walls suggests that its plan was greatly modified in Phase B. Four *asses* of Sextus Pompey, one on the floor of a cistern, one on the floor of Room 15, and two in the fill of Room 4, provide a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 35 BC for Phase B.

5.2.5.9   Morg10 (Pappalardo House)
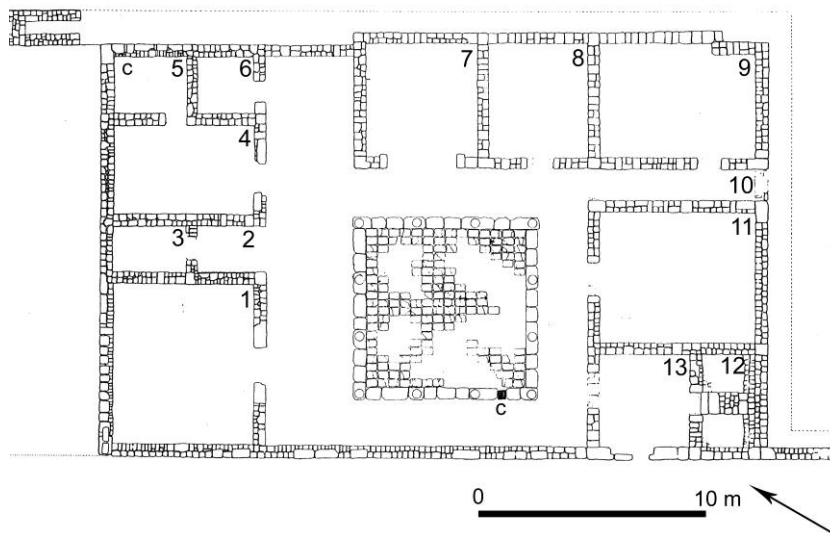
Figure 5.24. Plan of Morg10 – Pappalardo House (after Trümper 1998. Abb. 104). © 1998, Monika Trümper, by permission

c. cistern

Main Features

Morg10 is located immediately to the south of Morg04 (Figure 5.4.7). The main entrance appears to have been from the *stenopos* by means of a square entrance room (Figure 5.24.13) with a dependent (12), which is divided in two by a stone foundation the same width as the doorway. It is possible that this represent the base for a staircase. The entrance room (13) is located to the south of the courtyard, and access into the latter is at a right-angle into

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[1028] Tsakirgis 1984, 201, 288, n. 429, and 435-36.

the southern portico. While no columns survive, the courtyard is reconstructed as 4 by 4 based on size and the stylobate blocks, and the central basin is paved with square terracotta slabs. The northern portico is a 'broad portico' type with an exedral extension on the east, and the pavements of it and the eastern portico were given preferential treatment (see below).

At least three square main rooms are identifiable. Room 1 is very similar to Room 1 of Morg02 in size and decoration, and a second square main room (11) is seen on the opposite side of the courtyard. The more utilitarian nature of the chip-pavement floor of Room 11 could suggest that this room functioned as a domestic, rather than reception, space. The configuration of Rooms 4, 5, and 6 is rather similar to Rooms 2, 3, and 4 in Morg03. Room 4 is a square main room with a rather narrow opening onto the broad portico, and Room 5 is dependent upon it. Room 5 preserves evidence for an arch made with flat bricks in the north-east corner that lay over a cistern. The location of a cistern within Room 5 suggests a utilitarian nature at least for this main-room dependent. South of Room 5 is a further room (6). It does not communicate with either Room 4 or Room 5, but its position off the extension of the broad portico suggests importance, although it is very small. Rooms 2 and 3 are similar in form to that of Rooms 5/6 and 8/9 of Morg09, and could represent a sleeping room. A corridor (10) provides direct access into the eastern portico from the south. It is possible that this accessed a lateral *ambitus* as there is evidence for an area paved with *opus signinum* to the south of the house.[1029] Little remains of Rooms 7, 8, and 9, though the wide doorway of Room 7 suggests some importance for this room. Also of note is the fact that the eastern wall of Rooms 7 and 8, and most of Room 9, is not in alignment with the remaining portion of the eastern wall of the house. This suggests renovations at a later period, likely Phase B.

[1029] Tsakirgis 1984, 184.

<u>Decorative Pavements</u>

The highlight of the decorative pavements is Room 1, which is paved with *opus tessellatum* in a concentric pattern (Figure 5.25). The adjusting border has white *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion, and within this are a bichrome and polychrome frame and a central panel. The central panel is not well preserved. Extant are white *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion, but Pappalardo, who first uncovered the house in the nineteenth century, reported the depiction of a hand holding an arrow. The outer frame is decorated with *tesserae* in a double meander alternating with boxes, while the inner frame depicts a double guilloche with small 'rosettes' in the curls (Figure 5.26). Lead strips are used as a guide in both the meander and guilloche.[1030] Room 11 is paved with chip-pavement. The remaining decorative pavements are *opus signinum*. The porticoes of the courtyard are decorated with *tesserae* laid in rows along the south and west, and lozenges along the north and east. Room 2 preserves a pseudo-concentric pattern with a border that has *tesserae* laid in a double meander alternating with squares, and a central field with *tesserae* in a lozenge pattern, while Rooms 3 and 6 both have an all-over pattern of *tesserae* laid in rows.

[1030] The meander and boxes are white on a brown ground, while *tesserae* of yellow, blue, and green provide depth and shadow. The guilloche is rendered in white, grey, yellow, and brown *tesserae*. This is surrounded by a single row of blue *tesserae*, a white band, and a double row of blue *tesserae* (Tsakirgis 1989b, 405).

Figure 5.25. *Opus tessellatum*, **Room 1, Morg10 (Anonymous 2008b). © 2008, Wikimedia Commons, by permission**

The top image of Figure 5.26 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. It was a black and white photograph depicting a detail of the outer frame of Morg10 Room 1 (see Figure 5.25), which consisted of a white double meander alternating with boxes motif. Original source: Tsakirgis, B. 1989. "The decorated pavements of Morgantina I: the mosaics." *AJA* 93, 395-416.

Figure 5.26. *Opus tessellatum* **frames, Room 1, Morg10. Top: Tsakirgis 1989a, Fig. 27. Image removed due to copyright restrictions; Bottom: Ciantia 2011. © 2002-2012, ViviEnna – ViviSicilia di Viviana Primavera, by permission**

<u>Second-Century-BC Features</u>

The date of Morg10 is uncertain. Pappalardo did not preserve any pottery from his excavations. A test pit below the eastern portico by the Princeton excavations contained black-glaze pottery with a 'metallic' sheen of the early third century BC, suggesting a Phase-A construction, while Campana C black-gloss ware was found beneath the mosaic floor in Room 1. This, along with the true tessellated technique of these mosaics, and not the transitional technique seen in Morg01, suggests renovations during the second century BC. Second-century-BC pottery and a coin were also found beneath floor level of Room 5, suggesting the renovation with the arches and a new floor. It is likely that this was contemporary with the change in alignment of part of the eastern wall. The latest datable material was a coin of Sextus Pompey, suggesting final destruction in Phase C.[1031]

5.3   MONTE IATO[1032]

5.3.1   Historical background

Monte Iato (ancient *Iaitas*, *Iaeta*, *Ietai*, *Ietas*, *Ietaios* are variant spellings; its inhabitants are referred to as *Ietini* by Cicero, *Ietenses* by Pliny, and *Iaitinoi* by Diodoros and in coin legends) is only ever referred to in passing in the ancient sources. There remains no foundation history for the settlement. While Thucydides refers to it as τεῖχος… τῶν Σικελῶν (fortress of the Sikels), evidence suggests a possible Elymian settlement as early as the seventh century BC, and this settlement gradually developed into an urban centre with Greek influence during the archaic period.[1033] Diodoros writes that it was attacked by Pyrrhus due to its strong position, and *Ietas* is listed as one of the cities in the Carthaginian

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[1031] For the dating evidence see Tsakirgis 1984, 184-6.
[1032] For a general overview of the site and its identification as ancient *Ietas* / *Iaitas* see for example: BTCGI X, 368-75; Isler 1991; Isler 2000, 15-26; Dalcher 1994; and Wilson 2000b, 716.
[1033] Thuc. 7.2.3.

epikrateia to be taken by this general.[1034] The settlement is also reported to have been

occupied by a Carthaginian garrison in the First Punic War, but that the city drove the Punic

troops out after the fall of *Panormos*, and at this time to have sided with Rome.[1035] Though

never specifically mentioned, Monte Iato would have been part of the first Roman province

after the Treaty of 241 BC. Cicero later lists it as one of the towns that had been ruined by

Verres, while Pliny refers to it as still being among the *civitates stipendiariae* in the first

century AD.[1036]

5.3.2   Topography and urban plan

Monte Iato is located in the north-west interior of Sicily (Figure 5.1), to the east of the

modern commune of San Giuseppe Jato (Figure 5.27.A) in the province of Palermo, and ca.

30 km south from its capital. The ancient settlement commands a breath-taking position (B),

sitting along the summit of the mountain ca. 850 m above sea level, with 200 m vertical cliffs

directly to the north, and a slightly more gradual slope descending 400 m to the plains on the

south. It is also ca. 8 km west of the Lago di Piana degli Albanesi (C), which is the source of

the River Belice (ancient *Hypsas*). Similar to that of Morgantina, the surrounding terrain of

Monte Iato provided natural protection on all sides, as well as access to the fertile river

valley which it commanded.

[1034] Diod. Sic. 22.10.2-4.
[1035] Diod. Sic. 23.18.5.
[1036] Cicero, *Verr.* 2.3.43.103; and Plin. *HN*. 3.8.91.

Figure 5.27. Satellite view of Monte Iato and surrounding landscape (Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 DigitalGlobe, © GeoEye, by permission

A. San Giuseppe Jato; B. Monte Iato; C. Lago di Piana degli Albanesi

Also similar to Morgantina, the settlement at Monte Iato appears to be centred on an open paved area that is commonly classified as a Greek-style *agora* lined with *stoae*. There is also evidence for two successively built *bouleuteria*. Perkins suggests that while the first *bouleuterion* denotes that Monte Iato was a self-governing "Greek-style" community, the construction of the second, larger, building reflects not only a surplus in the population, but perhaps also "a representation of Romans on the city council", which is supported by the presence of an inscription from the *agora* mentioning a Cn. Host(ilius).[1037] These are only passing assertions by Perkins in a general overview of the island, but they have significant implications that impact how the cultural affiliation of the settlement is portrayed and perceived in the secondary sources. The *agora* also provides evidence for a possible basilica-like construction in that the north *stoa* had a *bema* in the north-west corner, and

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[1037] Perkins 2007, 46.

Isler suggests that it could have been used for legal hearings.[1038] There is also evidence for a *prostyle* temple, of which no cult has been identified.[1039] This could suggest, therefore, a move toward Roman ideologies and practices in the mid-Republican period. Overlooking all of these buildings, however, is a Greek-style stone theatre. The date of the theatre is controversial, but Mitens assigns its initial construction to the second half of the fourth century BC, with reconstruction of the stage building at the end of the ca. 200 BC.[1040] Thus, it is apparent that this typically Greek characteristic, in so much as stone built theatres are not known in Rome at this period, continues to be an important cultural aspect for those living at Monte Iato.

An overall urban plan like that seen at the majority of the sites in this study is not yet available. There are remains of a circuit wall to the south and east, as well as evidence for a main paved road that extends westward from the east gate of the wall. Traces of this road have been located in the east quarter (Figure 5.33.A), as well as south of the *agora* and Iato01 (Figure 5.28.A). This is not an orthogonally laid axis, but instead follows the natural terrain of the site. The nature of possible intersecting roads is not entirely clear, though there is some indication of north-south streets running at regular intervals along the site. These do not, however, provide evidence for *insulae* in the same manner as other sites explored in this study. The excavations have revealed evidence for seven buildings of a domestic nature that date to the Hellenistic period, and at least one more which is given a date during the

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[1038] Isler 2000, 36, and 37, Fig. 5
[1039] Perkins 2007, 42.
[1040] Mitens 1988, 16, and 25. For the controversial date of the theatre in particular see for example Wilson 1988; Wilson 1990b, 69-71; Wiegand 1997, 48-51; Wilson 2000a, 148; and Campagna 2006, 20-1. See also below for the controversial date of the domestic architecture and the urban fabric in general.

late Archaic period.[1041] These houses are located in three distinct regions along the main

axis. Iato01 and Iato02, and their neighbours, are located to the west of the *agora*, with the

walls of the Archaic Temple of Aphrodite abutting those of the former and creating an

oblique plan (Figure 5.28.B), while Iato03 and Iato04 are only a short distance from the

eastern gate. A further house has been identified immediately south of the *agora*. As only a

single plan is complete (Iato01), this will be the focus here. It also provides one of the finest

examples of ancient domestic architecture from Sicily.

5.3.3   Excavation and publication

Though the toponym of the neighbouring commune suggests a surviving tradition of the

ancient settlement, investigations of the site are relatively recent, and this has provided

opportunity for systematic archaeological excavation and study, and these are widely

published. Excavations by the University of Zürich have been on-going since 1971, with

preliminary reports being published annually in *Sicilia Archaeologica* and *Antike Kunst*; early

accounts also appeared in *Kokalos*.[1042] Formal excavations reports are also available in the

Studia Ietina volumes.[1043] Isler has further produced a very informative, yet brief, guide to

the site, which provides a complete bibliography up to 2000.[1044] The primary excavations of

Iato01 took place over a span of 20 years, beginning in 1971, with 1990 being the last year

of major work, and are mentioned in all the relevant preliminary reports.[1045] More formal

publications directly related to Iato01 are provided by Dalcher, who delivers a room-by-room

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[1041] Isler 1997a, 29-30, lists a total of eight domestic structures. These are: a late Archaic house located to the west of the Temple of Aphrodite; Iato01 – Iato04; a portion of a house to the south of the *agora*; a portion of a house to the east of Iato01, and a portion of a house to the west of Iato02. The plans of the latter three are too incomplete to decipher a coherent house plan or room types and are not included in this survey.
[1042] Bloesch and Isler 1971 and ff.; Bloesch and Isler 1972 and ff.; and Tusa 1972-1973.
[1043] See Studia Ietina.
[1044] Isler 2000. For the bibliography see pp. 119-123.
[1045] Bloesch and Isler 1971 and ff; and Bloesch and Isler 1972 and ff. For further publication of the domestic architecture at Monte Iato see for example: Isler 1991; Isler 1996; Isler 1997a; Isler 1997b; Isler 2000; Isler 2001; Isler and Spatafora 2004; Isler 2009; and Isler 2010.

analysis of the structure, and Brem, who examines the wall and floor decoration.[1046] In 1980

excavations to the west of Iato01 and the Late Archaic House revealed a second large

peristyle house (Iato02). Further excavations of this area have been on-going since 1988

and are not complete, though the rooms surrounding three sides of the colonnaded

courtyard have been brought to light. More recently, remains of what appears to be two

separate buildings perhaps of domestic nature have also been uncovered on the eastern

edge of the settlement (Iato03 – Iato04). These excavations are still rather preliminary, and

complete plans are not available. Nevertheless, Iato02 – Iato04 do allow for some analysis

relevant to this study, and are included accordingly. Little can be said regarding the plans or

decorative pavements of the remaining structures, and they are not included in this

discussion.

5.3.4   Date

The date for the domestic architecture at Monte Iato is not certain. Isler and Dalcher both

date the initial construction of Iato01 to ca. 300 BC, or shortly thereafter, a second phase to

ca. 200 BC, a later renovation at the end of that century, and destruction to ca. 50 BC.[1047]

There is also evidence for a short period of occupation after this destruction.[1048] These

dates, however, are strongly contested on the basis of style, as it would place the plan of

Iato01, its superimposed Doric and Sicilian Ionic colonnade, along with other decorative

treatments, among the earliest of these types yet found anywhere, and as many as 150

[1046] Dalcher 1994 (Studia Ietina, vol. VI); Brem 1997; Brem 2000 (Studia Ietina, vol. VII).
[1047] Phase 1 includes Rooms 1-19 and 22, with the latter being a small open gate; Phase 2 includes the annex (Rooms 20-21 and 23-25); For the dates see for example: Isler 2000, 85; Dalcher 1994, 15; and Isler 2011, 123.
[1048] This is seen primarily in Rooms 15-17 and consists of a bathtub being inserted on top of the floor of Room 15, and a hearth in the south-west corner of Room 16 (Dalcher 1994, 30-31).

years earlier than most of the sites on Sicily.[1049] Dalcher provides a good overview of the

stratigraphic evidence for each of the phases based on ceramic evidence.[1050] According to

Dalcher's analysis, the date of the initial construction is based on 123 finds from several

foundation trenches, which have a range of dates from ca. 650 BC to 200 BC. Isler further

notes that no piece of evidence dates after 250 BC, and mentions a lamp, dateable between

260 and 220 BC, which was found in a construction context, but suggests that its

classification is highly fragmentary and not secure.[1051] It remains unclear, however, where a

'secure' date for construction to ca. 300 BC is found.[1052] Even if the two extremes are taken

as evidence of soil disturbance, and therefore removed from the date analysis, the vast

majority of these finds date to the first half of the third century BC. They provide nothing

more than a *terminus post quem* of construction, and not evidence for this being the period

within which it was built. Likewise, Dalcher's listed evidence suggests a *terminus post quem*

of ca. 200 – 150 BC for the addition of the annex, and a *terminus post quem* of 150-50 BC

for the renovation of the bath-suite, with the third phase of the house well into the Augustan

period. Based on this, the dates assumed for each of the phases by Isler and Dalcher could

be brought down by at least 50 years.[1053] Further, there is evidence for renovation of the

main building after 150 BC. This includes a Campana A vessel found below the tile floor of

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[1049] For the contestation of dates, which applies to the urban fabric of the site in general, and not just the domestic architecture, see in particular: von Sydow 1984, 245, 263, 292, 313-14, and 350, no. 20 (which suggests a date of ca. 180 BC for the architecture of lato01); and Lauter 1986, 142 (who suggests the house in its reconstructed form cannot date much before ca. 200 BC). For support of a second-century-BC date see for example: Lauter-Bufe 1987, 26, no. 39; Wilson 1990a, 24, n. 75; Wilson 1990b, 75-76, and 87, n. 24; Wilson 2000a, 149-50; Portale 2001-2002, 64-68; Albanesi 2006, 180, n. 2, and 3; Portale 2006, 72, and 80-81; Portale 2007, 158-9; Campagna 2011, 164-5; and Wilson in press. For Isler's rebuttal to these criticisms, where he finds it "unjustifiable that the date of the [stratigraphic] findings and the absolute date of the buildings is 100 or more years", see Isler 2010, 329 (Translation: author); and Isler 2011, 107, and 123-6.
[1050] Dalcher 1994, 80-127.
[1051] Isler 2011, 123.
[1052] Dalcher 1994, 82. Isler 2010, 328, states that these dates are supported by the house's similarities with fourth-century-BC private architecture from Macedonia, in particular the presence of the three-room suite. This too provides nothing more than a possible *terminus post quem*.
[1053] This is also suggested by Campagna 2011, 164-5, but he further suggests construction during the first half of the second century BC.

Room 11, which dates the floor at least to the second half of the second century BC, as well as similar finds associated with the second paving of Room 18 that also suggest a date in the second half of the second century BC, if not the first century BC.[1054]

There are also some indications nearby that there may have been a break in the initial construction phase. This comes from excavations in the area between the Temple of Athena and Iato02. In this intermediate section there are remains for a structure of domestic nature that, according to Isler, dates to the end of the Archaic period with continuing occupation until the end of the third century BC, when construction of a third peristyle house was begun and then immediately abandoned.[1055] Though there is no definitive proof as to why construction was halted, and no evidence for destruction, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the economic uncertainties of the Second Punic War could be a possible explanation for abandonment of a building program in this period. If construction was halted in this area, it may have ceased in neighbouring plots as well, but was then resumed in these areas once the economic situation had stabilised again. Such a suggestion is possibly supported by the lamp mentioned above, as well as the material noted by Dalcher to have a date range down to ca. 200 BC. For this study the following dates for construction of the house are proposed: Phase 1a to the mid-third-century-BC with a hypothesised Phase 1b of ca. 215 BC – 150 BC; Phase 2a, to the mid-second-century-BC and its renovations (Phase 2b) in the next century (Table 5.2). Isler also dates Iato02 – Iato04 to the first half of the third century BC.[1056] Secure dates are not yet available for these houses, and are therefore

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[1054] Dalcher 1994, 81, and 115. There were two fragments of an Ephesus lamp (type Dressel 1A), which date between the mid-second- and first-half- of the first-centuries-BC, associated with the second floor, while with the third floor was found a coin that post-dates ca. 140 BC.
[1055] Isler 2000, 88.
[1056] See for example Isler 2011, 124.

provided with a chronology by Isler based on its similarity in construction to Iato01.[1057] For

the purpose of this study their chronology is paralleled with that proposed for Iato01.[1058]

Table 5.2. Proposed phases and interpretations of dates for Iato01

Phase	Date Range of Ceramic Evidence	Isler and Dalcher's Interpretation	Current Proposed Interpretation
Phase 1a Initial Construction East Peristyle	300 - 250 BC	ca. 300 – 280 BC	ca. 250 - 215 BC
Phase 1b* Completion of Construction?	250-200 BC?	---	ca. 215 – 150 BC
Phase 2a Addition of Annex	200 – 150 BC	ca. 200 BC	
Renovations of Floors in Rooms 11 and 18	150 – 50 BC	ca. 150 BC	ca. 150 – 50 BC
Phase 2b Replacement of Bathtub	150 – 50 BC	ca. 100 BC	ca. 50 BC
Phase 3 Later Habitation primarily in Rooms 15 and 16	50 BC – AD 50	ca. 50 BC	ca. AD 0 – 50

* This is a hypothesis made by the author based on analogy with evidence around the Late
Archaic House, and not necessarily direct evidence from Iato01, though there is some
ceramic evidence dateable to the second half of the third century BC.

5.3.5   Domestic architecture

5.3.5.1   Iato01 (Peristyle House I)

The walls of the house are well preserved, reaching a height of almost 5 m in some places,

and the plan is almost complete, with the exception of the lack of a few walls on the west

and the shops in the south-east corner. While the excavators have attempted to reconstruct

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[1057] Isler 2010, 328.
[1058] For Iato02 this is largely supported by Russenberger who states: "The first phase of the building
cannot be dated before 250 BCE… But possibly construction began significantly later, namely in the
second quarter of the 2nd century BCE" (Russenberger, forthcoming, 193).

the second storey, which they assume had the same layout of the main floor, there is no way to confirm or deny the form or function of these hypothetical rooms, and as such they are not considered in this study.
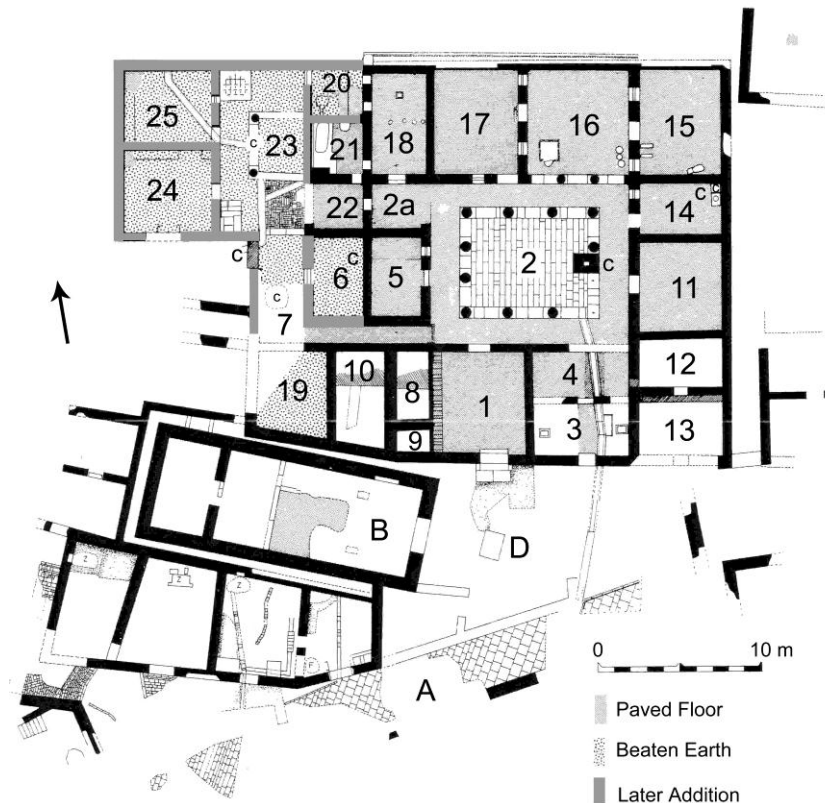
Figure 5.28. Plan of Iato01 – Peristyle House I (after Isler 1991, Fig. 4). © 1991, adapted with permission of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich

c. cistern

<u>Major Features</u>

Iato01 (Figure 5.28) is a residence with more than 20 rooms and two courtyards, and one of the largest Hellenistic buildings of its type yet found. The primary entrance (1) is from the south, a short distance from the main road (A), and approached by a short flight of steps off an assumed shared piazza with the altar (D) of the Archaic Temple of Aphrodite (B). To the east of the entrance is a set of two rooms that are probable shops (3/4 and 12/13). They each have a bipartite form with separate access to the street, and there is no indication of

communication with the interior of the house. Rooms 12/13 are not well preserved, but Rooms 3/4 may provide some indication as to use. A drain from the basin of the courtyard runs through Room 3/4 and out into the street. This, along with the presence of two large tubs, and finds that included iron combs, leads to the hypothesis that this may have been a fuller's workshop.[1059] Information about the rooms to the west of the entranceway is even less clear due to their poor preservation, though it is suggested that Room 9 may have been connected to the entrance room as a sort of custodian room, while Room 8 is hypothesised to have been an open area due to a lack of any formal paving or indication of a beaten floor.[1060]

Eastern Courtyard

The main entrance is a large square entrance room (1).[1061] Though this room is only slightly off-centre in respect to the courtyard, a view inside of the house would not have been attained from the street as the outer and inner doors of the entrance room are not aligned. The courtyard consists of a grand 4 by 4 colonnade, surrounding a paved basin with an arched cistern in its eastern *stylobate*. Various column sizes and capitals found in the debris allow for a reconstruction of the courtyard on two storeys.[1062] There is no evidence for a staircase in the eastern section of the house that would lead to the upper rooms, and it has been suggested that a wooden staircase existed in Room 2a.[1063]

Rooms 15, 16, and 17 can be identified as the main rooms of the house due to their size, location, and decoration. Room 16 is exedral with two columns *in antis*, and provides

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[1059] Isler 2000, 68; and Dalcher 1994, 17.
[1060] Dalcher 1994, 17, suggests this to be a stable.
[1061] Though an early addition, this was not the original entrance to the house, which was probably on the west side (Dalcher 1994, 14).
[1062] The columns are cut from local limestone and the capitals are reconstructed as being Doric on the lower floor with Sicilian Ionic on the upper. The presence of dovetails in the columns on the lower order suggest inclusion of a wooden parapet, while elements of a stone balustrade found in the debris are interpreted as belonging to the upper order.
[1063] Dalcher 1994, 18.

access to Rooms 15 and 17. The doorways of these latter rooms are off-centre and their dividing walls have windows, both of which are characteristics that may provide evidence for these being used as dining-rooms.[1064] Room 17 provides possible additional evidence for this being referred to as a dining-room, as it has a threshold mosaic with an inscription suggesting the guests 'go away happy' alongside a possible concentric panel (see below). There is, however, a second door onto the courtyard, and this door suggests that dining couches in Room 17 were not permanent, as one of them would need to be placed partially in front of the door if all nine were in position. Further, Room 15 offers suggestive evidence that it may have been more of a 'private' space than a 'public' room. A possible domestic shrine might be indicated in the form of a niche in one of the walls. Though this alone is a tenuous assumption, the discovery of two small altars, two possible limestone bases for statues, and a small terracotta figurine do suggest some cultic activity, probably domestic, for the room.[1065] Therefore, though formal dining is a likely function for these rooms, it is unlikely that they were used strictly for this purpose. Rooms 15 – 17 are often compared to a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite, and though there are similarities, they cannot be considered canonical.[1066] Room 15 is concealed in the corner, and is not visible from the courtyard. Though a corner room is common for dining-rooms at both Olynthos and Delos, it is not the standard for a traditional three-room suite. At Monte Iato this difference may simply reflect a variation due to restrictions in the plan, but it may also indicate that it had a more isolated function and perception. Room 17 is also different from Macedonian versions in that it is not fully dependent on the exedra, as it can also be accessed from the courtyard. While the form of these rooms might have been influenced by three-room suites in the Macedonian palaces, they likely had a wider range of functions.

[1064] Isler 2001, 259. See Chapter 2 for characteristics of *andrones* at Olynthos.
[1065] Isler 2000, 78.
[1066] See for example: Perkins 2007, 42; Isler 2000, 72; and Dalcher 1994, 32.

Another possible main room may be seen in Room 5. This space was decorated with *opus signinum* floors and has evidence for white painted walls. Though it does not have a wide access to the courtyard, it does have a window, which would increase its communication with the courtyard, and in shape it is a 'broad room' type. That it had a more minor role than Rooms 15-17 is based on its inferiority in size, decoration, and location. Further, the inclusion of a possible arched cistern in its western wall (see Room 6 below) may suggest that in the first phase it had more of a domestic (utilitarian), rather than reception, function. A single piece of *opus tessellatum*, and the evidence of the rich decoration of the '*cubicula'* in Sol01 (Chapter 4) leads Isler to wonder if Room 5 was a magnificent bedroom.[1067] Though sleeping in this room cannot be ruled out, it is better identified as a multi-function reception room.

There are also service rooms around the main courtyard. Rooms 11 and 14 are both paved with limestone slabs, suggesting a utilitarian nature, and Room 14 has a cistern that is similar to that in the *stylobate* of the colonnade located in the north-east corner. This cistern is partly embedded into the wall, and has an overflow drain that appears to have been connected to an urban water system, which provided water from the mountain, and ran along a bed of loose stones that followed the foundation of the outer walls.[1068] For this reason it is usually identified as an area for food preparation and storage.[1069]

Room 18 is also believed to have had a service nature of some sort, and though its function is unclear, it may have had a different utility in its two main building phases. There is evidence for three superimposed floors. In the bottom level of the flooring is a series of post holes that may indicate that the room was originally divided into two with a front room

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[1067] Isler 2010, 326, n. 238.
[1068] Isler 2000, 68.
[1069] Dalcher 1994, 17.

and back room. This back room may have had an upper loft-like area or *pergula*.[1070] As this

is a common feature in shops, for Isler it provides possible reference for some sort of

storage function, but its bipartite form and *opus signinum* floor, with particular treatment of

yellowish-reddish limestone *tesserae*, along with evidence for a mezzanine level, which

could be similar to Room f of Sol13 (Chapter 4) leads the author to wonder if this was in fact

a sleeping room in its earliest phase.[1071] In its current form, Room 18 communicates not only

with the courtyard, but also with Rooms 20 and 21, which are part of a bath-suite (see

below). These doors are later additions and correspond with a ca. 0.5 cm thick layer of lime

over the first floor. This layer coincides with remains of a sunken terracotta tub embedded

into the third floor, which was paved with limestone slabs. The actual function of the

terracotta tub is unclear. It could indicate that it was a latrine, but Isler disregards this on the

basis of size of the room and the lack of a drain, and instead proposes a continuing storage

function for the room, while Dalcher suggests that the tub is evidence for a hearth, which

would indicate that Room 18, like Room 14, was perhaps an area for food preparation.[1072]

Dalcher's suggestion for a hearth is the most convincing explanation of this feature, but as

discussed in Chapter 2, this does not automatically make this a 'kitchen', and its function

could be related to the bath-suite (see below).

Western Annex

The annex to the north-west is a separate service quarter. The second courtyard (23) could

be accessed from the main entrance room by means of a long, right-angle, corridor (7). It is

possible that this corridor was unroofed as a cistern is located in the middle. There is also

evidence for a third arched cistern with its mouth partially embedded in the western wall of

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[1070] A suggestion that is possibly supported by the presence of a cavity in the north wall, which would have supported a wooden floor (Isler 2000, 80).

[1071] Isler 2000, 80, makes this identification of a service function based on its subsequent phase, while Dalcher 1994 does not suggest a possible function for the earlier phase.

[1072] Isler 2000, 80; and Dalcher 1994, 33.

the corridor. This cistern is like its counterpart in Room 14 in that it has an arched cover, and was provided with water from the urban water system. Evidence for a fourth arched cistern might be present in Room 6 as there is a partially conserved arch in its northern wall that communicates with Room 5. This cistern was covered up, perhaps when the annex was added, and probably went out of use in the second phase.[1073] The courtyard itself (23) is simple with only two columns, and in the centre is a sixth cistern with an outflow drain that runs through Room 25. The south-west corner of the courtyard has remains for a staircase to the upper storey, while there is evidence for a brick oven with a tiled roof in the north-west corner. The rooms to its west (24 and 25) are not preserved well enough to provide much information regarding their plan or function.

The highlight of the west annex, however, lies in the suite of rooms (20, 21, and 22) to its east, which consist of a bath-suite. This suite has the familiar form of an anteroom (22) before a room (21) that has a basin along its west wall for a heated immersion bathtub (Figure 5.29). Beside the basin were remains for a washbowl that was provided with water from Room 20 by means of a pipe, and a limestone spout in the shape of a lion's head. There is also evidence for a second pipe that would run water into the larger tub. Dalcher compares this to the Punic bathing areas at Kerkouane, where running water was provided by means of pouring water by hand into these pipes.[1074] This is a completely different type of bath-suite, however, than those seen at Kerkouane. Not only is this an immersion tub, and not a hip-bath, but it was also heated. Behind the bathing area is an additional service room (20), which was entered from the small courtyard, and where remains of the heating system

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[1073] Isler 2000, 81.
[1074] Dalcher 1994, 36.

were found. This consists of bellows in a small central trench and a large arched furnace in its northern wall.[1075]

Figure 5.29. Heated immersion bathtub, Room 21, Iato01 (photo taken by author). © 2012, Karen Aberle

It should also be noted that the bath-suite, though part of the western annex, was positioned to be accessible from the main courtyard as well, either through Room 2a, which led directly into the anteroom, or through Room 18, which had a door that led into the bathing room itself, and two further doors that led into a corridor in Room 20, which was connected to Room 21 by means of an elaborate arched doorway. The exact chronology of all of these access points is not certain, and the arched doorway between Rooms 20 and 21 was later blocked, but Trümper suggests that in its initial phase, at least, these multiple doorways were probably used to regulate traffic, or to separate different groups of bathers (such as men and women). These could, therefore be seen as waiting rooms.[1076] This brings us back to a possible function of Room 18. The terra-cotta tub, which Dalcher suggests is a

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[1075] Isler 1991, 223. A similar room may be present in Iato02 (see below), and Trümper 2010, 537, suspects a similar room to be located to the south of the bath-suite in Morg02 (see above), but this area has not been excavated.
[1076] Trümper 2010, 536.

hearth, could simply represent a feature intended to heat the room, providing extra comfort and luxury for the bathers. This is a similar function to that proposed for what may be a hearth in the adjoining room of the bath-suite in Morg02 (see above).

Decorative Pavements

Pavements of *opus signinum* are seen throughout the eastern section of the house, with the exceptions of Room 1, which is paved with *opus spicatum*, and the limestone slabs of Rooms 11, 14, and 18.[1077] The pavement of Room 16 is not well preserved, and preserves evidence of a few terracotta slabs. An argument for these not being the original paving can be found in the surrounding rooms, which do not suggest an utilitarian character.[1078] Rooms 15 and 17 both preserve floors of *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in rows.[1079] Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the same must have been true for the floor of the central room of the three-room suite in its original form. Perhaps of most significance for the decorative program is that Room 17 has an inscription at its threshold (Figure 5.30).[1080] The inscription, though fragmentary, is viewed as one exits the room; what survives reads ΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΑΙ / ΙΛΑΡΟΣΕΙΝ or "Cheers and be merry", but the inscription was once slightly larger.[1081] Large quantities of broken white *opus tessellatum* found in the fill of Room 16 suggest the

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[1077] Dalcher 1994, 27, and 29; Isler 1997b, 25-6; and Brem 2000, 84, 86, and 88.

[1078] The walls of Room 15 are plastered and painted white, while the walls of Rooms 16 and 17 have evidence for stucco moulded and painted in 'masonry style' (Brem 2000, 86-88).

[1079] Isler 1997b, 23; and Brem 2000, 86-88.

[1080] As noted above, pavement inscriptions are rare. Other examples of pavement inscriptions in Sicily from this period include: a mosaic out of context at Salemi (von Boeselager 1983, 31-34); one on the acropolis at Segesta (Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 112, and Fig. 9); one in a bath complex at Megara Hyblaea (Vallet et al. 1983, 15), and four from houses at Tindari (Tin01), Palermo (Pal01), Morgantina (Morg08), and Segesta (Seg01). For these domestic inscriptions see the relevant descriptions in Chapters 3 and 4, as well as above (Morg08) and below (Seg01), and the further discussion of this feature in Chapter 6.

[1081] Isler 1986, 72-3. It is reconstructed to read:
χαῖρε καὶ [πί] ει [εὖ]
ἱλαρὸς εἰ ν[υ]

upper storey had a mosaic pavement, perhaps with a richer decorative program.[1082]

Meanwhile, fragments of three rosettes, with white and red petals on a dark-blue background, found among large quantities of broken *opus signinum* in the fill of Room 17 suggest an elaborately decorated central panel of *opus tessellatum* within a subsidiary of *opus signinum* in one of the upper rooms (Figure 5.31).[1083] While the eastern section shows evidence for formal pavements of all of its floors, the majority of the western annex has only floors of beaten earth, with the exception of the use of *opus spicatum* beside the small courtyard, and *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in rows in the bath-suite.[1084]

Figure 5.30. *Opus signinum* inscription, Room 17, lato01 (after Isler 1997b, Fig. 6). © 1997, with permission of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich

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[1082] Isler 1997b, 21. Another possible indicator of *opus tessellatum* comes from a single piece found in Room 5. There is not enough of the mosaic remaining to say much more about it (Isler 2010, 326). For the decoration of the upper rooms see also Brem 2000, 91-101.
[1083] Isler 1997b, 22.
[1084] The walls of the bathing area are well preserved and were lined with a lower course of red plaster and an upper course of white with a niche above the wash basin, presumably for a statue.
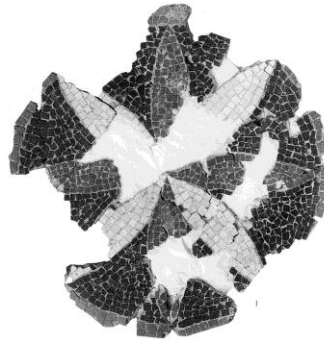
Figure 5.31. *Opus tessellatum* **rosette fragment, upper story fall, Room 17, lato01 (after Brem 2000, Taf. 92). © 2000, with permission of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich**

5.3.5.2   lato02 (Peristyle House II)
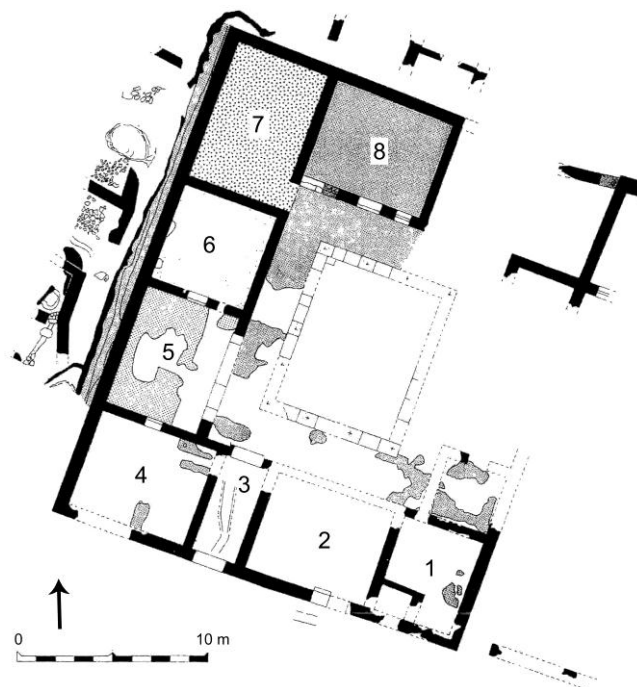
Figure 5.32. Plan of lato02 – Peristyle House II (after Isler 2009, Fig. 2). © 2009, adapted with permission of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich

<u>Major Features</u>

Iato02 (Figure 5.32) represents another large residence, comprised of rooms grouped around a central colonnaded courtyard. The entrance to the house appears to be from the south through a narrow entrance room (3). There are two rooms (1 and 2) to the east of the entranceway that could be interpreted as shops, though neither of their entrances is clear due to poor preservation of the walls on this side of the house. Likewise, it is unclear whether Room 2 communicated with the inside of the house. The possible functions of both are also vague, though Shop 1 appears to have had a small room included in its south-west corner.

The courtyard itself is very similar to that of Iato01 and consists of a 4 by 5 double-storied colonnade.[1085] There is also a possible three-room suite (4-6) in its south-west corner, with the central exedral room (5) being marked out by the inclusion of two columns *in antis*, though these are not preserved.[1086] Similar to Iato01, this is not a traditional Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite. Though both Rooms 4 and 6 are fully dependent on the central Room 5, Room 4, like Room 16 in Iaot01, is concealed in the corner, and not visible from the courtyard itself. This suite, however, is not identical to the trio of rooms from Iato01. For instance, Room 4 of Iato02 does not follow an identical axis to the other rooms of the group, but extends slightly farther to the east, and both of the side rooms have centred doorways, suggesting that they were not planned to accommodate dining couches specifically. Room 8 of Iato02 is more likely to be identified as a dining-room due to its off-centre door, windows, and the discovery of a bell *krater*, although its position on top of the fill also suggest it is out of context.[1087]

[1085] The colonnade is cut from local sandstone and had superimposed orders of Doric and Ionic.
[1086] Fuchs 1997, 45; and Isler 2000, 89.
[1087] Isler 2009, 102.

While at a glance Iato01 and Iato02 appear to be very similar, the form and function of the surrounding rooms, though fragmentary, already point towards a variety of plan between these two houses. One of these variances comes from recent excavations to the east of the main courtyard (not indicated on the plan). Though the results of these are still preliminary, and no complete room has been uncovered, the evidence suggests the presence of a second courtyard.[1088] Though it is likely that this was a service area, it is much larger than the more domestic courtyard of Iato01. The remains of unfluted Doric drums, and an Ionic column base has also been found in what is presumed to be a northern portico (Room 16), but the nature of this area remains to be revealed. Found to the north of this are portions of two additional rooms, containing a partially uncovered immersion bathtub in Room 19, which Russenberger suggests could be evidence of a "large communal pool", and a hypocaust in the adjoining Room 17.[1089] He also hints that the separation of this feature from the main courtyard (similar to the sweat-bath seen in Morg08 Rooms 21 and 22)…

> … may have been conceived for commercial or public use and thus may have required an independent access from the street.[1090]

This more public use of the bath-suite may also be seen in a third building of the site, which is discussed below.

Decorative Pavements

Pavements of *opus signinum* are preserved in the portico, as well as Rooms 4, 7, and 8. That of the porticoes has *tesserae* laid in lozenges, while Room 8 has a pseudo-concentric pattern with a border of *tesserae* laid in rows around a central field of lozenges.[1091] Room 5 preserves evidence for chip-pavement, and Room 6 had a white lime pavement.[1092]

[1088] See: Reusser et al. 2011, 82-7 and Taf. 18; and Russenberger, forthcoming.
[1089] Russenberger, forthcoming, 192.
[1090] Russenberger, forthcoming, 193.
[1091] Fuchs 1997; and Isler 2009, 103.
[1092] Isler 1997b, 22; and Russenberger, forthcoming, 186.

5.3.5.3   Iato03 and Iato04 (East Quarter Houses)

Figure 5.33. Plan of Iato03 and Iato 04 – East Quarter Houses, Monte Iato (after Isler 2009, Fig. 3). © 2009, adapted with permission of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich

Main Features

The evidence for domestic architecture in the east quarter consists of fragmentary remains of perhaps two additional colonnaded-courtyard houses (Figure 5.33). All that can be made of the plan of Iato03 are remains of two bases on the southern *stylobate*, and one on the west (though it is reconstructed as 5 by 5), as well as portions of two rooms to the south, and one to the east. Entrance to the courtyard from the main road (A) is unclear, but at present appears to be through a square room (1) in the south-east corner, which leads into a second long-rectangular room (2) that has a door onto the courtyard. This two room entrance configuration is uncharacteristic for domestic architecture, though HM04 (Chapter 3) may provide a parallel.

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The plan of Iato04 is also incomplete and highly irregular. Isler suggests that the oblique plan in the north-east corner might be a result of the continuation of the paved main street (A) in that direction.[1093] The entrance from this street is marked with the remains of a threshold into an entrance room (3) on a slightly higher level with a small section of *opus signinum* remaining. The rooms of the house sit on various levels, following the terrain, and predictably there are remains of a small staircase included to access the courtyard from this room. The courtyard is not central in the plan, but located on the west, and there are partial remains of a 3 by 4 colonnade with a basin paved with limestone slabs, while the northern and western porticoes have *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in rows.

The eastern wing is particularly important. It is identified as a bath-suite with feature B being interpreted as a sweat-bath. This room was provided with a fly roof of stucco under a tile roof, and in the centre of the floor were four vertical terracotta slabs in the shape of a box that had indications for burning.[1094] To the east of the sweat-bath was an ante-room, and accessible from this is a further room that may have included an immersion tub, which is represented by a gap (ca. 1.78 x 0.94 m) in the pavement of the south-west corner.[1095]

Isler readily admits that private sweat-baths in this period are not common.[1096] While he is correct in suggesting that this feature points to a cultural refinement of the site, it is also possible that its appearance suggests a more public function for the building. The identification of these structures as private residences is based primarily on their inclusion of a colonnaded courtyard, but this feature is not unique to houses. Further, the location of a bath complex on the edge of the city, but located on the main axis, is noted at Morgantina, so it would not be illogical to propose that a similar building is also included in the urban plan

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[1093] Isler 2000, 91.
[1094] Isler 2000, 92.
[1095] Russenberger, forthcoming, 193.
[1096] Isler 2000, 93.

of Monte Iato.[1097] Only with further excavations, however, can this be confirmed, and these buildings are included in the survey of houses that follows in Chapter 6. Isler dates the layout of the town, and thereby the buildings in the east quarter, to the fourth century BC, with the bath complex being added in the third or second century BC. There is, however, no stratigraphic evidence to exclude these as contemporary features, and it seems more likely that these buildings, like their western counterparts, also date largely, if not fully, to the second century BC.

Decorative Pavements

Room 2 and the porticoes of Iato03, as well as Room 3 and four rooms in the eastern annex of Iato04 are paved with *opus signinum*, though the pattern (if any) of these is not indicated. There is also evidence for *opus signinum* with *tesserae* laid in rows in the northern and western porticoes of Iato04, while its basin is paved with limestone slabs, as is the room on its far east side.

5.4 SEGESTA[1098]

5.4.1 Historical background

Segesta (*Aegesta* or *Egesta*) played a central role in much of the history of Sicily, and it is often mentioned in the ancient sources. It has a historic tradition of being one of the main Elymian settlements on the island, along with neighbouring *Erice* (Eryx), both of which are described as having been founded by Aeneas, or at least fortified by the Trojans and Phocians, and Strabo suggests that Segesta may have been named after the Trojan Aegestes.[1099] During the sixth and fifth centuries BC Segesta appears to have been in

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[1097] For the North Baths at Morgantina see Lucore 2009.
[1098] For a general overview of the site and its identification as ancient Segesta see for example: Stillwell 1976, 817-8; BTCGI XVIII, 513-76; Manni 1981, 222-23; and Wilson 2000b, 721.
[1099] Thuc.6.2.3; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.33.72; and Strab. 6.1.3.

frequent disputes with neighbouring Selinunte (ancient *Selinous* / *Selinus*).[1100] This led to it being a key player in the Sicilian Expedition (ca. 415 – 413 BC), in that the historical narrative suggests that it was the Segestans' request for help from Athens that led to the Athenian armies first approaching the island, and later, in the wars between the Greeks and Carthaginians, Segesta sought out the Carthaginians for assistance against Selinunte and her ally Syracuse.[1101] During the fourth century BC Segesta appears to have remained largely autonomous, but in a perpetual alliance with Carthage. For instance, it is listed as one of five cities that remained loyal to Carthage, and was subsequently seized, in the battles against Dionysios I, and it was also sacked by Agathokles at the end of the same century.[1102]

A generation later it is mentioned as one of the cities in the Carthaginian *epikrateia* that was taken by Pyrrhus.[1103] It must have remained in an alliance with Carthage, or at least under its control, after this time as well, as Diodoros lists it as being under Carthaginian rule, and one of the first cities to go over to Rome during the First Punic War after the defeat of *Panormos*.[1104] It became part of the first province of Sicily after the Treaty of 241 BC, and must have remained loyal to Rome from an early period. Segesta is recorded as one in a small list of *civitates sine foedere immunes ac liberae* (cities without a treaty, exempted from paying tithe, and politically autonomous).[1105] Cicero further refers to the Segestans as

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[1100] See for example: Diod. Sic. 5.9.2; Diod. Sic. 11.86.2; (the cities listed by Diodoros here are *Aegesta* and *Lilybaeum*, though the later probably refers to *Selinus*. As introduced in Chapter 4 *Lilybaeum* was not founded until the fourth century BC, and the population of *Selinus* is said to have later moved to *Lilybaeum* by the Carthaginians around 250 BC); Diod. Sic. 12.82.3-6; and Diod. Sic. 13.43.2.

[1101] For the Sicilian Expeditions see for example: Thuc. 6.6.2-3; Diod. Sic. 12.82.7-83.5; and Diod. Sic. 13.43.1. For the request to Carthage see Diod. Sic. 13.43.3.

[1102] Diod. Sic. 14.48.4-5 (along with *Halicyae*, *Aegesta*, *Panormos*, and *Entella*); Diod. Sic. 20.71.1-5.

[1103] Diod. Sic. 22.10.2-4.

[1104] Diod. Sic. 23.5.1; 23.18.5. Polyb. 1.24.1-2, however, suggests it was seized by Rome, and therefore this change in allegiance may not have been entirely voluntary.

[1105] For the list of *civitates sine foedere immunes ac liberae* see Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.6.13. See also Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.69.166 where its land is listed as being *immunes liberosque* and Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.39.92 where it is described as *ad immunem civitatem*.

"bound to Rome not only by permanent alliance and friendship, but also by ties of blood",
and that they are "almost to deserve the name of Romans", and who were, he claims,
robbed by Verres.[1106] During the first century BC Segesta is mentioned as the base of the
insurgent Athenion at the start of the Second Servile War, and later Appian suggests that
the settlement had to be seized again by Augustus.[1107] This must not have had much impact
on the new emperor, however, and Segesta is listed as having *Latina condicio* (Latin rights)
during the Imperial period.[1108] Similar to *Tyndaris*, "the emporium of the Aegestes" is
referred to by Strabo as one of the few settlements that was still populated in that section of
the island.[1109]

5.4.2   Topography and urban plan

Segesta (Figure 5.1) is located in north-west Sicily ca. 3 km from the small town of
Calatafimi in the Province of Trapani, and ca. 33 km west of Monte Iato. The hilltop
settlement is situated on Monte Barbaro (Figure 5.34). The eastern summit of this, on which
the theatre (A) is placed, is ca. 413 m above sea level, while the Doric temple (B) sits on top
of a lower plateau at ca. 304 m above sea level. Similar to the other sites in this chapter,
this position provided natural protection, access to fertile valleys, as well as a spectacular
view over the surrounding terrain, including the Gulf of Castellamare to the north-east from
the *cavea* of the theatre. Segesta is also believed to have commanded a variety of road
systems, including one that connected the sites of Segesta, Erice, Selinunte, Motya, and

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[1106] "… *perpetua societate atque amicitia, verum etiam cognatione se cum populo Romano
coniunctos esse arbitrantur*" and "…*tum etiam cognatione populi Romani nomen attingunt.*"
Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.33.72 and Cic. *Verr*. 2.5.32.84. Translations: Loeb (293), Cicero, The Verrine Orations,
Volume II.
For its kinship to Rome see also Cic. *Verr*. 2.5.47.125. For it being ravage by Verres see Cic. *Verr*.
2.5.46.124.
[1107] For *Aegesta* and Athenion see Diod. Sic. 36.5.1. For Augustus and Segesta see: App. III.4.22-24.
[1108] Plin. *HN*. 3.14.92.
[1109] "… τὸ τῶν Αἰγεστέων ἐμπόριον…"
Strabo 6.2.5. Translation Loeb (182), Strabo, Geography, Volume III.
Segesta is mentioned along with *Alaesa*, *Cephaloidis*, and *Panormos*.

perhaps also Salemi (identified with ancient *Halikyai*). Coastal roads would have provided

good access from Segesta to Palermo, Solunto (via Palermo), and Heraclea Minoa (via

Selinunte) as well.[1110]
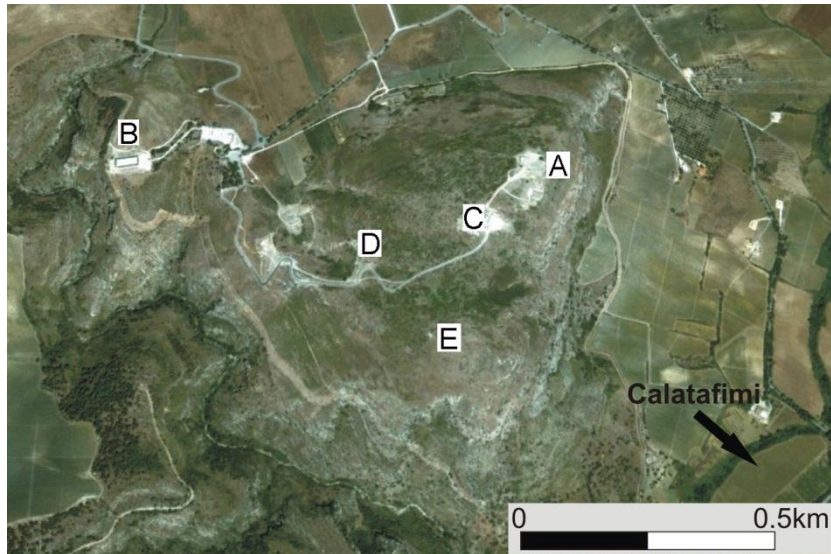
Figure 5.34. Satellite view of Segesta (© Google Earth, labels and scale added). © 2012 Google, © 2012 DigitalGlobe, by permission

A. theatre; B. temple; C. *agora*; D. SAS 5; E. Seg01 (SAS 9)

The urban plan of Segesta is not entirely clear, though aerial photography and

sporadic excavations suggest a regular arrangement, supported by terraces, and

surrounded by a fortification wall. The site is perhaps best known for its *peripteral* temple on

a lower western plateau. This late fifth-century-BC temple is of the Doric order, but it is not

standard in that it preserves no evidence for either a roof or a proper *cella*, and the column

drums are unfluted. Though the more widely accepted suggestion is that this means that the

temple was never completed, it has also been argued that this reflects a cult use of the

structure that was particular to the local Elymian population.[1111] The Hellenistic city is

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[1110] For these communication routes see Verbrugghe 1976, 16.
[1111] Stillwell 1976, 818. For the 'interruption' of its construction see also Holloway who further suggests that it was "Greek only in architecture" (Holloway 1991, 43).

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centred on a higher plateau of Monte Barbaro. This area, which is referred to as the northern

acropolis, is commanded by a Greek-style stone theatre. To the south-west of the theatre is

an area identifiable as an *agora* (C). Recent excavations in this area have uncovered

evidence for a *bouleuterion* and *stoae* dating to the second century BC, along with the *tholos*

of a possible *macellum*, which is perhaps a later imperial construction.[1112] The domestic

quarters of the city are likely to have been below these, and are represented by excavations

in two areas (D and E).[1113] The plans of neither of these houses are complete, and there is

no information provided as to whether they were situated within formal *insulae.* Only the

excavations on the small plateau, which the excavators refer to as the south acropolis (E),

have yielded to date evidence for a courtyard, and are therefore included in this survey,

although the evidence for this house is minimal.[1114] The importance, and inclusion, of this

house for this study in particular lies primarily in its decorative pavements. One or two

fragments of other Hellenistic houses have been glimpsed beneath medieval overlay, but no

coherent house-plan dating to the mid-Republican period is yet known from Segesta.

5.4.3   Excavation and publication

Segesta was first identified by Fazello in the mid-sixteenth-century-AD, and attention

towards the site has centred upon the temple and theatre for centuries, though systematic

excavations did not begin until the 1960s.[1115] Little work has been done outside of these

areas until relatively recently. Seg01 was discovered in 1992 during excavations by the

Soprintendenza of Trapani, and these were extended during the following year to further

recover the partial plan discussed below, but they have not continued, and the recent focus

for excavations are primarily centred on the northern acropolis and the Hellenistic *agora*.

[1112] See Parra 2006; Ampolo 2010 (cf. Wilson in press); and Wilson forthcoming 2012.
[1113] These excavations are referred to as SAS 05 (D) and SAS 09 (E).
[1114] For the case study criteria see Chapter 1.
[1115] See BTCGI, XVIII, 526-528, for an overview of these excavations.

Publication of the excavations of Seg01 is preliminary, with the principal sources being two

short papers by Bechtold, and the mosaics by Camerata Scovazzo, all published in 1997,

along with supplementary material on the decoration by Daniele et al., which was published

shortly thereafter.[1116]

5.4.4 Date

There is archaeological evidence for a prehistoric settlement in the area that gradually

developed during the archaic and classical periods, with construction of the temple during

the last decade of the fifth century BC, and a restructuring of the site during the Hellenistic

period.[1117] This included the construction of the theatre perhaps as early as the second half

of the third century BC, though evidence suggests construction of the *skene* building during

the second half of the second century BC, which is similar in date to the majority of the

structures within the *agora*, and with Seg01.[1118]

The excavations of Seg01 suggest three superimposed buildings belonging to

separate phases (Figure 5.35).[1119] There is no mention of foundation trenches being dug to

date these structures, and the following chronology is largely established from relative dating

techniques that are based upon stylistic trends. The earliest phase is represented by Rooms

A and E (referred to by the excavators as Edificio I). Room A sat below a tile fall with

material dating to the early Imperial period, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the structure.

Beneath this tile fall, but directly above floor level, was ceramic material dating to the end of

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[1116] Bechtold 1997a; Bechtold 1997b; Camerata Scovazzo 1997; and Daniele et al. 1999. For the stucco and wall decoration see also Daniele 2000.
[1117] For these general dates which are based largely on scattered remains of ceramic evidence see BTCGI, XVIII, 527. The first coins minted at Segesta date to the second quarter of the fifth century BC, and the mint here ends ca. 400 BC (Rutter 1997, 138 and 155).
[1118] For the earlier date of the Hellenistic theatre see Mitens 1988, 16. Campagna, however, dates the construction of extant complex to the end of the second century BC (Campagna 1997 (cf. Wilson in press); and Campagna 2006; 17). For the second- to first- centuries-BC date for the buildings within the *agora* see: Parra 2006, 111, 115, and 118; and BTCGI, XVIII, 531, and 533.
[1119] Bechtold 1997a, 85.

the second- and mid-first- centuries-BC.[1120] This, therefore, provides a *terminus ante quem*

for the construction of these rooms as well. On the basis of an *opus tessellatum* floor in

Room E, the excavators suggest a *terminus post quem* for Edificio I of the first half of the

third century BC, with its construction at the end of the third century BC, and after Roman

conquest of the area in 225 BC.[1121] The western section of these rooms is damaged by the

walls of Room B (Edificio II). The pavements, along with other decorative elements, of this

later building (Rooms B, C, D, I) led the excavators to suggest a date of the second half of

the second to the beginning of the first centuries BC for the second structure.[1122] These

dates are based largely on comparison with the decorative pavements of Pal01 (Chapter 4).

Room B lay beneath the same tile fall of Room A, and therefore is also believed to have

been abandoned during the early first century AD. The latest building is a medieval

construction (late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries AD), and is represented by Rooms G

and H (Edificio III), which partially destroy the south-west section of Seg01.[1123]

[1120] This included Dressel I *amphorae* and Dressel 1/1A (Warzanlampe) lamps (Bechtold 1997a, 86).
[1121] Bechtold 1997a, 88-9, and 104; Bechtold 1997b, 135; and Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 109, and 115.
[1122] Bechtold 1997a, 93-102, esp. 95 and 101; 104; Bechtold 1997b, 135; and Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 109.
[1123] Bechtold 1997a, 103.

5.4.5 Domestic architecture

5.4.5.1 Seg01 (the so-called 'Casa del Navarcha', SAS 9)
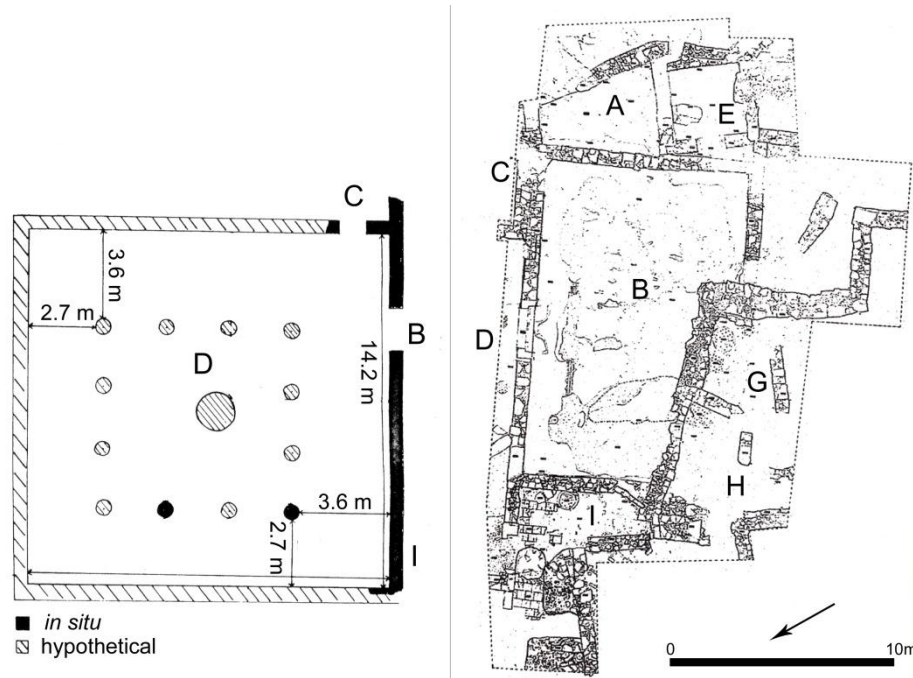
Figure 5.35. Plan of Seg01 – the so-called 'Casa del Navarcha', SAS 9 (Left: after Bechtold 1997b, Abb. 11.7; Right: after Bechtold 1997a, Tav. IV). © 1997, Babette Bechtold, adapted by permission

Left. proposed courtyard; Right. excavated remains.
The solid wall in the proposed courtyard on the left represents the northern wall of Room B
in the plan of the excavated remains on the right

<u>Major Features</u>

The plan of Seg01 (Figure 5.35) is fragmentary, though suggests a colonnaded-courtyard house. The primary feature (B) is of the 'broad room' type. Within this room is a particularly fine decorative pavement with a concentric pattern (see below), and this in combination with a pavement inscription as one enters suggests that this was the main room of the house; the excavators identify it as either a *tablinum* or *triclinium*.[1124] Also important for the identification of the room was the discovery of two limestone blocks in the shape of prows (the largest

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[1124] Bechtold 1997a, 103.

measures 0.96 x 0.38 x 0.36 m). These lead to the house being identified with the

navarchus Heraclius mentioned by Cicero, but this is obviously only hypothetical.[1125] Room

B is entered from the south side of a courtyard. This area has not been excavated, and its

reconstruction (Figure 5.35.Left) is based largely upon the presence of two *in situ* columns,

and a feature in the proposed centre which may represent a well or cistern.[1126] The

colonnade is reconstructed as having a 4 by 4 arrangement of columns. The south portico is

a 'broad portico' type, and the same is suggested for the portico on the eastern side of the

courtyard. On either side of Room B are smaller additional rooms of unknown function.

Those to the east (A and E) belong to an earlier building, and are partially destroyed by the

construction of Room B, though they continued to be used into the early Imperial period.

These two rooms, which were finely decorated, communicate with one another, but not

Room B. The room to the west (I) is Γ-shaped. Though its function is not entirely clear, its

shape and a pavement of terracotta slabs suggest that it likely served as a service area or

corridor. There is evidence for a sixth space to the east of the courtyard (C), but little else

can be said about this room.

Decorative Pavements

These partial excavations have revealed good evidence for decorative pavements, and

these have the most significance for this study in that they are firmly rooted in the western

pavement tradition. Room A is paved with *opus signinum* that has a scatter of inlaid

tesserae, while Room E has a well-preserved monochrome white *opus tessellatum* floor with

the *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion. The courtyard is also paved with *opus signinum*, and

this pavement is a good example of *opus scutulatum* in that it has an indiscriminate scatter

of inlaid polychrome *crustae*. Also found in the courtyard, in front of Room B, is a pavement

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[1125] Cic, *Verr.* 2.5.43.111; and 5.45.120.
[1126] See Bechtold 1997b, 137-8.

inscription in white *tesserae* that reads ΧΑΙΡΕ. The highlight, however, is the pavement in

Room B itself, which provides evidence for a concentric pattern that uses both the *opus*

tessellatum and *opus sectile* techniques (Figure 5.36). The adjusting border is monochrome

(white) with the *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion, and this is followed by an elaborate,

polychrome, tessellated double guilloche frame. Within this was a large central field of *opus*

sectile in the form of polychrome rosettes (the outlines of which are just visible in Figure

5.36).

**Figure 5.36. *Opus tessellatum* and evidence for *opus sectile*, Room B, Seg01
(Bechtold 1997a, Tav. 8.2). © 1997, Babette Bechtold, adapted by permission**

5.5   BRIEF SUMMARY OF SETTLEMENT TYPE

The extant evidence for domestic architecture from the indigenous foundation settlements of

Morgantina, Monte Iato, and Segesta provide a building type that is very similar within the

settlement type, but quite different from those at other sites, and thus they produce an

interesting picture of the development of houses within the Sicilian interior. For example,

Morg02, Morg08, Iato01, and Iato02 mirror one another other in their inclusion of a three-

room suite, a service quarter, and a bath-suite. This latter feature deserves special mention.

Heated individual immersion bathtubs and sweat-baths are exclusively found in the Western Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period, and the heated immersion tubs of Morgantina and Monte Iato are the earliest known examples.[1127] The decorative pavements of Morgantina and Monte Iato also share characteristics, such as the combination of *opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum* on the same floor, the use of both the 'eastern' concentric pattern and 'western' all-over pattern, and most significantly the inclusion of an inscription near a doorway, a feature also seen at Segesta, but is not commonly found in Hellenistic pavements in general. Also similar are the chronologies of the initial construction of houses from all three sites (mid- to late- third-century-BC), and their later renovations (second century BC).

Such similarities commonly lead to generalisations regarding the homogenous nature of Hellenistic domestic architecture in Sicily being described as Greek 'peristyle' houses attempting to emulate the palaces of the Hellenistic Kingdoms in the East.[1128] This is only true, however, for the third century BC, and only for a small number of buildings. The more extensive excavations at Morgantina provide evidence for a different house type in the following century, which includes a reduction of the size of house plans, and the construction of newer, smaller houses. Furthermore, as the previous two chapters have shown, these large colonnaded-courtyard houses are not typical for all of the settlements discussed. Instead, contemporary structures are often non-colonnaded-courtyard houses, while the colonnaded courtyard is a late second- to first- centuries-BC development. As will be explored further in the following chapters, it is misleading, therefore, to use the houses of

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[1127] Trümper 2010, 536. A further early example can be seen at Moltone di Tolve, its dating is uncertain, and though the third century BC is possible, Trümper 2010, 537-8, believes the immersion tub (evidence for heating is not certain) is more likely to date to the second century BC. Later examples from Italy date to the first century BC and the first century AD. Of particular note is a similar bathing-suite in the Casa del Atrio Testrastilio at Agrigento, possibly dating to the end of the first century BC. Unheated immersion tubs from the Hellenistic period are found primarily in Egypt, and include a hip-bath alongside the immersion tub.
[1128] See for example: Isler 1996; Perkins 2007; Tsakirgis 2009; and Isler 2010.

Morgantina, Monte Iato, or Segesta as a template to represent domestic architecture across

the island during this period as is commonly done.

Chapter 6: Urban Domestic Architecture of Mid-Republican Sicily: a Summary and Analysis of Types, Pavements, and Identity

6.1 HOUSE AND COURTYARD TYPE

Evidence from 45 structures of a domestic nature has been identified and analysed for this survey (Appendix C). A few of these may have included multiple living spaces; and therefore, the total number of houses is likely to have been somewhat higher.[1129]

Of the buildings surveyed, 17 are single, colonnaded-courtyard houses (Table D.1). While the types of organisational spaces will be briefly discussed in more detail below, the colonnaded courtyard in isolation provides little indication of cultural influence: a survey of the relationship and arrangement of the surrounding rooms, as well their decoration, is also necessary (sections 6.2 and 6.3). There are, however, two overarching themes pertaining to the house type that warrant additional discussion, namely non-colonnaded-courtyard houses and multiple courtyard houses. These two types will be discussed first.

6.1.1 Non-colonnaded-courtyard houses

At least 19 non-colonnaded-courtyard houses from the mid-Republican period can be identified (Table D.1). [1130] This number would have been much higher in antiquity, and remnants of additional houses that were renovated or built over during subsequent centuries are also visible.[1131] The high ratio of non-colonnaded-courtyard houses provides us with a very different impression than that put forth by the traditional surveys introduced in Chapter 1, which emphasise the large 'peristyle' houses, and in so doing homogenise Hellenistic

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[1129] For possible evidence of multiple units see: Tin01, Tin02, Morg01, Morg02, and Morg03.
[1130] For this study, non-colonnaded-courtyard houses are classified as those which have evidence for fewer than three colonnaded porticoes. These are: Lic01; Lic02; Lic03; Lic04; HM01; HM02; HM03; HM05; HM06; HM07; Mar 03; Mar04; Morg04; Morg05; Morg07; Sol02; Sol03; Sol04; and Sol10.
[1131] For built over examples see in particular Agrigento, and Tindari (Chapter 3).

Sicily as consisting predominantly of this latter type.[1132] For this reason an overview of these under-represented houses is merited. The non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of mid-Republican Sicily can be classified along the following six categories:

6.1.1.1 Hall house

A possible single example from Heraclea Minoa is reconstructed by the excavators as having had a closed organisational space, and is described as an *atrium* with a *displuviate* roof.[1133] A comparison of this house with its immediate neighbours suggests that it was more likely to have had an open courtyard, and therefore is considered under the 'central-non-colonnaded-courtyard' category below.

6.1.1.2 Modest 'semi-rural' courtyard house

There are three examples, all from Heraclea Minoa, and dating to the last quarter of the second century BC, that provide evidence for an open and central organisational space, which lacks a colonnaded portico and is located within a diminishing urban settlement.[1134] Two of these, HM06 and HM05, share many similarities. They both have a large rectangular courtyard, which is open to the primary entrance. This would have allowed for more direct access from the street than is seen in many houses from this period (see section 6.2.2). HM06, however, has a long narrow porch along its façade, and the house was not only set back from the *stenopos*, but also its interior would have been screened. The rooms surrounding these courtyards are comparatively large and non-descript. There is no evidence for decorative pavements, and many of the rooms were probably primarily used for storage. For example, to the west of HM06 is a series of two rooms that can be identified as

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[1132] Isler 2010, esp. 314, and 324, does make note of the non-colonnaded-courtyard houses in his survey of Hellenistic Sicilian houses, but he focuses on the larger, 'better-known', colonnaded-courtyard houses.
[1133] HM03. For the reconstruction of this house by De Miro, and arguments for it instead being an open courtyard, see the description in Chapter 3.
[1134] HM05; HM06; and HM07.

a double shop. Three of the walls of the dependent room are doubled, suggesting a need for reinforcement for either a commodity with lateral pressure, or perhaps a tower. Meanwhile, two narrow rooms at the back of the house may indicate stables.[1135] Further, the entire northern section of HM05 was probably designated for storage. These interconnected rooms do not surround the courtyard and had their own separate entrance. The third house, HM07, is relatively small and irregularly shaped. It too is surrounded by non-descript rooms, with no evidence for decorative pavements.

6.1.1.3 Single-colonnade-courtyard house

Mar03 preserves evidence for a single colonnaded portico along a square courtyard; however, all that remains of this house is the courtyard with its colonnade, a large cistern, and an adjoining room, which may have been a plastered bath-room. There is not enough remaining of the plan to decipher either the number of entrances, or the location and arrangement of its main rooms, and identification as a 'single entrance courtyard house' of the type familiar from the Greek east is questionable (see below).[1136] The upper courtyard of Sol05 also preserves evidence for a single colonnade, but as it has evidence for a lower closed organisational space it is considered under the 'multiple-courtyard house' type below.

6.1.1.4 Corridor house

Four houses from Licata and three houses from Solunto provide evidence for the main organisational space being a relatively narrow unroofed corridor.[1137] The houses from Licata are all similar. They include an open corridor that is entered directly from the *stenopos*, a large reception main room north of the entrance, and a screen between this and the more

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[1135] See Chapter 3 for a description of these rooms.
[1136] "…. where the house is entered through a single entrance and the majority of the space is taken up by an open court, with the main rooms to the north reached separately via a colonnade." (Nevett 1999, 123). See Chapter 2.
[1137] Lic01; Lic02; Lic03; Lic04 Sol03; Sol04; and Sol10.

domestic (utilitarian) area of the plot. The domestic area consists of a large main room, also on the north, which has a dependent that is possibly a food-preparation area, or sleeping room, with an attached bathing area and flue, as well as additional utilitarian rooms on the west and south. Lic01 and Lic02 at least preserve evidence for porticoes along the northern and eastern sides of the organisational space. The northern rooms, especially the reception room, were all decorated.[1138] At Solunto, the neighbouring Sol03 and Sol04 share similarities of an open corridor, with shops on the south (along the *stenopos*), main rooms on the west, and service rooms on the north (adjacent to the *ambitus*). The layout of Sol10 is slightly different. This house, and its independent shops, is entered from the *plateia* to the east. The corridor, which is at a right-angle to the entrance room, provides access to a main room on the north, and service rooms to the south (adjacent to the *ambitus*). The plan of the rooms on the western end of the corridor is incomplete. Sol03 and Sol10 both preserve evidence for minimal decorative pavements (*opus signinum*). That of the former is located on a raised porch, which provides access to a possible main room, while that of the latter is in a small room to the side of, but dependent from, the main room. A fourth house at Solunto (Sol12) also has an open corridor as its main organisational space, though its combination with a second square courtyard places it within the 'multiple-courtyard house' type discussed in section 6.1.2 below.

6.1.1.5   Lateral-non-colonnaded-courtyard house

A fourth non-colonnaded-courtyard house from Solunto (Sol02) provides the only example from mid-Republican Sicily of a modest courtyard that is laterally placed. This courtyard is approached by means of an entrance corridor, and is at a right-angle to it. The rooms of the house are located to the west, with the exception of a single, non-descript room, which is located to the north. Sol02 preserves the best evidence of all extant non-colonnaded-

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[1138] This includes chip-pavement or *opus signinum* floors and wall decoration (see Chapter 3).

courtyard houses for a more elaborate treatment of its decorative pavements. The courtyard and its northern rooms are paved with *opus signinum*, and while the pattern of these is unclear, the large main room has an *opus signinum* floor with white *tesserae* laid an all-over lozenge pattern, and its dependent has a geometric rosette that takes up two-thirds of the room, and this is encircled with a narrow meander border. The floor of the long room to the north of these has a modest limestone plaster floor, but the walls preserve evidence for fine painting.

6.1.1.6 Central-non-colonnaded-courtyard house

The remaining seven examples of the 'non-colonnaded courtyard' type (three houses each from Heraclea Minoa and Morgantina, and one from Marsala) provide evidence for an open and central courtyard as their organisational space.[1139] The patchy evidence of Mar04, which essentially consists of a presumed central courtyard with a central basin and cistern, allows for little to be inferred about its overall organisation, and therefore we are reliant on the evidence from Licata and Morgantina for this category.

Superficially, the houses at Heraclea Minoa share many similarities with those of Licata (Chapter 3, Figure 3.15). They are relatively small structures that are entered from the *stenopos* by means of a narrow corridor, have their main rooms located on the northern side of the organisational space, and a large square room that is located in one of the front corners.[1140] There are, however, important differences in their spatial organisation. The houses from Licata, for instance, are better classified as corridor houses, which lack an entrance room, but may have had a portico, while those at Heraclea Minoa provide evidence for both an entranceway and a central quadrangular courtyard, but preserve no evidence for covered porticoes. Likewise, in the houses at Licata the large corner square room, which is

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[1139] Hm01; HM02; HM03; Mar04; Morg04; Morg05; and Morg07.
[1140] See La Torre 2006, esp. 90, for a comparison of houses from Licata, Heraclea Minoa, and Tindari.

identified as the main reception (dining?) room, could be accessed without interacting with the more domestic areas of the house that are clearly separated into the back two-thirds of the plot. The arrangement of rooms at Heraclea Minoa is also significantly different. While the large corner square rooms of HM01 and HM02 preserve evidence for entrances from both the courtyard and the street, the latter entrances are interpreted as being a later renovation; therefore in its original phase every room could only be accessed by first entering the central courtyard. Consequently, there was no apparent physical separation of areas intended for reception from those of a more domestic nature. Not all of the rooms at Heraclea Minoa, however, are approached directly from the courtyard. In both HM03 and HM02 there is an area that could possibly be identified as a secluded room.[1141] This is a very small room in the corner of the house, and is accessed from a possible food-preparation area. HM01 also has a room that is approached from a possible food-preparation area and not the courtyard. This room, however, is relatively larger than the other examples and the southern section is interpreted as a latrine.[1142] The houses at Licata also have rooms that cannot be approached directly, but in this instance they are dependent on a larger room that probably functioned as a domestic main room, and therefore are not classified as secluded rooms, and may in fact be evidence themselves of a food-preparation area with an attached bath (see section 6.2.4).

The non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of Morgantina present three distinct plans. Morg07 is both the smallest and latest constructed house in this study. It appears to have been little more than a makeshift apartment subsequently built into the corner of a larger colonnaded house (Morg06), and its ephemeral nature makes any inferences about its features inconclusive for this study. For instance, it is the only house of its category to preserve evidence for a square (not narrow) entrance room. This feature is uncommon for

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[1141] Rooms 8 and 5 respectively.
[1142] De Miro 1980, 718.

the entire 'non-colonnaded-courtyard house' type, but its significance is probably minimal, and likely a remnant of the original layout of the larger house.[1143] Further, this is not the only entrance into the house, as the larger room beside it also has a door from the *plateia* and a door onto the courtyard. Household entrances from the *plateia*, and not the *stenopos*, are unusual (see section 6.2.2), and it is not unreasonable to suggest that both of these rooms could have also served a commercial or storage function.[1144]

The neighbouring Morg05 is also entered from the *plateia*. In this instance four independent shops line the *stenopos* and command the western half of the house lot. It is their position that is the most likely reason for location of the entrance into the living quarter, which is essentially worked into the 'back' of the lot. The courtyard of Morg05 preserves two additional features that are uncommon for the house type. These are a paved basin and evidence for multiple porticoes, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that the house owner was attempting to emulate the larger colonnaded-courtyard houses of the site within his restricted space.[1145] The portico on the north is wider than the other two, while the south and east porticoes preserve evidence for a ceramic pavement. This, in combination with the presence of possible main rooms on both the north and south side of the courtyard, makes it unclear whether there was a deliberate attempt to construct a 'broad portico' of the type recognised in Greek houses.

Morg04 shares a few similarities with its neighbour (Morg05), including a narrow entranceway that is laterally placed. Both houses also have a relatively large main room that

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[1143] Square entrance rooms can be seen in: Sol03; and Sol10.
[1144] Shops along one of the *plateia* at Morgantina can be seen in: the Potter's workshop of Morg03; and the house / shop complex to the south of the House of the Antefixes (not examined in this study: see Tsakirgis 1984, 154).
[1145] Paved courtyards are extant in: Sol02 (*opus signinum*); Sol03 (*opus signinum* of the porch and terracotta slabs in front of Room F); and the latter phase of HM02 (terracotta slabs). Morg05; and possibly Lic01 and Lic02 are the only non-colonnaded-courtyard houses that suggest porticoes. Morg04; Morg07; Sol01; and Mar03 have features that suggest a single portico, while remaining non-colonnaded-courtyard houses surveyed preserve no evidence for porticoes.

has a smaller dependent.[1146] As noted in Chapter 5, Tsakirgis suggests that these are a two-room variation of a three-room suite.[1147] They are, however, better interpreted as a main room and dependent combination (see section 6.2.3). There is also an area that can be identified as a shop, which sequentially follows those of its neighbour. This room is, however, smaller and preserves dual approaches, one from the *stenopos*, and a second from the entranceway. Despite these similarities, Morg04 has a distinctive arrangement from its northerly neighbour in that the majority of its space is reserved for domestic, not commercial, activities. The courtyard is of a similar size and dimension, and though it preserves no evidence for paving of the basin, or multiple porticoes, the northern end is paved with *opus signinum*, which could indicate the presence of a modest 'broad portico' type. Leading off this portico is a second area that can be identified as a domestic main room with a dependent (Rooms 10 and 6). In form it is very similar to Rooms 1 and 2 at Licata, though the bipartite plan of Morg04 Room 6 is created by a bench and not a formal alcove. Tsakirgis suggests that this is a platform for a bed, though a bathtub is also possible (see section 6.2.4).[1148] The suggestion for a more utilitarian nature of Morg04 Room 10 is based upon its position in the lower decorative hierarchy compared to the suite of rooms on the eastern side of the courtyard.[1149] Also preserved is evidence for a second platform in Room 10 that is similar to types seen in domestic main rooms of the larger colonnaded-courtyard houses of the site, and it could, therefore, be viewed as also emulating its more elaborate contemporaries.[1150]

Attempting to identify cultural influence for the 'non-colonnaded-courtyard house' type of second-century-BC Sicily is difficult. With the exception of De Miro's, likely

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[1146] Rooms 4 and 5 in Morg04; and Rooms 3 and 4 in Mor05.
[1147] Tsakirgis 1984, 167; and 175.
[1148] Tsakirgis 1984, 176.
[1149] Rooms 4 and 5.
[1150] For main rooms with platforms see: Morg02 Room 21 (north-east corner); Morg06 Room 2 (north-east corner); and Morg09 Room 13 (along the southern wall).

erroneous, reconstruction of a *displuviate atrium* at Heraclea Minoa (HM03), there are no

features for this house type that can be specifically identified as 'Roman'.[1151] Particularly

Greek influenced features are also hard to recognise.[1152] Many of the common

characteristics of the houses of the Classical Greek east, such as a central courtyard that

takes up a relatively large area of the plot, a recessed porch, or a broad portico are not

abundant in Sicilian courtyard houses.[1153] Possible examples of broad porticoes are seen in

the non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of Morg04, Morg05, Morg07, Lic01, Lic02, and

Mar03, but not in the remaining houses. More subtle clues provide additional, albeit limited,

evidence. For example, with the exception of Heraclea Minoa, the main rooms of all the

houses from this category are located on either the northern or eastern side of the courtyard.

Also, if the reconstruction of Lic01 is correct, some aspects are reminiscent of those seen in

Classical Olynthos, particularly the separation of the reception room from the rest of the

house, and the possible inclusion of a bathtub with a flue next to a food-preparation area.

Correspondingly, Nevett describes the houses at Heraclea Minoa as being similar to houses

from the Greek east in that there would have been "some control over movement around the

house" from the courtyard.[1154] She also notes, however, that there is no evidence for a

screen from the street.[1155]

Additionally, though these latter houses can be interpreted as more-or-less inward-

looking, they represent more of an enclosed, rather than a closed, environment, as there is

no apparent physical separation between domestic and reception areas. This suggests that

the social organisation of the space is very different, and it is more similar to Punic

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[1151] De Miro 1966a, 227; De Miro 1980, 718; and De Miro 1996, 39. See also the description in Chapter 3.
[1152] Contra Isler 2010, 324, who states that this house type simply continues the traditions of the Classical period ("*…tradition der klassichen Zeit einfach weiterführt*").
[1153] See Nevett 1999, esp. 129-40.
[1154] Nevett 1999, 140. See also Chapter 2.
[1155] Nevett 1999, 140.

examples. A similar argument can be made for Morg04 and Morg05, where all rooms, including those perceived as the main reception rooms, were only accessible after first entering the central courtyard. Conversely, the houses from Licata correspond well to Nevett's 'single entrance household' type. Despite having a relatively small courtyard that is essentially a corridor, the perceived domestic area is arranged around the open organisational space. It is also larger than, and physically separated from, the reception area at the front of the house, and this would have allowed for the segregation of household occupants from outsiders.

Some of the more discernible influences may come from the Punic world. This is particularly true for the houses at Solunto and to a certain extent those from Licata. For example, three of the houses at Solunto, as well as those from Licata, preserve evidence for an open corridor (not a quadrangle) that served as the main organisational space of the house.[1156] The fourth house of this type from Solunto can also be said to follow Punic practice.[1157] It is accessed by a long and narrow entrance corridor that is laterally placed, and the courtyard is located at a right-angle to this. Both of these features are suggestive of an attempt to ensure a secluded setting for the interior of the house.[1158] With the exception of the houses from Heraclea Minoa, laterally placed entrance corridors are standard for the house type. Furthermore, they also only occur in non-colonnaded-courtyard houses. Though this is reminiscent of Punic houses, it is unclear in many cases whether this was a deliberate choice on the part of the builder, or if it was necessary due to the constricted nature of the

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[1156] Sol03; Sol04; Sol10; Lic01; Lic02; Lic04; and possibly Lic03. See also the lower courtyard of Sol12 below. This feature is seen in at least three houses on the Byrsa Hill at Carthage: Houses 2; 4; 5; and 10 (see Chapter 2), and though not unknown in the Greek world, by the second century BC it is not common.
[1157] Sol02. For a similar conclusion see Wilson 2005, 911-3; and Fig. 7.
[1158] A secluded interior is a characteristic that is generally accepted as common for Punic houses. See for example: Daniels 1995; Fantar 1998; Markoe 2000, 73; and Wilson 2005, 911. The courtyard of Lic01 is on axis with the entrance, but there is a screen wall before the back rooms, and the corridors of Lic02 and Lic04 include a deliberate jog, which also screens this area.

house lots.[1159] The minimal remains of Mar03 may preserve evidence for Punic influence in the sophisticated water system that is associated with a plastered room and may be indicative of a bathing feature.[1160] The central-non-colonnaded-courtyard houses at Heraclea Minoa also have features that could suggest Punic influence. The most obvious of these is the elliptical water tank in HM02, but a second possible example is the small secluded room in this house and its neighbour. Further, the large square room (3), if it was the main reception room of the original construction, could indicate possible Punic influence in its U-shaped reception sequence.

Though definitive conclusions regarding differing culturally influenced practices of the 'non-colonnaded-courtyard house' type for mid-Republican Sicily cannot be made from only 19 extant examples, they do provide interesting points for discussion. For example, occurrences of Punic practice at all four of these sites should not be surprising. Solunto and Marsala were both major Phoenicio-Carthaginian settlements, while Heraclea Minoa was situated along the boundary of the so-called Greek and Carthaginian spheres of influence, and it, along with the area surrounding Licata, were under intermittent Punic control throughout their history. Further, the dates for construction of these houses at both Solunto and Heraclea Minoa are not secure, and the excavators of both sites essentially consider them to be third-century-BC houses.[1161] If this is the case, then the houses were likely to have been constructed while the settlement was under Carthaginian control. If the later date for construction is accepted, however, construction would have taken place under Roman hegemony. In either case, though not necessarily an implication that these features are so-called proof of Phoenicio-Carthaginian inhabitants, they do indicate that there was a

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[1159] Tsakirgis 2009, 117.
[1160] Room 3.
[1161] See the discussion of dating evidence for each site in Chapters 3 and 4.

continuation of Punic practices on the island during the mid-Republican period, and an apparent absence of Roman influence at least on the more modest households of Sicily.[1162]

A lack of strict parallels from the fifth- to fourth- centuries-BC *poleis* of the Greek mainland should also not be surprising, especially if one accepts the general premise that domestic architecture can reflect social and political mores. Discussions on the Classical Greek house often focus on how they are representative of a democratic, citizenship-based constitution, and this is reflected in features such as equality of house size and decoration, as well as segregation of female citizens from outsiders.[1163] The political situation of Sicily was different, and external pressures on the house and household would not have been the same for a settlement under Carthaginian military or economic control, or subject to a Sicilian tyranny / monarchy, let alone one that later found itself within a fledgling Roman province.

6.1.2   Multiple-courtyard houses

At least nine of the houses surveyed provide evidence for two or more organisational spaces (Table D.1).[1164] As noted in Chapter 2, the occurrence of multiple courtyards within the same house could be of particular importance for this discussion as this is a feature seen before ca. 200 BC in the Hellenistic East, and post ca. 200 BC in the Roman west, but is largely absent from the houses of Delos. In Sicily during the mid-Republican period there is no standard 'multiple-courtyard house' type. Iato01, for example, was originally constructed as a single, colonnaded-courtyard house, and then a second more domestic courtyard with a

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[1162] See below for discussion of Roman influence in other house types. For a survey of the retention of Punic material practices during the Roman period see Wilson 2005.
[1163] See for example: Jameson 1990; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; Nevett 1999; and Cahill 2002a.
[1164] Iato01; Morg01; Morg02; Morg03; Morg09; Sol05; Sol11; Sol12; and possibly Tin01. Iato02 likely to belongs to this category as well; however, as the nature of the possible courtyard in the unexcavated eastern portion of the house is still unclear, it is considered in this study as a single colonnaded-courtyard house.

single colonnade was added at a later period. This configuration of two courtyards, where one appears to have been intended for reception, while the other was more utilitarian in nature, is similar to the houses of Eretria discussed in Chapter 2. Meanwhile, evidence from Tin01 suggests that it may have at one point consisted of a front reception hall and a back colonnaded courtyard; this configuration is more similar to the houses from Pompeii. In this instance, however, it is also possible that there were two separate houses on the lot consisting of a non-collonaded-courtyard house and a colonnaded-courtyard house, which were not incorporated into a single, multiple-courtyard, dwelling until the first century BC.[1165]

Morgantina provides further evidence for the 'multiple-courtyard house' type. In particular, Morg09 incorporated three courtyards into the same house during the second century BC. The functionality of these three courtyards appears to have varied, and the differing decoration of their rooms suggests a hierarchical separation between them. The west courtyard, for example, though not completely excavated, appears to have been not only the most richly decorated of the three, but was also associated with large, well-decorated, main rooms, suggesting that the reception of guests was a primary function. The east courtyard is also well decorated, and opening off this central space is Room 10, which had the most elaborate pavement of the house with its tessellated central panel and frame. Unlike the west courtyard, however, the remaining rooms are less likely to have held a reception function, and include two possible sleeping or small meeting rooms, a large primarily domestic (utilitarian) main room, and various functional spaces, including a possible bakery. Lastly, the smaller north courtyard is very modest with minimal decorative pavements that were reserved for the porticoes along with a single room. This suggests that this courtyard was not intended for the reception of guests, and it likely represents an area of the house that had a strictly utilitarian function.

[1165] See the relevant description in Chapter 3.

The interpretation of possible cultural influences for Morg09 is multifaceted. On the one hand, the configuration of the three courtyards can be inferred as following Greek practices. There is a large colonnaded courtyard with rooms that appear to be intended for the reception of guests, along with two more-utilitarian courtyards, which allowed for on-going domestic activities. Superficially, the plan of these courtyards – in particular the eastern one – is similar to the houses from Delos. The eastern courtyard is square (not rectangular), with a relatively large central basin that has its cistern along one of the porticoes. It also has a variety of room types that are all accessed from this central space, with some of the better decorated rooms being located along the northern portico. In addition to this is a room at the back of the courtyard with a concentric pattern partially in *opus tessellatum* for its decorative pavement. The spatial organisation of these areas, however, could also be indicative of Roman practice. Though the north courtyard is occasionally referred to as an '*atrium'*, as argued in its description in Chapter 5, it is unlikely that this area had such a socio-political function, and its modest nature suggests instead that it operated as a segregated and utilitarian domestic space. It is possible, however, that the eastern and western courtyards functioned ideologically as a front reception hall and a back colonnaded courtyard respectively.

Unfortunately, the plan of the western courtyard is incomplete, so we are limited to simple hypothesis, but two features in particular suggest identification of this area as a colonnaded garden of the type familiar from Campania. The first is that there is no evidence for the basin being paved. This is admittedly a cautious interpretation; however the presence of a decorative fountain in the neighbouring Morg02 indicates that such features were known at the site in general. The second feature follows the proposal that the eastern courtyard functioned as a (front) reception hall, and more importantly as the point of access for a (back) colonnaded garden. Because of the western courtyard's partial preservation, we cannot be certain that there was not a separate entrance into this section, and therefore this

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suggestion also relies somewhat on a lack of evidence. There are, however, many clues which suggest that the primary access was provided by the eastern courtyard, and that the layout of the house, and its decorative treatment, can be interpreted along Wallace-Hadrill's axes of differentiation.[1166]

Such an interpretation begins with the inclusion of the engaged columns and threshold mosaic of the entranceway (Room 1). These symbolically frame admission into the eastern courtyard and highlight its importance. Though this is not a canonical *fauces*, the view into the organisational space is similarly emphasised and un-screened. From this area the visitor is led into the northern portico, along which the rooms are better decorated (visible) than those of the south (invisible). The most elaborate of these is seen in the bipartite configuration of Room 5/6. The visibility of this room is heightened by the anteroom with its particularly fine *opus signinum* pavement that has bichrome poised squares, but this space also provides a barrier from the courtyard. Inside the back room the pavement has the more common rows of white *tesserae* inlay, but it also combines a 'doormat' mosaic rosette with *a pseudo-scendiletto*. This latter feature coincides with a second set of engaged columns. Though traditionally identified as a sleeping room, a multi-functional nature of the type proposed for *cubicula* (see Chapter 2) is also possible (see also section 6.2.5). Centred on the portico that is opposite the entrance is a large square room (Room 10). This room is not an *exedra*, nor does it form part of a three-room suite. An interpretation as a canonical *tablinum* would, therefore, be erroneous, although like the *tablina* of Campania, it is the best decorated room of the house, and in a separate section than the other reception-type rooms (in particular those surrounding the decorative garden). Its position could, therefore, suggest that it was perceived, and functioned, differently than the other main rooms of the house.

[1166] Wallace-Hadrill 1988 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994). See also Chapter 2.

The northern portico directs access from the entrance (along the decorated rooms) towards a corridor, which leads into a second courtyard (perhaps with a garden) that is surrounded by numerous reception-type rooms. The decorative treatment of these reception rooms suggests a further hierarchical scheme. The overall decorative pavement treatment is *opus signinum*, but Rooms 21 and 22 both have threshold mosaics in *opus tessellatum*. These suggest the particular importance of these rooms by increasing their visibility. The hierarchy between these two rooms can be further hypothesised. While the former is a square room with a wide opening onto the courtyard, which suggests accessibility for anyone admitted to the back courtyard, the latter is a long room with a narrow door that is not on the courtyard. Instead, this room is entered through an anteroom (Room 20), which suggests its accessibility was further limited. This more 'private' room, however, is emphasised (made visible) by the concentric pavement of its anteroom. This is important, for the room takes on the paradoxical role of opening Room 21 onto the courtyard, while reinforcing its barrier from it.

The features of the two courtyards, therefore, provide a model that follows Wallace-Hadrill's basic insider-outsider narrative of a 'public-business' section of the house (the eastern courtyard), which was easily accessible, along with a 'private-entertainment' section (the western courtyard) that could only be accessed by crossing physical and symbolical barriers, and within these sections additional boundaries separating the rooms. The non-decorated north courtyard adds a third dimension in that it was an additional section, removed from the primary reception axis, which was likely intended for members of the household only.

Morg09 is the only conclusively identified second-century-BC multiple-courtyard house at Morgantina. The other three possible identifications are from houses that are usually interpreted as being built as a large single unit during the third century BC, and later

separated into smaller discrete units during their second phase.[1167] The evidence for the separation of Morg03 is fairly conclusive as the entranceway was physically divided into two, therefore creating two independent units. The evidence for the separation of Morg01 and Morg02 into two distinct residences is less convincing. In both instances they continued to share an entranceway, and though communal entranceways among discrete houses are not uncommon, other features suggest that the two sections may not have been as divorced as is generally accepted. For example, while renovations of Morg01 physically divided the courtyard into two portions, which could each be independently accessed from the entranceway, as noted in Chapter 5, the decorative program of each section is clearly different, and it is possible that the renovations reflect a separation of what was perceived as the more 'private' section of the house (the northern half) from an area perceived as a more 'public' reception area (the southern half). Unlike many of the houses at Morgantina, however, other than the dividing wall there are few modifications in Morg01 that can be clearly attributed to the second-century-BC phase, and this leaves its relevance for interpreting cultural influence under Roman hegemony problematic. Morg02 provides a better example, with several modifications that can be attributed to the second century BC.

The interpretation of the division of Morg02 into two discrete units is based primarily upon the inclusion in the entrance room of a spur wall before the north courtyard, and a threshold block, which would have fit a lockable door, on the staircase that leads into the south courtyard. While both features suggest that the two areas were intended to be kept separate, the fact that the door of the larger, more elaborate, courtyard was lockable from the communal entranceway, and not the interior, suggests that access was not controlled from within the courtyard. The south and north courtyards can also be interpreted to have functioned as a dual reception (public) and domestic (private) courtyard respectively, as they

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[1167] See Tsakirgis 1984, 72, 126, and 211.

presumably did during the third century BC. The south courtyard can be convincingly identified as a colonnaded garden based upon the lack of paving of the central basin, and the presence of the water fountain. Further, similar to the western courtyard of the neighbouring Morg09, the various rooms surrounding this garden suggest that they were primarily reception-type rooms, albeit with differing status and accessibility. Although the layout of these rooms dates primarily to the earlier third century BC, the second-century-BC renovations did modify the plan, and included the construction of a long room (Room 14), which was not approached directly from the courtyard. Also part of these renovations is the inclusion of the bath-suite in Room 3, with its heated immersion tub and anteroom, as well as the majority of the extant decorative pavements, which include a combination of true tessellated mosaics and *opus signinum*. Perhaps also significant is the change in the communication between the rooms that make up the Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite. The addition of doors in the two dependent rooms suggests that the function and perception of these rooms also changed. A more domestic nature of the northern courtyard can be inferred by the smaller size of the courtyard and its surrounding rooms, the less elaborate decorative pavements (primarily *opus signinum*), and the inclusion of small square rooms, which are commonly identified as sleeping rooms (see section 6.2.5).

If Morg02 remained a single residence during the second century BC, it would represent a multiple-courtyard house that, like Morg09, blends elements of eastern Greek and western Roman characteristics. Appropriation of early eastern Hellenistic tradition in both houses can be seen in the dual domestic / reception courtyard configuration, along with large multi-purpose reception rooms and concentric *opus tessellatum* pavements, but within these categories are the later more western traditions of colonnaded gardens, all-over pavement patterns in *opus signinum*, multiple room hierarchies, and in at least one instance, the division of the house into a more public-business versus private-reception section.

A contrast of 'multiple-courtyard house' types within a single settlement can be seen at Solunto, where some of the houses take on the distinctive arrangement of double organisational spaces that are separated by the terracing of the site. In Sol05 the upper terrace consisted of a main open courtyard with a single colonnade that was surrounded by well-decorated rooms, while the lower terrace had what was presumably a more utilitarian closed organisational space, which provided access to smaller, less elaborate rooms. This configuration is similar to the eastern Greek houses in that a separate large space is provided for domestic activities on an on-going basis that would not be interrupted by the reception of guests.[1168]

This reception / domestic division cannot, however, be presumed for the other two examples of multiple-courtyard houses at the site. The eponymous wall paintings of Sol11 (the so-called Casa delle Maschere), for example, are located on the lower terrace around what was presumably a closed organisational space, while the remaining reception-type rooms appear to have been on the upper terrace around a non-colonnaded open courtyard. The decorative treatment of both levels, however, suggests that the reception of guests could have occurred in either area. It could be possible, therefore, that the particularly fine wall treatment of a room in a more secluded area marks the same type of hierarchical treatment seen in Campanian houses, where finely decorated rooms are found surrounding the (back) colonnaded garden.[1169] The double courtyard of Sol12 is altogether different. The lower terrace encompasses the main habitation unit, which consists essentially of a corridor house with a long open courtyard that provides access to a variety of rooms. This is a configuration most common in Punic houses. The function of the second upper courtyard is unclear, but it is presumed by the excavators to be part of an artisan workshop. What is of particular significance is that in neither instance do these courtyards appear to have been

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[1168] Nevett 1999, esp. 107-14. See also Chapter 2.
[1169] See also Chapter 2.

used as reception spaces, and instead both courtyards appear to have had solely a

utilitarian function. Within these three houses at Solunto we can see how complex the nature

of the impact on cultural practices in Sicily during this period was, as there appears to be a

blending of Greek, Roman, and Punic influences in different houses of the same type at a

single site.

6.1.3   Colonnaded courtyards

Within the 45 structures surveyed, 53 organisational spaces have been identified (Table

D**.**2); two of these are possible closed areas on the lower terrace of houses at Solunto, one

is described by the excavators as being roofed, and the remaining 50 are open

courtyards.[1170] The courtyards of the non-colonnaded-house type have been discussed

above, and the purpose of this section is to focus on those courtyards (28) which are

colonnaded (Table D**.**3).[1171]

All 28 of the colonnaded courtyards examined provide evidence for three or four

porticoes, and the majority (22) are square, or nearly square in shape. The most common

ratio of columns is 2 by 2 (seven examples), and this is closely followed by 4 by 4

colonnades (six examples), with the highest ratio for a square courtyard being the possible 5

by 5 colonade of Iato03. The six rectangular colonnades vary, ranging between two to six

columns on the short side and six to nine on the long side. Most of the colonnades (between

19 and 23) surround paved basins, and 14 provide evidence for one or more broad

porticoes.

There are few features of the colonnaded courtyard, however, that can be classified

as displaying a particular cultural influence on material practices. One possible exception is

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[1170] For the closed organisational spaces at Solunto see: Sol05 Room H; and Sol11 Room C. For the possible roofed organisational space at Heraclea Minoa see HM03.
[1171] Included in this brief discussion are colonnaded courtyards from the multiple-courtyard-house type as well.

the presence of a broad portico (a *pastas*), which is commonly found on the north side of the houses of the Classical Greek east, and at Hellenistic Delos (see Chapter 2). Broad porticoes are identified in 14 examples (Table D.3). Just under one-half (six) of these are located on the north side of the courtyard, with all but one found at Morgantina.[1172] Two additional broad porticoes, one on the east, and one of the south, are also located at Morgantina.[1173] The broad porticoes of Morgantina, however, are all remnants of third-century-BC construction, and have little consequence for this discussion. The only firmly dated second-century-BC northern broad portico, therefore, is that at Palermo, the colonnade of which could represent a version of the 'rhodio' type mentioned by Vitruvius.[1174] The remaining broad porticoes are located at three sites. At Segesta, the only identified main room is on the south side of the courtyard, and this room is approached from one of two perpendicular porticoes, which are wider by a metre than the other two. Meanwhile, at Tindari the eastern and western porticoes of Tin02 are wider than their counterparts, but only one large room is entered from these, and the main reception rooms of this house appear to be located on the north side of the courtyard. Finally, two broad porticoes are identified at Solunto, and both are on the west side of the courtyard. The broad portico of Sol05 is arrived at directly from the entrance way, and preserves bases for what were presumably five columns. The full plan of this courtyard is not preserved, and it is not certain whether this was in fact a colonnaded courtyard, or was simply a single colonnade. Accessed from the broad portico at Sol09 are a small square room, the entrance into a possible dining-room, which is not on axis, and a corridor that leads to a bath-suite. The infrequency of the 'broad portico' type is not surprising. Though common at Delos, broad porticoes are not regularly found in the larger colonnaded-courtyard houses of the Greek

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[1172] Broad porticoes on the northern side of the courtyard are found at: Pal02; Morg02 north courtyard; Morg03 north courtyard; Morg06; Morg08; and Morg10.
[1173] Morg08 and Morg02 south courtyard respectively.
[1174] Vitruvius, *De arch.* 6.7.3.

east, and when they are it is more common for them to provide access to rooms of a more utilitarian nature (see Chapter 2), as seen at Solunto and Tindari. This trend is suggested by Vitruvius who places the *pastas* / *prostas* in the *gynaeconitis* (i.e. the area not intended for reception).[1175]

There are also some features which could suggests Roman influenced practice. For instance, at least three of the colonnaded courtyards preserve no evidence for paving of the central basin, and could indicate the presence of a Roman colonnaded garden.[1176] Though a lack of paving alone is insufficient identification for the existence of this feature, in at least two cases there is supplemental evidence for decorative water fountains.[1177] Further, at least two of these courtyards are in houses that fall under the category of a multiple courtyard house, and could be interpreted as having a reception hall and a colonnaded garden sequence (see section 6.1.2).[1178] The inclusion of a colonnaded garden could be particularly important in the attempt to recognise cultural ideologies in the houses of mid-Republican Sicily. As argued in Chapter 2, the Roman domestic colonnaded garden, beyond being an example of incorporating features from public architecture into a domestic setting, could more importantly be interpreted as acting as a symbol both of the proprietor's cultural enlightenment (the *ambulatio* and *paideia*), as well as preservation of his agrarian heritage (the *horti*). While it is possible that the Sicilian house owners were simply copying this feature, and its symbolism, they could have also reinterpreted it to act as a symbol that was more relevant to their own situation. For instance, evidence for colonnaded gardens occurs at two sites: Palermo and Morgantina. Neither is a Greek foundation settlement, and each

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[1175] Vitr. *De arch.* 6.7.1-2.

[1176] Pal01; Mor02 south courtyard; and Morg09 west courtyard. The paving of the basins of Iato02; Iato03; Iato04; Morg03 south courtyard; Morg06; and Tin02 is also unclear.

[1177] Pal01 and Morg02.

[1178] Morg02 and Morg03. The plan of Pal02 is incomplete, and though inconclusive it is interpreted by the excavators as likely including a second courtyard (Spatafora 2003, 1183).

was on the Carthaginian side when they were seized and captured by Rome.[1179] Though

Palermo was ultimately given the privilege of *sine foedere immunis ac libera*, it is probable

that the citizens of both settlements would have been striving for legitimacy under the new

hegemony. For the members of the Sicilian upper class of these settlements, the colonnade

could have symbolised the home owner's 'preservation' of Greek heritage (cultural

legitimacy), while the garden was a representation of his agrarian surplus (economic

legitimacy).

Along similar lines, courtyards with two columns per side are commonly referred to

as tetra style, yielding the impression that these are 'Roman' influenced *atria*. This has been

justifiably challenged by Wilson, who felt they could simply represent a small colonnaded

courtyard.[1180] As discussed above, however, the eastern courtyard of Morg09 could have

acted as a front reception hall in combination with a back colonnaded garden. Further, a

general rule of thumb is that *atria* have a "higher ratio of covered to open space" than

'peristyles'.[1181] If one accepts this, then *atria* could be interpreted for many of the tetra-style

courtyards of Sicily, especially those of Sol06 and Sol09. The basins of these two houses

are particularly small in comparison to the covered portico space, and they both have a

Type-IV water collection and storage (a relatively small, central, basin intended to collect

water and direct it into a cistern), which is comparable in form and function to the *impluvia* of

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[1179] Palermo was the principle Punic centre of Sicily, which was founded by the Carthaginians in the eighth century BC, was seized by Rome in 254 BC, and later became one of the *civitates* exempted from the tax system of the new province – the *lex Hieronica* (Diod. Sic. 23.18.4-5; Cic. *Verr.* II.3.6.13-16). Morgantina was originally a Sikel site, which was later incorporated into the *koine* of Hieron II. During the Second Punic war it revolts to Carthage, but was eventually subdued by Rome and given to Spanish mercenaries (Livy 24.36.10; 26.21.14 and 17).
[1180] See for example: Wilson 1990a, 124; and Wilson 1990b, 87, n. 25.
[1181] George 1998, 95, n. 51. Vitruvius's recommendation is that the roof opening be no less than one fourth the width of the *atrium*, and no more than one-third, with the length being proportional (Vitr. *De arch*. 6.3.6).

Roman houses.[1182] Similar water collection systems are seen in several houses at Solunto, and there is at least one at Marsala, and possibly one at Segesta.[1183] Furthermore, in Sol01 this small basin is surrounded by a wave motif frame, therefore making it a decorative focal point as well.

Though none of the above necessarily dictates that these colonnaded courtyards specifically functioned as Roman *atria* or *viridaria* in the socio-cultural sense (see Chapter 2), at least three of the tetra-style courtyards, as well as the three colonnaded gardens, and between six and nine of the courtyards with a Type-IV water collection system, that is one-half of all colonnaded courtyards, show at least some evidence for Roman influence on material practice.[1184] Thus, despite being almost universally categorised as examples of 'Greek' houses, the courtyards of mid-Republican Sicily also have some apparent Roman influences. The arrangements of the colonnaded courtyards alone, however, provide only nominal suggestions towards this end, and the arrangement of the surrounding rooms also needs to be taken into consideration.

6.2   ROOM TYPE[1185]

6.2.1   Shops

This section on room types commences with a selection of rooms that do not surrounded the courtyards of mid-Republican Sicilian houses. Associated with 28 buildings are 64 rooms

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[1182] The ratio of both of these is approximately 5:1. The surface area of covered to open space for each courtyard is as follows: Sol06 = ca. 61 m^2 : 10.8 m^2; Sol09 = ca. 49.5 m^2 : 10.5 m^2. For comparisons sake, that of Sol01 is ca. 88.7 m^2 : 43.6 m^2 and that of Iato01 is ca. 79.2 m^2 : 38.8 m^2, or approximately 2:1; while that of Phase A of Morg01 is even lower, ca. 105 m^2 : 59 m^2, or approximately 1.8:1.
[1183] See esp.: Mar02; Sol01; Sol07; Sol09; Sol10; and Sol13; as well as Seg01; Sol05; and Sol11.
[1184] For the tetra style courtyards see: Morg09 east (possibly a front reception hall); and Sol06 and Sol09 (houses with a higher ration of closed to open space, with relatively small basins intended to collect water and direct it into a cistern). For the colonnaded gardens see: Pal01, Morg02 South, and Morg09 west (all possible decorative gardens). For the Type-IV water collection systems see: previous footnote.
[1185] The following survey of room types and decorative pavements includes areas from all house types.

that have a separate entrance from the street, but do not appear to be the main entrance, and are identified in this study as shops (Table D.4). Two important qualifications, however, are pertinent to any discussion of this room type. First, the majority of these rooms (44) are independent from the house; therefore, there is little certainty that they were considered part of the overall house plan. Second, the label 'shop' covers a broad spectrum, and it is acknowledged that the room type reflects a variety of possible functions, including, but not limited to, commerce, production, storage, stables, and tenancy.

Some of these rooms preserve evidence that could suggest an artisanal purpose. For example, there is evidence for a potter's workshop (Morg03), a smithy (Morg05), and a fullery (Iato01).[1186] There are also three shops with installations that suggest a bakery: one at Morgantina (Morg08), and two at Solunto (Sol04 and Sol09).[1187] The proposal that these are commercial, and not domestic, ovens is based upon the shop's independence from the house.[1188] Further, all three are in high traffic areas.[1189] Shop A of Morg08 may have also had a commercial function, and the communication between Shop A and Shop B makes it not unreasonable to propose that these two areas functioned as a single commercial unit.[1190] Platforms or benches are found in at least five examples.[1191] Their specific purpose,

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[1186] Morg03 preserves evidence for three brick kilns in Rooms 23 and 24, along with an abundance of pottery in the fill of a cistern (Tsakirgis 1984, 221). A brick basin and large quantities of slag were found in Morg05 Room F (Tsakirgis 1984, 170). In Iato01 there is a large drain running from the courtyard, through a bipartite shop, and out of the building. The proximity of this drain to two large tubs, and finds that included iron combs, leads to the hypothesis that Rooms 3/4 may have been a fuller's workshop (Isler 2000, 68; and Dalcher 1994, 17).

[1187] Shop B of Morg08 preserves a brick floor and oven (Tsakirgis 1984, 51); Room III of Sol09 has evidence for an oven attached to its northern wall; and Room C of Sol04 has the remains of a lava millstone alongside a probable kiln base (Wölf 2003, 72; and Tusa et al. 1994, 96).

[1188] Though Room C of Sol04 communicates with the entranceway, this passage is largely taken up by the eponymous installation.

[1189] That of Morg08 overlooks the *agora*, and those of Solunto are on the two main arteries that divide the town plan.

[1190] The only defining characteristic of the front room is a cistern, but the back room has four large circular depressions in the floor, which could indicate the placement of *pithoi*.

however, is unclear and does not suggest a unique function. Though it is possible that these acted as counters, in none of the examples from Sicily are they similar to the canonical *tabernae* of Pompeii, where the counters operated as a bar-like installation along the façade of the building. There are, however, a few examples of shops from Solunto, all along the via dell'Agora, where there remains no evidence for a walled façade for these shops, and a provisional installation of such a kind is possible.[1192]

Lastly, it is perhaps significant that of the 37 shops that are approached from either the *plateia* or a similar high traffic area (such as a main artery or are easily accessible from the *agora*), 28 are independent from the living space.[1193] Though this does not indicate a commercial nature for the room *per se*, consideration of three key features may allow for such identification. First, independence from the main living space suggests that the shop was less likely to have had a function directly related to domestic activities, particularly those activities which would have required daily access (e.g. water storage). The other two features relate to the presence of these shops along a main thoroughfare of the city. This position suggests the likelihood of encountered traffic, and subsequently commercial activity, in such an area.[1194] Alternatively, entrance into the interior living space is four times more likely to have been from the narrower *stenopos* (see section 6.2.2).

Possible non-commercial (domestic) activities for these rooms are more difficult to identify. Storage and water collection, however, are plausible suggestions. The latter is

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[1191] Sol01 Room IV; Sol08 Room S (including feature Q); Sol12 Room n feature q; and Morg05 Rooms C and E, the latter of which has square platforms on either side of the door and a round platform in the south-east corner. The doubling of the walls of HM06 Room IV could also be indicative of a platform or bench (Wilson, personal communication).
[1192] Sol01 Rooms I, II, III; Sol08 Rooms I, II, III, A; and Sol 09 Room III.
[1193] HM04 Rooms 4/4A and 5; Iato01 Rooms 3/4, and 12/13; Iato02 Rooms 1, and 2; Mor08 Rooms A, and B; Sol01 Rooms I, II, III, and IV; Sol07 Rooms I, II, and III/IV; Sol08 Rooms I/i, II, and III; Sol09 Rooms II, and III; Sol10 Rooms I, and II; and Tin01, Rooms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.
[1194] Though a somewhat circular argument, rooms that are identified as shops are more likely to occur along major roads: see for example Olynthus (Cahill 2002a, 274); Priene (Jameson 1990, 102); and Pompeii, (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 136).

particularly the case at Solunto.[1195] Two rooms, for example, preserve evidence for a water channel with a settling basin that directed rainwater from the *stenopos* into a domestic cistern, while an additional three rooms either have a cistern, or communicate with rooms that do.[1196] Similarly, one shop at Morgantina has a cistern, which connects with a second cistern in the adjoining main room, and in the final phase at Heraclea Minoa one of the rooms may have been renovated to aid in water collection.[1197] Also proposed is a storage function, suggested by features such as the doubled walls on three sides of HM06 Rooms IV/V, and the thicker southern and western walls of Sol06 Room Z. Such reinforcement can be interpreted as indicating storage of a commodity with lateral thrust, such as grain. Nevett notes several, primarily rural, houses in the Greek east where this feature is used to identify a storage tower, and the same could also be the case here, especially in the 'semi-rural' houses of the last phase of occupation at Heraclea Minoa.[1198] There are additional rooms where their greater size could be indicative of a storage nature, and this is particularly true for Tin01 Room 7, which also had two east-west barrel vaults added to its ceiling during the first century BC.[1199]

The remains of a series of basins in two shops from Solunto also warrant mention.[1200] These basins are commonly interpreted as troughs, and used to identify the area as a stable.[1201] Bell, however, suggests that these are examples of banker's rooms.[1202] There is no additional evidence to confirm either identification. Similar basins can also be

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[1195] This should not be surprising for a hill-top town where access to fresh water sources was likely limited.

[1196] For the settling basin see Room A in both Sol05 and Sol07. For shops with, or communicating with, a cistern see Sol01 Room I; Sol08 Room B/C; and Sol09 Room II.

[1197] See Morg06 Room 1 and HM01 Room 3.

[1198] See Nevett 1999, 36-7, and the description of HM07 in Chapter 3.

[1199] Wilson 1990a, 122. See also Sol08 Rooms B,C, and D for a similar arrangement that preserves two transverse arches.

[1200] These can be seen in Sol01 Room L/M and Sol08 Room P/S.

[1201] See for example: Tusa et al. 1994, 56, and 63; and Wölf 2003, 62, and 68; and 74. Tusa et al. suggest that the front room is a 'kitchen'.

[1202] Bell 2005.

seen in three additional houses, and perhaps suggest a more domestic function, because in

all these instances the rooms with the basins are entrance dependants (see section

6.2.2).[1203] Last of all, following the argument above, 11 of the 16 securely identified

dependent shops are approached from the *stenopos*.[1204] Though this feature alone cannot

be used to identify a specific function for these shops, their dependence on the main living

space increases their likelihood to have been used for a more domestic nature.

The inclusion of back rooms and upper *pergulae* in Campanian houses are often

suggested to be possible indicators of tenancy, particularly of shop keepers.[1205] In Sicily,

shops with evidence for an upper level are absent at all sites except Solunto, where this

features is almost certainly a requirement due to the terracing of the site, and not a

deliberate attempt to provide living space separated from the main shop area.[1206] Two of the

shops of Sol01, however, preserve evidence for a central posthole, presumably to support a

floor that extends from this upper terrace.[1207] Bipartite plans are more common than

pergulae, and occur in 22 to 26 of the 62 examples, alongside 6 examples of double-shop

plans.[1208] All but six of the shops with two connecting spaces are independent from their

associated house, and therefore it could be proposed that the second room represents

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[1203] Wölf 2003, 74. Sol02 Room C; Sol03 Room D/ E; and Sol09 Room B.

[1204] HM03 Room 4/5; HM05 Room 5/6; Sol01 Room L/M; Sol02 Rooms B, and I/i; Sol04 Rooms A, B, and C; Sol05 Room A; Sol07 Room A; and Morg04 Room 8/9.

[1205] See for example Pirson 2007, 468-71. About 40 per cent of Wallace-Hadrill's House Type 1 (small habitation units that were independent from a larger one, and were likely also shops or workshops) had stairs leading to an upper room and 33 per cent have at least one back room (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 80).

[1206] For evidence that suggests the inclusion of a *pergula* or mezzanine level see: Sol01, Rooms I, II, III, and IV; Sol07, Rooms I, II, and III/IV; Sol08 Room I/i; Sol 09, Rooms I/i and II; and Sol10 Room II. All five houses line the Via dell'Agora, and the shops in question are located along the lowest terrace of the *insula*.

[1207] Rooms I and IV.

[1208] For bipartite plans see: HM03 Room 4/5; HM04 Rooms 4/4A and 6/7; Tin01 Rooms 4, 5, and 6; Sol01 Room L/M; Sol08 Rooms I/i and P/S; Sol09 Rooms I/i and II; Sol10 Room II; Sol12 Room n/m; Mor04 Room 8/9; Morg05 Rooms C, D, E, and F; Morg08 Room A; and Iato01 Rooms 3/4, and 12/13. Sol01 Rooms I, II, III and IV; and Sol07 Rooms II and IV/iv may also be considered bipartite in that the *pergula* is located on the upper terrace behind these rooms. For double plans see: HM05 Room 5/6; HM06 Room IV/V; Sol02 Room I/i; Sol07 Room III/IV; Sol08 Room B/C; and Morg03 Room 23/24.

separate living spaces, although there are no extant indicators that would suggest the 'back' section definitively acted as a living suite.[1209] One possible exception in this survey is Sol02 Room I/i, which has a cistern in the larger back room. There are many spaces similar to these at Solunto that could be representative of small habitation units. A single room at Morgantina, identified here as a shop, could also be indicative of a small habitation unit as it had a small brick-lined pit in the centre of the space, which could have been used as a small hearth.[1210]

Attempting to interpret cultural influence for commercial spaces in houses is difficult. The most canonical shop type is the Roman *taberna*, with its bipartite plan, *pergula*, and counter façade. As noted above, there are few examples from Sicily that can be described in a similar manner. Moreover, the inclusion of areas for the storage and production of private agricultural yields, along with small-scale craft workshops, is a diachronic characteristic for domestic architecture throughout the ancient Mediterranean.[1211] Traditionally, however, the *agora* and surrounding area was the main commercial centre of a Greek city, and Phoenicio-Carthaginian sites such as Motya show existence of separate commercial / industrial districts. In Roman cities, at least in the Campanian examples, such lines are less clear, and it would appear instead that domestic and commercial quarters were more intertwined, and so the formal inclusion of shops in domestic settings in Sicily might indicate more the adoption of an Italian mentality than either a Greek or a Punic one. Throughout the Hellenistic period, however, the number and size of these domestic spaces appears to increase, and Wurmser attributes this to the nature of amplified trade throughout the Mediterranean.[1212] A high occurrence of shops throughout a site could, therefore, also

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[1209] For the dependent bipartite plan see: HM03 Room 4/5; Sol Room L/M; Sol09 Room I/i; Sol12 Room n/m; and Morg04 Room 8/9.
[1210] Morg09 Room 30.
[1211] Nevett 2010, 7.
[1212] Wurmser 2010.

identify it as a trading centre, rather than any indication of the conscious appropriation of external practices. Trade in Sicily, however, would have surged during the second century BC as it became the main supplier of grain for Rome; therefore, though we may not be able to identify the form or function of domestic shops as particularly 'Roman', their incorporation could be an indication of a Roman commercial impact on the domestic urban fabric.

6.2.2   Entranceways and entrance dependents

Alongside these shops are 36 rooms that have been identified as entranceways (Table D.5).[1213] Of these, 27 are approached from *stenopoi*. This is likely due to the layout of the *insula* in which they are situated; however, separation of the organisational space from the busy streets also seems to have been a priority in the majority (24) of the houses.[1214] In such instances, the interior of the house was removed from the street by a right-angle access, a jog between the inner and outer doorway, or a screen wall.[1215] Further, nearly three-quarters of all entrances (29 of 40) have a lateral axis, and therefore do not provide access, or a view, into the centre of the courtyard. The houses, therefore, remain (en)closed environments that are more characteristic of a Greek or Punic house than a Roman one. This is not absolute, however, as in at least 13 houses there is no evidence to suggest that the view from the street into the courtyard was screened, and in two or three examples this view was into the centre of a colonnaded courtyard and the main room of the house.[1216]

[1213] A total of 40 primary entrances are identifiable, 4 of these preserve no evidence of an entrance room or corridor, and instead permit direct access into the courtyard.

[1214] It is standard practice to have the long side of the housing blocks run along the more minor of the two street-types, and have the houses arranged along this axis.

[1215] For right-angle access see: HM04; HM07; Tin01 Room 8; Sol02; Sol04; Sol09; Sol10; Sol12; Sol13; Mor01; Morg02; Morg 03 (x2); Morg10; and Iato03. For jogs and screen walls see: Lic01; Lic02; Lic04; Sol05; Sol06; Sol08; Sol11; Mor09 Room 27; and Iato01.

[1216] For an open view into the centre of a colonnaded courtyard, and the main room of the house see Sol01 and Sol07. If Wilson's reconstruction of a *fauces* for Tin01 is correct, then this would have been the case here as well (Wilson 1990a, 122 and 373, n. 30.). For the remaining open views into the courtyard see: HM01; HM02; HM03; Iato04; Morg04; Morg05; Morg07; Morg09; Sol03; and Tin02.

Likely significant for this discussion is that the majority of the entranceways (28 of 36) are entrance rooms, and more than half of those (18 of 28) are square. The high proportion of the occurrence of this feature immediately suggests a distinct cultural influence as square entrance rooms are typical of Greek houses, while Roman houses canonically have narrow entranceways (*fauces*) with an open view into the centre of the organisational space, and Punic houses typically have a long entrance corridor.[1217] Only two of the ten examples of narrow entrance rooms might be identifiable as a *fauces*-type feature, but the identification of that in Tin01 is uncertain, and the entrance to Iato02 is laterally placed.[1218] The remaining eight examples all have a screened view into the courtyard. Likewise, the only houses that show evidence for entrance corridors are non-colonnaded-courtyard houses, and it is possible that the presence of these more narrow examples are a result of the size of the house-plot, rather than a culturally-influenced practice (see section 6.1.1).

A total of 24 rooms from 17 houses are accessible from the entranceway, and are therefore identified here as entrance dependents (Table D.6). These rooms may also suggest a particularly Greek-influenced practice. Due to Vitruvius' description these rooms are almost automatically identified as either porter's / custodian lodges or stables.[1219] Such functional identifications are precarious. Only four of these houses have the prescribed pair of rooms, and of these only Sol03 and Morg02 can be firmly identified as having two rooms, which are fully dependent on, and located on either side of, the entranceway.[1220] Further, trying to corroborate a specific function such as a stable or porter's lodge without a material assemblage is impossible. Rooms from Solunto with the remains of *in situ* basins are

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[1217] For the narrow entranceway at Pompeii see for example Allison 2004, 65. For the long entrance corridors at Kerkouane and Carthage see for example: Fantar 1985, 103-114; and Tang 2005, 78-79.
[1218] In Tin01 Room 8, possible *fauces* is recognised by Wilson (Wilson 1990a, 122).
[1219] Vitr. *De arch.* 6.7.1. See also Chapter 2.
[1220] For a double set of entrance dependents see: Sol03 Rooms D/E and B; Sol07 Room N and P; Sol08 Rooms G and H; Morg02 Rooms 7 and 17; and Iato01 Rooms 8 and 9.

identified by Wölf as stables, and this applies to three entrance dependents.[1221] While such identification is plausible, it does not provide a definitive purpose, as these basins could have been used for a variety of purposes. For this reason, a more multi-functional usage such as general storage is a more appropriate identification.

Other entrance dependents in Sicily suggest different room functions. For example, Morg05 has two successive entrance dependents, with Room 6 having a stone-lined pit in its centre, and Room 7 preserving evidence for a drain. Both features are suggestive of utilitarian domestic activity. Morg01 Room 22 might represent a latrine. The location of this room in an entranceway that could have served two separate housing units could also be significant in that it suggests this was a communal room, which was used by multiple households.[1222] This is a feature not uncommon at Delos.[1223] Meanwhile, Sol01 Room F and Sol08 Room G are both paved with *opus tessellatum / vermiculatum*, suggesting that they were not intended for storage, while Sol08 Room H appears to have its southern wall open to the courtyard, and it is not a true dependent. The inclusion of entrance dependents, however, could still be identified as a particularly Greek influenced practice. Vitruvius' inclusion of these rooms in his description of the Greek house could indicate it was a peculiarly Greek practice, and the room type is not commonly seen in houses from Roman or Punic sites.[1224]

6.2.3   Main rooms and main-room dependents

Moving into the interior of the house, of those rooms which surround the organisational space, up to 92 main rooms have been identified (Table D.7 and Table D.8). Like most room

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[1221] Wölf 2003, 74. Sol02 Room C; Sol03 Room D/ E; and Sol09 Room B.
[1222] Similar entrance dependents in possible communal entranceways can be seen in: Morg02 Rooms 7 and 17; and Morg03 Room 6. The staircase in the entranceway of the latter could indicate a further unit on the upper storey.
[1223] See Chapter 2.
[1224] For example, in Allison's survey of Pompeian households, only six houses preserve evidence for entrance dependents, and half of these had a pair of rooms (Allison 2004, 65).

types under discussion, this is a subjective category, and the criteria for this identification (see Appendix A) can produce a somewhat circular argument in regards to analysing its traits. There is a certain variety among these rooms, but while distinct trends are recognisable, the main rooms of mid-Republican Sicily provide few substantial indicators regarding particular cultural influence. For instance, square rooms are the most common type (55), while the number of broad rooms (19) and long rooms (16) are more or less comparable (Table D.7). Large square rooms, however, are prevalent throughout the Mediterranean, and their basic form can describe both the *andron* and *oikos* of the Classical Greek house, many of the dining / reception rooms of the Hellenistic palaces, and those from Delos, as well as the *tablinum* of the Roman *atrium*, the *oecus* / *exedra* of the Roman peristyle garden, and finally the main room identified in most of the houses at both Kerkouane and Carthage. Additionally, while the 'broad room' type is mostly characteristic of the houses from the Hellenistic east, particularly Delos, on Sicily their comparable number to those of the 'long room' type, many of which could represent *triclinia* that are more typical in the Roman west, suggests there is no particular preference between the two. The perceived use of the these two room types, however, might differ in that the majority of the broad rooms could be intended more for utilitarian (domestic) activities, whereas the long rooms are more likely intended for reception, particularly dining (see below).

Beyond room shape there are likewise few overtly substantial features with which to assess cultural influences. For instance, doorways of more or less normal width (64) are more prevalent than those that are wide (16) or exedral (10); however, it is hard to determine whether this relates to differing cultural practices. Both the Roman '*tablinum'* and '*oecus'* are exedral, and though it is tempting to identify similar rooms in mid-Republican Sicily correspondingly, the middle room of a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite, as well as the *exedra* of the Greek *gymnasium*, to which the Roman *oecus* is commonly compared, are also fully open to their respective courtyards. Similarly, wide entrances into main rooms

are seen at Kerkouane and Carthage, and they become more prevalent for the large reception rooms of Hellenistic Greek houses. Doorways of a normal width may provide some indication of a retention or adoption of a perceived traditional Greek feature in that they are typical for the Classical *andron*, and could be used / perceived as a way of limiting (visual) access to activities within the room; but they could also just be doors that had no significant cultural reference.

There is a slightly higher tendency for the main rooms of Sicilian houses to be located on the north side of the organisational space (36 of the 92 examples). This cardinal position is common at both Olynthos and Delos, and the writings of Xenophon, Aristotle, and Vitruvius, which all advocate a northern or eastern exposure in hot climates, could be used to identify this orientation as something particularly Greek, and later Roman.[1225] The number of main rooms on the east and south are the same (20 each), however, and it is more likely that these room positions were chosen based on the location of the entrance first, and direction of the sun, at minimum, second, because an orthogonal or bayonet alignment (40 and 23 examples respectively) is nearly six times more likely than an axial one (11 examples), and nine times more likely than a U-shape sequence (7 examples).[1226] While the bayonet alignment for main rooms is seen cross-culturally, the orthogonal position is more common for Greek houses, particularly those of the Classical period, the axial for Roman, and the U for Punic houses. There could, therefore, be some identifiable influences in this regard.

Just over one-half (55 of 92) of the main rooms preserve evidence for decorative pavements (Table D.8). The presence of *opus signinum* (25 rooms) is slightly higher than *opus tessellatum / vermiculatum* (19 rooms), with chip-pavement occurring less frequently (12 rooms, 5 of which are seen at Licata), *opus sectile* and *opus scutulatum* rarely (two

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[1225] Xen. *Oec.* 9.4; Xen. *Mem.* 3.8.9-10; Arist *Oec.* 1.6.7; Vitr. *De arch*. 6.1.2.
[1226] For the differing reception sequences see Chapter 2, Figure 2.12.

rooms each), and only a single example of *opus pseudo-figlinum*.[1227] The similar frequencies

of pavements belonging to the eastern and western traditions suggest that there was no

particular cultural preference of pavement type related to room type. Possibly significant,

however, is the pavement pattern, as the ratio of concentric or pseudo-concentric (16 and 11

examples respectively) to all-over patterns (5 examples) is greater than 5:1. Concentric and

pseudo-concentric patterns are commonly interpreted as indicating the presence of dining

couches, being paralleled with the pebble mosaics of the *androdes* of Classical Olynthos,

and therefore are associated with dining. As argued in Chapter 2, the presence of dining

couches need not be presumed in all cases (see also section 6.3); nevertheless, a

concentric motif is more characteristic of eastern decorative pavements than western ones,

and it could be indicative of a retention or adoption of a perceived traditional Greek feature

for this room type.[1228]

Possible perceptions or functions of these main rooms, however, may provide a

limited assessment of cultural influence on material practices. For example, just over one-

third of the main rooms (33 of 92) could potentially be interpreted as areas intended

primarily, if not solely, for domestic (utilitarian) activities, as opposed to areas more

specifically for reception.[1229] A closer look at these domestic main rooms provides a few

interesting trends. For instance, just over one-half of the domestic main rooms (18 of 33) are

located on the north side of the courtyard, compared to one-third of those identified with a

probable reception or multi-purpose function (18 of 54). Similar ratios are seen regarding

their position on the orthogonal axis (19 of 33 for domestic main rooms versus 16 of 54 for

reception main rooms). Such features support the interpretation of domestic (utilitarian)

[1227] Decorative pavements are discussed in more detail below.

[1228] See also Westgate 2007a, esp. 319.

[1229] For their possibility of having a more utilitarian nature see the relevant descriptions in Chapters 3-5. Of the 92 identified main rooms, 54 are suggested to have had a more probable reception / multi-purpose function. A similar reception / multi-purpose identification is likely for an additional five main rooms, but in these instances it is less clear.

main rooms, as they would provide both longer access to daylight, as well as seclusion or isolation for daily activities. The tendency for reception main rooms to lack both a southern exposure and an orthogonal alignment would seem to challenge an interpretation of the retention or adoption of traditional 'Greek' features, where such features are held to be canonical. On the other hand, large rooms that are reserved primarily for domestic (utilitarian) activities, and are separate from those used for reception, are typical of the Greek east, during both the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Predictably, decorative pavements of the more utilitarian main rooms is minimal, occurring in only ten examples, and these are paved with either chip-pavement or *opus signinum.* While the inlay of one of the *opus signinum* floors preserves evidence for a pseudo-concentric pattern, the remaining floors are either all plain, or have an indiscriminate scatter of *tesserae.*[1230] Perhaps unanticipated, however, is that the number of domestic (utilitarian) square rooms (15) and broad rooms (14) are comparable. In fact, the majority (14 of 19) of the broad rooms identified on Sicily are more probably domestic main rooms, and this suggests that the large, well-decorated, broad rooms of the Hellenistic east that appear to have been intended primarily for reception are not widely adopted in Sicily during the mid-Republican period.

Conversely, at least nine of the sixteen spaces identified as long rooms could have served as reception rooms (Table D.9).[1231] Though rooms with their longitudinal axis not

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[1230] The *opus signinum* floor of Morg08 Room 1 has a central field of lozenges and a border with a double meander.

[1231] Four long rooms from Morgantina are suggested by the author to have been unlikely to serve as a reception area. Morg08 Room 2, for example, is not directly accessible from the courtyard. The courtyard of Morg02 Room 22 likely had a more utilitarian nature, with the reception rooms off the south courtyard, and therefore suggested to be a more domestic room itself (see the discussion on the multiple-courtyard-house type above). Even if the two courtyards are representative of separate houses, Room 21 is more likely to have served as a reception room (see the relevant description in Chapter 5). The nature of Morg07 Room iv with its access from both the street and courtyard is too uncertain to add to this discussion. Finally, Morg10 Room 4 forms part of a coherent group of rooms (4, 5, and 6), which is similar to the Rooms 2, 3, and 4 in Mor03, and in these instances it is more likely that these incorporated a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception.

visible from the courtyard, either because the room extends beyond the adjacent portico

(Type-I), or has its short side along the courtyard (Type-II), are a cross-cultural

phenomenon, those of the latter type in particular are commonly identified as *triclinia* in

Roman houses, and a similar interpretation is possible for Sicily.[1232] This is particularly the

case for at least five of the seven examples of the Type-II long room identified, as they likely

form part of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (see below).[1233] The significance of these

long rooms is related to that of three-room suite of which they are a part, in that those of

Morg08 were physically changed from being main-room dependents to independent main

rooms themselves, and those of Pal02 closely parallel arrangements of the larger

contemporary houses at Pompeii, such as the House of the Faun. It is, therefore, tempting

to suggest that the vernacular of elite entertainment in the Roman west, and not the

Hellenistic East, was acting as the cultural influence for these rooms in particular, if not all

identified long rooms and the suite on the whole (see below).[1234]

The type and pattern of the decorative pavement for the 'long room' type is also of

note in that there is little uniformity. While the majority (11 of 16) of Sicilian long rooms

preserve evidence for formal decorative pavements and this includes all nine that are

suggested here to have held a reception function, there does not appear to have been any

major preference for a particular repertoire.[1235] For example, comparable numbers are seen

for pavement type (four examples each of chip-pavement and *opus signinum*, two of *opus*

tessellatum, and one *opus scutulatum*), as well as pavement pattern (three examples of

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[1232] *Contra* Allison who challenges the use of these rooms at Pompeii solely for dining, at least at the time of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the first century AD, stating that "Evidence of dining furniture, or any luxury items conceivably related to dining, was rare" (Allison 2004, 80). The five examples of the Type-I long room on Sicily are: HM01 Room 4; Iato02 Room 7; Morg02 Room 14; Sol08 Room N; and Sol13 Room g. The 7 examples of the Type-II long room on Sicily are: Morg08 Rooms 7 and 9; Morg09 Room 21; Pal01 Rooms P, Q, and S; and Sol01 Room G.
[1233] These are: Morg08 Rooms 7 and 9; and Pal01 Rooms P, Q, and S.
[1234] See also the following discussions on possible *tablina* and in particular three-room suites.
[1235] These are Iato02 Room 7; Morg02 Room 14; Morg08 Rooms 2, 7, and 9; Morg09 Room 21; Pal01 Rooms P, Q, and S; Sol01 Room G; and Sol13 Room g.

pseudo-concentric; two all-over; one concentric; and four to five with no discernible pattern).[1236] This suggests that decorative pavements alone, and not necessarily type or pattern, were important for the room type. That these rooms are not open to the courtyard, and lack an off-centre door, could also be indicative of a dining function, for it would provide the necessary space for three dining couches (literally a *triclinium*).

Though long rooms represent a small fraction of the total main rooms identified, and their identification as dining-rooms is not definitive, an argument that rooms similar to Roman *triclinia* can be possibly identified in as many as six of the houses surveyed is potentially important. As presented in Chapter 2, while an area principally reserved for dining no longer appears as a formal room type in the Greek east (the *andron*), it continues to do so in the Roman west (the *triclinium*), and the presence of similar elongated (not square) rooms adjoining Sicilian courtyards (and not necessarily separated from them) could make an important contribution towards a discussion of practices during the mid-Republican period. This is particularly so if the elongated room appears to supplant a secluded square room. Such an example can be seen in the renovations of Morg08, where the area identified as the third-century-BC *andron* (Room 5/6) was renovated during the second century BC to include two smaller rooms. While these are possible examples of sleeping rooms, they could also represent a more multi-functional space of the type suggested for Roman *cubicula*, which included more intimate reception areas (see Chapter 2 and section 6.2.5). Meanwhile, the primary reception space appears to be represented by the three-room suite.[1237] This

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[1236] Chip-pavements: Mor08 Room 2; Morg09 Room 21; and Pal01 Rooms P and Q; *Opus signinum*: Iato02 Room 7; Morg02 Room 14; and Morg08 Rooms 7 and 9; *Opus tessellatum*: Sol01 Room G; and Sol13 Room g; *Opus scutulatum)*: Pal01 Room S. Pseudo-concentric: Morg08 Rooms 7 and 9; and Morg09 Room 21; All-over: Morg02 Room 4; and Pal01 Room S; Concentric: Sol13 Room g (this is likely an early Imperial renovation). Pavements with no pattern (i.e. an indiscriminate scatter) are: Morg08 Room 2 (*opus signinum*); Pal01 Rooms P and Q (chip-pavement); and Sol01 Room G (monochrome *opus tessellatum*). The pattern of the *opus signinum* pavement of Iato02 Room 7 is unclear.

[1237] A conversion of a second possible third-century-BC *andron* at Morgantina to a probable domestic main room can also be seen in Morg03 Room 4 (see the relevant description in Chapter 5).

suite was also renovated from a Type-II (Macedonian) version, with a central area and two dependent (dining) rooms, to a Type-III (Italian) version, with a central area and two independent (dining) rooms (see below).[1238] Combined, these renovations could suggest a particular desire on behalf of the (new?) inhabitants to adapt their reception area(s) to reflect Roman practices.

Similar to the interpretation of *triclinia* is the possible identification of ideological *tablina*. As noted in Chapter 2, the principal main room of the Roman Republican house was not, ideologically at least, a multi-purpose reception area, accessible to both resident and guest, as it was in the Hellenistic Greek house, but was instead perceived as the study of the *paterfamilias*, and it acted as the symbolic (and physical) location where he received *clientes* in the daily *salutatio*. Allison's survey of finds in the *tablina* from Pompeii suggests that these rooms could be used for a variety of purposes, particularly storage, but there was also a small tendency for them to include evidence for couches intended either for sleeping or dining.[1239] Eight analogous rooms are potentially identifiable from mid-Republican Sicily (Table D.10). Admittedly, such an interpretation of *tablina* is speculative, based on canonical features such as room shape (all square), doorway (six have either exedral or wide entrances), alignment (all but one are either on axis from the door, or centred on their side of the courtyard), or their possible incorporation into a three-room suite.[1240] The decorative pavement of these rooms is extant in seven examples, and all of these are of fine quality. This can be seen in the *opus vermiculatum* of Pal01 Room R, or the *opus signinum* of Sol06 Room H, and while one room only preserves evidence of a white plaster floor (Sol11 Room m), and two rooms, both at Solunto, preserve evidence of plain white *opus tessellatum*, the

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[1238] Tsakirgis 1984, 57-59.

[1239] Allison 2004, 80-82.

[1240] The only room which does not conform to at least two of these categories is Sol08 Room 8, which has a narrow doorway, a bayonet alignment, and is not part of a suite of three-rooms. It is however, comparable in form, location, and decoration to other possible "*tablina*" from Solunto.

remaining five are patterned with either a concentric or pseudo-concentric design. This decoration suggests a particular hierarchy for these rooms within the house layout. Just like the alteration of reception rooms to resemble *triclinia*, therefore, these possible Sicilian '*tablina*' could indicate the burgeoning desire on behalf of mid-Republican Sicilian elite to integrate features commonly seen in contemporary houses on mainland Italy.

Along with the presence of possible Roman influenced *triclinia* or *tablina*, an analysis of the presumed Greek influences in Sicilian houses must address the scarcity of the three-room suite. The three-room suite dominates many discussions of domestic architecture of Sicily during the Hellenistic Period, and is often used as the baseline for the argument that the colonnaded-courtyard houses of Sicily are attempting to emulate the Hellenistic palaces of the east.[1241] These discussions focus on the Type-II (Macedonian) suite, which is characterised by an exedral main room (often with two columns *in antis*) that is flanked by two dependent rooms, which are interpreted as dining-rooms. Of the eight possible three-room suites identified, none are close parallels.[1242] For example, one of the flanking rooms of Iato01, which serves as the foundation for this discussion, can also be entered directly from the courtyard, and is therefore not a dependent. Meanwhile, the other flanking room is not visible from the courtyard, and the presence of a possible shrine in the form of a niche in one of the walls, along with two small *in situ* altars, may suggest that it served a more 'private' familial function. A similar argument can be made for the nearby Iato02. Though in this example both of the flanking rooms are fully dependent on the central room, one is not

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[1241] In particular see: Tsakirgis 1984, esp. 464-5; Tsakirgis 1994, 98 where she suggests that the three-room suite in Sicily is equivalent to the *prostas*; Dalcher 1994, 32; Isler 1996, 252-6; Wölf 1998, 54-6; Wölf 2003, 26-9; 67-8; 72-73; and 81-83; Perkins 2007, 42; Tsakirgis 2009, 114-7; Portale 2001-2002, 68-75; Isler 2010, 316-7; and Campagna 2011, 167.

[1242] Possible three-room suites are: Type-I (Hellenic): Morg09 Room 32; Type-II (Macedonian): Iato02 Rooms 4, 5, and 6; and Morg02 Rooms 8, 13, and15; Type-III (Italian): Morg08 Rooms 7, 8, and 9; Pal01 Rooms P, Q, R, and S; Sol01 Rooms D, H, and J; and Sol07 Rooms H, J, and L; Type-IV (other): Iato01 Rooms 15,16, and17. Not included in this list are those postulated by Wölf at Solunto, which as Isler states are 'certainly not proven' (Isler 2010, 317). For a similar critique of the 'Macedonian' three-room suite in Sicily see Aiosa 2004, 52-54.

only obscured from the courtyard, but it also does not follow a similar axis to the other rooms. Further, neither of the flanking rooms has an off-centre door, and therefore cannot have been intended to accommodate permanent dining couches of the type familiar in the Greek east.

The three-room suites of Morg02 and Morg08 fit the canonical type better; however, modifications made during the second century BC drastically changed the communication of these rooms. For instance, Tsakirgis suggests that the courtyard basin of Morg02 was enlarged during Phase B. This coincided with the addition of a doorway into one of the flanking rooms (Room 8) from the portico extension, which would have served as the only point of access for the suite, as well as a doorway from the other flanking room (Room 13) into a small room, which was likely a food-preparation area.[1243] Therefore, the function and perception of this suite of rooms evidently changed during the second century BC. A similar change in perception is clearer in the example from Morg08, where the entrances into the flanking rooms from the central room were completely blocked up during the second phase, and replaced with doorways from the courtyard. This is particularly important, for it physically changes these rooms from a Type-II (Macedonian) to a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite during the period in question.

With the exception of a small suite of rooms in Morg09, which are similar in form to a Type-I (Hellenic) three-room suite, though due to their relatively small size are not a main-room suite, the remaining possible examples of three-room suites (four) more closely fit the Type-III (Italian) version.[1244] These are characterised by an exedral central room (on axis) flanked by independent rooms. The identification of three-room suites in Sol01 and Sol07 is questionable, though they do consist of an axial central room flanked by two independent

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[1243] Tsakirgis 1984, 127.
[1244] Morg08 Rooms 7, 8, and 9; Pal01 Rooms P, Q, R, and S; Sol01 Rooms D, H, and J; and Sol07 Rooms H, J, and L.

rooms.[1245] The side rooms, however, obscure such identification. Traditionally these are

identified as *cubicula* and perceived as sleeping rooms due in part to the presence of *a

scendiletto* decoration in Sol01. The same decorative program, however, could also be

suggestive of rooms intended for reception (see section 6.2.5). The main rooms of Pal02

provide the best example of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite that can be dated to the

second century BC. Though the central room (R) is not exedral, it does have a wide

entrance, and the intricate *opus vermiculatum* concentric pavement and *opus sectile*

threshold mosaic clearly highlight the importance of the room, making it the centre piece of

the extant remains. A fruitful comparison can be made between the Hunt mosaic from

Palermo with that of the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii. Not only are these two mosaics

similar in technique, and to a certain extent subject matter, they were also both originally

located in a central room flanked by additional (dining?) rooms (see also section 6.3).[1246]

This all suggests that the Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite did not have the

same impact on the domestic architecture of the second century BC as it may have done

during the third century BC.

Firm conclusions regarding the impact of cultural influence on all 'main room' types

are minimal, but a few underlying characteristics are apparent. Most significantly, there does

appear to be some cultural differentiation between main rooms that appear to have had a

more utilitarian usage and those where the reception of guests took place. For instance,

domestic main rooms are more likely to exhibit characteristics that could be considered to be

Greek-influenced. This is particularly evident when considering their disposition: on the

northern or eastern side of the courtyard (22 of 33 examples), and with an orthogonal

alignment (19 of 33 examples). Further, the separation of functions between a large area

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[1245] Sol 01 Rooms D, H, and J; and Sol07 Rooms H, J, and L.
[1246] For the possible identification of Alexander the Great in the Hunt mosaic of Pal01, see Wootton 2002, esp. 272 ff.

reserved for on-going day-to-day activities (the *oikos*), and an area intended for reception (the *andron*) is more typical in the (en)closed environments of the Classical and Early Hellenistic Greek east. In the Roman west this distinction is less clear where the main rooms (the *tablinum / oecus* and *triclinium*) and the central organisational space (the *atrium / peristyle*) appear to have shared these functions. Meanwhile, reception main rooms of mid-Republican Sicily appear to have incorporated the more general Hellenistic milieu of numerous multi-functional rooms with a wide to exedral entrance; however, these are prevalent in both Hellenistic Greek and Roman Republican houses. Largely absent are the broad rooms common in contemporary Delos; instead other reception room types were adopted.

Similarly absent in the second century BC is the Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite, which is seemingly replaced in a few instances by the Type-III (Italian) version. This is not surprising, and instead should be anticipated. It is hard to justify Isler's argument that these suites of rooms, if they were intended to mimic those of the Hellenistic palaces, continued to do so during the second century BC.[1247] The socio-political situation in the Mediterranean, not only in Sicily, had drastically changed between the mid-third- and mid-second- centuries-BC. If one chooses to maintain that mid-Republican Sicilian householders are acting in response to the needs of accommodating the vernacular of elite entertainment, then surely it would have made more sense to reference the Italian three-room suite, and not one which hails from an increasingly politically irrelevant Hellenistic world, and is largely absent in contemporary Greek sites such as Delos.[1248] Similar arguments can be made for what appears to be the initial stages of the adoption of room types similar to the Roman *tablinum* and *triclinium*. It would appear, therefore, that the duality of main room functions led to a dichotomy of influence. This suggests that areas used only by those living and

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[1247] Isler 1996; and Isler 2010. See also Tsakirgis 2009.
[1248] For the absence of the three-room suite at Delos see Trümper 2007, 331.

working within the house (i.e. the insider) appear to have followed what is perceived as a more traditional 'Greek' custom, and occasionally Punic, while areas used for the entertainment of guests (i.e. the outsider) begin to incorporate contemporary customs not only of the Hellenistic East (e.g. Delos), but also those particular to the Roman West (e.g. Campania).

The subject of three-room suites of Sicily prompts a discussion on the presence of main-room dependents. There are 31 rooms that are only accessible from a main room identified from the houses of mid-Republican Sicily (Table D.11). While main-room dependents may initially conjure up the image of a three-room suite, less than one-third (5 to 8) of the 31 identified can be identified as such.[1249] Nine to twelve of the main-room dependents are singular areas with a bipartite plan.[1250] This feature is slightly skewed by the excavations of Licata and Morgantina where nine of these bipartite plans are found. The similarity of six of these rooms, however, is notable.[1251] Each of these consists of an open space with an attached alcove that preserves evidence for a pavement of *opus signinum*. The main rooms on which they are dependent are likely domestic main rooms, which do not appear to have been used for reception, as additional rooms within these households better fit such a description. At Licata these bipartite main-room dependents are identified by the excavators as sleeping rooms (*cubicula*) with an attached bathing area; though as argued in Chapter 3, it is also possible that this was a food-preparation area with an area reserved for bathing, and a similar identification is possible for Morg04 Room 6.[1252]

[1249] These are: Iato01 Room 15; Iato02 Rooms 4 and 6; Morg02 Rooms 8 and 13; and possibly three rooms dependent upon Tin02 Room 3.
[1250] These are: HM07 Room IIIa; Lic01 – Lic04 Rooms 1; Morg01 Room 9/10; Morg01 Room 15/16; Morg02 Room 24/25; as well as Morg04 Room 6; and possibly Morg01 Room 18; and Sol02 Rooms G and H.
[1251] These are: Lic01 – Lic04 Rooms 1; Morg01 Room 15/16; and Morg04 Room 6.
[1252] For the rooms from Licata see Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 228, 233, as well as Chapter 3. For Morg04 see Tsakirgis 1984, 175-6, who refers to Room 6 as a bedroom, as well as Chapter 5.

Two of the main-room dependents of Morg01 tell a similar tale. Room 15/16 is very close to those just described, with an open space that has a back alcove paved with *opus signinum*. In this instance the alcove is presumed to be a food-preparation area due to a large number of coarse-ware sherds found during excavations.[1253] A possible bathtub in a main-room dependent of this house, however, can be interpreted in the presence of a raised platform on the southern side of Room 10, which was also paved with *opus signinum*.[1254] Two additional main-room dependents from Morgantina are of note in that they are part of a unique arrangement of rooms that consists of a large main room, and beside this a group of back-to-back rooms, with the posterior room dependent upon the main room, and the anterior room independent and entered directly from the courtyard.[1255] One of these rooms (Morg10 Room 10) preserves evidence for an arched cistern in the north-east corner, suggesting that this room was also utilitarian in nature, similar to main-room dependents with a bipartite plan.

The final third (9 to 12) of the main-room dependents consists of an individual single room alongside their parent room.[1256] These rooms are all rather non-descript; however, seven are dependent on areas perceived as having a more utilitarian nature, and therefore could have also had functions similar to those just discussed.[1257]

The more utilitarian nature of the majority of these main-room dependents may tenuously be examined for possible cultural influences. In his study of the houses of Olynthos, Cahill has recognised a distinctive room type, which he refers to as the 'kitchen

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[1253] Tsakirgis 1984, 81.

[1254] Tsakirgis 1984, 79-80, who identifies this as a bedroom with a support for a mattress.

[1255] Morg03 Rooms 2, 3, and 4; and Morg10 Rooms 4, 5, and 6. In form this arrangement of rooms is similar to the so-called *prostas-oikos* unit of the houses of Priene, though without the recessed porch (see Chapter 2), and there is little certainty that there was any deliberate attempt to mimic such a form.

[1256] These are: HM05 Room 3; HM06 Room 5; Morg02 Room 23; Morg03 Rooms 16, 18, 19, and 20; Morg04 Room 5; and Morg05 Room 4; and possibly Morg01 Room 18; and Sol02 Rooms G, and H.

[1257] Morg04 Room 5 and Morg05 Room 4 are dependent on rooms which likely served as reception rooms at least part of the time.

complex', that "consisted of a large room…, and one or two smaller rooms located off one of the short sides".[1258] Though not identical, one of these rooms (the so-called bathroom) was dependent on the larger room, while the other (referred to as a flue) was not; their basic arrangement is similar to the main-room-and-dependent combination seen in Rooms 1 and 2 at Licata. A similar interpretation of a large domestic space with an attached smaller area reserved for bathing or other activities requiring the use of water, therefore, can be applied to many of the other main room and dependent combinations identified. Whether or not this was a deliberate retention or adoption of a perceived traditional 'Greek' trait cannot be substantiated, however, considering Cahill's 'kitchen-complex' is rarely found outside of Olynthos. It is just as likely that this feature can be counted as being specifically Sicilian, and it is better discussed under the category of bathing area.

6.2.4   Food preparation, latrines, and bathing

Alongside the main rooms and main-room dependents are a variety of service rooms. Of these, as many as 33 food-preparation areas (from 23 houses) are potentially identifiable, as are 4 latrines, and up to 23 spaces (from 19 houses) with evidence for bathing (Table D.12). Twelve of the food-preparation areas (as well the latrines) are identified by the presence of drainage and / or evidence of water-proofing such as pavements of *opus signinum*, or terracotta and limestone slabs, while appropriate material remains (such as coarse-ware pottery, animal bones, hearths, and ash) are noted in only 11 of the 33 examples.[1259] The remaining identifications are based largely on analogous features such as decorative niches

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[1258] Cahill 2002a, 80.
[1259] For example: <u>Food-preparation areas:</u> Without material remains: Iato01 Room 14; Morg05 Room 7; Sol03 Room L; and Sol04 Room N. With material Remains: HM06 Room 9; Lic01 Room 7; Lic02 Room 4; Iato01 Room 23; Morg01 Room 15; Morg02 Room 16; Morg03 Room 10; Morg05 Room 6; Morg08 Rooms 14 and 18; and Morg09 Rooms 14 and 15; <u>Latrines:</u> HM01 south-east corner of Room 7; Morg01 Room 22; Morg03 Room 10/11; and Morg08 Room 16.

/ altars, or proximity to a possible bathing area.[1260] While the niches / altars are a trait

familiar in Roman houses, and the proximity to a bathing area is seen in some Greek

houses, neither feature is prevalent enough in Italic or Hellenic contexts, nor in the Sicilian

examples, to securely suggest cultural influence.[1261] This is especially true for the proximity

of bathing and food-preparation areas, which is more likely related to accessibility to water

and drainage, and not necessarily a reflection of cultural leanings. Such proximity is also a

trait prevalent in both Punic and Roman houses, and should not be considered a specifically

Greek practice. Congruently, only 6 of the possible 23 bathing areas from Sicily can be

considered confident identifications.[1262] Identification of the other 17 spaces is based

primarily on comparisons with more substantiated examples, or on suggestive

characteristics such as evidence for drainage and water-proofing, room shape for a circular

sweat-bath, and platforms that may have supported a hip-bath.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, however, the inclusion of an area reserved for bathing

could in some instances be regionally significant, and warrants further discussion.

In many respects domestic bathing in mid-Republican Sicily was likely a Greek

influenced practice. Remnants of a hip-bath from Lic01, as well as the remains of platforms

that could have supported terracotta tubs found at both Morgantina and Solunto, suggest the

use of the predominantly 'cleansing bath' type at these three sites.[1263] Though hip-baths

were not found *in situ* at either of the latter two sites, at Morgantina a large number of

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[1260] For example: <u>Niches / altars</u>: HM01 Room 6; HM02 Room 6; and HM03 Room 6. <u>Bath-suites</u>:
Lic01 – Lic04 Rooms 1; Morg04 Room 6; Sol06 Room T; and Sol09 Rooms L and M.
[1261] For the presence of painted shrines being associated with areas where cooking took place in the
Roman house see Foss 1997; however, Allison has found little corroboration between niches and
lararia specifically. For the 'kitchen-bath' complex at Olynthos see above and Cahill 2002b, 80-81.
[1262] These are the remnants of a hip-bath in Lic01; the extant immersion tubs of Iato01, and Morg02;
the extant, though partially excavated remains of an immersion tub associated with Iato02, and the
sweat-baths of Iato04 and Sol09.
[1263] Though all bathing features were used for personal 'cleansing', this term is commonly used in the
secondary literature in contrast to predominantly relaxation baths (see below) or lustral baths. For the
rooms identified as possible bathing areas due to the remains of platforms see: Morg01 Room 10;
Morg03 Room 10; Morg04 Room 6; Morg08 Room 12; Sol06 Room S; and Sol08 Room O.

terracotta bathtubs have been discovered, which suggests that many houses were installed

with hip-baths. This could explain the platforms found in a few of the main rooms of this site

especially that of Mor06 Room 2, where the eponymous double cistern is located adjacent to

it.[1264] As Crouch notes, metal stands could have also been used for supporting tubs, and it is

her impression that it was common for most of the houses at Morgantina to have had an

area for bathing.[1265] In the majority (11 of 14) of the instances from mid-Republican Sicily

where a hip-bath is postulated, they are similar to those seen at Olynthos: they are either set

apart from, but dependent upon, a possible food-preparation area, or are located within a

domestic main room.[1266] What is particularly important about this is that these predominantly

'cleansing bath' types are isolated, and were probably intended for household residents

only. They are not like their Punic counterparts, which were commonly located in or

approached from, an entranceway, and were likely communal features within the house,

which were used by both resident and guest.

Evidence for domestic bathing in the Hellenistic period differs from that of the

Classical period in two respects. The first is the addition of 'relaxation bath' types, as

opposed to the more traditional predominantly 'cleansing bath' types. These relaxation baths

were intended for more prolonged stays, and take the form of either individual immersion

tubs (heated or not), or collective sweat-baths. The second difference, largely related to the

first, is the more communal nature of the majority of these domestic features. No longer are

domestic baths segregated to the more domestic areas of the house. Instead, they are

positioned so that they could be easily accessed from the courtyard, and often are

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[1264] For main rooms with platforms see: Morg02 Room 21 (north-east corner); Morg04 Room 10 (south-east corner); Morg06 Room 2 (north-east corner); and Morg09 Room 13 (along the southern wall). Tsakirgis 1984 261, n. 167, notes with interest that these platforms are found in *oeci maiores*, but provides no suggestion for function.
[1265] Crouch 1984, 357.
[1266] These are: Lic01 – Lic04; Morg01; Morg02; Morg03; Morg04 (x2); Morg06; and Morg09. The exceptions are: Morg08; Sol06; and Sol08.

associated with reception main rooms.[1267] Significantly, evidence for the heated domestic

immersion tub occurs solely in the western Mediterranean, with the earliest examples being

found during the second century BC on Sicily at Morgantina and Monte Iato, and later

examples extending to mainland Italy from the first century BC to the first century AD.[1268]

Similarly, though there is evidence for five examples of probable domestic sweat-baths from

the eastern Mediterranean, the western Mediterranean provides up to twelve possible

examples, again with the earliest occurring in second-century-BC Sicily at Solunto,

Morgantina, and possibly Monte Iato, while the later examples from southern Italy and

Pantelleria all post-date 100 BC.[1269] That Sicily played a significant role in these

developments demands consideration.

Trümper argues that domestic 'relaxation bath' types are a further example of

Hellenistic luxury, and the trend of incorporating features from public buildings – in this case

bath buildings or *gymnasia* – into a domestic setting.[1270] While this is a reasonable

hypothesis, the influence need not come from the Greek east, and she also notes that some

of the earliest examples of public bathing, including both individual hip-baths and immersion

pools, also first occur on Sicily during the third century BC at Megara Hyblaia, Syracuse,

Gela, and Morgantina.[1271] It is likely, therefore, that the inspiration for the domestic

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[1267] For a detailed analysis see Trümper 2010.

[1268] Trümper 2010, 536. These are: Morg02 Room 3; and Iato01 Rooms 18?, 20, 21, and 22 (see Chapter 5). As noted in Chapter 2, the third-century-BC date of the bath-suite and immersion bath at Moltone di Tolve is not secure.

[1269] Trümper 2010, 552-4, Tables 1 and 2. The sweat-baths in the eastern Mediterranean are all located on Cycladic islands. They can be found on: Delos (Îlot des Bronzes, Maison I; Maison des Tritons; House IIE in the Theatre Quarter); Rhodes (a Palace like dwelling); and Thera (House of the Pothitos). Those in the western Mediterranean outside of mainland Sicily include: the Villa of the Mysteries, Casa del Giuseppe II, Casa del Menandro, and the Casa del Marinaio, all at Pompeii; the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale; the Villa Rustica at Stabiae; the Casa del Criptoportico at Vulci; and the House on the Acropolis at Pantelleria. Those on Sicily include: Iato04 east annex; Morg01 Rooms 7 and 8; Morg08 Rooms 21 and 22; and Sol01 Rooms N, O, and P.

[1270] Trümper 2010, 543. This argument is also supported by Tsakirgis 2009, 117-8.

[1271] Similar third-century-BC public baths are also seen at Velia, Fregellae, and Marseille. For general discussions on the third-century-BC public baths in the western Mediterranean see: DeLaine 1989; Broise 1994; Trümper 2009; and Henderson 2010, 139-45.

relaxation baths came from buildings in these cities, and was not an attempt to mimic

palatial or public architecture of the Hellenistic east.[1272] Therefore, although this can be

considered a 'Greek' practice in that these were cities of Magna Graecia, the apparent

peculiarity of bathing culture in Sicily in particular during the time period being discussed

here reflects a particular regional identity, which is potentially more significant.

A definitive explanation for this regional 'ideology of bathing' remains elusive, but it is

probably embedded in the hybrid nature of the island itself. The inclusion of a domestic

bathing area in Sicily (ca. 42 per cent) is most similar in frequency to that of the Olynthian

houses (26 to 31 per cent), and in this respect it could be interpreted as a predominately

Greek practice.[1273] On the other hand, while the domestic baths of Sicily do not match the

regularity or occurrence seen at Phoenicio-Carthaginian sites (Kerkouane in particular) the

apparent importance that this feature played in the Punic world, and the influence that this

had on Sicily, should not be overlooked. At first impression, it could be argued that there is

little similarity between Punic domestic bath types and those of Sicily. For instance, the

baths at Kerkouane were predominantly permanent installations, and always of the

predominantly cleansing type (i.e. hip- or shower- baths), while those most common to mid-

Republican Sicily were (theoretically) portable hip-baths, and also began to incorporate bath

forms associated with relaxation (i.e. immersion tubs and sweat-baths) alongside of, and

eventually replacing, this predominantly cleansing variety. There are, however, three

features that could be indicators of Punic influence on Sicilian practice. These are the

accessible location of the baths, their pavement, and the incorporation of an anteroom.

These features suggest that the Punic domestic bath was not intended to be a remote

feature of the house, and instead could be interpreted as part of the reception repertoire.

[1272] Trümper 2010, 541, 545, and 547-550, notes that there is no evidence for domestic bathing in the Hellenistic houses at Pergamon, and the suggested evidence at Vergina is uncertain.
[1273] As many as 18 out of the 45 houses surveyed from second-century-BC Sicily preserve evidence for possible bathing areas; the numbers for Olynthos are 22-27 out of 86 houses (see Chapter 2).

Seven bath-suites from Sicily that fit this description are potentially identifiable.[1274] The particular bath installation for these is variable: one is a hip-bath, while the others are either heated immersion tubs or sweat-baths.[1275] At least six, and probably all seven, however, have at least one anteroom, which could be interpreted as a congregation area for a group of bathers.[1276] This suggests that in these houses the domestic bathing culture became a communal, and not an individual, activity. The anterooms provide further indicators to support this communal nature of the Sicilian bath-suites. For example, their decorative pavements function not only to assist in water retention, but also to make the bath-suite both visible and inviting to guests. This is literally the case of Morg08 Room 12, with its threshold inscription salutation (ΕΥΕΧΕΙ). The anterooms also provide for extended comfort, as seen in the benches of Sol09 (and perhaps Morg08), as well as the possible space heating braziers of Iato01 and Morg02. These are rooms intended for prolonged stays. Further, in the case of Morg02, the anteroom communicates directly with a particularly well-decorated room, which was likely a moderately-sized reception room. These rooms may well have been used in combination. These bath-suites do not simply copy Punic practice, such as those at Kerkouane. They are for the most part larger and more sophisticated, and fit more into the Hellenistic milieu of luxury and indulgence. Their basic layout, and communal custom, however, is more ideologically in keeping with Punic practices. The intent here is not to suggest that the domestic bath-suites of second-century-

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[1274] These are: Iato01 Rooms (18), 20, 21, and 22; Iato02 Rooms 17, 19, and possibly 18; Iato 04 east annex; Morg02 Room 3; Morg08 Room 12; Morg08 Rooms 21 and 22; and Sol09 Rooms N, O, and P. Of note is that Morg08 Rooms 21 and 22 and Iato02 Rooms 16 and 19 are not easily accessible from the main courtyard, but instead are located in what is interpreted as the service annex; however, both of these might be located next to a secondary entrance, and for Monte Iato, Russenberger suggests a more "commercial or public" use of this feature (Russenberger, forthcoming, 193). The same may also be true for the sweat-bath suite of Morg08, as well as the sweat-bath and immersion-tub suite of Iato04 (east annex).

[1275] Hip-bath: Morg08 Room 12; Immersion Tubs: Iato01 Room 21; Iato02 Room 19; and Morg02 Room 3; Sweat-baths: Iato04 Room B; Morg08 Room 22; and Sol09 Room O.

[1276] The probable ante-room of the bath-suite in Iato02 (Room 18) has not been excavated, but there is evidence that suggests a separate room before Room 19.

BC Sicily are necessarily indicators solely of Punic practice, but they are interpretable examples of a hybridisation of Punic and Greek customs.

In her discussion of public baths of the Hellenistic period, Trümper notes how locals in Sicily adopted collective bathing much earlier, and more enthusiastically, than either the Greek East or Egypt.[1277] This trend also extended to their domestic architecture, albeit in only a few instances. The location of these examples, however, is conspicuous. The domestic bath-suites are all located in non-Greek-foundation settlements. Five of the bath-suites are found in what were in origin indigenous settlements (three in Monte Iato and two in Morgantina), while the sixth is in Solunto, a Phoenicio-Carthaginian settlement. While all three sites are commonly referred to as being 'Hellenised', those living in them were not necessarily Hellenes, and they sustained an eclectic hybrid material culture. It is possible that the adoption of a new bathing culture reflects the hybrid cultural identities of the inhabitants of these sites. Finally, it is also important to note that there is no Roman influence on this practice; in fact influence appears to have occurred in the opposite direction. It is Sicily, along with central-southern Italy, that inevitably "influenced and shaped Roman (Imperial) bathing culture", in both public and domestic architecture.[1278] Exactly how this transmission occurred is debatable, but the role that bathing possibly played in the entertainment of (Roman?) elites in the large colonnaded houses of places such as Morgantina, Monte Iato, and Solunto is certainly one possibility.

6.2.5   Small square rooms, sleeping, secluded, and other

This section on room types concludes with the various other rooms that surrounded the courtyards of mid-Republican Sicilian houses. A total of 39 spaces of the 'small square room' type have been identified around the courtyards of 20 houses (Table D.13). Ten of

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[1277] Trümper 2009, esp. 160-2.
[1278] Trümper 2009, 162. See also DeLaine 1989.

these are extensions of the portico, and thirteen are similarly located at either the front or

back of the courtyard.[1279] The values of these two categories are skewed by the evidence

from Morgantina and Solunto: eight of the ten portico extensions are from Morgantina and,

with the exception of two rooms at Heraclea Minoa, small square rooms located along the

front or back of the courtyard are all from Solunto. With such limited distribution, it is unclear

how relevant this information is for mid-Republican Sicily as a whole. This is especially the

case for the portico extensions at Morgantina, which fit neatly into a discussion on the

retention or adoption of Classical Greek practice as most examples are located off a broad

portico, and could be identified as a so-called *pastas*-room. All of these small square rooms,

except for that of Morg06, however, date to a third-century-BC construction phase, and

therefore are not germane to this study. Possible implications for the small square rooms

from Solunto will be returned to below.

Just under one-half (16) of all the small square rooms identified are located along the

sides of the courtyard, and all of these have doorways of normal width. Those of Tin02

preserve no identifiable features or evidence for decoration, and are therefore interpreted as

small, multi-functional, utilitarian rooms; however, they have not been excavated to floor

level. Their neighbour (Room 4), which is the only room in the house to be completely

excavated, is decorated, so decorative treatment for the other rooms cannot be conclusively

excluded. Pal01 Room X appears to have been undecorated as well. A window onto the

courtyard, the treatment of the portico-extension from which it was entered, and its

association with an additional four decorated small square rooms, however, suggests some

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[1279] Portico extension small square rooms: Pal01 *Room T1*; Morg01 Room 23; Morg02 Rooms 26 and *27*; Morg03 Rooms 14 and *15*; Morg05 Room 5; *Morg06*; *Morg10*; and *Iato01 Room 2a*. Those italicised have exedral openings.
Small square rooms located at either the front or back of the courtyard: HM05 Room 7; HM06 Room 3; Sol01 Rooms D, J, and E; Sol05 Room N; Sol06 Room C; Sol 07 Rooms H, L, and M; Sol09 Rooms G and H; and Sol11 Room h. All have narrow doorways with the exception of Sol07 Room L, which has a wide opening onto the courtyard.

importance, and it is treated here as analogous to its decorated neighbours. Hence, there are ten examples of small square rooms from the various settlement types of mid-Republican Sicily that are similar to the decorated *cubicula* in Campanian houses, and an analogous identification for these rooms is suggested for this study.[1280] As discussed in Chapter 2, this does not automatically indicate function; however, associations with sleeping, more intimate reception, and business transactions are possible.

A similar identification may also be appropriate for at least nine of the small square rooms from Solunto that are located along the front or back of the courtyard.[1281] This is especially true for the three rooms surrounding the courtyard of Sol01, and perhaps the sister rooms of Sol07. While the latter preserve no indication of special treatment, those from Sol01 are commonly identified as *cubicula* (specifically bedrooms) due to the presence of decorative pavements. Room E is paved with *opus signinum* and preserves evidence for a central panel in *opus tessellatum*, which was framed with a black and white wave pattern. Rooms D and J are paved with white *opus tessellatum*, and also preserve evidence for central panels. Perhaps more noteworthy, however, is that these latter rooms also have *a scendiletto* in the form of *opus sectile* perspective cubes. Though *a scendiletto* is commonly used to identify the location of beds, the particularly fine treatment, a type which is rarely used (see section 6.3), suggests that the mosaic was intended to be viewed by outsiders.[1282] It is probable that these were multi-functional rooms that were (also) used for reception or business.

Though in this study a label similar to that of a *cubiculum* is suggested for only a small group of select rooms, it is commonly used in surveys of Sicilian houses to refer to a

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[1280] These are: Tin02 Room 4; Pal01 Rooms X, Y, Z1, and Z; Sol09 Room F; Sol 12 Rooms c and d; Sol13 Room F; and Morg09 Room 24.
[1281] Sol01 Rooms D, J, and E; Sol06 Room C; Sol07 Rooms H, L, and M; Sol09 Room G; and Sol11 Room h.
[1282] Greco 2011, 307, n. 65.

larger variety of rooms and spaces where sleeping is assumed to have occurred. As many as 33 examples of rooms from 18 houses have features that could suggest that they were sleeping rooms (Table D.14). Similar to the food-preparation areas discussed above, however, these are tentative identifications, and are not corroborated by accompanying artefacts.

Perhaps the more convincing of the suggestions for sleeping rooms come from houses at Morgantina that have anteroom combinations.[1283] For example, three rooms in Morg08 (Rooms 4, 5, and 6) are entered from the courtyard by means of an anteroom (Room 3), which is paved with *opus signinum* that has both a threshold mosaic from the courtyard with *tesserae* in poised squares, as well as a main paving pattern of *tesserae* in a double meander pattern, thus making these rooms more 'visible', and highlighting their importance, but the ante-room also separates them from the main organisational space. One of the back rooms (4) preserves evidence of a bipartite plan and a small window in the northern wall, both of which are features commonly attributed to sleeping rooms. The door jambs also preserve evidence for a locking bar that would have increased the security of the room, and suggest that this was not intended to be a space that was readily accessible.[1284] As noted in Chapter 5, the *opus signinum* of Room 4 has no evidence for inset *tesserae* and this could further suggest a utilitarian nature. Further, if the neighbouring Rooms 5 and 6 were originally a dining-room (*andron*) during the third century BC, which was divided during the renovations, it is possible that they maintained a reception function, but just on a smaller scale. A 'doormat' mosaic before the entrances of these two rooms could also be interpreted as drawing attention (i.e. guiding the outsider) not only towards these rooms, but away from Room 4.

[1283] Morg08 Rooms 3, 4, 5, and 6; and Morg09 Rooms 5/6 and 8/9. A similar group of rooms can also be seen in Morg10 Rooms 2/3.
[1284] Tsakirgis 1984, 57-58.

Similarly, a pair of rooms from Morg09 is made up of a suite of two rooms: a small anteroom that provides access from the courtyard to a slightly larger back room. One of the pair, Room 5/6, is particularly well decorated. Both areas are paved with *opus signinum*. The anteroom (Room 5) has a border with *tesserae* in rows and a central field of poised squares. Like the rooms of Morg08, this would have drawn attention to these rooms from the courtyard while highlighting their position within the room hierarchy of the house, but the ante-room also provided a barrier from the courtyard. The back room (Room 6) preserves *a pseudo-scendiletto* with *tesserae* laid in rows, which are closely set at the front of the room and widely set at the back. The change in pattern is enhanced with two engaged columns on the walls and is perhaps indicative of an alcove for a bed. There is also evidence for a rosette 'doormat' mosaic that is located to the west of the door (also suggesting a change in the original position of the doorway). Though it is possible that these were sleeping rooms, similar to the small square rooms just discussed, this does not mean that this was their sole purpose, and they too could have been used as more intimate reception or meeting rooms.

Pseudo-scendiletto pavements are used in part to suggest sleeping rooms for an additional seven rooms, while possible alcoves for beds can be seen in three other examples, but in neither instance can these be considered definitive interpretations of their function.[1285] For example, none of the floor treatments represent a true *scendiletto* of the type seen in Campania; therefore direct parallels, despite being a reasonable deduction, cannot be assumed. Furthermore, in neither case is there any certainty that the change in floor pattern indicates the location of a bed. Likewise, in her survey of Pompeian houses, Allison has shown how alcoves were just as likely to indicate the location of storage chests or cupboards as they were of beds.[1286] Tsakirgis suggests that platforms present in two

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[1285] *Pseudo-scendiletto* pavements: Morg02 Rooms 24, 25, and 26; Morg09 Room 5/6; Sol01 Rooms D and J; and Sol02 Room G. Alcoves: Morg08 Room 4; Sol05 Room L; and Sol06 Room L.
[1286] Allison 2004, 43-8.

houses from Morgantina were supports for mattresses but, as argued above, these may also be supports for bathtubs.[1287]

In other instances room size, shape, or isolated disposition are used to suggest that certain spaces were sleeping rooms. Sol06 Room L is a good example of this, where a very small square shaped room (ca. 3.3 m^2) with an alcove is approached by means of a narrow corridor from the courtyard. It is just as likely that such a room had a storage function as it did a sleeping one. The isolated nature of a room also need not signify that this was a sleeping room *per se*. Six rooms from mid-Republican Sicily are similar to the secluded-rooms that are seen in many Punic houses (Table D.14).[1288] They are all relatively small rooms that are at a distance from the main entrance, not accessible from the courtyard, and communicate with only a single room (but are not main-room dependents). At Kerkouane Fantar suggests that these were used for storage, and though sleeping cannot be ruled out completely, any utilitarian activity is also a reasonable conclusion for the function of the examples from Sicily.[1289]

Attempting to identify cultural influence for these room types is particularly difficult, especially considering the fact that functions for this room could vary, and that storage, sleeping, and reception are obviously cross-cultural phenomena, often with only subtle differences between culture groups. Nevertheless, some suggestions can be made. For example, the six secluded rooms just discussed could be indicative of retention of a Punic characteristic, where a small utilitarian room was positioned at the furthest distance from the door and accessible only through an additional room.[1290] This is especially the case of those examples from Solunto and Heraclea Minoa, both of which were settlements within the

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[1287] Morg01 Room 10; and Morg04 Room 6 (Tsakirgis 1984, 79-80 and 175-6).
[1288] HM02 Room 5; HM03 Room 8; Morg02 Rooms 25 and 25b; Sol04 Room J; and Sol07 Room D.
[1289] Fantar 1998, 41.
[1290] For the secluded room and its appearance in the houses of Kerkouane see Chapter 2.

Punic sphere of influence on the island.[1291] Additionally, certain rooms within this category

could indicate a differing or changing ideology from a traditional Greek or Punic house. For

instance, some of the rooms surrounding the courtyards of mid-Republican Sicily may have

included sleeping rooms. This is a placement that has not generally been identified in either

Greek or Punic houses, and absent sleeping areas are assumed either to have not been a

formal space, or to have been segregated to the no longer extant second storey.[1292]

Conversely, the small square rooms (*cubicula*) that surround the central organisational

space of a Roman house are more commonly interpreted as areas for sleeping, with some

preserving evidence for a bed. More importantly, however, is that some of these small

square rooms were also used as more intimate reception or meeting rooms, and as many as

15 of the houses of mid-Republican Sicily incorporate a similar room type into their plan.[1293]

While intimate reception rooms are not uniquely Roman, and houses of the Hellenistic east

also begin to include reception rooms of various sizes, there is no certainty that these are

not reflections of influence on social practice from the western Mediterranean onto the

east.[1294] Sicily's role (either active or passive) in the adoption of this room type is equally

undefined.

It is important to remember that while the majority of the rooms identified from

houses of mid-Republican Sicily can be classified along the various types discussed above,

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[1291] HM02 Room 5; HM03 Room 8; Sol04 Room J; and Sol07 Room D. Solunto is a Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundation settlement, and Heraclea Minoa, as mentioned above, was situated along the boundary of the so-called Greek and Carthaginian spheres of influence and under intermittent Punic control throughout its history.

[1292] For sleeping areas in the Greek houses see for example: Jameson 1990, 101; and Trümper 2007, 331. In the houses at Kerkouane see Fantar 1998, 43.

[1293] For the functions of sleeping and reception in the *cubicula* of the Roman house see Chapter 2. For possible parallels on Sicily see: Morg01 Room 2?; Morg08 Rooms 5 and 6 (4?); Morg09 Rooms 5/6 and 8/9; Morg02 Rooms 9, 24, 25, and 26; Morg03 Room 14 (and Room 2?); Morg10 Room 6?; Pal01 Rooms X, Y, Z, and Z1; Sol01 Rooms D, J, E (and F?); Sol02 Room G?; Sol 06 Room C; Sol07 Rooms H, L, and M; Sol09 Rooms F and G; Sol11 Room h; Sol13 Room f; and Tin02 Room 4?.

[1294] For identification of similar rooms in the House of the Trident at Delos with a suggested similar function adopted from the Roman world see Westgate 2000b, 404.

the category with the largest number of rooms (173) is 'other' (Table D.14), which represents

ca. 30 per cent of the extant rooms.[1295] As this is an *ad hoc* category, the proposed functions

of these rooms vary greatly. In some instances the type is represented by features such as

staircases (5 examples) or corridors (16 examples).[1296] It also includes spaces such as

Sol06 Rooms O, P, and Q, which are interpreted by the excavators as a domestic shrine.[1297]

The majority of the rooms under this category, however, have little to no identifiable features

or suggested functions, and remind us that there are still large parts of ancient houses of

which we are ignorant as to their function.

6.3   DECORATIVE PAVEMENTS[1298]

The decorative pavements of Sicily firmly belong to the western Mediterranean tradition

(Table B.4), while they also have a regional predilection that aided in the development of

that tradition.[1299] Of the 45 houses surveyed, 37 preserve evidence for decorative

pavements.[1300] Of those without decorative pavements, all but one are non-colonnaded-

courtyard houses, and a lack of decorative pavements for these houses is likely due to

either their modest nature or site formation processes, rather than an indication of a

particular material practice or cultural influence. Of the 37 houses with decorative

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[1295] A total of 584 rooms or spaces, including courtyards, have been identified in the 45 houses surveyed.

[1296] Staircases: Morg01 Room 13; Morg03 Room 13; Morg08 Room 13; and Sol13 Rooms c and h. Corridors: Iato01 Room 7; Morg01 Rooms 4 and 12; Morg02 Rooms 2 and 10; Morg09 Rooms 11, 17, 19, and 23; Morg10 Room 10; Sol05 Rooms J and M; Sol06 Room J; Sol08 Room R; Sol10 Room J; and Sol11 Room d.

[1297] Tusa et al. 1994, 100. See also the description in Chapter 4.

[1298] Included in the following summary are all of the mosaics from the houses surveyed. This includes the transitional mosaics of Morg01 Rooms 1, 2, and 14, and Morg03 Room 14, despite them traditionally being dated to the second half of the third century BC. This is not meant to suggest that these mosaics should be re-dated; however, the date for the remaining mosaics of the site is less clear (see the relevant descriptions in Chapter 5) and it has been decided to not exclude selectively any examples from the houses examined.

[1299] For a comparative discussion on the eastern and western decorative pavement traditions see Chapter 2 and summary in Appendix B.

[1300] The houses without evidence for decorative paving are: HM02; HM04; HM05; HM06; HM07; Lic04; Morg07; and Sol04.

pavements only three do not preserve evidence for *opus signinum*.[1301] This lack of *opus signinum* has more to do with the nature of the sites, their excavation, or publication, and is not necessarily a reflection of the state of the floors for the houses during the mid-Republican period.[1302]

While it is safe to conclude that *opus signinum* pavements were typical for the houses of mid-Republican Sicily, the same cannot be said for the other pavement types. Up to 210 areas with decorative pavements have been identified in the houses surveyed (Table D.15). While 147 of these preserve evidence for the western tradition of *opus signinum*, the next highest occurrence is of *opus tessellatum*, in origin an eastern tradition, but this occurs in only 42 rooms. Further, in many instances these are seen in combination with *opus signinum* or are supplementary to other pavement types.[1303] Moreover, less than one-half of the houses surveyed (18 of 45) preserve evidence for *opus tessellatum*, and chip-pavements are seen in just one-third of the houses (13 of 45). In five houses from Morgantina some of these two pavement types are possible features remaining from the original third-century-BC construction, and therefore their relevance to the period concerned

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[1301] Lic01; Sol11; and Sol03.
[1302] The neighbours of all three of these houses preserve *opus signinum* pavements, therefore making the absence of pavements an overt exception for houses of a similar type from the same site. Further to this, the extant remains of Sol11 and Sol13 are fragmentary. The former (ironically) houses the modern excavation offices of Solunto, while the latter is only partially excavated, and sits on the northernmost edge of the site before a steep drop in the terrain. In both instances it is highly plausible that floor pavements, particularly those of *opus signinum* (as opposed to the more aesthetically valued pavements such as *opus tessellatum* or *opus sectile*), have gone undiscovered or unnoted. A similar argument can be made for the houses at Licata, where the *opus signinum* pavement of the alcove of Room 1 in Lic01 is only mentioned in passing in the available literature (Raffa and Limoncelli 2011, 233). A similar detailed description of its sister room in Lic02 is not provided, and the possibility remains that it too was paved with *opus signinum*, especially if it did in fact serve a similar function as a bathing area.
[1303] For example the *opus tessellatum* of Morg02 Room 24; Morg03 Room 14; Morg09 Rooms 10, 21 and 22; Seg01 Room B; Sol01 Room E; and Sol09 Room E are supplementary pavements (central panels, frames, and threshold mosaics) to main pavements (adjusting borders and fields) of the other types. Further, the fragments of *opus tessellatum* in the fall of HM03 and Iato01 are found alongside *opus signinum*, and the tessellated mosaics of Mar02; Morg02 Room 3; and the majority of those from Solunto are secondary pavements over earlier pavements of *opus signinum* (see below).

with here is marginal.[1304] Also uncertain is the date of the majority of the *opus tessellatum*

pavements at Solunto; many of these could belong to first-century-BC renovations. For

instance, Greco argues that the *opus tessellatum* central panel with an *opus signinum*

subsidiary of Room E in Sol01, which differs from the remaining rooms of the same level of

the house that are all paved with *opus tessellatum*, reflects an earlier paving, and that the

systematically laid monochrome and bichrome tessellated mosaics across the site belong to

a secondary decorative phase that coincides with a change in wall decoration during the first

century BC.[1305] Additionally, at two sites the evidence for *opus tessellatum* comes from the

fall from upper storeys, and so it is difficult not only to date these fragments, but also to

interpret them within their architectural context.[1306] In effect, *opus tessellatum* pavements

from as few as eight of the houses surveyed can be attributed to the period in question with

any confidence, and they should be considered exceptional examples of a decorative

program, not commonplace, and definitely not representative of the domestic architecture of

Sicily as a whole during the second century BC.[1307]

Equally uncommon are the more elaborate decorative pavements particular to the

Roman west. Evidence for *crustae* within the pavements (*opus scutulatum)* occurs in seven

houses, with *opus sectile* being present in three houses (those from Sol01 are also likely to

date to the first century BC), and only a single house has an *opus pseudo-figlinum*

[1304] The *opus tessellatum* of Morg01 and Morg 03, as well as the chip-pavements of Morg02, Morg03, and Morg08 are believed by Tsakirgis to date to the Phase A construction (see for example Tsakirgis 1984, 83, 127, 220, and 427).
[1305] Greco 1997, esp, 46-7. See also Greco 2011. Similarly, the bichrome tessellated pavements of Mar02 are secondary renovations over *opus signinum* floors (Di Stefano 1974, 22-23; and Giglio 1997, 126).
[1306] HM03 and Iato01. For pavements of *opus tessellatum* and *opus vermiculatum* on the second storey of houses see for example: Westgate 1997-1998, 108; Dunbabin 1999, 32; Westgate 2000b, 392; and Tang 2005, 46.
[1307] These houses are: Morg02 Rooms 1, 3, 4, 11, 12, and 24; Morg09 Rooms 10, 21, and 22; Morg10 Room 1; Pal01 Rooms T1 and R; Seg01 Room B; Sol01 Rooms E and F only; Sol09 Room E; and Tin01 Room 7 and fill.

pavement.[1308] This does not necessarily indicate, however, that members of the highest echelon of society in mid-Republican Sicily were decorating their houses in an attempt to mimic pavements exclusively from the Greek east, as some of the finest pavements identified in this survey are more comparable to those seen in the contemporary Roman west. For example, during the Republican period at Pompeii *opus sectile* and pavements with *crustae* are utilised, but here too they remain relatively uncommon.[1309] Meanwhile, polychromatic figural mosaics of *opus vermiculatum* have a short period of popularity in Campania during the late second and early first centuries BC.[1310]

The house which best represents the western tradition of Hellenistic tessellated mosaics is the House of the Faun at Pompeii, and even a cursory comparison between its pavements and those from Pal01 neatly illustrates the parallels between the mosaics of Campania and Sicily.[1311] Seen in both houses are figural frames and central panels of *opus vermiculatum*, which, unlike the eastern tradition, do not use lead strips as a separation of features. Alongside these are pavements of *opus sectile* with perspective cubes, and pavement inscriptions. Not one of these characteristics (i.e. *opus vermiculatum*, figural motifs, inscriptions, or *opus sectile*) is commonly seen in contemporary pavements and this suggests that these examples belong to a similar, if not the same, artistic school. Further, the subject matter of the *opus vermiculatum* is strikingly similar. Not only do both houses have smaller panels depicting land and seascapes, they also preserve evidence for comparable frames with flora-faunal garlands that are embellished with theatrical masks. Similar garlands are seen at both Pergamon and Delos, but those from Pompeii and

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[1308] *Opus scutulatum*: Morg08 Room 9; Morg09 Rooms 21 and 22; Pal01 Room S; Seg01 Room D; Sol 11 Rooms f and g; Sol 13 courtyard; and Tin01 Room 2; *opus sectile*: Pal01 Room R; Seg01 Room B; and Sol01 Rooms D and F; *opus pseudo-figlinum*: Morg09 Room 22.

[1309] Joyce 1979, 254; Dunbabin 1999, 53-4; Westgate 2000a, 255; Westgate 2000b, 415; and Clarke 2007, 324.

[1310] Clarke 1991, 40-41; Dunbabin 1999, 38-52; Westgate 2000a; and Clarke 2007, 324-5.

[1311] For similar comparisons of pavements from Campania with those from Sicily see for example: Wilson 1990b, 31; Portale 1997; Dunbabin 1999, 38; Portale 2001-2002, 81-8; and Wootton 2002.

Palermo are more analogous to each other and to examples from Malta and Privernum than they are to the eastern examples.[1312] Most important, however, are the central panels. These are not central *emblemata* that are used to embellish a larger decorative pavement, but are, in effect, the pavement itself, and cover the majority of the floor surface. Furthermore, they are not static images taken from mythology, but instead are dynamic allegorical representations of historical events where the protagonist is likely Alexander the Great.[1313] In Westgate's survey of 308 Hellenistic mosaics (Sicily and Italy included), only 18 depicted human figures while 12 depicted inanimate objects including masks and garlands.[1314] The mosaics from both Palermo and Pompeii are exceptional examples of decorative pavements across the Mediterranean, and their similarities in technique, subject, and location within the house (see section 6.2.3) advocates for an interregional stimulus.[1315]

While there is no denying that the figural motifs in these decorative pavements are following Greek models (particularly of wall paintings and possibly other mosaics), the stimulus for this, and what this could suggest about cultural influence on Sicily during the mid-Republican period, is ill-defined. One of the primary differences between *opus tessellatum* traditions of the eastern and western Mediterranean between the late second and early first centuries BC is that while those of the west are often figural, those from the east are predominately geometric designs.[1316] This is not a trivial difference, particularly in regards to the cost of both materials and labour, and the decision to include an expensive mosaic decorated with an intricate 'Greek' theme is telling. In reference to Pompeii,

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[1312] For the other garland mosaics see for example: <u>Pergamon</u>: Palace V (Westgate 2007b); <u>Delos</u>: Îlot des Bijoux; <u>Malta</u>: The Villa at Rabat (Dunbabin 1999, 38, n. 38).
[1313] <u>Land/seascapes</u>: see the possible landscape mosaic of Pal01 Room T1 and the Marine-scene mosaic from the House of the Faun (Dunbabin 1999, Pl. 7); <u>Garlands with theatrical masks</u>: see the frames of Pal01 Room R and the Tiger-rider mosaic from the House of the Faun (Dunbabin 1999, Fig. 43); <u>Central panels depicting Greek (Alexander)</u>: see central panels of Pal01 Room R and the Alexander mosaic from the House of the Faun (Dunbabin 1999, Fig.41).
[1314] Westgate 2000a, 264 n. 40.
[1315] Portale 1997, 101-2; and Portale 2001-2002, 81-88.
[1316] Dunbabin 1999, 30; Westgate 2000a, 264; and Westgate 2007a, 319.

Westgate argues that the inclusion of figural mosaics is an indication of "patrons [wanting] the decoration of their houses to display their familiarity with Greek culture".[1317] She further suggests that the influence for the mosaics at Pompeii comes from the western Greek settlements of Magna Graecia, and the Pompeians are therefore integrating Greek features into their own traditions through contact with these areas.[1318]

Herein lies a fundamental problem: the figural mosaics of second-century-BC Sicily are not typical of the mosaics commonly found in the Hellenistic Greek east during the same period. The Sicilian patrons are not commissioning exact replicas of the floor decoration from the Greek centre, but instead adopting a mosaicist's interpretation of themes from multiple media, and a parallel argument for trying to display familiarity with Greek culture through decorative pavements can be applied to mid-Republican Sicily.[1319]

Eight of the mosaics surveyed preserve evidence for figural motifs.[1320] Five of these, all from Morgantina, have limited application for this discussion. Those of Morg01 likely date to the third century BC, and that of Morg10 is no longer extant. It is unclear, therefore, what was actually being depicted.[1321] The other three consist of the Hunt mosaic and garland frame of Pal01 just discussed, and the astronomical unit of Sol01. Theatrical masks, the legendary lion hunt of Alexander, and the famed Planetarium of Archimedes can all be interpreted as motifs conversant in, and celebrant of, Greek culture.[1322] That one of these motifs refers to Archimedes and the power base of Hieronian Syracuse is potentially

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[1317] Westgate 2000a, 255.

[1318] Westgate 2000a, 263. This is a commonly repeated theme. See for example: Dunbabin 1979, 82; and Dunbabin 1999, 38.

[1319] Portale 1997, 101, suggests the owners of both the House of the Faun and Pal01 were 'Philhellenes', a trend well attested in Republican Italy (see also Portale 2001-2002, 87-89).

[1320] Morg01 Room 14 (central panel), Room 1 ('doormat' mosaic), and Room 2 ('doormat' mosaic x2); Morg10 Room 1; Pal01 Rooms T1 and R; and Sol01 Room F.

[1321] The central panel of Morg10 Room 1 was reported to have depicted an arm with an arrow (Pappalardo 1884, 12); while Pernice 1938, 13, suggests that the motif of Pal01 Room T1 was a landscape based upon the presence of broad leaves.

[1322] For the Planetarium of Archimedes see for example De Vos 1975, 199; and Portale 2001-2002, 84.

significant for two reasons. First, among the earliest known tessellated mosaics are those

from mid-third-century-BC Morgantina, with most other examples dating to the second

century BC.[1323] Therefore, it is just as likely that the cities of Hieron II's *koine* were the

impetus in Sicily for this type, and though these cities are 'Greek', the island-wide adoption

of tessellated mosaics more accurately reflects a process of mimicry of cities in the west,

rather than direct cultural influence from the cities in the east. Second, if this mosaic is, as

proposed by De Vos, referencing the Planetarium of Archimedes at Syracuse, which was

moved to Rome after the Second Punic War, then this motif is also acknowledging the new

political power of the island.[1324]

A similar argument of attempting to display familiarity with Greek culture can be

made for the pavement inscriptions. Inscriptions, though numerous in Roman Imperial

mosaics, are not particularly common in Hellenistic pavements.[1325] Five pavement

inscriptions are found in a domestic context in Sicily.[1326] One of these inscriptions is in Latin

and the remaining four are in Greek. This need not indicate that those living in the house

were Greek speakers. For example, Tsakirgis notes that the ΕΥΕΧΕΙ inscription at

Morgantina is the incorrect form of the imperative, and she argues that:

> …we must see the mistake as one made possibly by a non-native speaker of
> Greek…. [or] a poorly educated Sicilian Greek.[1327]

[1323] Dunbabin 1979, 82.
[1324] De Vos 1975, 199.
[1325] There are only five examples at Delos (Joyce 1979, 257), and an additional six, all in *opus signinum*, from sites in the western Mediterranean outside of Sicily (Rome, Luni, Pompeii, Glanum, Ampurias, and Zuglio (Tsakirgis 1990, 441 n. 99-101; 105).
[1326] A total of eight pavement inscriptions are reported from Sicily. At least five of these are found in a domestic context. Two *opus tessellatum* inscriptions have been discovered, one each at Salemi and Segesta, another in chip-pavement at Palermo, and five in *opus signinum* at Morgantina, Monte Iato, Tindari, Segesta, and Megara Hyblaea. For the inscription at Salemi, which has no context, see von Boeselager 1983, 31-34; for that at Segesta in *opus tessellatum* on the Acropolis, see Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 112, and Fig. 9; for that at Megara Hyblaea, which is located in a bath complex that is attached to a private house see Vallet et al. 1983, 15; for the remaining five inscriptions see Iato01 Room 17; Morg08 Room 12; Pal01 Room P; Seg01 (courtyard); and Tin01 (evidence in the fill).
[1327] Tsakirgis 1990, 441.

Further, of the five domestic pavement inscriptions from Sicily, the only surviving evidence from a Greek foundation settlement is the one which is in Latin, while three of the Greek inscriptions are from the indigenous settlements of Morgantina, Monte Iato, and Segesta, and the last is from 'Punic' Palermo. Similarly, the figural motifs mentioned above are also from non-Greek foundation settlements, while the tessellated mosaic of the Greek foundation of Tindari consists of a blank central panel surrounded by a stylised polychromatic wave pattern, and a supplementary 'doormat' mosaic with a geometric rosette.

It could be argued in these cases that the Hellenic figural motifs and inscriptions are being used as symbols to legitimise status, or their 'Greek-ness' in these non-Greek settlements, something which was not necessary in the Greek foundation of Tindari. Or, further, that Greek language means something other than 'being Greek'. But again, the source of this desire for status need not extend beyond the island. The elite residents of mid-Republican Sicily were likely taking a lead from what was the nearest and most recent political, economic, and cultural centre, that of Hieron's Syracuse, which after the Second Punic War became the capital of the province.[1328] Further, the date of the Latin pavement inscription from Tindari is uncertain, and it could be part of the Imperial renovation phase of this house. The same argument would therefore, hold, although by the end of the first century BC the focus has changed from aligning oneself with the *koine* of Hieron II to that of Augustus.

The non-figural examples of *opus tessellatum* that can be confidently dated to the second century BC could be argued to follow the eastern Mediterranean tradition. For example, in the monochrome pavements the *tesserae* are commonly laid in a rectilinear fashion, though diagonal also occurs, while the motifs in the surrounding frames usually

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[1328] For Syracuse as inspiration see also: Portale 2001-2002, 69-70; and Campagna 2011, 179.

include waves (five examples), meanders (four examples), and in three instances elaborate guilloches.[1329] The guilloche is particular to Asia Minor and the western Mediterranean, and could be indicative of a desire to parallel pavements from the centre of the Hellenistic Kingdoms, as well as a motif that was transferred from Sicily to mainland Italy.[1330] Geometric designs, however, are not particular to the Hellenistic east, and both waves and the meander are also seen in the third-century-BC mosaics at Morgantina. Again the stimulus for these, though likely to have originated from the pebble mosaics of the eastern Mediterranean, could have been an attempt to show familiarity with Greek culture, as well as mimicry of earlier Sicilian models during the mid-Republican period.

O*pus tessellatum* is also seen in three threshold mosaics and a single 'doormat' mosaic. The threshold mosaics are decorated with a meander, perspective cubes, or white *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion, while the 'doormat' mosaic consists of a rosette surrounded by polychromatic triangles.[1331] With the exception of this 'doormat' from Tindari, which is supplemental to a primary pavement also in *opus tessellatum*, these mosaics are complements to the western Mediterranean tradition, specifically pavements in *opus signinum, opus scutulatum*, and *opus pseudo-figlinum*. They also follow this tradition's inclination towards embellishing the threshold, as opposed to an area inside the door.

[1329] Second-century-BC monochrome (white) laid in a rectilinear fashion: Morg02 Rooms 1, 4, and 12; Morg09 Rooms 10 and 21; Morg10 Room 1; and Seg01 Room B (also seen in the third-century-BC pavements of Morg01 Room 14, and the likely first-century-BC pavements of Sol01 Rooms A, B, G, and H) ; Second-century-BC monochrome (white) laid in a diagonal fashion: Morg02 Room 3; Pal01 Room R; and Tin01 Room7 (also seen in the fill of HM01; the third-century-BC pavements of Morg01 Rooms 1 and 14 and Morg03 Room 14; as well as the likely first-century-BC pavements of Sol01, Rooms D, F, and J and Sol07 Room J); Second-century-BC frames with wave: Morg02 Room 12; Morg09 Room 10; Pal01 Room T1; Sol01 Room E; and Tin01 Room 7 (also seen in the fill of HM01, the third-century-BC pavement of Morg01 Room 1, and the likely first-century-BC pavement around the basin of Sol01); Second-century-BC frame with meander: Morg02 Room 1; Morg09 Room 10; Morg10 Room 1; and Pal01 Room T1 (also seen in the third-century-BC pavements of Morg01 Rooms 1, 2, and 14 and Morg03 Room 14); Second-century-BC frame with guilloche: Morg02 Room 4; Morg10 Room 1; and Seg01 Room B.
[1330] Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 109-10, and 115.
[1331] Meander: Morg09 Room 22 (supplement to *opus pseudo-figlinum* with *crustae*); Perspective cubes: Morg02 Room 24 (supplement to *opus signinum*); Monochrome (white) laid in a rectilinear fashion: Morg09 Room 21 (supplement to chip-pavement with *crustae*); Rosette: Tin01 Room 7.

This leads to a discussion on supplementary pavements. 'Doormat' mosaics are found in only eight rooms, and three of these belong to the third-century-BC pavements of Morgantina (Table D.17).[1332] Meanwhile, 13 examples of threshold mosaics are found.[1333] In effect, though decorative pavement door treatments are not particularly common (only 18 examples date to the mid-Republican period), they are more than 4 times as likely to follow the more western tradition of being positioned before or between the doorjambs, and therefore drawing attention to the room from the outside, than they are to be placed within the room itself.[1334]

Defining a cultural influence for this feature during the mid-Republican period is precarious. Though 'doormats' within a room are first seen in the pebble mosaic tradition of the Classical period, those outside of the room are a cross-cultural Mediterranean phenomenon, seen, for example, at both third-century-BC Kerkouane and second-century-BC Delos.[1335] Further, threshold mosaics, which are common in the Campanian pavements, are also seen at second-century-BC Carthage.[1336] Therefore, although the inspiration for this feature is likely to have been initiated in the Greek east, using supplementary pavements to draw attention to an area, or explicitly to division spaces, performs a different function from these earlier examples, and signifies a fundamental difference in the western tradition.

[1332] Morg01 Rooms 1 and 2 (*opus tessellatum*); Morg03 Room 14 (*opus tessellatum*); Morg08 Room 3, outside Rooms 4 and 5, and Room 12 (*opus signinum*); Morg09 Room 6 (*opus signinum*); Seg01 courtyard outside Room B (*opus signinum*); and Tin01 Room 7 (*opus tessellatum*).

[1333] Iato01 Room 17 (*opus signinum*); Morg02 Rooms 24 (*opus tessellatum*), 25, and 26 (both *opus signinum*); Morg03 Room 2 (*opus signinum*); Morg06 Room 3 (*opus signinum*); Morg08 Room 3 (*opus signinum*); Morg09 Rooms 1 (*opus signinum*), 21, and 22 (both *opus tessellatum*); Pal01 Rooms P (chip-pavement with *crustae*) and R (*opus sectile*); and Sol06 Room H (*opus tessellatum*).

[1334] Second-century-BC 'doormats' within the room itself are seen in only three instances: Morg08, Room 12; Morg09, Room 6; and Tin01 Room 7. The 'doormat' of Morg08 Room 3 is positioned within an anteroom, but outside the doors of Rooms 5 and 6, and that of Seg01 is in the courtyard outside of the main room (B).

[1335] See for example the symbol of 'Tanit' outside of the main room of no. 3, rue de l'Apotropaïon at Kerkouane (Fantar 1985, Pl. XCI) as well as three 'doormat' mosaics in the porticoes of the Maison du trident at Delos, which mark the two entrances and the main room of the house (Westgate 1997-1998, Pl. 11).

[1336] See for example the bathing area of House 8 on the Byrsa Hill (Tang 2005, Fig. 6).

Whether this difference originated in Roman, Punic, or even Sicilian pavements, however, is not clear. For example, a third-century-BC tessellated threshold mosaic in a main pavement of *opus signinum* can be seen in the bath building at Megara Hyblaia, so again, influence in this feature of mid-Republican Sicilian domestic architecture need not leave the confines of the island itself.[1337]

A *scendiletto*, which was also used to mark out division of space in the houses of Campania, is not a widely adopted feature in the mid-Republican Sicilian pavements (Table D.18). Only three possible examples of a true *scendiletto* are identifiable in the survey, and the two from Sol01 are possibly first-century-BC renovations, while that of Morg02 could represent a repair rather than a deliberate feature, as it coincides with where a wall is suspected to have been in the original third-century-BC house.[1338] A further six rooms preserve evidence of a possible *pseudo-scendiletto* pavement, in that the room is divided into two by means of a different patterning in the pavement.[1339] Four of these are seen at Morgantina (three in a single house) and two at Solunto. Again, those from Solunto are questionable. For instance, it is not clear whether the large rosette of Sol02 Room G was intended to be viewed as a mat with a small undecorated area beside it, presumably for a bed, or whether the bichrome linear pattern in the back section Sol13 room f can be securely dated before the first century BC. It would, therefore, seem that this feature is particular to Morgantina, and especially the proprietor of one or two houses, during the second century BC. Perhaps significant, however, is that both of these houses are multiple-courtyard houses that may represent Sicilian equivalents to the reception hall and colonnaded garden sequence seen in Roman houses (see section 6.1.2). They also preserve evidence for

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[1337] For the third-century-BC threshold mosaic in the Baths at Megara Hyblaia see Vallet et al. 1983, Fig. 39.

[1338] For the *scendiletto* see: Morg02 Room 9; and Sol01 Rooms D and J.

[1339] For the *pseudo-scendiletto* see: Morg02 Rooms 24, 25, and 26; Morg09 Room 6; Sol02 Room G; and Sol13 Room f.

threshold mosaics, and Morg02 has the only possible second-century-BC evidence of a true *scendiletto*. It could be argued then, that these two houses in particular are taking the model for both the use of space in their houses, as well as its inclusion of supplementary pavements from the Roman west.

Further similarities between mid-Republican decorative pavements of Sicily and the western tradition can be seen in the pavement patterns. Of the 210 areas which preserve decorative pavements, 89 fall under the categories of concentric, all-over, or pseudo-concentric pattern (Table D.16).[1340] Approximately one-half of these (45) were paved with *tesserae* in the western tradition of an all-over pattern, while just over one-third (28) adopted the more eastern concentric pattern.[1341] Of the 28 concentric pavements identified, 25 incorporated *opus tessellatum*. This has been used to argue that the intent was to mimic the dining-rooms of the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods; however, it occurs in only a select number of instances, and as noted in Chapter 2, concentric patterns are used in Roman dining-rooms (*triclinia*), which could also be interpreted as a symbol of appreciation of Greek culture within the Roman household.

The pseudo-concentric pattern (16 examples) may also be attempting to invoke the prestige of the classical dining-room, but these pavements are less likely to be indicative of dining couches than true concentric patterns. In the concentric pattern the adjusting border is always of a lesser esthetic value, including chip-pavement, *opus signinum* (if patterned, the *tesserae* are laid in rows), and monochrome (white) *opus tessellatum*. This is not the case for pseudo-concentric patterns, where the border is essentially a frame, often patterned, surrounding a central field. Pseudo-concentric floors do not often give the impression that this border was intended for the placement of permanent dining couches;

[1340] The remaining pavements fall under the category of 'other'. This includes not only pavements where the pattern is unclear, but also *opus signinum* with a scatter of *tesserae*, as well as monochrome chip-pavements and *opus tessellatum*.
[1341] See Chapter 2 and Appendix A for a description of the pavement patterns.

rather the border itself is a decorative feature. The pseudo-concentric pattern also consistently uses the motifs conventional for the all-over patterned *opus signinum*, such as lozenges (nine examples), rows (four examples), the meander (three examples), crosslets (three examples), and poised squares (two examples), in both the border and central field.[1342] It is possible that this is due to the nature of the pavement type, for instance pseudo-concentric patterns are largely found in *opus signinum* floors, and are therefore using the same motifs. This would not explain, however, later tessellated floors that continue to use these motifs, such as Sol13 Room e, which is paved with white *opus tessellatum*, but has a central field of black *tesserae* in a lozenge pattern. It is not clear whether the pseudo-concentric pattern should be considered a reinterpretation of the concentric pattern, or the all-over pattern. And although it is likely a blending of the two, it is also possible that the border was simply a decorative addition to the all-over pattern that was not related to the perception of the use of space (i.e. a static area versus an area for circulation).

Tsakirgis states that the patterns of *opus signinum* in Hellenistic Sicily:

… are derived directly from the Greek artistic repertoire and contrast with the randomly scattered *tesserae* most commonly seen in true Punic *signinum*.[1343]

This is misleading. The all-over design characteristic of 'Hellenistic' *opus signinum* is firmly a western tradition, and its motifs, though similar to, and in some cases probably influenced by, those seen in the Greek east, have their own tradition on both mainland Italy and Sicily. Such designs also occur in Punic North Africa, albeit seldom. Over 30 years ago Joyce suggested Sicily as the mediator of *opus signinum* between North Africa and Peninsular Italy. This argument has been more recently maintained by Joly who sees the *opus signinum* pavements of Sicily, along with their decorative motifs, being developed first in

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[1342] <u>Lozenges</u>: Iato02 Room 8; Morg03 Room 12; Morg04 Room 4; Morg08 Rooms 1, 8, 9, and 12; Morg10 Room 2; and Sol13 Room e; <u>Rows</u>: Iato02 Room 8; Morg02 Room 14; Morg08 Room 12; and Morg09 Room 35; <u>Meander</u>: Morg08 Rooms 1 and 8; and Morg10 Room 2; <u>Crosslets</u>: Morg04 Room 4; Morg09 Room 35; and Sol08 Room M; <u>Poised Squares</u>: Morg02 Room 14; and Morg09 Room 5.
[1343] Tsakirgis 2009, 118.

Sicily, in both domestic and public architecture, as well as by Wilson, who suggests that it is Sicily that acts as the 'conduit' for the dissemination of this technique to mainland Italy.[1344]

6.4   MID-REPUBLICAN SICILIAN DOMESTIC IDENTITIES

To conclude this summary and analysis, a few interpretations of Sicilian domestic ideologies and identities during the mid-Republican period are proposed. As Nevett states, "identity is multifaceted and heavily dependent on context", and we are unlikely to be able to fully understand these contexts, and all of the nuances that they are likely to have entailed.[1345] Attempting to recognise some of these contexts and nuances, however, may help us to understand better what some of the features discussed in this chapter can tell us about how Sicilian communities and individuals were situated within and responded to, the new political and economic hegemony, and how this impacted the kinds of cultural influence at work.

The non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of Sicily provide a good starting point. Though these 19 houses are all suggestive of having (en)closed, inward-looking plans, there remain fundamental intra-site differences in their spatial organisation. These differences are suggestive of intraregional preferences, which are possibly relevant to their occupational histories. For instance, all of the non-colonnaded-courtyard houses at Solunto, which was a third-century-BC re-foundation of a nearby Phoenician settlement, preserve a lateral open corridor for their organisational space. This is likely a remnant of practices of the original Phoenicio-Carthaginian populace. Additionally, two sites from this category, Heraclea Minoa and Licata, are similar in location (south coast), settlement type (Greek foundation), and period of construction for the extant houses (after the Roman occupation), but while there are superficial resemblances among their house plans (e.g. relatively small courtyards),

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[1344] Joyce 1979, 259; Joly 1997, esp. 37; and Wilson in press. See also Wilson 1990a, 31, who argues that various examples of decoration such as Sicilian versions of the Corinthian capital and *sima* decoration in stucco in Campania suggests that influence flowed from Sicily to Italy.
[1345] Nevett 2010, 145.

movement throughout the rooms was significantly different. This is likely in response to the ideological needs of the populace. For example, the original inhabitants of Licata are said to be expelled Geloans, who had to rebuild a new settlement after their own was destroyed by a tyrant of Agrigento, a settlement which they originally founded.[1346] The non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of Licata preserve the most consistent similarities with those from the Classical Greek world, including both room types and spatial organisation. This could be interpreted as an attempt in the construction of these new houses, while under Roman hegemony, to distinguish themselves as citizens of one of the original Greek *poleis* of the island through the retention or adoption of traditional Greek customs.

Meanwhile, the settlement of Heraclea Minoa had developed continuously from the archaic period. Though the extant houses of the site are new constructions, apparently based on need after destruction, either natural (e.g. a landslide) or military (e.g. the Punic Wars), this is not a new settlement, and we cannot exclude the possibility that the houses were merely continuing the practices of earlier constructed houses. Heraclea Minoa is located along the so-called border the Carthaginian *epikrateia* of the island, and during both Punic Wars was a Carthaginian stronghold.[1347] It is likely that at least a portion of the populace had a Phoenicio-Carthaginian heritage, and that there was a practical need for its residents to sustain social contacts with those of neighbouring Punic settlements, particularly nearby Selinunte (ancient *Selinus*).[1348] This is reflected in the spatial organisation of at least three of the houses (HM01 – HM03). For instance, similar to the Punic tradition, entrance is by means of an entrance corridor, which limits accessibility from the outside. Once inside the house, though, access is less restricted; rooms are

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[1346] Diod. Sic. 22.2.2; and 23.4.4.
[1347] Diod. Sic. 23.8; Polyb, 1.25; and Livy, 24.35.
[1348] *Selinus*, of which Heraclea Minoa is said to have been a colony (Hdt.5.46.2), was originally a foundation of Greek Megara Hyblaea, but eventually fell under Carthaginian control at the end of the fifth century BC. For the foundation of *Selinus* see Thuc.6.4; and Strabo 6.2.6. For it being a tributary of Carthage by the end of the fifth century BC see Diod. Sic. 13.59.3.

interconnected, and not all are entered immediately from the courtyard. Further, if the large square room next to the entrance was the main reception room of the original construction, these houses preserve one of the few instances in Sicily of the canonically Punic U-shaped reception sequence.

The site of Heraclea Minoa provides four additional houses that allow us to analyse changing ideologies within the settlement. One of these (HM04) is a colonnaded-courtyard house, which is likely contemporary to the non-colonnaded-courtyard houses just discussed, though the fact that there is little room for the colonnade itself suggests that this could have been the result of a subsequent renovation. Further, though the fragmented plan of HM04 does not allow us to say much about its internal spatial organisation, along with the fragmentary remains of *opus tessellatum* in the fill of HM03, it does show that occasionally there was a desire to display personal wealth and opulence in the domestic setting, and it is likely that these features are representative of a surplus income during the second century BC (see below). The remaining three houses are later constructions that were built while the settlement was in decline. In these instances the courtyard, which takes up a greater portion of the plot than its previously constructed neighbours, is entered directly from the street without the use of an entranceway. Further, the space around the courtyard is less regulated, and includes a variety of larger rooms. De Miro compares these examples to rural houses, and they do give the impression that space was intended primarily for subsistence activity, including commodity production, storage, and shelter for livestock, instead of social interaction.[1349] In these ways the houses of Heraclea Minoa provide a clear, but not exclusive, example of various changes in ideologies and priorities of domestic space.

The wide variety of colonnaded-courtyard houses both within and between sites does not allow for a similar straightforward summary of cultural affiliations, and instead there

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[1349] De Miro 1966a; and De Miro 1980, 716.

is more evidence for a blending or mixing of different practices. These practices are not only Greek and Punic, but also Roman, across all of the settlement types. One reoccurring trend, however, is that the majority of the spaces, especially those areas that are interpretable as having a more 'private' or domestic role within the house, exhibit features that are more characteristic from the Greek or Punic worlds. This can be seen immediately in the entranceway, which is most commonly a square room, the type typically found in Greek houses, and usually incorporates a screen between the street and the centre of the organisational space. In so doing it perpetuates the 'closed environment' tradition. Within this closed environment, however, are spaces intended for the more 'public' reception of guests. This general organisation of 'domestic' versus 'reception' is interpretable as Vitruvius' *gynaeconitis* and *andronitis*, which he specifically discusses as a Greek, not Roman, feature. [1350] This is also contrary to our understanding of Roman practice, where the archaeological record shows that the reception hall (*atrium*) and colonnaded courtyard (peristyle), as well as their surrounding rooms, served both functions, albeit likely at different points in the day. For the Romans there was no separate 'women's quarters'. [1351]

In the multiple courtyard houses of mid-Republican Sicily this separation is physical, and either the domestic or reception courtyard can be accessed without interacting with the other. In this way these houses are more comparable to traditional Greek practice, and suggest a similar ideological priority for uninterrupted, ongoing, domestic activities. A few houses, however, particularly Morg09 and perhaps Tin01, may represent variations on this basic sequence in that the larger, more decorative, courtyards were accessed after entering a smaller, slightly more modest, courtyard. These houses are more comparable to the reception hall and colonnaded courtyard combinations canonically seen in Campania. This

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[1350] Vitr. *De arch.* 6.7.2-4. This does not, however, mean that either area was exclusively divided along gender lines at all times.
[1351] See also Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 190.

represents a fundamental alteration of social practice within these households, and it could be interpreted that they were responding to trends from Italy.

While the division of domestic and reception space is not as pronounced in the single courtyard houses, it can still be seen in the inclusion of two different 'main room' types. The provision of a separate room that is intended solely for domestic activities is a feature more characteristic of Greek houses (the *oikos*), and in most instances these areas also take on recognised Hellenic features such as provisions for extended daylight, as well as having a separate axis from the main reception sequence. There is, however, some inversion happening here, as at Olynthos it is traditionally the *andron* that has the orthogonal alignment, and at Delos the north side of the courtyard is reserved for the large reception / multi-purpose rooms.

These patterns indicate that ongoing day-to-day subsistence activities remained a household priority, and in this way the primary spatial and social organisation within the houses of mid-Republican Sicily is most comparable to those from the Greek east. In a few houses, however, practices more comparable with Roman ideology can be seen in the reception areas of the house, including an axial Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (four houses), possible examples of ideological *tablina* (eight houses) and *triclinia* (six houses), colonnaded gardens (three houses), and small reception or meeting rooms (fifteen houses). This suggests that multiple identities were in play in these houses, and while the more private day-to-day activities persisted in preference for what can be considered a traditional Greek identity, on a public level this began to change to one that was more Roman.[1352] This change, however, happened in only a few houses, and was likely related to the social standing of the home owner.

[1352] Lomas notices a similar trend in public architecture, where the "overall form of the Hellenistic agora" is maintained (i.e. has traditional building types), while other features are "strongly romanised" (Lomas 2000, 170).

While the size or decorative treatment of a house does not have a certain direct correlation to economic standing, nor economic standing to social status, there is likely to be a general relationship between these variables, which allows for some suggestions to be made about the possible social stratification of mid-Republican Sicily, and the varying material responses involved.[1353] In an ethnographic survey of a small group of Kekchi Mayan villages in southern Belize, which were based primarily on a subsistence economy, with varying monetary incomes, Wilk discovered that divergent housing patterns were dependent upon the degree of surplus cash.[1354] In Kekchi communities that are reliant almost solely on subsistence, the housing patterns remain very traditional and relatively uniform, despite any observable differences in the wealth and status of households. Even in areas where there was nominal cash income the basic housing patterns, such as ground plan and construction material, prevailed and any surplus was spent on personal goods. The main difference occurs in those areas where the cash incomes are much higher than the level of the corresponding subsistence economy. Here the surplus is used relatively sparingly on personal goods, while the majority is put toward communal household benefit. An irregular surplus results in the houses basically remaining the same in ground plan or type, but using better quality building materials. As this surplus stabilises, however, and becomes more reliable, non-traditional house types based on the models common for all of rural Belize are constructed. Meanwhile the wealthiest individuals begin…

> … to hire masons and build concrete block houses in a style common in the well-to-do northern parts of Belize.[1355]

There also tends to be a correlation between community dependence and variation. At the basic subsistence level where community dependence is highest, the variation between the

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[1353] For similar discussions on the houses of Delos see Nevett 2010, 87-88, and on those from Pompeii see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, esp. 169-74.
[1354] Wilk 1990.
[1355] Wilk 1990, 37.

houses is the least; the more new cash flow coming into the household, and less dependent it is on community collaboration, the greater the variety. Both of these tendencies are recognisable patterns in the mid-Republican Sicilian material.

Following this ethnographic analogy, I would argue that the houses surveyed are indicative of at least four categories of social stratification (Table D.19). It should be noted, however, that this is a suggestion for social divisions only, not class, nor necessarily overall wealth. For example, at Licata, one of the few instances where the nature of the material remains have been published, these findings are suggestive of high personal wealth, but the houses themselves belong to the 'non-colonnaded house' type, and therefore to the third level of this stratification.[1356] The categories also do not include all levels of social stratification. For instance, houses that would have been representative of the lowest levels, such as non-courtyard houses, as well as single or double room apartments, are not included in this survey. Instead, these are interpretive groupings of the upper levels of social stratification, justified by displays of material wealth such as relative house size, the inclusion of colonnaded porticoes, and the quality of decorative pavement. [1357] With the exception of bath-suites, which would have required an excessive amount of surplus income not only to build but also to maintain, room types were not considered in this classification, and even within this category only the heated immersion tubs were considered to be indicative of the highest level. At the low end are the smallest houses with little to no evidence for decorative treatment, and therefore showing little to no evidence for displays of material wealth; at the top are the largest, most lavishly decorated, houses.

[1356] For a description of some of these remains see for example: De Miro, A. 2004, 140-3, Figs. 30-34; and La Torre 2006, 89, Fig. 12.
[1357] Nevett 2010; and Wallace-Hadrill 1994, esp. 169-74, have used statistical analysis to determine cluster groups, the present study has not. These groups are based upon observable trends. The subjectivity of this is acknowledged by the author, and is one of the areas where future development is proposed.

Predictably, all of the features mentioned above as having reception areas that are comparable with Roman practice (i.e. the axial Type-III (Italian) three-room suite, possible ideological *tablina* and *triclinia*, colonnaded gardens, and small meeting rooms) fall into the upper two categories, and the majority of these features are from only six houses in the highest level (Table D.20). Four houses from this level, however, preserve no such features. For two this could be representative of their construction date, as both Iato01 and Mor01 are among the earliest constructed colonnaded-courtyard houses in this study, and though they preserve evidence for renovations during the second century BC, there is little evidence for changes in the ground plan of the original courtyard (e.g. the bath-suite of Iato01 is located in the new courtyard), nor for new decorative pavements. For a further argument as to what this could represent see below. The third house (Seg01) is only partially excavated, with only a single main room visible; it remains to be seen whether or not these features were present in this house. The fourth, from Tindari, though it does not preserve evidence for any of the 'reception room' types familiar with Roman practice, is one of the two possible multiple-courtyard houses, which might involve a reception hall and colonnaded courtyard sequence (the other, Morg09, is also included in this level). Tin01 and a fifth house in this level (Iato02) also preserve the only two possible examples in those houses surveyed of a narrow entrance room that is similar to an Italian *fauces*. The remaining six houses from this top level have all four instances of the Type-III (Italian) three-room suite, all three colonnaded gardens, and five of a possible eight ideological *tablina*. Additionally, all six (out of a total of twelve to fifteen houses from all levels) have small reception or meeting rooms, and five (out of a total of six houses from all levels) have long rooms which could have served as *triclinia*. It is tempting to suggest that these six houses (Morg02; Morg08; Morg09; Pal01; Sol01; and Sol07) along with that from Tindari (Tin01) were designed to include the entertainment of Roman elite (see below). Even if this was not the case, as Wilk's analysis above suggests, they were fashioning their houses along different models, and in so doing

distinguishing themselves from the other social levels. The question remains, however, what the motivation behind this was, with at least two plausible suggestions.

One possibility is that these buildings were houses that were taken over by newly arrived Italian residents to the island.[1358] The new owners modified already existing residences to include room types and spatial sequence, more familiar to their own lifestyle. This is perhaps most convincing for Mor09, Tin01, Morg02, and Pal01. The first two examples provide possible reception hall and colonnaded courtyard sequence examples, though only one of these preserves evidence that may suggest the back courtyard was a garden. The last two examples also provide evidence for colonnaded gardens that could possibly be part of a multiple-courtyard house. The division of Morg02 into two separate houses in the second century BC is not fully convincing, and Pal01 is only partially excavated. Its neighbour, however, which was heavily modified during the Imperial period, and therefore not included in this survey, does suggest a double courtyard, one of which was also a garden, and could be suggestive of features common in the area. Further, the rooms surrounding the colonnaded garden of Pal01 are also Roman influenced, particularly the Type-III (Italian) three-room suite, and its decorative pavements.

A second, and more convincing, suggestion is that these are not houses of Italians, but of local Sicilians who gained a new surplus in monetary wealth that the new province, and more specifically the *lex Hieronica*, and perhaps an *auxilia gymnasia*, brought with it.[1359] In essence these are houses of a *nouveau riche*, and they represent one aspect of the Mediterranean-wide Hellenistic trend of competition among local elites, with a focus being put on legitimising their new standing within the new social order. This legitimisation was

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[1358] Wilson 1990a, 32; and Wilson 1990b, 76, suggest that the few examples of '*atrium*' with '*peristyle*' could be homes of Italian residents.
[1359] For similar suggestions of these houses being representative of a local elite with particular ties to Rome see: Portale 1997, 101; Wilson 2000a, 151; Bell 2005, 98; and Prag 2007, 98. For a discussion on the *lex Hieronica* see Serrati 2000b, esp. 123-6. For the *auxilia gymnasia* see Prag 2007.

done in two related ways. The first was to display familiarity with Greek culture, to highlight their 'Greek' identity, and align themselves with Hellenic centres, such as Syracuse, as a means of validating their new status (see also section 6.3). The second was simultaneously to integrate new trends appearing in Italy. Doing this would set them apart from established social levels, while at the same time it would align them with members of the new ruling elite, with which they had an exclusive relationship, and therefore highlight their 'Roman' identity.[1360] They could essentially choose, depending on context, and audience, which cultural affiliation best suited their needs.[1361] In this way they provide a good example of Wallace-Hadrill's code-switching, and suggest that the associated 'power' lied in the hand of the local Sicilian as well.[1362]

This scenario could also explain the lack of Roman influence on houses such as Iato01, Iato02, and Morg01, as well as many of the houses from the second proposed social level. These latter examples are not houses of the newly rich, so there would have been less need for them to distinguish their social status or to follow models from Italy. This is not to say that they were not benefitting from a cash surplus, but this was not a new situation for them, as theirs was 'old money', with less need to validate an already entrenched social status.[1363] Competition of the elite and displays of wealth and opulence continued for both parties, but the manner and degree to which this was done was very different.

Such an argument is also not contrary to Vitruvius' discussion on how houses should be suited to the status of the owner.[1364] He suggests that money lenders (*faenerator*) and

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[1360] For similar a suggestion see Campagna 2011, 179.
[1361] Lomas 2000, 161.
[1362] Wallace-Hadrill 1998; and Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 17-28. See also Chapter 1.
[1363] De Miro 2009, 387-8, in his discussion on the colonnaded-courtyard houses at Agrigento, which are heavily modified in the early Imperial period and not included in this survey, speaks of an aristocratic and bourgeois class as the difference between the large and small peristyles at Agrigento. His interpretation is opposite to the one offered here, however, where he sees the large houses (Peristyle I and V) being more similar to those of the Greek East, such as the houses below the acropolis at Pergamon, with the smaller houses being more similar to those at Delos and Pompeii.
[1364] Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.5.

tax collectors (*publicanus*) should have larger (*commodiora*) and more showy (*speciosiora*) homes, that public figures (*forensibus et disertis*) should have rooms to accommodate meetings (*conventus exipiundos*), while the true aristocracy (*nobilibus vero*) should have lofty entrance courts (*atria*) and colonnaded (*peristylia*) gardens with walkways (*silvae ambulationesque*). The mid-Republican Sicilian, who was not a citizen of Rome, but of a largely autonomous political and administrative system, and was therefore not bound by the trappings of Roman Republican class or tradition, could have fulfilled any of these roles simultaneously, and chosen any combination of these domestic features to validate their position within them.

In her examination of public architecture and social institutions of Imperial Roman Sicily, Lomas suggests a differing response between the elite and non-elite, with the former having "a much greater openness to Roman culture".[1365] A similar pattern is noticed in the private sphere as early as the mid-Republican period, with those houses likely belonging to people of lower social standing (i.e. the non-colonnaded-courtyard houses) retaining largely traditional features, while those of a higher status (i.e. colonnaded-courtyard houses) beginning to incorporate Italic features, particularly in those sections of the house which were more 'public' and intended for the reception of guests, who were potentially members of the Roman elite.[1366] The Roman elite, however, according to Wallace-Hadrill, were engaged their own 'cultural revolution', with many absorbing and transforming practices from the Greek world, and Portale reminds us that it was after the fall of Syracuse that the explosion of philhellenism began in Rome.[1367]

[1365] Lomas 2000, 170.
[1366] Campagna 2011, 167.
[1367] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, for houses in particular see pp. 190-6. Portale 2001-2002, 62-3; and Portale 2007, 151. For Syracusan booty being taken to Rome see Polyb. 9.10.1; Livy 25.40; 26.21; and Plut. *Marc.* 21.1-5.

This is where a true dialogue of ideological multiplicity begins, and the question remains as to who, or what, is stimulating cultural influence in mid-Republican Sicily. Is Sicily an entity unto itself, with little to no external influence and driven primarily by intra-insular stimuli? Are the typically 'Greek' features seen in the domestic architecture of the island a continuing trend of 'Hellenisation' of the island, or are they driven more by 'Romanisation' and reflective of the Roman interest in Greek education and culture? Furthermore, is what we interpret as 'Greek' influence coming directly from Hellenistic Greek centres to Sicily, or via Rome where 'Hellenising' trends are in vogue? Likewise, is Rome taking their models for Hellenic culture from Greece, or from the cities of Magna Graecia, including Sicily? The answer is probably a combination of all of these, and that cultural influence of the island during the mid-Republican period was as multifaceted as the people living within it.

A more interesting question, however, is not whence is Greek influence coming (i.e. from Greece itself, Greek-foundation settlements in Sicily or Magna Greacia, or in imitation of Roman elite practice), but more why a Sicilian elite member would chose to display affinities for Greek ideas and practices. If they were themselves 'Greek' an excuse is not really needed; they are just 'doing their thing,' albeit perhaps in a provincial kind of way. The fact remains, however, that the majority of the extant evidence for the so-called 'Greek' colonnaded houses in Sicily, especially from the second century BC, comes from settlements that did not have a Greek foundation. For the non-Greek Sicilian the decision to display their 'Greek-ness' could be because they had relations with Greek Sicilians, it could also be that they simply liked Greek things, or, as the island turns to Roman hegemony, it could be in imitation of Roman elites, who were also fond of Greek culture. Campagna suggests that this was a response of "a need to adopt a common language, a language shared by their main interlocutors".[1368] Of course, Sicilian expressions of Greek culture could

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[1368] Campagna 2011, 179.

themselves be influencing Roman ideas of what is properly 'Hellenic': Rome would recognise the Greek roots of parts of Sicily, as they would of the rest of Magna Graecia, and likely consider it just as legitimate an expression of refined 'Greek-ness' as anything coming from the Aegean.

The key issue is that there is no easy methodological way of looking at expressions of Greek influence in mid-Republican Sicilian communities, nor determining with any certainty just who is influencing whom. Therefore, it is reductionist and very probably often wrong to simply assume the expression of Greek-influence can be equated with feelings of Greek affinity. As the political power of Greece itself, and the Greek settlements of Sicily, is eclipsed by Rome, one has to at least consider that Greek influenced materials and features of new Sicilian houses are as much a reflection of the alignment with Rome as they are with any 'Greek' source. When there appears to be multiple influences working within the same house, then it seems more likely that such influences are being mediated or filtered through other, possibly non-Greek, channels. Unless one is willing to argue for a Greek identity being promoted as some sort of defiance against Roman control (which would be a pointless gesture, considering the Romans for the most part celebrated Greek culture), an argument that recognises that the continuity of Greek influence in parts of Sicily may be disguising the changing power dynamic amongst elites is feasible.

Portale believes that the *opus vermiculatum* pavements, along with other decorative features of the mid-Republican period in Sicily, show that there was a limited privileged class that was following the models of luxury and comfort – most directly from Syracuse – but that this class was favoured by the new socio-economic situation determined by Roman conquest. She argues that Sicily is now within the larger cultural and economic Mediterranean circuit, and taking a variety of decorative solutions from both centres (Greek

east and central-south Italy).[1369] As the above summary and analysis has attempted to show, her argument of using a variety of solutions from multiple centres can be made for many of the features of Sicilian domestic architecture, and the role that Roman conquest played in this will be explored further in the subsequent conclusions.

[1369] Portale 1997, 101; Portale 2001-2002, esp. 87; and Portale 2007, esp.160-1.

Chapter 7: Conclusion – The Socio-cultural Impact of Roman Hegemony on Sicilian Urban Domestic Architecture: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Contact during the Mid-Republican Period

A recent discussion on the houses of Hellenistic Sicily is found in Isler's 2010 survey where he concludes:

> …. that for the simpler structures, Hellenistic domestic architecture in Sicily simply continues the traditions of the Classical period. The new building type was the peristyle house, which during the course of the 4th century was taken from Greece and developed independently.[1370]

The situation, however, is not as 'simple' as this statement suggests. Sicily is an island that was positioned in the midst of a geographical area where Greek, Punic, and Roman urban centres were all present, and multiple influences, not just Greek or Sicilian, were undoubtedly in play in shaping domestic architecture. Furthermore, Isler's assessment obscures the fact that the domestic architecture of the island during the mid-Republican period provides us with a didactic tool to explore Sicilian cultural responses to this multiplicity under the new political, social, and economic hegemony of Rome.[1371]

7.1 NON-COLONNADED-COURTYARD HOUSES

The plans of the non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of mid-Republican Sicily are reminiscent of better known examples from the Classical period. This includes being (en)closed, inward-looking, environments that have a relatively small number of rooms, the majority of which having narrow doorways, accessed by means of an open courtyard. They also have larger, more open, main rooms more commonly on the north or east side of the housing plot, with

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[1370] "*... dass die hellenistische Wohnarchitektur Siziliens für die einfacheren Bauten die Tradition der klassichen Zeit einfach weiterführt. Dazu wurde der neue Bautypus des Peristylhauses in Lauf des 4. Jhs. aus Griechenland übernommen und selbständig weiterentwickelt.*"
Isler 2010, 324. Translation: author.
[1371] For a brief discussion with a similar theme for public and private architecture see Campagna 2011.

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Chapter 7: Conclusion – The Socio-cultural Impact of Roman Hegemony on Sicilian Urban Domestic Architecture: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Contact during the Mid-Republican Period

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occasional evidence for the inclusion of a hip-bath, which is associated with a food-preparation area. And finally there is a further, single, room apparently intended for the reception of guests. Other features, however, such as the canonical broad portico or a single colonnade to provide access to the main rooms of the house, are seen in only a few examples. Moreover, this description does not automatically distinguish a 'Greek' house from a 'Punic' house, and there are many features of a number of the non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of mid-Republican Sicily which could specifically suggest Punic features, such as a long laterally placed entranceway, a narrow open corridor that serves as the primary organisation space, and small secluded rooms. Daniels correctly argues that the similarities between Greek and Punic houses are likely examples of mutual, not diffused, imitation, and making a distinction as to whether or not these features are attributable to a specific cultural repertoire can only be made in areas where one of these cultures was mutually exclusive.[1372] Sicily was not one of these areas.

Further, the non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of Sicily do not follow a standard plan, despite being characterised as such.[1373] While the spatial organisation of Nevett's 'single-entrance courtyard house' type can be loosely applied to all examples, in that control of movement within the house, along with separation of outsiders from insiders, can be postulated, the houses of Sicily are regional variations of this type.[1374] Moreover, there are fundamental differences in this spatial organisation among different Sicilian sites, which suggests intraregional, site-specific preferences. The occupational histories of the associated settlements are likely to have played a role in these preferences. For instance, the houses at Licata could be interpreted as outward expressions of a traditional Greek identity by the citizens of one of the original Greek *poleis* on the island, whose city was

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[1372] Daniels 1995, 93.
[1373] See in particular La Torre 2006.
[1374] Nevett 1999, esp. 138-148. See also Chapter 2.

destroyed by a Sicilian tyrant of one of their own colonies, causing its people to be relocated. Meanwhile, Solunto, a settlement of Phoenicio-Carthaginian origin, and Heraclea Minoa, a Greek foundation on the so-called border of the Carthaginian *epikrateia*, both retain features that are suggestive of a Phoenicio-Carthaginian heritage. This includes the lateral courtyards and corridors at Solunto, and the U-shape reception sequence in at least three houses at Heraclea Minoa. This is not to say that these are the houses of a remaining Phoenicio-Carthaginian population, but that some Punic social practices and ideologies remained meaningful and influenced building practices. Heraclea Minoa is also specifically important as it provides clues towards changes in priorities of domestic space that occurred while under Roman hegemony. There is, for example, evidence for a colonnaded-courtyard house alongside these non-colonnaded buildings. The porticoes of this colonnade are very narrow, and it is likely that this feature was a later addition to the house. This, therefore, suggests an increase in personal wealth for some residents, along with a desire to include features from public architecture that are common in houses from other sites on the island. Heraclea Minoa also provides evidence of later non-colonnaded-courtyard houses that are more characteristic of a settlement in decline, and show a change in priority for domestic architecture from social interaction to subsistence activity.

The non-colonnaded-courtyard houses of mid-Republican Sicily are often overlooked in the discussions of domestic architecture during this period. This is unfortunate, for they provide a diverse collection of buildings that offer vital clues towards the ideological, social, and economic needs of the Sicilian populace while under the initial stages of Roman rule. Such is their variety that it is impossible for them to be summarised in a single sentence. While they combine customs traditionally associated with the Greek and Punic worlds, they do not reflect a simple imitation of these buildings, but instead intraregional variations and preference. One thing that they do share, however, is an apparent absence of Roman

influence upon their room types and spatial organisation. The same cannot be said for the other house types.

7.2 COLONNADED-COURTYARD HOUSES

While it is clear that the colonnaded-courtyard houses of mid-Republican Sicily share similarities with, and were influenced by, Greek practice, Italy needs to be considered just as valid a source for such influence, and the Punic world basically needs to be considered at all. Returning to Isler's statement above, merely stating that the new 'peristyle' house was taken from Greece during the fourth century BC discounts the fact that among the earliest Sicilian evidence we have for a colonnaded-courtyard house with decorative pavements comes from Punic Motya, and following his own (controversial) dating of Monte Iato, the next is found at an Elymian settlement within the Carthaginian *epikrateia*.[1375] Though both of these sites show evidence for Greek contacts and influence, they are not themselves 'Greek' *poleis*, and similar evidence from Greek settlements does not appear on the island until the mid-third-century-BC at the earliest, and more commonly much later. This late date may be due to the state of archaeological survival, and while it is probable that contemporary Syracuse, a political, economic, and cultural hub, had similar houses during both the fourth and third centuries BC, a similar argument can also be made for Palermo, which was the principal Punic settlement on Sicily. Regardless, this remains an argument

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[1375] The date for the Casa dei Mosaici at Motya is also debated. The site of Motya was destroyed in ca. 397 BC, and the house is traditionally dated to just before this. For the house in general and a fifth- to fourth- centuries-BC date see for example: Whitaker 1921, 194-202, esp. 198, Tav. F, and Fig. 24 A and B; and Isserlin and du Plat Taylor 1974, 90. For more recent discussions of the mosaics in particular see for example: Tusa 1997; and Famà 1997. Diod. Sic. 14.48.2, also makes a point of Motya having numerous fine houses. Von Boeselager dates the mosaics to the third century BC (for the mosaics in general see: von Boeselager 1983, 15-20). This is supported by Wilson who argues that the stone-built courtyard is "uncomfortably early for the late fifth century" (Wilson 1985c, 299), because it would be even earlier than the stone colonnade of ca. 360/336 BC in the Macedonian palace at Vergina (Wilson, personal communication), which is probably the earliest example in a domestic setting (cf. Kottaridi 2011, 235, 'the first in Greek architecture). Even if a third-century-BC date is accepted for the Casa dei Mosaici, it remains an early example of a stone colonnaded-courtyard house in Sicily, contemporary with those at Morgantina, and within the Carthaginian *epikrateia*.

from silence, and one cannot assume *a priori* that Syracuse acted as the only source of influence for the remaining settlements of the island, especially those which were more closely associated politically and economically with Carthage. There are also multiple examples from the domestic architecture evidence that suggest retention, adoption, and adaptation of Punic practices in Sicily well into the second century BC, including the use of *opus signinum*, construction of elliptical water tanks, and the incorporation of communal bath-suites.[1376] Again, it is likely that we are seeing a continuing cross-cultural dialogue in this combination or blending of customs, not only between Greek and Punic settlements (e.g. Syracuse, Motya, and Palermo), but across the island (e.g. Monte Iato, Morgantina et al.), and eventually with Italian settlements (e.g. Campania) from at least the fourth century BC.

Within the majority of houses of mid-Republican Sicily it is possible to interpret a separation of the areas between those intended primarily for domestic activity of those living within and those intended more for reception of those living outside of it. Of particular importance, though, is that while the domestic areas maintained traditional features comparable to Greek, and sometimes Punic, practice, the reception areas began to integrate specific features traditionally associated with the houses from Italy. Such a public façade would seem to have identity implications (see below). In possibly two examples there is a physical separation comparable to the reception hall and colonnaded courtyard combinations canonically seen in Campania, and its occurrence in Sicily was probably influenced by contact with Italy.

There are additional departures from a general 'Greek' mentality in the reception areas of the single courtyard house as well. For instance, while the majority of rooms that presumably held a reception or multi-purpose function are characteristic of a Mediterranean-

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[1376] *Contra* Tsakirgis who sees the bath-suites as Greek-influenced "manifestation[s] of luxury" and argues that *opus signinum* "should not be seen as proof of Punic influence" (Tsakirgis 2009, 118).

wide trend to have large gathering spaces, some of which are open to the courtyard (i.e. the *oikos* / *oecus*, *tablinum*, *exedra*, and main room in the Punic house), a few begin to incorporate types more familiar in the Roman west. This includes the axial Italian three-room suite, with its central showpiece (the *tablinum*) and independent flanking subsidiaries (*triclinia*). Though the Sicilian examples of this group of three rooms are traditionally associated with similar suites seen in Macedonian houses, during the second century BC this feature is more analogous to those seen in Campania, and in one instance (Morg08) an example of the former type is physically transformed into the latter, clearly speaking of a new intention.[1377] In addition, there are examples of the inclusion of a colonnaded garden into the house plan in at least three of the houses. This is undeniably a feature that is borrowed from Italy, and which blends elements of Greek and Roman ideology.[1378] The symbolism that this feature provided may have differed for the Sicilian house owner from that of the Roman. For example, in Sicily the colonnade could have embodied the home owner's cultural heritage, while the garden represented his role in the provision of Rome's storehouse. Regardless, it is a feature of the reception repertoire that is beginning to integrate Roman practice.[1379] Related to the idea of the Sicilian elites' role in the agrarian surplus of the island is the provision of smaller, more intimate reception or meeting rooms surrounding some of the Sicilian courtyards. If only a small number of these are comparable to rooms seen in Roman houses (*cubicula*), and had similar functions, they still provide us with further examples of a modification in the social patterning of the Sicilian household from that of the Classical Greek or Punic house. The courtyard, which was once exclusively a 'private' domain, centred on daily subsistence, has developed into a more 'public' place, not

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[1377] For discussions on the three-room suite in Sicily see: Tsakirgis 1984; Isler 1996; Wölf 1998; Wölf 2003; Tsakirgis 2009; and Isler 2010.

[1378] See Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3.

[1379] For Sicily being perceived as Rome's storehouse see for example: Cic. *Verr*. 2.2.2.5; and Strab. 6.2.7.

only for the entertainment of various guests, but also, similar to the Roman Republican house, for the transaction of business.[1380] In this sense it functioned as an *atrium*, and though this trend is seen earlier in the Hellenistic east, it is best paralleled with developments in the Roman west. The Hellenistic Greek, or mid-Republican Sicilian, may have had no political use for an *atrium*, but the socio-economic functions of some of its features would have been beneficial for those living within, and flourishing under, the new hegemony.[1381]

7.3   THE BIGGER PICTURE: SICILY WITHIN THE MEDITERRANEAN

The houses of Sicily did not 'develop independently' in isolation.[1382] Though intra-insular imitation was most likely a primary stimulus, the colonnaded-courtyard houses also fit perfectly well into a general Mediterranean-wide Hellenistic-house type. This concordance includes multiple reception rooms of varying sizes suggesting a variety of contacts with people of differing social status, as well as increased accessibility, and in many instances a courtyard or garden that is now organised towards the reception of guests, rather than the traditional focus on subsistence activities. Related to this, many of the features of the colonnaded-courtyard houses are reflections of the Hellenistic trend of increased opulence and luxury, and incorporating aspects of public architecture into the domestic setting, particularly the colonnaded portico itself. All of these features, however, are common to both Italy and Greece during the second century BC, and suggest a change in not only the priorities of spatial organisation, but also their related social practices. The fact that Roman

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[1380] For this Hellenistic-wide trend of the more utilitarian domestic courtyard of the Classical period being supplanted by a larger, more decorative, courtyard intended for reception see: Nevett 1999, esp. 165; Nevett 2002, esp.91; and Nevett 2007b, esp. 220-2.
[1381] "*Atriis Graeci quia non utuntur, neque aedificant….*"
The Greeks, having no use for atria, do not build them….
Vitr. *De arch.* 6.7.1. Translation: Morgan 1914, 185.
[1382] Campagna 2011, 179.

political and economic expansion throughout the Mediterranean played a role in these changes cannot be excluded.[1383]

There is also a need to consider how material influences travel in multiple directions, and that Sicily was just as capable of influencing Greek and Roman centres. As Aiosa suggests, with only a few exceptions, primarily those at Morgantina, there is a widespread view of Sicily as a marginal area, which was conservative in the acquisition of new models.[1384] Yet Sicily provides some of the earliest examples of colonnaded-courtyard houses, and associated decorative pavements, across the Mediterranean. There is no reason to assume that the island, which was geographically central and culturally diverse, did not have a more proactive role as a (re)interpreter and transmitter of practices. This is perhaps most obvious in the development and dissemination of *opus signinum* and the all-over decorative pattern: the Sicilian pavements not only fit firmly into the western tradition, but are also likely to have helped develop it.[1385] This is especially true of the motifs, which, though they were likely to have found inspiration from the eastern traditions of pebble and tessellated mosaics, were nonetheless ultimately different, and translated into the *opus signinum* technique, which was itself inspired by similar pavements in Punic North Africa. A similar argument can be made for the domestic bath-suite that blended Greek tradition with Punic communal bathing custom in the domestic setting. Both of these features were eventually transmitted to Roman Italy, and this was likely done through contact with Sicily.

Sicily is also likely to have played a role in other features that are traditionally considered as evidence of eastern Greek influence on the Roman west. For example, some

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[1383] For discussions on the Hellenistic house-type, including the incorporation of public features into the domestic setting, and Rome's involvement in the changing of priorities and social patterns see for example Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 71 (also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 27); Dickman 1997, esp. 124-127; Trümper 1998; Nevett 1999, esp. 161-6; Westgate 2000b; Nevett 2002; Nevett 2007b, 216-22; Nevett 2010, 63-88; and Westgate 2010.
[1384] Aiosa 2004, 52.
[1385] Joyce 1979, 259; Greco 1997; Joly 1997, esp. 37. See also Wilson 1990a, 31; and Wilson in press. For a discussion of Sicily as a possible influence of other techniques see Portale 2001-2002, 78-89.

of the earliest examples of *opus tessellatum* are seen in Sicily in the third-century-BC

pavements of Morgantina, and these, along with probable, though no longer extant,

contemporaries from additional settlements on the island, were likely instrumental in the

distribution and development of the technique.[1386] Additionally, between the end of the

second and beginning of the first centuries BC, the presence of *opus vermiculatum* and

opus sectile pavements of Sicily, which are similar in number, date, technique, and subject

matter with those of Campania, but largely dissimilar from contemporary examples from the

Greek east, suggests a western interregional stimulus largely devoid of direct eastern

influence. Similarly, Spatafora and Mancini compare some Sicilian colonnaded-courtyard

houses with similar houses in Campania, which appear in Italy during the second century

BC, but have no clear evidence for predecessors. These authors challenge the general

assumption that the influence on the Italian examples comes directly from the Hellenistic

east, and argue that the large colonnaded courtyards of Sicily, which signify a departure

from precursors seen in the rest of the island at the end of the third century BC, but with no

obvious chronological gap, acted as mediators, and therefore are evidence of influence on

Italy, not the other way around.[1387] It may be inferred that the owners and builders of these

houses, and their tessellated mosaics, in both Campania and Sicily, are attempting to show

familiarity with Greek culture through these features. They are not, however, simply

reproducing copies, but are reinterpreting them to satisfy their own socio-cultural needs,

such as legitimising social status under a newly formed Roman hegemony.

     The resemblance of the houses of mid-Republican Sicily with those of Delos should

also not be overlooked, but here again the influence need not be unidirectional. Delos was

an important Mediterranean port during the second century BC and would have been a

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[1386] For the *opus tessellatum* pavements at Morgantina see esp.: Phillips 1960; von Boeselager 1983, 20-24; Tsakirgis 1989a; and Bell 2011.

[1387] Spatafora and Montali 2006, 139-40. The example that they use is the House of the Silver Wedding at Pompeii.

cosmopolitan hub of cultures and ideas.[1388] In this sense it would have been a microcosm of mid-Republican Sicily, and it is possible to propose similar material culture responses between the two. That is not to say, however, that any similarities should be attributed to cultural convergence alone. It is highly probable that ideas and materials, if not people, were travelling directly between Delos and Sicily, which was during this period a production centre of grain, wine, and olive products.[1389] Along similar lines, Trümper states:

> ….it has to remain open whether Delos can be regarded as representative for Hellenistic Greek cities or whether the characteristics of its domestic architecture are a result of its specific status as a free port.[1390]

Many of the houses from Sicily surveyed date to the same period as those of Delos, if not earlier; there is no reason to assume that Sicily did not have an active role in the development of the characteristics of the 'Hellenistic' or 'Delian' colonnaded-courtyard-house type.

7.4   THE EVEN BIGGER PICTURE: SICILY WITHIN MODERN DISCOURSE

The similarities between Sicily and Delos provide a good transition into a proposal that the houses of mid-Republican Sicily allow us to make at least tentative inferences about identities under a new hegemony. Delos – an island in the Greek Cyclades inhabited by traders from across the Mediterranean, with political links to Athens, but ultimately under Roman hegemony, and with particular links to trade with Campania – is often used as an illustration of the expression of multiple cultural identities within a heterogeneous area. For instance, the axial symmetry of the entranceway, courtyard, and main room such as can be seen in the Maison des Dauphins and Maison du Trident (Figure 2.7), or intermittent pavements of *opus signinum*, have been used as possible evidence for Italian residents,

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[1388] Trümper 2007; and Nevett 2010, 69.
[1389] For recent comments of Sicily as a centre for trade see for example Pinzone 2000, 866; and Campagna 2011, 178.
[1390] Trümper 2007, 333.

while the occurrence of pavements with the 'sign of Tanit' could suggest the possible presence of at least one Phoenicio-Carthaginian on the island.[1391] Recently Nevett has tackled this theme, and her conclusions that the houses of Delos, along with other 'Greek' settlements under Roman rule, offer evidence for changing social norms and practices and adopt some of the "underlying visual language" of the Campanian houses, provide the baseline for much of the analysis in this study.[1392]

The degree of these changes varies, however, and they are not ubiquitous. This advocates that only a certain portion of the population was embracing the new alternatives. The conclusions suggested here for Sicily are similar to those that Nevett argues for Delos, though it is proposed that the first group of Sicilian houses is largely representative of a social stratum of a Sicilian *nouveau riche* with their fortune directly related to the political and economic hegemony of Italy.[1393] In this group a combination of cultural practices, and identities, were adopted as a means of justifying and securing their new found social status. As contact and competition between the elite peer groups across the Mediterranean increased, and were likely reinforced through the reception of guests, both Roman and non-Roman, the mid-Republican Sicilians had an active dialogue, not only in their own cultural transformation, but also in developments that were happening across the Mediterranean during the second century BC.

In the early stages of research for this study it was suspected that variations in the Sicilian patterns of domestic architecture would be recognisable between different regions and different settlement types, and that this too could be an indicator of ethnic or cultural identity. This is reflected in the decision to divide the evidence above into different chapters

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[1391] References to this are too numerous to list in their entirety. Some examples from the appended bibliography include Graham 1966, 11; Joyce 1979, 256; Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 84; Dunbabin 1999, 33; Tang 2005, esp. 57-63; and Westgate 2007a, 320.
[1392] Nevett 2010, 87. See also Nevett 2002.
[1393] For Nevett's conclusion see Nevett 2010, 86-8.

according to the proposed 'ethnic' or cultural origin of the settlements within which they are located. Such patterns do occur. The most striking of these is that with the exception of Tindari the largest and best decorated houses of mid-Republican Sicily come from the non-Greek settlement types, with the earliest being found at the interior indigenous settlements of Morgantina and Monte Iato.[1394] This is not an explanation, however, nor does it clarify the stimulus behind this pattern. This is also to some extent an argument from silence in that many of the major Greek sites (e.g. Syracuse) are covered by modern cities, and we are uncertain of nature of domestic architecture during the mid-Republican period from these sites. It is believed, however, that these are representative of major trends for the second century BC.[1395] For example, though colonnaded-courtyard houses dating to the third century BC are also known from settlements founded by Greeks, it is likely as significant that the prosperity of many of these sites no longer continues after Roman occupation (e.g. Megara Hyblaia), or that the construction of colonnaded-courtyard houses is delayed by another century (e.g. at Agrigento). It is postulated, therefore, that visible cultural affiliation during the second century BC was accentuated by a settlement's relationship with Rome, and in this way we can begin to speak of Sicily as an early illustration of the processes involved in so-called 'Romanisation'.

Over the past ten to fifteen years Sicilian scholarship has begun to discuss a similar theme, with some authors recognising that there is a stark contrast in the developments of those settlements located in the north-western section of the island, and particularly along the Tyrrhenian sea, from those along the southern and eastern coasts, which could be a reflection of the relationship between these settlements and the new hegemonic power of

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[1394] Even if we accept the down dating of the houses at Monte Iato to the first quarter of the second century BC, they are still being constructed as much as a generation before those at the majority of the remaining sites where the colonnaded-courtyard houses generally date to the end of the second century BC.
[1395] See also Campagna 2011; and La Torre 2004b below.

Rome.[1396] Camerata Scovazzo provided an early illustration of this and suggested that while

Segesta was elaborated on the model of the cities of Asia Minor, it was her status as a

civitas immunis et libera that allowed the process of renovation and monumentalisation to

occur, and that the late Hellenistic *koine* to which it belonged was determined by the political

stability imposed by the *pax romana*.[1397] This latter theme of a Republican *pax romana* was

suggested by Wilson in 1985, and though often cited, its impact for the pre-Augustan period

in Sicily is seldom discussed in any detail.[1398] This is unfortunate for as Serrati concludes,

but never really explains, it is this stability that:

> …brought unprecedented prosperity to the island, and preserved the
> distinctive mixture of Greek, Punic and Roman culture that made Sicily
> unique.[1399]

This prosperity, however, was not uniform across the island, particularly during the second

century BC, and this fact provides us with a good example of how the ancient sources can

be fruitfully used to help interpret the archaeology.

Urban monumentalisation in both public and private architecture is seen during the

mid-Republican period in those sites surveyed that are located along the northern and

western section of the island. This starts with Marsala, a coastal (Punic) site on the western

tip of the island, includes the (Elymian) interior hill-top towns of Segesta and Monte Iato to

the north, continues eastward with the promontories of (Punic) Palermo and Solunto, and

ends with Tindari, located on the western end of the eastern tip of the island. Though this

latter site was founded by Greeks, it had most recently been under Carthaginian control, and

had early ties of alliance and fidelity to Rome. While Campagna admits that the visible trend

of monumentalisation in this region could be partially due to the chances of survival and so

of archaeological research, he believes that it is more likely to represent real differences that

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[1396] See in particular: Pinzone 2000; La Torre 2004b; Portale 2007; and Campagna 2011.
[1397] Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 115-6.
[1398] For the concept of the *pax romana* of the early province see Wilson 1985a.
[1399] Serrati 2000a, 114.

are reflective of multiple variables, including not only the location and economic situation of this section of the island, which was instigated from Rome, but also of the Roman attitude towards "the native communities and to the Greek cities."[1400] This 'attitude' can be seen in several related cases. For instance, of the five *civitates sine foedere immunes ac liberae* none were of Greek origin, four were located in the west, and all preserve evidence, both literary and archaeological, for urban development during the second century BC.[1401] While this special status, which we interpret as meaning they were exempt from paying a tithe and were politically autonomous, is most likely to be a result of their fidelity to Rome during the Punic Wars, their location, and what we perceive at least as their ethnic origin cannot be overlooked.[1402] For example, being situated along the Tyrrhenian coast, a major trade route to and from Rome and Campania, was not only economically advantageous, but was also an area that has long evidence for contact with Rome.[1403] Further to this, Pinzone suggests that the permanent residence of the first *quaestor*, and later a *praetor*, in western Sicily at Marsala (*Lilybaeum*) was not only a military and economic post, but was probably also intended to control maritime traffic, and was at least initially installed to satisfy the peculiarity of the historical and cultural (Punic and Elymian) traditions in that area.[1404]

Understanding why satisfying these traditions would be beneficial to both Rome and Sicily can be inferred from the history of the region, and they likely lie in the maintenance of long-standing trade networks. The Roman and Carthaginian treaties, dating between ca. 509 and 279 BC, are early evidence of these networks, and suggest commercial contacts

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[1400] Campagna 2011, 162-3. See also La Torre 2004b, esp. 111-6.

[1401] For the *civitates sine foedere immunes ac liberae* see Cic. *Verr*. 2.3.6.13. These are *Centuripae*, *Halaesa*, *Segesta*, *Halicyae* and *Panormus*. Earlier Cicero lists only *Halaesa*, *Centuripae*, *Segesta*, and *Halicyae* as immunes liberosque (Cic. Verr. 2.2.69.166). For similar discussions see: Pinzone 2000, esp. 852-3; La Torre 2004b, 115; and Campagna 2011, 162-3.

[1402] *Centuripae* and *Halaesa* are Sikel foundation settlements (though *Centuripae* was linked with the settlement of *Lanuvium* in Latium, and therefore Rome, through their common 'Trojan' origins), *Segesta* and *Halycyae* are Elymian (therefore also linked with Rome through common origins), and *Panormus* is Phoenicio-Carthaginian.

[1403] Pinzone 2000, 855.

[1404] Pinzone 2000, 859-60.

between Rome and the settlements of Punic Sicily for at least two centuries, which could be upheld, built upon, and consolidated once it was incorporated as a province.[1405] This is also specifically the territory of the first Roman province. For a generation, between ca. 241 and 215 BC, while Hieron II of Syracuse retained economic control of his region, which encompassed much of the eastern section of the island, and incidentally many Greek foundations, Rome was for the first time in possession of a foreign territory: the remainder of the island. The majority of the settlements within the new province were either indigenous or Phoenicio-Carthaginian foundations, or had been under the Carthaginian *epikrateia*. During this period of 'peace', Rome and these settlements were continuing to forge and consolidate political, social, and economic relationships by building upon previous interactions. Although there is evidence of revolts from some of these settlements at the outset of the Second Punic War, when Syracuse, along with other Greek colonies such as *Agrigentum* sided with Carthage against Rome, the Sicilian portion of the 'Hannibalic War' was relatively short and basically concluded within five years. Essentially, Rome and those areas of the first province continued to reinforce and build upon already established relationships. Because Rome had a treaty with Hieron, however, and not the individual settlements within his territory, similar relationships in south eastern Sicily did not previously exist, so new treaties and relationships needed to be forged once Hieron's territory was also incorporated into the province.

The ideological and practical implications of the *prima provincia*, along with the recent revolt of the Sicilian 'Greek' *poleis*, are likely to have had an impact on Rome's attitude towards the settlements of north-western Sicily during the second century BC. Probably also factoring into this were the four Macedonian wars, being fought at the same time as the Second and Third Punic Wars, and it is likely not coincidence that the historical

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[1405] Pinzone 2000, 865; and La Torre 2004b, 143. For the treaties between Rome and Carthage see Polyb. 3.22.1 – 3.27.10.

tradition has both Corinth and Carthage destroyed in 146 BC.[1406] At this time, approximately

halfway through the time parameters set out for this study, Rome has amalgamated multiple

centres into one, and became both the beneficiary and benefactor of the Hellenistic world.

This adds further importance to the suggestion that the Sicilian elite were modelling

themselves along the lines of the courts of Hieron II of Syracuse or the Attalids of

Pergamon, and not Greek cities in general.[1407] Both of these kingdoms, on the borders of,

and eventually incorporated into, Roman provinces, are portrayed in the ancient sources as

faithful allies and friends to Rome. Further to this, and to some extent because of this, the

Romans and Elymians both claimed a common ancestry as descendants of Aeneas, and the

Elymians were therefore bound to Rome not only by friendship and alliance, but also by

blood.[1408] Whether this was historically 'true' is immaterial; what is relevant for this study is

that maintenance of this mutual legendary heritage, which was Trojan, and not Greek, and

from a settlement in Asia Minor not far from Pergamon, provided common ground that would

have been beneficial propaganda for the elite of both sides.

Finally, it should be remembered that Romans resided in Sicily, and Sicilians in

Rome. From our understanding of the ancient sources, particularly Cicero, the first Romans

(and Italians) who moved to Sicily after its incorporation as a province resided in western

Sicily. This included not only magistrates and their entourage, but also administrators

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[1406] Macedonian Wars: ca. 214 – 205 BC; ca. 200 – 196 BC; ca. 192 – 188 BC; and ca. 150 – 148
BC; Second and Third Punic Wars: ca. 218 – 201 BC and ca. 149 – 146 BC.
[1407] For the Sicilian elite modelling themselves along the lines of the courts of Hieron II see for
example: Portale 2001-2002, 69-70; and Campagna 2011, 179.
[1408] Pinzone 2000, 862.
For *Segesta* being founded by Aeneas and bound to Rome by alliance:
"*Segesta est oppidum pervetus in Sicilia, iudices, quod ab Aenea fugiente a Troia atque in haec loca
veniente conditum esse demonstrant. Itaque Segestani non solum perpetua societate atque amicitia,
verum etiam cognatione se cum populo Romano coniunctos esse arbitrantur.*"
"There is, gentlemen, a very ancient town in Sicily named Segesta; it is alleged to have been founded
by Aeneas, when he fled from Troy and arrived in our part of the world; and the Segestans in
consequence regard themselves as bound to Rome not only by permanent alliance and friendship but
also by ties of blood."
Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.33.72. Translation: Loeb (293), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume II.

(*officiales* and *publicani*), business men (*negotiators* and *mercatores*), agriculturalists, and pastoralists.[1409] Prominent Sicilians, some of whom were Roman citizens, appear to have come from this same area.[1410] The inherent elevated socio-economic standing of these individuals would suggest that they did not need to be present in large numbers to have transmitted new cultural ideas between Rome and Sicily.[1411] Cusick states that "the study of culture contact is the study of power relations."[1412] These power relations are not just between centres (Rome and Sicily), but also between individuals (Roman and Sicilian), and it is important to remember that at least certain members of the elite from both areas benefited from, and welcomed, the economic prosperity that provincialisation brought. They also essentially managed the province, and actively chose which cultural practices they would follow and propagate. They required, however, a middle ground within which to formulate these relations. Hellenistic culture, and more specifically that of the courts of the loyal allies of Hieron II and Attalid Pergamon, offered a common language to do this.[1413]

With these developments, and attitudes, in mind, it is not surprising that the extant evidence for large, opulent, colonnaded-courtyard houses in Sicily during the mid-Republican period comes from non-Greek foundation settlements, and with the exception of Morgantina these are also settlements that have a long standing tradition of fidelity and commercial usefulness to Rome. For example, Segesta and *Panhormus* (Palermo) were *immunes ac liberae*; while *Tyndaris* (Tindari), *Solus* (Solunto), and *Iaeta* (Monte Iato) expelled their Carthaginian garrisons early, and there is no evidence for subsequent revolts. Further to this, Segesta and Monte Iato were both Elymian foundations with legendary traditions of Aeneas similar to that of Rome itself. Nenci even suggests that there was a

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[1409] Pinzone 2000, 863-6
[1410] For Roman citizens from Sicily see for example Cic. Verr. 2.2.5.16 and Cic. *Verr*. 2.2.7.19-20 (Dio of Halaesa).
[1411] Pinzone 2000, 866.
[1412] Cusick 1998b, 3.
[1413] For Hellenism described as a use of a 'common language' see also Campagna 2011, 179.

toponymic change from Aegesta to Segesta (*seges* is Latin for a cornfield) so as to allow for an association of that settlement with that portion of the island's agricultural (economic) wealth.[1414] Both of these are examples of advertising the relationships between these two areas. Furthermore, during the second century BC all of these settlements would have been well established within a Mediterranean trade network that was largely driven by Rome, as seen in the numerous examples of commercial and artisanal spaces integrated into the domestic fabric of these sites. Some of the decorative pavements also show specific affiliation to the courts of Hieron II and the Attalids. The mosaics depicting the Planetarium of Archimedes at Solunto, or the legendary Lion Hunt of Alexander the Great at Palermo, are overt examples of this. More subtle are the elaborate guilloches seen at Segesta and Morgantina, a motif that is found only in Asia Minor and the west (Sicily, Malta, and later the Italian peninsula).[1415] Related to this is the use of *opus vermiculatum* with garlands of fruit, flowers, birds, and theatrical masks (Palermo), all of which are part of the repertoire of the Pergamene mosaic school. The Sicilian examples, however, are slightly different and show evidence for a regional (re)interpretation.

Morgantina is perhaps a special case, but a perceived 'ethnic' affiliation in antiquity to Rome, and its economic importance, could have contributed to the continuation of similar house types during the mid-Republican period. According to the ancient sources, the settlement was handed over to Spanish mercenaries after its citizens revolted against Rome. Though there is little convincing material evidence that the cultural mixture of its populace changed, the historical tradition of the settlement being taken over by the Hispani would have provided the impression that those who had revolted were no longer living at the

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[1414] Nenci 1996. Similarly, De Meyer uses the toponymn of *Macella*, a settlement also located in north western Sicily, to argue that the latin *macellum* (an urban market building), while also being a Greek word (μάκελλον), is Punic in origin, and stems from this town's name and function as a commercial centre (De Meyer 1962).

[1415] For the guilloche as a specific reference to Asia Minor see Camerata Scovazzo 1997, 109-110.

site, and instead that this was a settlement of Roman 'friends and allies'. The fact that the site of Morgantina was identified by coinage advertising the 'Hispani' occupants, suggests that this ideology was propagated internally as well. Also, while it was part of Hieron's *koine* during the third century BC, and had a 'Greek veneer', it was not a Greek colony.[1416] Instead, Morgantina was a Sikel foundation with a long occupational history that included a historic tradition of lineage from Italy (see Chapter 1). Further, its indigenous cults persisted and, as far as we know, a Greek peristyle temple was never constructed. This is potentially something that would have been emphasised by her residents in the years immediately following the revolt and fall of many of the Sicilian Greek colonies. Furthermore, the prosperity of Morgantina during the third century BC was likely related to its advantageous location over the hinterland of the plains of Catania, something which would not have gone unnoticed by Rome, or unappreciated by the surviving residents, in the second century BC. That the prosperity of her neighbour Centuripe, the only non-western *civitas sine foedere immunis ac libera*, continued past the upheavals of the late second and first centuries BC (e.g. slave wars, civil wars, Verres) could suggest that a tradition of fidelity and blood ties to Rome, along with economic prowess, were all important factors in the survival of settlements throughout the so-called *pax romana*.

Prag, looking specifically at epigraphic and coin evidence, sees fewer regional differences. Instead, he suggests that a pre-existing 'Sicilian identity' was strengthened and encouraged by the Roman treatment of the island after its incorporation as a province, and largely changed from one of multiple regions to a single region.[1417] This does not contradict the above argument, but instead reinforces it. The idea of a single 'Sicilian identity', though seen in earlier contexts, becomes most widespread after stability on the island was reached.

[1416] For the 'Greek veneer' of Morgantina see Tsakirgis 1995, 131, along with the description of the site provided in Chapter 5.
[1417] Prag 2009b, esp. 91.

This apparent unity was, however, largely after the second century BC, and therefore the period being examined here.[1418] For example, the *triskeles* first appears on a Roman *as* ca. 100 BC, and an early representation of Sicilia as a personification of the province is seen on a Roman *denarius* of ca. 71 BC, commemorating an ancestor who had brought to an end the Second Servile War in Sicily.[1419] The argument here is that it took more than a century for this unity to be reached. Roman hegemony not only encouraged and ensured the unification of an island, or provincial, identity, but it also promoted it, and used its fidelity and prosperity as a model for other incorporated areas. As Cicero proclaimed, it was "the first of all to receive the title of province, the first such jewel in our imperial crown".[1420] Though this apparent unification was a bidirectional process, ultimately it was driven by the integration of Sicily into a heterogeneous political and socio-cultural Roman *koine*, which itself was fluid and flexible (i.e. 'Romanisation').

7.5   CURRENT AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The foundation of this survey is indebted to, and built upon, the invaluable work of previous studies, many of which have placed the houses of mid-Republican Sicily into a larger typological framework of domestic architecture patterns across the ancient Mediterranean.[1421] Where it diverges is in the broader research question posed: specifically what socio-cultural impact did the process of Roman hegemony have on the people who lived within the province? Therefore, more emphasis has been given to approaches that

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[1418] Such earlier contexts include: Greek colonisation, the fifth-century-BC conflicts between Syracuse and Athens, or the fourth-century-BC Sicilian (Greek) and Carthaginian conflict (Prag 2009b, 87).
[1419] Prag 2009b, 90. The *triskeles* appears even earlier on coins minted at Syracuse during the late fourth and early third centuries BC. For further discussion of the *triskeles* see esp.: Wilson 1990a, esp. 2-3, and Figs. 1, 2, 32a, 34a-c, 150, 157-8, and 249; Wilson 2000c; and Wilson 2003. For the personification of Sicilia the province see also: Wilson 1994 and Wilson 2009.
[1420] "*Prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata*".
Cic. *Verr*, 2.2.1.2. Translation: Loeb (293), Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Volume II.
[1421] See in particular: De Miro 1980; Tsakirgis 1984; Wilson 1990a, esp. 32, and 112-27; Dalcher 1994; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995; De Miro 1996; Isler 1996; Wölf 2003; Tsakirgis 2009; and Isler 2010.

endeavour to populate the house, and to use domestic features as a means of interpreting some of the ideological requirements of the people who lived within them.[1422] These approaches include analyses of the use and articulation of space, along with an assessment of how living within a diverse socio-cultural network (i.e. Greek, Punic, indigenous, and Italic) while under the economic and political hegemony of Rome could have affected the material choices made by those living within the houses. While part of the conclusions presented above are in line with previous studies in thinking the houses of mid-Republican Sicily as largely following Hellenistic practice, with overt evidence for Roman influence in only a handful of cases, this approach has also led to some divergent interpretations regarding the significance of such a conclusion.

Just as the label 'kitchen' is problematic for a room type, in that while it is based upon recognisable features, it is also permeated with modern meaning and does not actually describe the functional or ideological requirements of the room, so too using the term 'Hellenised' for the domestic architecture of Sicily does not explain the houses, nor indicate an absolute cultural affiliation within the eastern Mediterranean.[1423] Many of the features traditionally used to describe Sicilian houses as 'Greek', such as colonnaded courtyards with large, well-decorated, reception rooms were, by the second century BC, an interspersed, cross-cultural phenomenon, and part of a widespread Mediterranean *koine*. Further, some of the most commonly cited 'Greek' features, such as the Macedonian three-room suite, or concentric pavements of *opus tessellatum* are not often found in the houses of mid-Republican Sicily, and instead variations of these are utilised. Such sweeping generalisations tend to disguise more nuanced cultural interactions at play. We have seen how in Sicilian houses parallels with eastern Greek practice are most consistently apparent

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[1422] For similar approaches see in particular: Wallace-Hadrill 1988; Allison 1993; Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Westgate 1997-1998; Nevett 1999; Westgate 2000a; Westgate 2000b; Nevett 2002; Allison 2004; Nevett 2007a; Westgate 2007a; and Nevett 2010.
[1423] See also Campagna 2011, 161-2.

in the use of space, particularly in their attempt to maintain a largely (en)closed environment, which kept domestic and reception activities separate in the majority of houses. This is seldom acknowledged, and is antithetical to Nevett's conclusions for contemporary Delos, where she sees the majority of houses there beginning to incorporate a more open plan.[1424] Yet the houses of Delos and Sicily are commonly described as typologically similar, and therefore indicating a shared cultural affiliation.

Even within the enclosed environments of the Sicilian houses there are indicators of extra-Hellenic practices being incorporated. This includes the Punic communal bath-suite, *opus signinum* floors with an all-over pattern, and the more intimate Italic meeting- or business- room type, all of which belong to a western regional tradition in which Sicily was an active participant. Moreover, there is little in the house plans of mid-Republican Sicily, colonnaded or not, that does not follow the rudimentary Italian house type of contrasting rooms – large and small, open and closed – organised around an open central space.[1425] In some instances there is even evidence for a (re)interpretation of the front reception hall (*atrium*) and back colonnaded garden (*peristyle*) sequence. This too is seldom acknowledged, or at least emphasised. Instead, these features are downplayed as just "very early".[1426] They are, however, also early in the Campanian examples on which such an argument is based.

The process of so-called 'Hellenisation' during the Hellenistic / Republican period is in part driven by the socio-economic milieu that prevailed under Roman hegemony. It is after the administrative and economic incorporation of Sicily as a Roman province, and within a century of mainland Greece and Asia Minor as well, that a Mediterranean-wide cultural explosion of 'Hellenic homogeneity' occurs. Though this is the result of processes already

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[1424] Nevett 2010, 86.
[1425] See Chapter 2 section 2.3.2, and Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 221-3.
[1426] Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 255.

underway, and is likely to have been determined by elite members of various regions, east and west, who chose to use a 'common language' of Hellenistic luxury and opulence, 'Hellenisation' remains a process of culture contact that was stimulated by, and formalised under, the new Roman economic, social, and political patronage and hegemony.[1427] It is for such reasons that some studies argue that 'Hellenisation' and 'Romanisation' are, if not synonymous, co-dependents, and that the conspicuousness of the former does not mean the failure of the latter.[1428]

It remains open for discussion whether these interpretations are an accurate reflection of a lived reality for the average Sicilian living under the early Roman hegemony. This research was born out of a desire to examine Sicilian identities through the examination of cultural influence, stimulus, and interaction in an attempt to understand better the socio-cultural impact of Roman hegemony within the early Republican province. Still necessary, however, is a comprehensive inter-site study of the nature of domestic architecture in Sicily, not only for the entire Hellenistic period (late fourth to first centuries BC), but also the preceding Classical and the later Imperial periods before any long term cultural changes and associated domestic identities can be fully recognised. Also needed is an attempt to look at the residences of those not living within the top social strata, a study which requires the identification and examination of non-courtyard houses alongside the types discussed here. Moreover, houses are only a single physical materialisation of identities. To fully appreciate the nature of the socio-cultural impact of Rome on her first province, the analysis needs to be expanded to look at multiple classes of evidence, such as urbanism and public spaces, a city's hinterland, the exploitation of the countryside, burial customs, language, epigraphy,

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[1427] Campagna 2011, 179. See also: La Torre 2004b, 144-5; Portale 2007, 150-1, and 160; Prag 2007, 69.
[1428] Zanker 1976, 11-20; Wiseman 1983, 307; Portale 2001-2002, 44; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, esp. 17-28; Portale 2007, 160; Prag 2009a, 136; and Colivicchi 2011 (see esp. Campagna 2011, 166-7, and 179-80).

and numismatic evidence. All of this evidence needs to be studied within comparative and contextual frameworks that are relevant for Sicily if we truly want to have an understanding of mid-Republican Sicilian identities and the impact of Roman hegemony.

7.6   CONCLUDING REMARKS

How much can the urban domestic housing of mid-Republican Sicily illuminate the socio-cultural impact of Roman hegemony, and reflect aspects of cross-cultural contact within the new province? Not every house follows an identical house type or spatial pattern, and these differences can tell us more about the ideological needs of the inhabitants than any single room type can, but there is no simple conclusion. The above study has suggested that Sicilian urban houses were largely in keeping with eastern Greek practice, particularly in their attempt to maintain a largely (en)closed environment. Such an arrangement, however, was relevant for Punic houses as well, and there are many recognisable features of the Italian house type in the Sicilian data that were incorporated into this environment. The fact remains that there is no easy methodological way of looking at expressions of cultural influence in the mid-Republican Sicilian communities, and thereby determining with any certainty just who was influencing whom, and what the stimuli for new features in the Sicilian houses were.

Too much emphasis on *ex oriente lux* interpretations has continually downplayed the creative influences by local communities in mid-Republican Sicily, and the role that they are likely to have played in the appropriation, development, and dissemination of practices during this period. Included in this is their housing and in particular the colonnaded-courtyard itself, which makes an early appearance in Sicily at least by the mid-third-century-BC, if not earlier, and provides evidence for continuous development on the island. Additionally, mid-Republican Sicily played an early and key role in the western tradition of decorative pavements, including the use and motifs of *opus signinum*, with its often all-over decorative

pattern, as well as figural, polychromatic *opus tessellatum* and *vermiculatum*. The early appearance of the domestic bath-suite in mid-Republican Sicily, which gains popularity in Roman Italy only after the second century BC, suggests that Sicily was also central in the development of this traditionally interpreted 'Roman' feature within houses.

Some recognisable patterns within the urban domestic housing of mid-Republican Sicily include: 1) house type, in that the non-colonnaded-courtyard house appears to retain (or adopt) more traditional features, with the colonnaded-courtyard house being more susceptible to innovation or modification; 2) location within the island, which is possibly related to ethnic or cultural affiliation, in that the settlements of north-western Sicily, particularly those of Phoenicio-Carthaginian or indigenous origin, were also the first of our extant examples to show alterations and innovations in the surveyed features; 3) social status, with the proposal that this innovation and change is a reflection of a 'new wealth' appropriated by the Sicilians under the new political and economic system, which was created under Rome, but maintained internally, and that many of the apparent features were used to validate a new social status; and 4) function, in that there is also an apparent dichotomy within the houses between the more private domestic spaces, which largely maintain more traditional Greek or Punic features, and the public reception spaces, which while they belong to a Mediterranean-wide *koine*, begin to incorporate features more common to the Roman west. All of these variables themselves were likely to have been interrelated.

Sicily, being Rome's first province, is fundamental to any discussion about culture contact under Roman hegemony. The analysis provided here can be used to activate further dialogue regarding the undercurrent theme of the manifestations of culture-contact studies by representing an early illustration of some of the processes involved in the overarching practice of so-called 'Romanisation', including hybridity, multilingualism, and code-switching. Though many of the surveyed features of domestic housing in mid-Republican Sicily are

likely to have found inspiration from the Greek east, there is sufficient evidence to suggest

Punic, Roman, and regional Sicilian influence is present as well. More importantly, however,

these features were (re)interpreted within the physical and cultural middle ground that mid-

Republican Sicily offered, and then transmitted to the Greek and Italian centres with which it

was in contact, including Delos and the Hellenistic east, as well as the Roman cities of

Campania. Sicily was both receiver and transmitter of cultural practices, and the material

manifestations of cross-cultural contact during the mid-Republican period in Sicily involved a

combination of multidirectional processes and multi-layered identities. Inevitably, Rome's

dialogue with Sicily impacted not just that island itself, but also helped set a template for the

Republic's (and Empire's) strategy of exerting its hegemony Mediterranean-wide, and

beyond.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Analytical categories

What follows is a description of the categories that are summarised from the examples of domestic architecture in Sicily during the mid-Republican period (Appendix C) for the analysis in Chapter 6. The possible indicators of cross-cultural practices for these categories are summarised in the tables of Appendix B and a summary of each category is provided in Appendix D.

A.1   House type

1. Non-courtyard house: a lack of evidence for an organisational area.

2. **Hall house**: what appears to have been a closed (i.e. roofed) or enclosed (i.e. roofed with a small opening over the basin) organisational area.

3. **Corridor house:** the presence of an organisational area that is essentially an open and narrow passageway from the entrance to the remaining rooms of the house.

4. Non-colonnaded-courtyard house: the presence of an open quadrangular organisational area that lacks a colonnaded portico.

5. Single-**colonnade-courtyard house**: the presence of an open quadrangular organisational area that has a single colonnaded portico.

6. Colonnaded-courtyard house: the presence of an open organisational area that has two or more colonnaded porticos.

7. Multiple-courtyard house: evidence for more than one organisational area. In these instances the number of organisational areas will be noted, and these will be further identified along the following categories:

   a.   Type-I: a modest or single-colonnade courtyard and a colonnaded courtyard
   b.   Type-II: all colonnaded courtyards
   c.   Type-III: a (front) reception hall or courtyard and a (back) courtyard (modest or colonnaded).
   d.   Type-IV: other (this will be explained)

A.2   Room type[1429]

1. Shop: room with a separate entrance from the street, but does not appear to be the main entrance into the house. The function of these rooms can vary, including, but not limited to

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[1429] These are loosely based on the criteria set out by Tang 2005, 25-26. See also Allison 2004, 64-123; and 161-77.

commercial activities, workshop, storage, stable, tenancy etc. Where possible the following attributes are included:

- a. Approach:
    - i. *Stenopos*
    - ii. *Plateia*
    - iii. Other
- b. Communication:
    - i. Independent: shows no evidence for communication with the interior of the house
    - ii. Dependent: at least one additional door that allows access from / into the interior of the house
- c. Form:
    - i. Single: consists of an individual undivided room
    - ii. Double: consists of two dependent rooms that share an entrance and are positioned side by side
    - iii. Bipartite: consists of two dependent rooms that share an entrance and form a 'front' room and a 'back' room
- d. *Pergula*: extant evidence suggests the presence of a mezzanine or loft-like upper storey above a shop. Such evidence includes stairs or the a base for a staircase, which presumably led to an upper level, or a central post hole suggesting a support for an upper floor
- e. Features / function: evidence for installation that could suggest a function

2. Entranceway: situated between what is perceived as the main door to the house and the rest of the ground-plan. The following distinctions are made:

- a. Entrance room: that which is relatively short sided; it can be further defined as being square or narrow
- b. Entrance corridor: that which is comparatively longer and always narrow

Where possible, these will be further categorised with the following traits in relation to the organisational space:

- a. Approach: *stenopos* or *plateia*
- b. Access: direct or at a right-angle
- c. Axis: centre, off-centre, or lateral
- d. View: open or screened

3. Entrance dependent: room on either side of the entrance room and is only accessible from it. Additional features will be noted.

4. Organisational space: the area which is perceived as providing access to most if not all of the remaining rooms. This room is further categorised with the following traits:

    a.   Shape: square; rectangular; corridor; irregular

    b.   Roof:

        i.   Open: no evidence for a roof, and therefore referred to as a courtyard

        ii.   (En)closed: entire area roofed or with a partially enclosed roof, and referred to as a hall

    c.   Porticoes: number; presence of a 'broad portico' type

    d.   Columns: number

    e.   Position:

        i.   Central: surrounded by rooms on three to four sides

        ii.   Side: surrounded by rooms on one or two sides only

    f.   Paving: basin paved or non-paved

5. Main room(s): identified by the following criteria: relatively larger size compared to other rooms of the house, form (see additional traits), accessibility, position in relation to the organisational space, relationship to other rooms, and where possible its decorative pavement.[1430] The function of this room is likely to have varied. Though a reception room is assumed, it could also have been perceived as the *tablinum*, and / or have served a utilitarian function on a day-to-day basis. If a house has multiple main rooms, and one of these appears to have had a primarily utilitarian (domestic) nature, and was likely not used for the reception of guest, this will be noted. Where possible, this room is further categorised based upon the following traits:

    a.   Shape:

        i.   'Broad room' type: a large rectangular room, with its longitudinal axis along, and visible from, the organisational space

        ii.   'Long room' type: a large rectangular room with is longitudinal axis either not along, or visible from, the organisational space. This is either because the room extends beyond the adjacent portico (Type-I), or has its short side along the courtyard (Type-II)

[1430] For similar criteria in houses at Delos see Trümper 2007, 323.

  iii. 'Square room' type: a large room with relatively equal longitudinal and lateral axes.

  iv. Other: shape will be noted

 b. Door:

  i. Exedral: opening into room is the entire length of the wall

  ii. Wide: a relative term, though the guideline is those doorways which have a width greater than one-half of the length of the wall

  iii. Normal: a relative tem, though the guideline is those doorways which have a width less than one-half of the length of the wall

 c. Position:

  i. Cardinal: north, south, east, west

  ii. Alignment:

   a) Axial (aligned with entrance)

   b) Bayonet (off-alignment with entrance)

   c) Orthogonal (right-angle to the entrance)

   d) U (beside the entrance)

   e) Other

 d. Decorative pavement: pavement type and pattern is noted (further pavement details are discussed separately, see below)

 e. Features: any additional features are also noted

6. Main-room dependent: a room that is only accessible from a main room. Other features are noted as such:

 a. Access (main) room: room number (a reception / domestic main room)

 b. Shape: rectangular, square

 c. Decorative pavement: type, pattern

 d. Three-room suite: yes / no (three-room suite features will be discussed separately, see below)

 e. Bipartite plan: yes / no

 f. Additional features: any additional features are also noted

7. Dining-room: features suggest the placement of dining couches such as an off-centre door or decorative pavement treatment. These features are noted. The identification suggests that though various activities may have occurred in this area on a day-to-day basis, formal dining was a principal purpose.

8. Food-preparation area: remains such as ceramic material, cooking implements, animal bones, evidence of a hearth / brazier, access to water, and water / waste disposal suggest food preparation activity.

9. Latrine: evidence, such as a drain, that has a potential purpose of disposing of human waste. In most instances, however, this identification is based upon the excavator's impression of the room.

10. Bathing area: features suggest activities related to personal cleanliness, such as a bathtub or wash basin. Where possible the following distinctions will be made:

    a. Hip-bath

    b. Immersion bath (heated or non-heated)

    c. Sweat-room

Bath-suite?

In some cases two or more rooms associated with the bathing installation form a coherent group; these are also noted under the following categories:

    a. Anteroom

    b. Main bath-installation

    c. Service room

11. 'Small square room' type: relatively small size in relation to the other rooms of the house, a particularly apparent cubic form, and is accessed from the organisational space. The function of these rooms can vary. Where possible the following distinctions are made:

    a. Location: extension of portico; along the sides, front, or back of the organisational space

    b. Door: exedral, wide, normal (see main room above)

    c. Decorated or non-decorated

    d. Features: any additional features are also noted

12. Sleeping room: identification is based upon a relatively small space (not necessarily square) with features that suggest the primary purpose could have been for sleeping (such as *a scendiletto*, alcove, or platform). See cautions noted above under the 'small square room' type.

13. 'Secluded room' type: a relatively small room that is at a distance from the main entrance, not accessible from the organisational space, communicates with only a single room (but is not a main-room dependant), and is not perceived as a dining or reception room.

14. Other: this category consists of various rooms that do not fall into one of the above categories, preserves little to no indication as to a possible function or identification, and / or comes from a plan that is too fragmented / altered to attempt classification.

A.3   Features

1. Reception sequence: the manner of progression from the entrance to the primary reception area (See Figure 2.12).
   a. Axial (on-alignment)
   b. Bayonet (off-alignment)
   c. Orthogonal (at a right-angle)
   d. U (alongside)
   e. Other

2. Three-room suite: a cohesive group of three rooms including at least one main room; this is further categorised as:
   a. Type-I (Hellenic): a main room with two dependent rooms behind it
   b. Type-II (Macedonian): a main room with dependent rooms on either side
   c. Type-III (Italian): a main room with independent rooms on either side
   d. Type-IV (Other): a main room with rooms on either side, but communication between these rooms varies (this will be noted).

3. Decorative garden: an apparent lack of paving in the basin of a courtyard, or other features, such as evidence for a fountain, that suggests the intended use was as a decorative garden.

4. Water collection and storage: these are categorised as such.
   a. Type-I: a cistern (round, bottle-, or irregular shaped) with a mouth that is located in the organisational space of a modest or single-colonnade courtyard house, or in a colonnaded-courtyard house along the side of the large central basin or in one of the porticoes.
   b. Type-II: a cistern (round, bottle-, or irregular shaped) with a mouth that is located in a room which is not the organisational space.
   c. Type-III: a cistern with parallel sides and rounded ends. The mouth is normally located in the organisational space, though other rooms possible.
   d. Type-IV: the presence of a relatively small, central, basin intended to collect water and direct it into a cistern (of any type, which will also be noted if possible)
   e. Type V: a water reservoir that is not dug into the ground

f.   Other

A.4   Decorative pavement

The identification of pavement types and patterns is based upon the descriptions outlined in Chapter 2.

1. Pavement type:
- a.   *Opus signinum*
- b.   Chip-pavement
- c.   *Opus sectile*
- d.   *Opus scutulatum*
- e.   *Opus tessellatum* / *opus vermiculatum*
    - i.   Monochrome (colour will be noted)
    - i.   Bichrome (colours will be noted)
    - ii.   Polychrome (colours will be noted)
    - iii.   Subsidiary (chip-pavement or *opus signinum*)
- f.   Other

2. Pavement Pattern:

Main pavement
- a.   Concentric: central panel or central field with one or more surrounding frames and an adjusting border
- b.   All-over: repeated pattern across the entire floor
- c.   Pseudo-concentric: large central field and a border, both with a repeated pattern across the entire floor; no central panel and no frame.
- d.   Other: pavements where the pattern is unclear / not stated; plain; or an indiscriminate scatter

These are further categorised as:
- i.   Geometric
- ii.   Figural
- iii.   Inscription

Supplementary pavement
- a.   Door treatment
    - i.   'Doormat' (pattern: geometric, figural, or inscription)
    - ii.   Threshold (pattern: geometric, figural, or inscription)
- b.   *Scendiletto*

       i.   True (pattern: geometric, or figural)

      ii.   Pseudo (pattern: geometric, or figural)

Tesserae alignment in plain *opus tessellatum*

a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion

b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion

3. Other decorative pavement features:

Appendix B: Summary tables: possible indicators of cross-cultural practices

Possible indicators of cross-cultural practices are provided in the following tables. These are based upon the categories and criteria identified in Appendix A, and used in the analysis in Chapter 6.

Table B.1. Comparison of possible cross-cultural practices: house types

Characteristic	Greek	Roman	Punic
Non-courtyard house	Infrequent	Infrequent	Occasionally
Hall house	Infrequent	Yes	Infrequent
Corridor house	Occasionally	No	Yes
Non-colonnaded-courtyard house	Yes	Yes	Yes
Single-colonnade courtyard-house	Yes	No	Occasionally
Colonnaded-courtyard house	Yes	Yes	Occasionally
Multiple-courtyard house	Uncommon after ca. 200 BC; during the 3rd century BC the type is commonly a Type-I (modest or single-colonnade courtyard and a colonnaded courtyard), though a Type-II (both colonnaded courtyards) is also seen.	Becomes common after ca. 200 BC; canonically a Type-III (a reception hall and courtyard)	No

Table B.2. Comparison of possible cross-cultural practices: room types

* The characteristics listed are those which are considered typical, though variations may occur

Characteristic	Greek	Roman	Punic
Shop A. Approach B. Communication C. Form D. *Pergula*	A. Varies B. Independent or dependent; C. Single D. No *pergula*	A. Varies B. Independent; occasionally dependent C. Bipartite; occasionally single D. *Pergula*	A. Varies B. Independent or dependent C. Single; occasionally bipartite or double D. No *pergula*
Entranceway A. Approach B. Access C. Axis D. View	Square room: A. *Stenopos* B. Direct C. Centre or lateral D. Screened	Narrow room: A. *Stenopos* B. Direct C. Centre D. Open	Corridor: A. *Stenopos* B. Right-angle C. Lateral D. Screened
Entrance dependent	Yes	No	No
Organisational area A. Shape B. Roof C. Porticoes D. Columns E. Position F. Paving	Courtyard A. Square, occasionally a corridor B. Open C. 1-4; A broad portico (*pastas*) common D. Varies E. Central F. Usually paved	Hall and / or courtyard A. Rectangular B. Open or partially enclosed, occasionally closed C. Porticoes: 4 Broad portico (*alae*) common D. Varies, though 2 x 2 canonical E. Central F. Paved basin (hall) or unpaved (courtyard)	Courtyard A. Square, rectangular, or corridor B. Open C. Rare D. Rare E. Central or lateral F. Paved or unpaved
Main room A. Shape B. Door C. Position D. Decorative pavement	A. Square room or broad room; occasionally a long room B. Exedral or wide; C. Position: north or east; orthogonal or bayonet D. *Opus tessellatum* and concentric	A. Shape: square room or long room B. Exedral (square room) or normal (long room); C. Cardinal position varies; axial (square room); or bayonet (long room) D. Various pavement types and patterns, though an all-over pattern is canonical	A. Varies; B. Normal C. Cardinal position varies; bayonet or U D. *Opus signinum*, scatter common
Main-room Dependent	Yes	Occasionally	No
Dining-room	Classical yes (an *andron*) Hellenistic no	Yes (*triclinium*)	No

Characteristic	Greek	Roman	Punic
Bathing area			
A. Hip-bath	A. Occasionally	A. Uncommon	A. Common
B. Immersion bath	B. Rare	B. Occasionally	B. No
C. Sweat room	C. Rare	C. Rare	C. No
D. Bath-suite	D. No	D. Yes	D. Yes
Small square room			No evidence
A. Location	A. Off broad portico	A. Off broad portico or	
B. Door	B. Wide or normal	organisational space	
C. Decorated?	C. Undecorated	B. Wide or normal	
		C. Decorated or	
		undecorated	
Sleeping room	No	Yes (though identification is subjective)	No
Secluded room	No	No	Yes

Table B.3. Comparison of possible cross-cultural practices: features

Characteristic	Greek	Roman	Punic
Reception Sequence	Orthogonal Bayonet Occasionally axial	Axial	U Bayonet
Three-room suite	Type-I (Hellenic) Type-II (Macedonian)	Type-III (Italian)	No
Decorative garden	No	Yes	No
Water collection and storage	Type-I	Type-IV Occasionally Type-I	Type-III Occasionally Type-II Occasionally Type-IV Occasionally Type V

Table B.4. Comparison of possible cross-cultural practices: decorative pavements

Characteristic	East	West
More utilitarian pavement type	Chip-pavement	*Opus signinum*
More aesthetic pavement type	*Opus tessellatum*, Occasionally *opus vermiculatum*	*Opus signinum* Occasionally *opus sectile*, and *opus scutulatum* *Opus tessellatum* and *opus vermiculatum* from the late 2nd century BC on
Door treatment	'Doormat' mosaic	Threshold mosaic
Scendiletto	No	Yes
Pattern	Concentric Geometric most-common Figural not-common during the 2nd century BC Inscriptions rare	All-over Geometric most-common Figural more common than in the east Inscriptions more common than in the east
Colour	Polychrome	Late-2nd- to early-1st- centuries-BC versions of polychrome *opus vermiculatum*; Later tendency towards bichrome
Subsidiary to *opus tessellatum*	Chip-pavement	*Opus signinum*, occasionally chip-pavement
Tesserae alignment in plain *opus tessellatum*	Laid in a rectilinear fashion	Laid in a diagonal fashion
Lead strips in mosaic contours	Common	Not detected at either Rome or Pompeii
Location	Porticoes Main rooms / Reception Rooms Upper floors most common	***Higher proportion of the floor area is paved*** Entranceway Porticoes and (Front) Reception Hall Main rooms / Reception (dining) rooms Small Square Rooms Bathing and Food-preparation areas Sleeping rooms Upper floors uncommon

Appendix C: Catalogue

The houses included in this survey are denoted by an identification number. This refers to the settlement, and then consecutive numbering of each house within that settlement. For clarification of the categories and features listed see Appendix A. The identification number and the most commonly used name for each house in the literature are listed below:

Heraclea Minoa
HM01 = Casa 2C
HM02 = Casa 2A
HM03 = Casa 2B
HM04 = Peristyle House
HM05 = Casa 1E
HM06 = Casa 1B
HM07 = Casa 1C

Iato (Monte)
Iato01 = Peristyle House I
Iato02 = Peristyle House II
Iato03 = East Quarter House 1
Iato04 = East Quarter House 2

Licata
Lic01 = Casa 1
Lic02 = Casa 2
Lic03 = Casa 3
Lic04 = Casa 5

Marsala
Mar02 = Via Sabilla Casa
Mar03 = Via Ninfe Casa
Mar04 = Viale Vittorio Veneto Casa

Morgantina
Morg01 = House of Ganymede
Morg02 = House of the Arched Cistern
Morg03 = House of the Official
Morg04 = House of the Palmento
Morg05 = House of the Mended Pithos
Morg06 = House of the Double Cistern
Morg07 = House of the Gold Hoard
Morg08 = House of the Doric Capital
Morg09 = House of the Tuscan Capitals
Morg10 = Pappalardo House

Palermo
Pal01 = Casa B

Segesta
Seg01 = So-called Casa Navarcha (SAS09)

Solunto
Sol01 = Casa di Leda
Sol02 = Casa con cerchio mosaico
Sol03 = Casa a cortile
Sol04 = Edificio con macina
Sol05 = Casa con 'atrium tuscanicum'
Sol06 = Casa di Arpocrate
Sol07 = So-called ginnasio
Sol08 = Casa del deposito a volta
Sol09 = Casa del vano circolare
Sol10 = Casa del corridoio
Sol11 = Casa delle maschere
Sol12 = Bottega artigiana con abitazione
Sol13 = Casa delle ghirlande

Tindari
Tin01   *Insula* IV Casa B
Tin02   *Insula* IV Casa C

Not included in the survey (or catalogue) but mentioned in the text
Mar01 = Capo Boeo *Insula* at Marsala
Pal02 = Casa A at Palermo
Pal03 = Casa C at Palermo

The houses are listed below in alphabetical order by their identification number. Under each settlement heading is a list of the main secondary sources for that settlement.

C.1   Heraclea Minoa (HM)

Main Sources: BTCGI VII, 234-77; Campagna 1996; De Miro 1955; De Miro 1958a; De Miro 1958b; De Miro 1965; De Miro 1966a; De Miro 1966b; De Miro 1980; De Miro 1996; La Torre 2006; Manni 1981, 179-80; Stillwell 1976, 385-6; von Boeselager 1983, 74-75; Wilson 2000b, 715; Wilson and Leonard 1980.

CATALOGUE ID: HM01

Heraclea Minoa – Casa 2C
Date: Phase A: end of the 4th to early 3rd / end of the 3rd century BC; **Phase A2:** 2nd century BC; **Phase B:** end of the 2nd- to mid-1st- centuries BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 7

Room type
1. Shop:
Room 3, Phase B
    f.   Approach: *plateia*
    g.   Communication: dependent
    h.   Form: single
    i.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    j.   Features / function: water collection?
2. Entranceway:
Room 1
    Entrance corridor:
    e.   Approach: *stenopos*
    f.   Access: direct
    g.   Axis: lateral
    h.   View: open
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
    g.   Shape: square
    h.   Roof: open
    i.   Porticoes: 0
    j.   Columns: 0
    k.   Position: central
    l.   Paving: non-paved
5. Main room(s):
Room 3 Phase A?
    f.   Shape: square room
    g.   Door: normal
    h.   Position: south; U
    i.   Decorative pavement: ----
    j.   Features: small niche in one of the walls
Room 4
    a.   Shape: long room
    b.   Door: wide
    c.   Position: west; orthogonal
    d.   Decorative pavement: ----

      e.   Features: ----

Room 5

      a.   Shape: broad room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Position: north; axial

      d.   Decorative pavement: ----

      e.   Features: ----

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:

Room 6

      Identification based upon evidence for decorative niches as possible shrines

9. Latrine:

South-east corner of Room 7

      Identification based upon evidence of plain *opus signinum* pavement

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room: ----

12. Sleeping room: ----

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other: ----

Features

1. Reception sequence: main room uncertain: possibly: axial (Room 5), orthogonal (Room 4), and U (Room 3)

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-I

Decorative pavements:

The only evidence for pavement is plain *opus signinum* in the south-east corner of Room 7 (the possible latrine)

Plan: Figure 3.13

CATALOGUE ID: HM02

Heraclea Minoa – 2A

Date: Phase A: end of the 4th to early 3rd / end of the 3rd century BC; **Phase A2:** 2nd century BC; **Phase B:** end of the 2nd- to mid-1st- centuries BC

House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house

Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 9

Room type

1. Shop:

Room 3, Phase B

      a.   Approach: *stenopos*

      b.   Communication: independent

      c.   Form: single

      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*

      e.   Features / function: ----

2. Entranceway:
Room 1
      Entrance corridor:
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Access: direct
      c.   Axis: lateral
      d.   View: open
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
      a.   Shape: rectangular
      b.   Roof: open
      c.   Porticoes: 0
      d.   Columns: 0
      e.   Position: central
      f.   Paving: terracotta slabs
5. Main room(s):
Room 3, Phase A
      a.   Shape: square room
      b.   Door: normal
      c.   Position: south; U
      d.   Decorative pavement: ----
      e.   Features: small niche in one of the walls
Room 6, Phase A2
      a.   Shape: broad room
      b.   Door: normal
      c.   Position: north; axial
      d.   Decorative pavement: ----
      e.   Features: in the north-west corner is a brick altar with an accompanying niche in the east wall
Room 7, Phase A2
      a.   Shape: broad room
      b.   Door: normal
      c.   Position: north; bayonet
      d.   Decorative pavement: ----
      e.   Features: ----
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area:
Room 6?
      The brick altar and small niche in the east wall are traditionally used to identify this as a main room, they could, however, also be indicative of a domestic shrine associated with a food-preparation area
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room:
Room 5?
      Accessible from two rooms (4 and 6)

14. Other:
Rooms 4, 8, and 9
    No identifiable features / functions

Features
1. Reception sequence: main room uncertain: possibly axial (Room 6), bayonet (Room 7), or U (Room 3)
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-V; other (central cistern)

Decorative pavements: ----

Plan: Figure 3.13

CATALOGUE ID: HM03

Heraclea Minoa – 2B
Date: Phase A: end of the 4th to early 3rd / end of the 3rd century BC; **Phase A2:** 2nd century BC; **Phase B:** end of the 2nd- to mid-1st- centuries BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house (excavators identify it as an *atrium* and therefore a hall house)
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 9

Room type
1. Shop:
Room 4/5
    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Communication: dependent, but access from entranceway, not the courtyard
    c.   Form: bipartite
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: ----
2. Entranceway:
Room 1
    Entrance corridor:
    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Access: direct
    c.   Axis: lateral
    d.   View: open
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
    a.   Shape: square
    b.   Roof: open (excavators say only a light well)
    c.   Porticoes: 0
    d.   Columns: 0
    e.   Position: central
    f.   Paving: non-paved
5. Main room(s):
Room 3, Phase A
    a.   Shape: square room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Position: south; U

      d.   Decorative pavement: ----

      e.   Features: ----

On the second floor?

      Fill of the collapse included finely preserved mud-brick, threshold blocks, and fragments of stucco and fresco that suggest 'masonry-style' wall decoration, as well as evidence for *opus signinum* and possibly *opus tessellatum* pavements

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:

Room 9

      Four marble niches may indicate a domestic shrine associated with a food-preparation area

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room: ----

12. Sleeping room: ----

13. Secluded room:

Room 8

      Accessible from Room 9 (a possible food-preparation area)

14. Other:

Two additional rooms (Rooms 6 and 7)

      No identifiable features or function

Features

1. Reception sequence: main room uncertain; possibly U (Room 3)

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements

1. Pavement type:

      a.   *Opus signinum*:

          In the fill

      b.   Chip-pavement: ----

      c.   *Opus sectile*: ----

      d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----

      e.   *Opus tessellatum*:

          In the fill: bichrome (black and white) with red edging

      f.   Other:---

2. Pavement pattern:

Main pavement:

      a.   Concentric:

          In the fill (*opus tessellatum*): geometric (waves)

      b.   All-over:

          In the fill (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows and lozenges)

      c.   Pseudo-concentric: ----

      d.   Other: ----

Supplementary pavement: ----

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum
      a.   *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: ----
      b.   *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: in the fill
3. Other decorative pavement features:
      No lead strips

Plan: Figure 3.13

CATALOGUE ID: HM04

Heraclea Minoa – Peristyle House
Date: Phase A: end of the 4th to early 3rd / end of the 3rd century BC; **Phase A2:** 2nd century BC; **Phase B:** end of the 2nd- to mid-1st- centuries BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 8
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop:
Room 3
      a.   Approach: *plateia*
      b.   Communication: dependent
      c.   Form: single
      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
      e.   Features / function: ----
Room 4/4A
      a.   Approach: *plateia*
      b.   Communication: independent
      c.   Form: bipartite
      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
      e.   Features / function: ----
Room 5
      a.   Approach: *plateia*
      b.   Communication: independent
      c.   Form: single
      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
      e.   Features / function: ----
Room 6/7
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Communication: independent
      c.   Form: bipartite
      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
      e.   Features / function: ----
2. Entranceway:
Room 1
      Entrance Room (square)
      a.   Approach: *plateia*
      b.   Access: right-angle (via a corridor)
      c.   Axis: lateral
      d.   View: screened

3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
- a. Shape: square
- b. Roof: open
- c. Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
- d. Columns: 2 x 2 (Phase B?)
- e. Position: central
- f. Paving: paved with stone slabs

5. Main room(s): ----
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Plan incomplete: at least two rooms with unidentifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception sequence: main room not identified, bayonet?
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements: ----

Plan: Figure 3.16

CATALOGUE ID: HM05

Heraclea Minoa – Casa 1E
Date: Phase B: end of the 2nd- to mid-1st- centuries BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 10

Room type
1. Shop:
Room 5/6
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Communication: dependent
- c. Form: double
- d. No evidence for a *pergula*
- e. Features / function: ----
2. Entranceway:
Not a separate room
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Access: direct
- c. Axis: lateral

       d.   View: open

3. Entrance dependent: ----

4. Organisational space:

Room 1
- a. Shape: rectangular
- b. Roof: open
- c. Porticoes: 0
- d. Columns: 0
- e. Position: central
- f. Paving: non-paved

5. Main room(s):

Room 2 (based on size)
- a. Shape: broad room
- b. Door: normal
- c. Position: west; orthogonal
- d. Decorative pavement: ----
- e. Features: diagonal cross wall, function uncertain

6. Main-room dependent:

Room 3
- g. Access (main) room: Room 2
- h. Shape: rectangular
- i. Decorative pavement: ----
- j. Three-room suite: no
- k. Bipartite plan: no
- l. Features: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room:

Room 7
- e. Location: back of the organisational space
- f. Door: normal
- g. Non-decorated
- h. Features: ----

12. Secluded room: ----

13. Sleeping room: ----

14. Other:

Room 4

    No identifiable features / function

Rooms 8, 9, 10, 11

    Storage annex?

Features

1. Reception sequence: orthogonal

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements: ----

CATALOGUE ID: HM 06

Heraclea Minoa – Casa 1B
Date: Phase B: end of the 2nd- to mid-1st- centuries BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 13

Room type
1. Shop:
Room IV/V
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Communication: independent
      c.   Form: double
      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
      e.   Features / function: doubled walls on three sides, possibly indicating storage of a commodity with lateral thrust, or perhaps a tower (*pyrgos*)
2. Entranceway:
Room 1
      Entrance room (square)
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Access: direct
      c.   Axis: lateral
      d.   View: open (though the house is accessed from a front porch)
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
Room 2
      a.   Shape: rectangular
      b.   Roof: open
      c.   Porticoes: 0
      d.   Columns: 0
      e.   Position: central
      f.   Paving: non-paved
5. Main room(s):
Room 6
      a.   Shape: square room
      b.   Door: normal
      c.   Position: east; orthogonal
      d.   Decorative pavement: ----
      e.   Features: ----
6. Main-room dependent:
Room 5
      a.   Access (main) room: Room 6
      b.   Shape: rectangular
      c.   Decorative pavement: ----
      d.   Three-room suite: no
      e.   Bipartite plan: no
      f.   Features: ----
7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:
Room 9
      Remains of a hearth
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room:
Room 3
      a.   Location: along the front of the organisational space
      b.   Door: normal
      c.   Non-decorated
      d.   Features: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Rooms 7 and 8
      Possibly a stable
Rooms 4, 11, 12, 13
      No identifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal? Main room identification not secure
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements: ----

Plan: Figure 3.18

CATALOGUE ID: HM07

Heraclea Minoa – Casa 1C
Date: Phase A: Phase B: end of the 2nd- to mid-1st- centuries BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 7

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway:
Room I
      Entrance corridor
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Access: right-angle
      c.   Axis: lateral
      d.   View: screened
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
Room II
      a.   Shape: irregular
      b.   Roof: open

c. Porticoes: 0
    d. Columns: 0
    e. Position: central
    f. Paving: non-paved

5. Main room(s):
Room III?
    a. Shape: square room
    b. Door: normal
    c. Position: south; bayonet
    d. Decorative pavement: ----
    e. Features: ----

6. Main-room dependent:
IIIa?
    a. Access (main) room: Room III
    b. Shape: rectangular
    c. Decorative pavement: ----
    d. Three-room suite: no
    e. Bipartite plan: yes
    f. Features: ----

7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room:
14. Other:
Three rooms with unidentifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception sequence: bayonet? Main room identification uncertain
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements: ----

Plan: Figure 3.18

C.2   Monte Iato (Iato)

Main sources: BTCGI X, 368-75; Brem 1997; Brem 2000; Bloesch and Isler 1971; Bloesch and Isler 1972; Dalcher 1994; Isler 1986; Isler 1988-1989; Isler 1990a; Isler 1990b; Isler 1991; Isler 1996; Isler 1997a; Isler 1997b; Isler 2000; Isler 2001; Isler 2009; Isler 2010; Isler and Spatafora 2004; Ruesser 2011; Russenberger forthcoming; Wilson 2000b, 716.

CATALOGUE ID: IATO01

Monte Iato – Peristyle House I
Date: highly contested; the interpretation for this study is: ca. 250 to 200 BC for the eastern courtyard and ca. 150 to 50 BC for the western annex. The excavators date these to ca. 300 BC and 200 BC respectively, while many authors suggest the first phase dates to ca. 180 BC.
House type: multiple-courtyard house
       Type-I: a single-colonnade courtyard and a colonnaded courtyard
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 24

Room type
1. Shop:
Eastern Courtyard
Rooms 3/4
      a.   Approach: piazza off the main road
      b.   Communication: independent
      c.   Form: bipartite
      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
      e.   Features / function: large drain from the courtyard, the presence of two large tubs, and finds that included iron combs, leads to the hypothesis that this may have been a fuller's workshop
Rooms 12/13
      a.   Approach: piazza off the main road
      b.   Communication: independent
      c.   Form: bipartite
      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
      e.   Features / function: ----
2. Entranceway:
Eastern Courtyard
Room 1
      Entrance room (square)
      a.   Approach: piazza off the main road
      b.   Access: direct
      c.   Axis: off-centre
      d.   View: screened
3. Entrance dependent:
Eastern Courtyard
Rooms 8 and 9
      Access into these rooms is unclear, possibly from the entranceway; Room 8 is hypothesised to have been an open organisational space due to a lack of any formal pavement or indication of a beaten floor; if so this could represent a stable
4. Organisational space:
Eastern Courtyard
Room 2
      Colonnaded courtyard
      a.   Shape: square
      b.   Roof: open
      c.   Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
      d.   Columns: 4 x 4
      e.   Position: central

f.   Paving: paved
<u>Western Annex</u>
Room 23
    Single-colonnade courtyard, possibly including a corridor
    a.   Shape: square, possibly irregular
    b.   Roof: open
    c.   Porticoes: 3; no 'broad portico' type
    d.   Columns: 2
    e.   Position: central
    f.   Paving: paved
         Evidence for a staircase in the south-west corner and a brick oven with a tiled roof
         in the north-west corner
5. Main room(s):
<u>Eastern Courtyard</u>
Room 16
    a.   Shape: square room
    b.   Door: exedral
    c.   Position: north; bayonet
    d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern (largely missing)
    e.   Features: two columns *in antis*; a central room of a Type-IV three-room suite:
         provides the sole access to Room 15, and communicates with Room 17
Room 17
    a.   Shape: square room
    b.   Door: normal
    c.   Position: north; axial
    d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern; 'doormat' inscription
    e.   Features: two off-centre doors (one from the organisational space and one from
         Room 16) and three windows (one from the organisational space and two from
         Room 16); a flanking room of a Type-IV three-room suite
Room 5
    a.   Shape: broad room
    b.   Door: normal
    c.   Position: west; orthogonal
    d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*: plain with no *tesserae*; single piece of *opus
         tessellatum*: plain (probably fall from upper floor)
    e.   Features: window onto the organisational space; the inclusion of a possible
         arched cistern in its western wall (see Room 6) may suggest that in the first phase
         it had more of a domestic (utilitarian) function
6. Main-room dependent:
<u>Eastern Courtyard</u>
Room 15
    a.   Access (main) room: Room 16 (a reception main room)
    b.   Shape: square
    c.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*, all-over pattern
    d.   Three-room suite: yes; flanking room of a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite
         (Rooms 15, 16, 17)
    e.   Bipartite plan: no
    f.   Features: a single off-centre door and two windows from Room 16; niche in the
         wall, evidence for two small altars, and the discovery of small terracotta figurines
         may indicate cultic activity, perhaps suggesting a more domestic (private, familial)
         nature and not a formal reception room

7. Dining-room:

<u>Eastern Courtyard</u>

Rooms 15 and 17

> Both rooms have off-centre doors and windows; they are also the flanking rooms of a Type-IV three-room suite, though only Room 15 is a dependent; Room 17 also has a threshold mosaic with a greeting; though formal dining is a likely function for these rooms, it is unlikely that they were used strictly for this purpose; the presence of two doors into Room 17 suggests that permanent dining couches were not used; Room 15 has possible evidence for a shrine, perhaps suggesting it was more domestic in nature and not a formal reception room

8. Food-preparation area:

<u>Eastern Courtyard</u>

Room 14

> Paved with limestone slabs and has an arched cistern in the north-east corner with an overflow drain that appears to have been connected to an urban water system

<u>Western Annex</u>

> See western annex courtyard for evidence of an oven

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Rooms 20, 21, 22 and 18?

> a. Hip-bath: ----
> b. Immersion bath (heated): Room 21
> c. Sweat-room: ----
> Bath-suite:
> a. Anteroom: Room 22 and possibly Room 18
> b. Main bath-installation: Room 21
> c. Service room: Room 20

Room 18

> Though its function is unclear, it may have had a different utility in its two main building phases:
> <u>First Phase:</u> the presence of post holes in an early pavement and a niche partway up the northern wall could be indicative of an upper loft-like area or *pergula*, perhaps indicating that this was a storeroom; at minimum, it had a bipartite plan, and this along with some indication of finer decorative treatment could also suggest a sleeping room
> <u>Second Phase:</u> communicates with both the courtyard and the bath-suite; the doors onto the bath-suite are later additions and coincide with a pavement of limestone slabs over the previous floors and a sunken terracotta basin; the function of the basin is uncertain, but it possibly represents a hearth; it is possible that this room acted as an anteroom for the bath-suite, with the hearth being used to heat the room for the waiting bathers

11. Small square room:

<u>Eastern Courtyard</u>

Room 2a

> a. Location: extension of portico
> b. Door: exedral
> c. Decorated: *opus signinum;* pattern unlcear
> d. Features: though an extension of the portico, this room is wider; it has been suggested that a staircase to the upper storey was located here.

12. Sleeping room:
Room 5?

> Suggested to be a 'magnificent bedroom' by Isler (Isler 2010, 326, n. 238), based upon a single piece of *opus tessellatum*, and the evidence for the rich decoration of the 'bedrooms' of Sol01 (Rooms D, J, E); though sleeping in this room is possible, like those it is compared with, this room is more likely to have been a reception room and is included here under main room

13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Eastern Courtyard
Rooms 10 and 19

> Positioned along the corridor that leads to the western annex; these are not well preserved, and there are no identifiable features to suggest function

Room 11

> Function not certain, probably utilitarian in nature due to a pavement of limestone slabs

Western Annex
Room 6

> Similar in size and shape to Room 5 (see main room); function unclear; in the first phase it had an arched cistern, which was covered up at a later time, that could be accessed from Room 5

Room 7

> Long corridor connecting the two courtyards; possibly unroofed and therefore part of the courtyard

Rooms 24 and 25

> Both accessed from the western courtyard; not preserved well enough to provide much information regarding their plan or function

Features
1. Reception sequence: bayonet
2. Three-room suite: Type-IV

> While Room 15 can only be entered from the central Room 16, Room 17 can be accessed from either the central room or the courtyard; Room 15 is also not visible from the courtyard itself

3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I (x2: arched cistern in the basins of both courtyards); Type-II (x 4: arched cisterns in Rooms 6, 7 and 14, as well as a cistern in the middle of Room 7);

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
> a. *Opus signinum*:
> Porticoes of the eastern courtyard (including Room 2a), Rooms 3, 4, 5, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22
> b. Chip-pavement: ----
> c. *Opus sectile*: ----
> d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
> e. *Opus tessellatum*:
> Fill: Rooms 16a and 17a (upper storey): polychrome rosettes (white and red on blue); only a few fragments
> Fill: Room 5a (upper storey): monochrome (white); only a single small fragment

    f.   Other:
        Limestone slabs: Rooms 11, 14, 18
        Opus spicatum: Room 1 and beside the western annex courtyard

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
    a.   Concentric:
        Fill: Room 17a? (*opus tessellatum*): geometric (rosettes); there are only a few
            fragmentary pieces.
    b.   All-over:
        Rooms 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, and 22 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
    c.   Pseudo-concentric: ----
    d.   Other:
        Porticoes (including Room 2a), Rooms, 3, 4, 5, 7, 18, and 19, (*opus signinum*)
        Fill: Rooms 5a and 16a, (*opus tessellatum)*
        Room 1 and beside the western annex courtyard (*opus spicatum)*
Supplementary pavement:
    a.   Door treatment:
        'Doormat': ----
        Threshold:
        Room 17 (*opus signinum*): inscription (ΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΑΙ / ΙΛΑΡΣΕΙΝ)
    b.   *Scendiletto*: ----
Tesserae alignment in plain *opus tessellatum*: unclear (fragments are not *in situ*)
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.28

CATALOGUE ID: IATO02

Monte Iato – Peristyle House II
Date: contested; excavators date construction to ca. 300 BC, though it is probably primarily a 2nd-century-BC building (see Iato01).
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 12 (+6 partially excavated)
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop:
Room 1
    a.   Approach: there is no clear entrance, presumably accessible from the main road
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: single, though there is a small walled area in the south-west corner
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: ----
Room 2
    a.   Approach: accessible from the main road
    b.   Communication: independent (?), there is a gap in the northern wall onto the courtyard
    c.   Form: single,
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*

        e.   Features / function: ----

2. Entranceway:

Room 3

       Entrance room (narrow)

        a.   Approach: accessible from the main road

        b.   Access: lateral

        c.   Axis: off-centre

        d.   View: open

3. Entrance dependent: ----

4. Organisational space:

        a.   Shape: square

        b.   Roof: open

        c.   Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type

        d.   Columns: 4 x 5

        e.   Position: central

        f.   Paving: paving of basin unclear

5. Main room(s):

Room 5

        a.   Shape: square room

        b.   Door: exedral

        c.   Position: west; orthogonal

        d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear

        e.   Features: central room of a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite (Rooms 4, 5, 6)

Room 7

        a.   Shape: long room

        b.   Door: normal

        c.   Position: east; orthogonal

        d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear

        e.   Features: ----

Room 8

        a.   Shape: square room

        b.   Door: normal, but there are also two windows onto the organisational space

        c.   Position: north; bayonet

        d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pseudo-concentric pattern

        e.   Features: off-centre door, windows, and pseudo-concentric pavement may suggest this was a dining-room; the discovery of a bell-krater also supports this, although its position on top of the rubble also suggest it is out of context

6. Main-room dependent:

Room 4

        a.   Access (main) room: Room 5 (a reception main room)

        b.   Shape: square

        c.   Decorative pavement: ----

        d.   Three-room suite: yes; flanking room of a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite (Rooms 4, 5, 6), though not canonical as Room 4 is on a separate axis and not visible from the courtyard.

        e.   Bipartite plan: no

        f.   Features: ----

Room 6

        a.   Access (main) room: Room 5 (a reception main room)

        b.   Shape: square

      c. Decorative pavement: ----
      d. Three-room suite: yes; flanking room of a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite (Rooms 4, 5, 6), though not canonical (see Room 4 above)
      e. Bipartite plan: no
      f. Features: ----

7. Dining-room:
Room 8? (see above)
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area:
Rooms 17, 18? and 19 (only partially excavated)
      d. Hip-bath: ----
      e. Immersion bath (heated): Room 19
      f. Sweat-room: ----
      Bath-suite:
      d. Anteroom: 18?
      e. Main bath-installation: Room 19
      f. Service room: Room 17

11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Plan incomplete; at least one room the northern side and 2 more on the eastern side of the courtyard are presumed. Recent excavations preserve evidence of 5 additional rooms, plus a portico, in an annex to the east. These include the possible bath-suite of Rooms 17 – 19.

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal, bayonet
2. Three-room suite: Type-II (Macedonia): Room 4 is irregularly shaped and not visible from the central room.
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
      a. *Opus signinum*:
      Porticoes, Rooms 4, 7, and 8
      b. Chip-pavement:
      Room 5
      c. *Opus sectile*: ----
      d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
      e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
      f. Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
      a. Concentric: ----
      b. All-over:
      Porticoes (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges)
      c. Pseudo-concentric:

Room 8 (*opus signinum*): border geometric (rows); central field geometric
(lozenges)
    d. Other:
       Rooms 4 and 7 (*opus signinum)*
       Room 5 (chip-pavement)
Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.32

CATALOGUE ID: IATO03

Monte Iato – East Quarter 1
Date: contested; excavators date construction to ca. 300 BC, though it is probably primarily
a 2nd-century-BC building (see Iato01)
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house?
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 4
Plan fragmentary

Room type
1. Shop:
A room on the south does not appear to have a doorway from the courtyard; the wall onto
the street is not excavated
2. Entranceway:
Room 1 (entrance unclear)
    Entrance room (square)
      a. Approach: approached from the main road
      b. Access: right-angle (room leads directly into a second room on the courtyard)
      c. Axis: lateral
      d. View: screened
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
Not fully excavated; there are remains of two bases on the southern *stylobate* and one on
the west (it is reconstructed as 5 x 5); the porticoes were paved with *opus signinum*, the
pavement of the basin is unclear
5. Main room(s): ----
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Evidence for another room on the south side of the organisational space; walls are not
excavated and an identification of communication is not available

Features
1. Reception sequence: ----
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
- a. *Opus signinum*:
   Porticoes and Room 2
- b. Chip-pavement: ----
- c. *Opus sectile*: ----
- d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
- e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
- f. Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
- a. Concentric: ----
- b. All-over: ----
- c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
- d. Other:
   Porticoes and Room 2 (*opus signinum*): pattern (if any) unclear

Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.33

CATALOGUE ID: IATO04

Monte Iato – East Quarter 2
Date: contested; excavators date construction to ca. 300 BC, though it is probably primarily a 2nd-century-BC building (see Iato01).
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house?
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 12
Plan fragmentary and highly irregular

Room type
1. Shop:
Two single rooms along the southern end of the building with apparent access from the main road and no indication of communication with the interior
2. Entranceway:
Room 3
   Entrance room (square)
   a. Approach: from the main road
   b. Access: direct? Plan unclear
   c. Axis: lateral
   d. View: open? Northern wall unclear
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:

Plan incomplete
- a. Shape: square
- b. Roof: open
- c. Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
- d. Columns: 3 x 4?
- e. Position: central
- f. Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):
Large room on the western side of the courtyard with a narrow door; paved with *opus signinum* (pattern, if any, unclear) and appears to communicate with another unexcavated room

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:
Eastern annex
- a. Hip-bath: ----
- b. Immersion bath: ----
- c. Sweat-room: Room B

Bath-suite:
Possibly the entire annex; there is a series of at least five other rooms
- a. Anteroom: possibly the room(s) to the east of Room B
- b. Main bath-installation: Room B
- c. Service room: ----

11. Small square room: ----

12. Secluded room: ----

13. Sleeping room: ----

14. Other:
Remains of a large room to the north of the courtyard

Features
1. Reception sequence: ----
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ---
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
- a. *Opus signinum*:
  Porticoes; Room 3; and four rooms in eastern annex
- b. Chip-pavement: ----
- c. *Opus sectile*: ----
- d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
- e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
- f. Other:
  Limestone slabs: basin; room on the far east side

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
- a. Concentric: ----
- b. All-over:

Porticoes (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
  c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
  d. Other:
      Room 3, and four rooms in eastern annex (*opus signinum)*: pattern (if any) unclear
Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.33

C.3   Licata (Lic)

Main Sources: Amore et al. 2002; BTCGI IX, 24-40; Carità 2004; De Miro, A. 2004; Fiorentini 1988-1989; Fiorentini 1997-1998; La Torre 2004a; La Torre 2006; La Torre 2008; Manni 1971; Manni 1981, 60, 217-8; Raffa and Limoncelli 2011; Stillwell 1976, 707; von Boeselager 1983, 75-6; Wilson 2000b, 719.

CATALOGUE ID: LIC01

Licata – Casa 1
Date: end of the 3rd- to mid-1st- centuries-BC
House type: corridor house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 10

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway: ----
Not a separate room
  a. Approach: *stenopos*
  b. Access: direct
  c. Axis: lateral
  d. View: partially screened
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
  a. Shape: corridor
  b. Roof: open
  c. Porticoes: 2
  d. Columns: 0
  e. Position: central
  f. Paving: paved
5. Main room(s):
Room 2
  a. Shape: square room
  b. Door: normal
  c. Position: north; orthogonal
  d. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern

       e.   Features: simple altar, made from stucco, corresponds to a deep niche in the wall; probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception (see Room 3)

Room 3
       a.   Shape: square room
       b.   Door: normal
       c.   Position: north; orthogonal
       d.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern
       e.   Features: interpreted as a main room intended for reception based upon its proximity to the entrance, possible evidence for dining couches, and the more elaborate treatment of the pavement in its sister room in Lic03

6. Main-room dependent:

Room 1
       a.   Access (main) room: Room 2 (a domestic main room)
       b.   Shape: rectangular
       c.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement and *opus signinum* (alcove), plain (no) pattern
       d.   Three-room suite: no
       e.   Bipartite plan: yes.
       f.   Features: a sleeping room, bath, or a food-preparation area?

7. Dining-room:

Room 3
    See main room

8. Food-preparation area:

Rooms 1, 4, or 7
    Excavators identify Rooms 4 and 7 as the 'kitchen with pantry'; the presence of a possible bathing area in the alcove of Room 1 and its possible indication of a flue suggests another possibility for a food-preparation area

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Alcove of Room 1
    Identification based on *opus signinum* floor, niche in the wall, possible evidence for a flue, and possible remnants of a small basin (bathtub); its sister room in Lic02 also preserves evidence for a terracotta pipe

11. Small square room: ----

12. Sleeping room:

Room 1
    Narrow room with a bipartite plan (see also main-room dependent and bathing area)

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Rooms 6, 8, 9, 10
    No identifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal
2. Three-room Suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:

a. *Opus signinum*:
   Alcove of Room 1
b. Chip-pavement:
   Rooms 1, 2, and 3
c. *Opus sectile*: ----
d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
f. Other:
   Courtyard paved with terracotta slabs

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
a. Concentric: ----
b. All-over: ----
c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
d. Other:
   Alcove of Room 1 (*opus signinum*): pattern (if any) unclear
   Rooms 1, 2, 3 (chip-pavement): no pattern

Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 3.6

CATALOGUE ID: LIC02

Licata – Casa 2
Date: end of the 3rd- to mid-1st- centuries-BC
House type: corridor house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 10

Room type
1. Shop:
Room 9
a. Approach: *stenopos*
b. Communication: independent
c. Form: single
d. No evidence for a *pergula*
e. Features / function: the room is not well preserved, but the excavators suggest that it was probably accessed from the street
2. Entranceway:
Room 10
   Not a separate room, but a corridor that extends from the door to the courtyard
a. Approach: *stenopos*
b. Access: direct
c. Axis: lateral
d. View: partially screened
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
a. Shape: corridor
b. Roof: open

    c.   Porticoes: 2

    d.   Columns: 0

    e.   Position: central

    f.   Paving: paved (based on the presence of tiles from Lic01)

5. Main room(s):

Room 2

    a.   Shape: square room

    b.   Door: normal

    c.   Position: north; orthogonal

    d.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern

    e.   Features: simple altar, made from stucco; probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception (see Room 3)

Room 3

    a.   Shape: square room

    b.   Door: normal

    c.   Position: north; orthogonal

    d.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern

    e.   Features: interpreted as a main room intended for reception based upon its proximity to the entrance, possible evidence for dining couches in its sister room of Lic01, and the more elaborate treatment of the pavement in Lic03.

6. Main-room dependent:

Room 1

    a.   Access (main) room: Room 2 (a domestic main room)

    b.   Shape: rectangular

    c.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern

    d.   Three-room suite: no

    e.   Bipartite plan: yes

    f.   Features: a sleeping room, bath, or a food-preparation area?

7. Dining-room:

Room 3

    See main room

8. Food-preparation area:

Rooms 1, 4, or 7

    Excavators identify Rooms 4 and 7 as the 'kitchen with a pantry', Room 4 has remains of a small oven and evidence for burning; the presence of a possible bathing area in the alcove of Room 1 and its possible indication of a flue suggests another possibility for a food-preparation area

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Alcove of Room 1

    Identification based on remains of a terracotta pipe; as well as the *opus signinum* floor, niche in the wall, possible evidence for a flue, and remnants of a small basin (bathtub) in its sister room of Lic01

11. Small square room: ----

12. Secluded room: ----

13. Sleeping room:

Room 1

    Narrow room with a bipartite plan (see also main-room dependent and bathing area)

14. Other:

Rooms 6, 8, 9

    No identifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
    a.   *Opus signinum*: ----
    b.   Chip-pavement:
        Rooms 1, 2, and 3
    c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
    d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
    e.   *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
    f.   Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
Chip-pavement, plain (no) pattern
Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 3.6

CATALOGUE ID: LIC03

Licata – Casa 3
Date: end of the 3rd- to mid-1st- centuries-BC
House type: corridor house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 4
Plan incomplete; interpretations largely based on its similarities to Lic01 and Lic02

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway: ----
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
    a.   Shape: corridor
    b.   Roof: open
    c.   Porticoes: 2
    d.   Columns: 0
    e.   Position: central
    f.   Paving: non-paved
5. Main room(s):
Room 2
    a.   Shape: square room
    b.   Door: narrow
    c.   Position: north; orthogonal
    d.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern

e.   Features: simple altar, made from stucco; probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception (see Room 3)

Room 3
- a.   Shape: square room
- b.   Door: normal
- c.   Position: north; orthogonal
- d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum;* all-over pattern
- e.   Features: interpreted as a main room intended for reception based upon its proximity to the entrance and the more elaborate treatment of its pavement

6. Main-room dependent:

Room 1
- a.   Access (main) room: Room 2 (a domestic main room)
- b.   Shape: rectangular
- c.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern
- d.   Three-room suite: no
- e.   Bipartite plan: yes
- f.   Features: a sleeping room, bath, or a food-preparation area?

7. Dining-room:

Room 3
    See main room

8. Food-preparation area:

Room 1?
    Identification based upon features of its sister room in Lic01 and Lic02; these are: remains of a terracotta pipe (Lic02); as well as the *opus signinum* floor, niche in the wall, possible evidence for a flue, and remnants of a small basin (Lic01)

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Alcove of Room 1
    Identification based upon features of its sister rooms in Lic01 and Lic02; these are: remains of a terracotta pipe (Lic02); as well as the *opus signinum* floor, niche in the wall, possible evidence for a flue, and remnants of a small basin (Lic01)

11. Small square room: ----

12. Sleeping room:

Room 1?,
    Narrow room with a bipartite plan (see also main-room dependent and bathing area)

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Room 4
    No identifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
- a.   *Opus signinum*:
      Room 3
- b.   Chip-pavement:

Rooms 1 and 2
    c. *Opus sectile*: ----
    d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
    e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
    f. Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
    a. Concentric: ----
    b. All-over:
        Room 3 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
    c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
    d. Other:
        Rooms 1 and 2 (chip-pavement): plain (no) pattern
Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 3.6

CATALOGUE ID: LIC04

Licata – Casa 5
Date: end of the 3rd- to mid-1st- centuries-BC
House type: corridor house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 9
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway:
Not a separate room
    a. Approach: *stenopos*
    b. Access: direct
    c. Axis: central
    d. View: partially screened
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
    a. Shape: corridor
    b. Roof: open
    c. Porticoes: 0
    d. Columns: 0
    e. Position: central 0
    f. Paving: ----
5. Main room(s):
Room 2
    a. Shape: square room
    b. Door: normal
    c. Position: north; orthogonal
    d. Decorative pavement: ----

e. Features: probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception (see Room 3).

Room 3
- a. Shape: square room
- b. Door: normal
- c. Position: north; orthogonal
- d. Decorative pavement: ----
- e. Features: interpreted as a main room intended for reception based upon its proximity to the entrance, possible evidence for dining couches in its sister room of Lic01, and the more elaborate treatment of the pavement in Lic03.

6. Main-room dependent:

Room 1
- a. Access (main) room: Room 2 (a domestic main room)
- b. Shape: rectangular
- c. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern
- d. Three-room suite: no
- e. Bipartite plan: yes
- f. Features: a sleeping room, bath, or a food-preparation area?

7. Dining-room:

Room 3

See main room

8. Food-preparation area:

Room 1

The presence of a possible bathtub in the alcove of Lic01 Room 1, and its possible indication of a flue, suggests that this could be a food-preparation area

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Alcove of Room 1

Identification based upon features of its sister rooms in Lic01 and Lic02; these are: remains of a terracotta pipe (Lic02); as well as the *opus signinum* floor, niche in the wall, possible evidence for a flue, and remnants of a small basin (Lic01)

11. Small square room: ----

12. Sleeping room:

Room 1?

Narrow room with a bipartite plan (see also main-room dependent and bathing area)

13. Secluded room:

14. Other:

Plan incomplete; evidence for at least an additional five rooms

Features

1. Reception sequence: orthogonal

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-I

Decorative pavements: ----

Plan: Figure 3.6

C.4   Marsala (Mar)

Main Sources: Bisi 1966; BTCGI IX, 42-76; Di Stefano 1974; Di Stefano 1976; Di Stefano 1976-1977; Di Stefano 1980; Di Stefano 1984; Giglio 1997; Giglio 2003; Giglio and Vecchio 2006; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 224-230; Manni 1981, 57; Marconi Bovio 1939-1940, 389-90; Ruggieri 1975; Stillwell 1976, 509-10; Wilson 1990a, 122-124; Wilson 2000b, 716.

CATALOGUE ID: MAR02

Marsala – Via Sabilla Casa
Date: 2nd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 5
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop: ---
2. Entranceway: ----
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
- a.   Shape: square
- b.   Roof: open
- c.   Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
- d.   Columns: 2 x 2
- e.   Position: central
- f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s): ----
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
At least four surrounding rooms; a plan is not provided and the number of rooms is not stated

Features
1. Reception sequence: plan incomplete
2. Three-room suite: plan incomplete
3. Decorative garden: plan incomplete
4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV (central basin connected to a cistern that drew from two wells)

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:

a. *Opus signinum*:
   Four surrounding rooms and courtyard including basin
b. Chip-pavement: ---
c. *Opus sectile*: ----
d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
e. *Opus tessellatum*:
   The central basin preserves evidence of being paved with monochrome (white) *opus tessellatum*; two rooms preserve evidence for a second paving in bichrome (black and white) over *opus signinum*
f. Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
   a. Concentric: ----
   b. All-over:
      Courtyard (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges)
   c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
   d. Other:
      Two rooms and basin (*opus tessellatum*): pattern (if any) unclear
      Four rooms (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges or crosslets)
Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: not indicated
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: none published

CATALOGUE ID: MAR03

Marsala – Via della Ninfe Casa
Date: 2nd century BC
House type: single-colonnade-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 2
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway: ----
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
   a. Shape: irregular? Plan incomplete
   b. Roof: open? Plan incomplete
   c. Porticoes: 1? Plan incomplete
   d. Columns: 4
   e. Position: ? Plan incomplete
   f. Paving: paved
5. Main room(s): ----
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area:

Room 3
> Identification based upon *opus signinum* floors, plastered walls, and its proximity to the cistern

11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Plan too fragmentary to identify additional rooms

Features
1. Reception sequence: ----
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
> a. *Opus signinum*:
> Courtyard (feature 2); basin (feature 1); Room 3
> b. Chip-pavement: ----
> c. *Opus sectile*: ----
> d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
> e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
> f. Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
> a. Concentric: ----
> b. All-over: ----
> c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
> d. Other:
> Courtyard (feature 2); basin (feature 1); Room 3 (*opus signinum*): pattern (if any) unclear; Giglio (1997, 126) mentions two rooms with superimposed pavements in *opus signinum*, with the most recent having *tesserae* in lozenges, however, it is not clear if this is Room 3 or if she is speaking of additional rooms on the other side of the portico

Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.15.B

CATALOGUE ID: MAR04

Marsala – Viale Vittorio Veneto, Area II Casa
Date: 2nd century BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 1
Plan incomplete

Room type

1. Shop: ---
2. Entranceway: ----
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
- a.   Shape: square
- b.   Roof: open
- c.   Porticoes: 0; no 'broad portico' type
- d.   Columns: 0
- e.   Position: central
- f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s): ----
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Plan is incomplete and number of surrounding rooms not clear

Features
1. Reception sequence: plan incomplete
2. Three-room suite: plan incomplete
3. Decorative garden: plan incomplete
4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV (central basin connected to a cistern)

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
- a.   *Opus signinum*:
  Courtyard and at least one room
- b.   Chip-pavement: ---
- c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
- d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
- e.   *Opus tessellatum*: ----
- f.   Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern: unclear (if any)
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.15.C

C.5   Morgantina (Morg)

Main Sources: Allen 1970; Allen 1974; Bell 1980; Bell 1988; Bell 2000; Bell 2008; Bell 2011; BTCGI, XVIII, 724-751; Buttrey 1962; Childs 1979; Crouch 1984; Edlund-Berry 1990; Erim 1958; Mancini 2006; Manni 1981, 204-5; 207; Morgantina Studies; Phillips 1960; Sjöqvist 1958; Sjöqvist 1960; Sjöqvist 1962; Sjöqvist 1964; Sposito 1995; Sposito 2008;

Stillwell 1959; Stillwell 1961; Stillwell 1963; Stillwell 1967; Stillwell 1976, 594-5; Stone 1981; Tsakirgis 1984; Tsakirgis 1989a; Tsakirgis 1990; Tsakirgis 1995; von Boeselager 1983, 20-24; Wilson 1985b, 298; Wilson 2000b, 718.

CATALOGUE ID: MORG01

Morgantina – House of Ganymede
Date: Phase A: second half of the 3rd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Date: Phase B: 2nd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house (x2)
      Or a multiple-courtyard house?
      Type-II: two separate colonnaded courtyards
      Commonly reconstructed as two separate houses, though it is possible that it
      remained a single residence
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 24

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway:
Room 21
      Entrance room (square)
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Access: right-angle
      c.   Axis: off-centre
      d.   View: screened
3. Entrance dependent:
Room 22 (see Latrine below)
4. Organisational space:
Original phase
      a.   Shape: rectangular
      b.   Roof: open
      c.   Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
      d.   Columns: 7 x 3
      e.   Position: central
      f.   Paving: paved
5. Main room(s):
Room 1
      a.   Shape: square room
      b.   Door: normal
      c.   Position: east; bayonet
      d.   Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern
      e.   Features: interpreted as a reception main room based upon its decorative
          pavement and off-centre door
Room 2
      a.   Shape: square room
      b.   Door: normal
      c.   Position: east; axial
      d.   Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern

e.   Features: interpreted as a reception main room based upon its decorative pavement and off-centre door

Room 11
   a.   Shape: broad room
   b.   Door: normal
   c.   Position: east; bayonet
   d.   Decorative pavement: ----
   e.   Features: on the exterior of the door was found stucco that was moulded to form a frame

Room 14
   a.   Shape: square room
   b.   Door: normal
   c.   Position: east; bayonet
   d.   Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern
   e.   Features: interpreted as a reception main room based upon its decorative pavement and off-centre door; location of the eponymous mosaic

Room 17
   a.   Shape: broad room
   b.   Door: wide
   c.   Position: north; orthogonal
   d.   Decorative pavement: ----
   e.   Features: series of rooms dependent upon it; probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception

6. Main-room dependent:
Room 9/10
   a.   Access (main) room: Room 11 (a reception main room)
   b.   Shape: rectangular
   c.   Decorative pavement: see features below
   d.   Three-room suite: no
   e.   Bipartite plan: yes. Room 10 is dependent upon Room 11, and Room 9 upon Room 10.
   f.   Features: a raised platform on the southern side of Room 10 that is paved with plain *opus signinum* is thought by Tsakirgis to support a bed or mattress (Tsakirgis 1984, 79-80); it is possible that it was used to support a bathtub; Room 9 preserves only an earth beaten floor, but the walls were finely decorated

Room 15/16
   a.   Access (main) room: Room 17 (a domestic main room)
   b.   Shape: rectangular
   c.   Decorative pavement: Room 15 is paved with plain *opus signinum*
   d.   Three-room suite: no
   e.   Bipartite plan: yes. Room 16 is dependent upon Room 17, and Room 15 upon Room 16
   f.   Features: ----

Room 18
   a.   Access (main) room: Room 17 (a domestic main room)
   b.   Shape: rectangular
   c.   Decorative pavement: ----
   d.   Three-room suite: no
   e.   Bipartite plan: uncertain: communicates with a further room (Room 19); the evidence for the rooms on this side of the house is very fragmentary, and their nature with the courtyard is uncertain

      f.   Features: ----

7. Dining-room:

Rooms 1, 2, 14 (see main room above)

      Concentric mosaics and off-centre doors

      Room 2: though the main mosaic is centered on the rooms, the 'doormat' mosaic is aligned to the off-centre door

8. Food-preparation area:

Room 15

      Large quantities of coarse ware found and an *opus signinum* (plain) floor

9. Latrine:

Room 22

      Two U-shaped exit drains, which run through the room and empty onto the street, and could have been used as a flushing mechanism

10. Bathing area:

Crouch states that the house "had at least two bathrooms on the ground floor" (Crouch 1984, 357), but gives no indication of which rooms these were, or identifiable features

Room 10

      Paved (plain *opus signinum*) platform on the southern side; possible support for a terracotta bathtub

Rooms 7 and 8

      a.   Hip-bath: ----

      b.   Immersion bath: ----

      c.   Sweat-room: Room 8

      Bath-suite?

      a.   Anteroom: Room 7

      b.   Main bath-installation: Room 8

      c.   Service room: ----

11. Small square room:

Room 23

      a.   Location: extension of portico

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Non-decorated

      d.   Features: ----

12. Sleeping room:

Rooms 9 and 10 (see main-room dependent above)

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Rooms 4 and 12

      Corridor

Room 13

      Possibly a stairwell

Rooms 3, 5, 6, 19, 20

      No identifiable features / function

Features

1. Reception sequence: primarily bayonet, but main room of a more domestic nature was orthogonal

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----.

4. Water collection and storage: Type-I (x 2)

Decorative pavements = Phase A
1. Pavement type:
   a.   *Opus signinum*:
        Courtyard (white and polychrome *tesserae* between columns on the east and
        west)
        Rooms 7 and 15
        Platform in Room 10
   b.   Chip-pavement:
        Rooms 1 and 2
   c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
   d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
   e.   *Opus tessellatum*:
        Rooms 1, 2, 14: all polychrome (white, grey, red, blue, black, yellow, green,
             brown, and orange); subsidiary: chip-pavement in Rooms 1 and 2, *opus
             tessellatum* in Room 14
   f.   Other:
        Ceramic pavement in *opus spicatum*: basin, later covered with plaster
2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
   a.   Concentric:
        Room 1 (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: chip-pavement; outer frame:
             geometric (waves); central panel: missing, white *tesserae*; inner frame:
             geometric (meander)
        Room 2 (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: chip-pavement; central panel:
             geometric (meander); no frame
        Room 14 (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: *opus tessellatum*; frame: geometric
             (meander); central panel: figural (Ganymede)
   b.   All-over:
        Porticos (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
   c.   Pseudo-concentric: ----
   d.   Other:
        Rooms 7 and 15 and the platform in Room 10 (*opus signinum*): plain with no inset
        tesserae
Supplementary pavement:
   a.   Door treatment:
        'Doormat':
        Room 1 (*opus tessellatum*): central panel: figural? Only a small portion remains
             extant, interpreted as a griffin; frame: geometric (meander)
        Room 2 (*opus tessellatum*): central panel: figural (fillet); frame: figural (vine scroll)
        Threshold: ----
   b.   *Scendiletto*: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum:
   a.   *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion:
        Room 14: 'doormat'
   b.   *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion:
        Room 1: central panel
        Room 14: adjusting border
   c.   *Tesserae* laid in a random fashion:
        Rooms 1 and 2: adjusting border
3. Other decorative pavement features:
        Opus tessellatum from Rooms 1, 2, and 14 are 'transitional' technique

Plan: Figure 5.5

CATALOGUE ID: MORG02

Morgantina – House of the Arched Cistern
Date: Phase A: second half of the 3rd century BC
House type: multiple-courtyard house
      Type-I: single colonnade courtyard (north) and a colonnaded courtyard (south)
Date: Phase B: 2nd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house (x2)
      Or a multiple-courtyard house?
      Type-II: two separate colonnaded courtyards
      Commonly reconstructed as two separate houses that shared a communal entrance,
      though it is possible that it remained a single residence
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 30

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway:
Room 11
Entrance room (square)
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Access: right-angle
      c.   Axis: lateral
      d.   View: screened
3. Entrance dependent:
Rooms 7 and 17
4. Organisational space:
South Courtyard
      a.   Shape: rectangular
      b.   Roof: open
      c.   Porticoes: 3; 'broad portico' type (south)
      d.   Columns: 6 x 3 (highly irregular: east: only two columns (*in antis*); north: 3; south 4
           columns and 2 piers; west: two columns one pier)
      e.   Position: central
      f.   Paving: non-paved
North Courtyard
      a.   Shape: square
      b.   Roof: open
      c.   Porticoes: 4; 'broad portico' type (north)
      d.   Columns: 3 x 4
      e.   Position: central
      f.   Paving: paved
5. Main room(s):
South Courtyard
Room 1
      a.   Shape: square room
      b.   Door: wide
      c.   Position: south; bayonet
      d.   Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern

e. Features: interpreted as a reception room based upon decorative pavement

Room 4
    a. Shape: other (medium-sized rectangular room)
    b. Door: normal
    a. Position: west; orthogonal
    c. Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern
    d. Features: possibly a dining-room (see below); communicates with the courtyard and the bath-suite (see below)

Room 5
    a. Shape: other (medium-sized rectangular room)
    b. Door: normal
    b. Position: west; orthogonal
    c. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern
    d. Features: possibly a dining-room (see below)

Room 12
    a. Shape: square room
    b. Door: exedral
    c. Position: north; U
    d. Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern
    e. Features: evidence for a folding screen door (limestone sill and bronze pivot plate were found *in situ*); interpreted as a reception room based upon decorative pavement

Room 14
    a. Shape: long room
    b. Door: normal
    c. Position: south; bayonet
    d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern
    e. Features: approached by a narrow corridor (Room 10) off the courtyard; interpreted as a reception main room based upon decorative treatment, but location suggests a more intimate setting

Room 15
    a. Shape: square room
    b. Door: exedral
    c. Position: east; orthogonal
    d. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern
    e. Features: two columns *in antis*; central room of a Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite (8, 13, 15)

North Courtyard

Room 21
    a. Shape: broad room
    b. Door: normal
    c. Position: north; bayonet
    d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; plain (scatter) pattern
    e. Features: platform in the north-east corner (possible support for a terracotta bathtub); probably a domestic main room and not intended for reception

Room 19?
    a. Shape: broad room
    b. Door: normal
    c. Position: east; orthogonal
    d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear
    e. Features: probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception

Room 22?
- a. Shape: long room
- b. Door: normal
- c. Position: north; axial
- d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear
- e. Features: probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception

6. Main-room dependent:

South Courtyard

Rooms 8
- a. Access (main) room: 15 (a reception main room)
- b. Shape: square
- c. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern
- d. Three-room suite: yes; flanking room of the Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite (rooms 8, 13, 15); doors added during Phase B to provide access to Room 8 from the portico and Room 9
- e. Bipartite plan: no
- f. Features: ----

Room 13
- a. Access (main) room: 15 (a reception main room)
- b. Shape: square
- c. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern
- d. Three-room suite: yes; flanking room of the Type-II (Macedonian) three-room suite (rooms 8, 13, 15); communication of rooms changed during phase B.
- e. Bipartite plan: yes (doors added during Phase B to provide access to Room 16 from Room 13)
- f. Features: ----

North Courtyard

Room 23
- a. Access (main) room: Room 22 (a domestic main room)
- b. Shape: rectangular
- c. Decorative pavement: ----
- d. Three-room suite: no
- e. Bipartite plan: no
- f. Features: ----

Room 24/25
- a. Access (main) room: 21 (a domestic main room?)
- b. Shape: rectangular
- c. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*, all-over pattern; threshold mosaic (*opus tessellatum*)
- d. Three-room suite: no
- e. Bipartite plan: yes
- f. Features: floor decoration with *a pseudo-scendiletto* suggests this could have been used as a sleeping room (see below)

7. Dining-room:

South Courtyard

Room 4?
> Medium-sized, well-decorated room; probably a minor reception room; concentric mosaic; two doors, one from courtyard, one from bath-suite

Room 5?
> Medium-sized well-decorated room; possibly a minor reception room

8. Food-preparation area:

South Courtyard

Room 16

    Floor paved with square terracotta slabs; a trough along the west wall was filled with greasy black ash and pottery; terracotta pipe leads into the basin of the north courtyard

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

South Courtyard

Room 21?

    Platform in the north-east corner; possible support for a terracotta bathtub

North Courtyard

Room 3

    a. Hip-bath: ----

    b. Immersion bath (heated): basin built into the southern wall that is plastered with waterproof stucco and has a drain in the north-east corner; a presumably terracotta tub would have been placed within the basin, which would have allowed for circulation of warm air to heat the water

    c. Sweat-room: ----

    Bath-suite

    a. Anteroom: northern half of the room

    b. Main bath-installation: southern half of the room

    c. Service room: uncertain; unexcavated area to the south of the house?

11. Small square room:

<u>North Courtyard</u>

Room 26

    a. Location: extension of a 'broad portico' type

    b. Door: normal

    c. Decorated: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern; threshold mosaic

    d. Features

Room 27

    a. Location: extension of a 'broad portico' type

    b. Door: exedral

    c. Decorated: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern

    d. Features: ----

12. Secluded room:

<u>North Courtyard</u>

Room 25

    Small square room

    a. Door: narrow

    b. Decorated: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern; floor decoration with *a pseudo-scendiletto* suggests this could have been used as a sleeping room.

    c. Features: this room is dependent upon another main-room dependent; it was divided into two during Phase B

Room 25b

    Small square room

    a. Door: narrow

    b. Non-decorated

    c. Features: dependent on Room 20

13. Sleeping room:

<u>South Courtyard</u>

Room 9?

Small size; secluded; possible *pseudo-scendiletto* (see below)

North Courtyard

Rooms 24, 25, 26?; there is *a pseudo-scendiletto* in each room (see small square room and main-room dependent above)

14. Other:

North Courtyard

Rooms 2 and 10

Corridors

Room 18

No identifiable features / function

Room 20

Medium-sized room; possibly a minor reception room based upon the decorative pavement (*opus signinum* with an all-over pattern of lozenges) outside its entrance (Room 27)

Features

1. Reception sequence:

South Courtyard

Bayonet x2; orthogonal x1; U x1

North Courtyard

Axial x1; bayonet x2; orthogonal x 1

2. Three-room suite: Type-II: modified in Phase B

3. Decorative garden: south courtyard: no evidence for paving; central fountain

4. Water collection and storage: Type-II: arched cistern in Room 2

Decorative pavements

1. Pavement type:

South Courtyard

a. *Opus signinum*:
   South portico; Rooms 3 (northern half); 8, 9, 10, 13, and 14

b. Chip-pavement:
   North portico; Rooms 5 and 15 (possibly Phase A)

c. *Opus sectile*: ----

d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----

e. *Opus tessellatum*:
   Room 1: polychrome (white with red on blue); subsidiary monochrome (white)
   Room 3: (southern half): monochrome white
   Room 4: polychrome (white, purple, blue, red, and yellow); subsidiary monochrome (white)
   Room 11: monochrome (white)
   Room 12: bichrome (blue and white); subsidiary monochrome (white)

f. Other:
   Terracotta slabs: Room 16

North Courtyard

a. *Opus signinum*:
   Porticoes; Rooms 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, and 27

b. Chip-pavement: ----

c. *Opus sectile*: ----

d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----

e. *Opus tessellatum*:
   Room 24 (threshold mosaic): polychrome (white, yellow, red, and blue)

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f. Other:
    Terracotta slabs: basin

2. Pavement pattern:

<u>South Courtyard</u>

Main pavement:

    a. Concentric:
        Room 1(*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: white *tesserae*; frame: geometric (meander); central panel: white *tesserae*
        Room 4 (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: white *tesserae*; frame: geometric (guilloche); central field: white *tesserae*
        Room 12 (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: white *tesserae*; central field: white *tesserae*; frame: geometric (wave pattern edged with a checkerboard pattern); central panel: missing
    b. All-over:
        South porticoes, Rooms 8, 10, 13 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
        Room 9 (*opus signinum*): geometric (northern section rows; centre lozenges with a blue centre; southern section lozenges)
        Room 13 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
    c. Pseudo-concentric:
        Room 14 (*opus signinum*): border: geometric (rows); central field: geometric (poised squares)
    d. Other:
        Room 3 (north half *opus signinum*; south half *opus tessellatum*): plain (no) pattern
        North portico, Rooms 5 and 15 (chip-pavement): plain (no) pattern
        Room 11 (*opus tessellatum*): plain (no) pattern

Supplementary pavement:

    a. Door treatment: ----
    b. *Scendiletto*:
        <u>True</u>:
        Room 9 (*opus signinum*)?: northern half and southern half of the room have differing patterns with a strip between them (see all-over above); this likely reflects the expansion of this room to include the portico and not a deliberate attempt to separate the room into two portions
        <u>Pseudo</u>: -----

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum:

    a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion:
        Room 1 (adjusting border)
        Rooms 4 and 12 (adjusting border and central panel)
    b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion:
        Room 3 (southern half)

<u>North Courtyard</u>

Main pavement:

    a. Concentric: ----
    b. All-over:
        Room 24 (*opus signinum*): geometric (eastern section lozenges, western section rows)
        Room 25 (*opus signinum*): geometric (eastern section rows; western section lozenges)
        Room 26 (*opus signinum*): geometric (eastern section *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion; western section *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion)
        Room 27 (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges)

c.   Pseudo-concentric: ----
        d.   Other:
             Porticoes; Rooms 19, 22 (*opus signinum*): pattern (if any) unclear
             Room 21: (*opus signinum*): no inset *tesserae*
Supplementary pavement:
        a.   Door treatment:
             'Doormat': ----
             Threshold:
             Room 24 (*opus tessellatum*): geometric (perspective cubes)
             Room 25 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rosette)
             Room 26 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows, *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion)
        b.   *Scendiletto*:
             True: ----
             Pseudo:
             Room 24 (*opus signinum*): eastern section lozenges, western section rows
             Room 25 (*opus signinum*): eastern section rows; western section lozenges
             Room 26 (*opus signinum*): eastern section *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion;
                  western section *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion
Tesserae **alignment in plain *opus tessellatum***: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.8

CATALOGUE ID: MORG03

Morgantina – House of the Official
Date: Phase A: second half of the 3rd century BC
House type: multiple-courtyard house
        Type-I: single-colonnade courtyard (north) and a colonnaded courtyard (south)
Date: Phase B: 2nd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house (x2)
        Or a multiple-courtyard house?
        Type-II: two separate colonnaded courtyards
        Commonly reconstructed as two separate houses that shared a communal entrance,
        though it is possible that it remained a single residence
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 25

Room type
1. Shop:
Potter's Workshop
Room 21
        a.   Approach: *plateia*
        b.   Communication: unclear, south wall no longer exists
        c.   Form: single
        d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
        e.   Features / function: ----
Room 22
        a.   Approach: *plateia*
        b.   Communication: unclear, south wall no longer exists
        c.   Form: single

     d.   No evidence for a *pergula*

     e.   Features / function: ----

Rooms 23/34

     a.   Approach: *plateia*

     b.   Communication: unclear, south wall no longer exists: likely dependent as there is a lack of a visible door from the *plateia*

     c.   Form: double

     d.   No evidence for a *pergula*

     e.   Features / function: three kilns made from brick and tile sunk into the floors of Rooms 23 and 24; fill of its cisterns contained Campana C black-gloss ware, some thin wares, and 'pre-*sigillata'* Italian red-gloss ware

2. Entranceway:

<u>Southern Section</u>

Room 1

     Entrance room (narrow)

     a.   Approach: *stenopos*

     b.   Access: right-angle

     c.   Axis: lateral

     d.   View: screened

     Staircase along the southern wall, built during Phase B

<u>Northern Section</u>

Room 8

     Entrance room (narrow)

     a.   Approach: *stenopos*

     b.   Access: right-angle

     c.   Axis: lateral

     d.   View: screened

3. Entrance dependent:

Room 6

4. Organisational space:

<u>Southern Section</u>

     a.   Shape: square

     b.   Roof: open

     c.   Porticoes: 3; no 'broad portico' type

     d.   Columns: 3 x 4 (corners are pillars, not columns)

     e.   Position: central

     f.   Paving: non-paved

<u>Northern Section</u>

     a.   Shape: square

     b.   Roof: open

     c.   Porticoes: 4; 'broad portico' type (north)

     d.   Columns: 3 x 3

     e.   Position: central

     f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):

<u>Southern Section</u>

Room 4

     a.   Shape: square room

     b.   Door: normal

     c.   Position: east; orthogonal

     d.   Decorative pavement: ----

     e.   Features: off-centre door and corner position are possible indicators that this was used as a dining-room (*andron*) during Phase A; the addition of the door into Room 3 during Phase B, however, would suggest that in the later phase permanent couches were not used; this along with its new communication with a main-room dependent, similar to those seen adjoining domestic main rooms at other sites, may indicate that it served primarily a domestic function; forms part of a coherent group of rooms (2, 3, and 4), which is similar to the Rooms 4, 5, and 6 in the Pappalardo House

Room 5
     a.   Shape: square room
     b.   Door: normal
     c.   Position: south; other
     d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; concentric pattern
     e.   Features: ----

<u>Northern Section</u>
Room 7
     a.   Shape: broad room
     b.   Door: normal
     c.   Position: south; U
     d.   Decorative pavement: ----
     e.   Features: ----

Room 12
     a.   Shape: square room
     b.   Door: normal
     c.   Position: east; other
     c.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pseudo-concentric pattern
     d.   Features: possible dining-room (see below); entered from the extension of the 'broad portico' type; off-centre door

Room 17
     a.   Shape: broad room
     b.   Door: normal
     c.   Position: north; axial
     d.   Decorative pavement: ----
     e.   Features: unclear if the room was open or closed; cistern in the middle of the floor; stone altar; probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception

6. Main-room dependent:
<u>Southern Section</u>
Room 3
     a.   Access (main) room: Room 4 (unclear whether this was a reception or a domestic main room, though the latter is suggested for the Phase B house, see above)
     b.   Shape: square
     c.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; plain (no) pattern
     d.   Three-room suite: no
     e.   Bipartite plan: no
     f.   Features: doors from Rooms 1 and 2 were blocked in Phase B; though not a traditional three-room suite, it does form part of a coherent group of three rooms (2, 3, and 4), which is similar to the Rooms 4, 5, and 6 in the Pappalardo House

<u>Northern Section</u>
Rooms 16, 18, 19,and 20
     a.   Access (main) room: Room 17 (domestic main room)
     b.   Shape: square

    c.   Decorative pavement: ----
    d.   Three-room suite: no
    e.   Bipartite plan: no
    f.   Features: ----

7. Dining-room:

<u>Southern Section</u>

Room 5?

    Off-centre door; corner placement; concentric decorative pavement (see main room above)

<u>North Section</u>

Room 12?

    Off-centre door and a pseudo-concentric pattern (see main room above)

8. Food-preparation area:

<u>North Section</u>

Rooms 10 and 11

    The floor of Room 10 is no longer extant, but the original excavator reported an *opus signinum* floor with an upward projecting lip parallel to the east wall that could prevent water runoff into the courtyard; also finds of broken pottery and animal bones

9. Latrine:

Room 10 or 11?

    Crouch states that in this house "a latrine was one of several rooms making up a bathroom suite" (Crouch 1984, 357), but does not give indication of room or identifiable features

10. Bathing area:

Room 10

    There is a platform at the southern end that was paved with *opus signinum* (pattern, if any, unclear) which could have supported a terracotta bathtub; there is also drain in the south-west corner that ran into the *ambitus*

11. Small square room:

<u>Northern Section</u>

Room 15

    a.   Location: extension of a 'broad portico' type
    b.   Door: exedral
    c.   Non decorated
    d.   Features: ----

Room 14

    a.   Location: extension of a 'broad portico' type
    b.   Door: narrow
    c.   Decorated: chip-pavement and *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern
    d.   Features: ----

12. Sleeping room: ----

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

<u>Southern Section</u>

Room 2

    Entered from the courtyard; exedral opening with two columns *in antis*; in Phase B a door to Room 3 was blocked; forms part of a coherent group of rooms (2, 3, and 4), which is similar to the Rooms 4, 5, and 6 in the Pappalardo House

<u>North Section</u>

Room 9

    No indication of features / function

Room 13
　　Stairwell

Features
1. Reception sequence:
Southern Section
　　Orthogonal; other
Northern section
　　Orthogonal; other
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage:
South Section
　　No evidence
North Section
　　Type-I; Type-II

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
Southern Section
　　a.　*Opus signinum*:
　　　　Rooms 2, 3, and 5
　　b.　Chip-pavement: ----
　　c.　*Opus sectile*: ----
　　d.　*Opus scutulatum*: ----
　　e.　*Opus tessellatum*: ----
　　f.　Other: ----
Northern Section
　　a.　*Opus signinum*:
　　　　Porticoes; Rooms 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20
　　b.　Chip-pavement:
　　　　Room 14 (probably Phase A)
　　c.　*Opus sectile*: ----
　　d.　*Opus scutulatum*: ----
　　e.　*Opus tessellatum*:
　　　　Room 14: monochrome ('doormat': white); polychrome (central panel: white, red,
　　　　　　pink, green, and blue); subsidiary: chip-pavement
　　f.　Other: ----
Potter's Workshop
　　Opus signinum in all four rooms
2. Pavement pattern:
Southern Section
Main pavement:
　　a.　Concentric:
　　　　Room 5 (*opus signinum*): adjusting border: geometric (rows); frame: geometric
　　　　　　(double meander); central field: geometric (lozenges)
　　b.　All-over:
　　　　Room 2 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
　　c.　Pseudo-concentric: ----
　　d.　Other:
　　　　Room 3 (*opus signinum*): no inset *tesserae*

Supplementary pavement:
- a. Door treatment:
  <u>'Doormat'</u>: ----
  <u>Threshold</u>:
  Room 2 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows where every other row the *tesserae* are set further apart)
- b. *Scendiletto*: ----

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----

<u>Northern Section</u>
Main pavement:
- a. Concentric:
  Room 14 (chip-pavement and *opus tessellatum*): 'doormat' (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white) laid in a diagonal fashion; adjusting border and central field (chip-pavement): plain; central panel (*opus tessellatum*): geometric (meander); probably Phase A
- b. All-over:
  Porticos and Room 15 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
- c. Pseudo-concentric:
  Room 12 (*opus signinum*): border: geometric (rows); central field: geometric (lozenges)
- d. Other
  Rooms 16, 17, 18, and 20 (*opus signinum*): pattern (if any) unclear

Supplementary pavement:
- a. Door treatment:
  <u>'Doormat'</u>:
  Room 14 (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white); *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion; probably Phase A
  <u>Threshold</u>: ----
- b. *Scendiletto*: ----

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum:
- a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: ----
- b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion:
  Room 14 'doormat'

<u>Potter's Workshop</u>
No indication of pavement pattern
3. Other decorative pavement features:
Mosaic in Room 14 is a transitional mosaic in that it incorporates *tesserae* alongside strips or pieces of stone to form the pattern; it is likely a 3rd-century-BC pavement

Plan: Figure 5.12

CATALOGUE ID: MORG04

Morgantina – House of the Palmento
Date: 2nd century BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 10

Room type
1. Shop:

Room 8/9
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Communication: dependent
- c. Form: bipartite
- d. No evidence for a *pergula*
- e. Features / function: function unclear; the only shop at Morgantina to show direct evidence for communication with the house

2. Entranceway:

Room 7

Entrance corridor
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Access: direct
- c. Axis: lateral
- d. View: open

3. Entrance dependent: ----

4. Organisational space:
- a. Shape: rectangular
- b. Roof: open
- c. Porticoes: 1? Northern end is paved with *opus signinum*
- d. Columns: 0
- e. Position: central
- f. Paving: non-paved

5. Main room(s):

Room 4
- a. Shape: square room
- b. Door: wide
- c. Position: east; orthogonal
- d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pseudo-concentric pattern
- e. Features: probably a reception main room

Room 10
- a. Shape: square room
- b. Door: normal
- c. Position: north; orthogonal
- d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear
- e. Features: entered from a paved portico; platform in the south-east corner (possible support for a terracotta bathtub); probably a domestic main room and not intended for reception

6. Main-room dependent:

Room 5
- a. Access (main) room: Room 4 (probably a reception main room)
- b. Shape: rectangular
- c. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern
- d. Three-room suite: no
- e. Bipartite plan: no
- f. Features: ----

Room 6
- a. Access (main) room: Room 10 (probably a domestic main room)
- b. Shape: rectangular
- c. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum* on platform; plain (no inset *tesserae*)
- d. Three-room suite: no
- e. Bipartite plan: yes

       f.   Features: platform along the eastern wall: possible support for a mattress or terracotta bathtub (see below)

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:

Room 6

Floor paved with plaster, and a platform on the northern half paved with plain *opus signinum* may have supported a bathtub; it is possible that this room was a food-preparation area with tub.

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Room 6

Paved platform on the northern half may have supported a terracotta bathtub

Room 10

Platform in the north-west corner may have supported a terracotta bathtub

11. Small square room: ----

12. Sleeping room:

Room 6

Main-room dependent; platform in the eastern section paved with plain *opus signinum*; floor paved with plaster; Tsakirgis suggests this is a 'bedroom' with the platform acting as a support for a mattress (Tsakirgis 1984, 175-6); a support for a bathtub also plausible

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Room 3

Square room with a narrow door onto the courtyard; platform in the south-west corner; function unclear

Two additional rooms with no identifiable features / function (plan fragmentary due to the presence of an olive tree and modern building).

Features

1. Reception sequence: other; orthogonal

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements

1. Pavement type:

       a.   *Opus signinum*:

            Northern portico; Rooms 4, 5, 6, and 10

       b.   Chip-pavement: ----

       c.   *Opus sectile*: ----

       d.   *Opus scutulatum*:

       e.   *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----

       f.   Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:

Main pavement:

       a.   Concentric: ----

       b.   All-over:

            North portico, Room 5 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows);

       c.   Pseudo-concentric:

Room 4 (*opus signinum*): border: geometric (crosslets); central field: geometric (lozenges),

    d.   Other:

Room 6 (*opus signinum*): no inset *tesserae*

Room 10 (*opus signinum*): unknown

Supplementary pavement: ----

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----

3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.12

CATALOGUE ID: MORG05

Morgantina – House of the Mended Pithos
Date: 2nd century BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 12

Room type
1. Shop:
Room C
    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: bipartite
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: platform in the north-west corner
Room D
    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: bipartite
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: ----
Room E
    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: bipartite
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: square platforms on either side of the door; round platform in the south-east corner
Room F
    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: bipartite
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: smithy?: brick basin built against the east wall, and large quantities of slag were found during excavation
2. Entranceway:
Room 1
    Entrance corridor
    a.   Approach: *plateia*

      b.   Access: direct

      c.   Axis: lateral

      d.   View: open

3. Entrance dependent:

Room 6

      a.   Small square room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   No decoration

      d.   Features: stone lined pit in the centre

Room 7

      a.   Small square room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   No decoration

      d.   Features: evidence for a drain

4. Organisational space:

      a.   Shape: rectangular

      b.   Roof: normal

      c.   Porticoes: 3; 'broad portico' type (that on the north, but the east and south porticoes are paved)

      d.   Columns: 0

      e.   Position: central

      f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):

Room 2

      a.   Shape: square room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Position: north; U

      d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern unclear

      e.   Features: unclear whether a reception or domestic main room, though possibly the latter based upon similarities with Morg04 Rooms 4, 5, 6 and 10.

Room 3

      a.   Shape: square room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Position: south; bayonet

      d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear

      e.   Features: unclear whether a reception or domestic main room, though possibly the former based upon similarities with Morg04 Rooms 4, 5, 6 and 10

6. Main-room dependent:

Room 4

      a.   Access (main) room: Room 3 (reception main room? see above)

      b.   Shape: rectangular

      c.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear

      d.   Three-room suite: no

      e.   Bipartite plan: no

      f.   Features: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:

Rooms 6 and 7

      Stone lined pit in the former and drain in the latter (see entrance dependent above)

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room:
Room 5
      a.   Location: extension of 'broad portico' type
      b.   Door: normal
      c.   Non decorated
      d.   Features: ----
12. Sleeping room:
Room 4
      Identification based upon its seclusion; better identified as a main-room dependent
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
      Open area on the east side of the organisational space

Features
1. Reception sequence: Bayonet; U
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
      a.   *Opus signinum*:
          Traces in Rooms 2, 3, and 4
      b.   Chip-pavement: ----
      c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
      d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
      e.   *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
      f.   Other:
          Terracotta slabs: basin
          Ceramic pavement: south and east porticos
2. Pavement pattern:
      Too damaged to determine pattern
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.14

CATALOGUE ID: MORG06

Morgantina – House of the Double Cistern
Date: 2nd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 8
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop:
Room 1
      a.   Approach: stenopos
      b.   Communication: dependent? (communication with Room 2 uncertain)
      c.   Form: single

d.   No evidence for a *pergula*

e.   Features / function: lack of door jambs; shop-type threshold block; bottle-shaped cistern connected to a second round cistern in Room 2

2. Entranceway: ----

3. Entrance dependent: ----

4. Organisational space:

Not fully excavated

a.   Shape: rectangular

b.   Roof:

c.   Porticoes: 3; 'broad portico' type (north)

d.   Columns: 2x?

e.   Position: central

f.   Paving: paving of basin unclear

5. Main room(s):

Room 2

a.   Shape: broad room

b.   Door: normal

c.   Position: north; axis uncertain

d.   Decorative pavement: ----

e.   Features: platform in the north-east corner (possible support for a terracotta bathtub); cistern near this platform is connected to another cistern in Room 1; both features suggest that this is a domestic main room and not intended for reception

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Room 2

Platform in the north-east corner possibly supported a terracotta bathtub

11. Small square room:

Portico extension

a.   Location: extension of 'broad portico' type

b.   Door: exedral

c.   Non decorated

d.   Features: slightly wider than the portico; provides access to a small, but well-decorated, room (3)

12. Sleeping room: ----

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Room 3

Small and well decorated; entered from the 'broad portico' type extension; Phase C addition?

Rooms 5 and 6: accessed from the organisational space, and dependent upon one another, but no identifiable features or functions

Features

1. Reception sequence: ----

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-II (x2)

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
   a. *Opus signinum*:
   North and west porticos, Rooms 2, 3 and 5
   b. Chip-pavement: ----
   c. *Opus sectile*: ----
   d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
   e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
   f. Other:
   Terracotta slabs: basin and east portico
2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
   a. Concentric: ----
   b. All-over:
   Room 3 (*opus signinum*): geometric (meander)
   c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
   d. Other:
   Room 5 (*opus signinum*): scatter of polychrome *tesserae*
   Porticoes (*opus signinum*): plain, no inlaid *tesserae*
   Room 2 (*opus signinum*): too damaged to determine
Supplementary pavement:
   a. Door treatment:
   'Doormat': ----
   Threshold:
   Room 3 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rosette with poised squares)
   b. *Scendiletto*: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.14

CATALOGUE ID: MORG07

Morgantina – House of the Gold Hoard
Date: 2nd to 1st centuries BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 6

Room type
1. Shop:
See Room iv below
2. Entranceway:
Room i
Entrance room (square)
   a. Approach: *plateia*
   b. Access: direct
   c. Axis: centre
   d. View: open
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:

a. Shape: square
b. Roof: open
c. Porticoes: north?; possible that there was a shed-like roof that extended between rooms iv and vi
d. Columns: 0
e. Position: central
f. Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):
Room iv
a. Shape: long room
b. Door: normal
c. Position: east; orthogonal
d. Decorative pavement: ----
e. Features: has an entrance from the *plateia*, and possible evidence for wall decoration.

6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Secluded room: ----
13. Sleeping room: ----
14. Other:
Three additional rooms opening onto the organisational space with no identifiable features / function; the hoard from which the house gets its name was found beneath the floor of Room vi

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type: terracotta slabs: courtyard
2. Pavement pattern: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.14

CATALOGUE ID: MORG08

Morgantina – House of the Doric Capital
Date: Phase A: second half of the 3rd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Date: Phase B: 2nd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Plan incomplete
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 28

Room type
1. Shop:
Room A
- a. Approach: narrow alleyway parallel to the *stenopoi* and accessible from the *agora*
- b. Communication: independent
- c. Form: bipartite
- d. No evidence for a *pergula*
- e. Features / function: four large circular depressions in the floor, perhaps an indication for the placement of *pithoi*

Room B
- a. Approach: narrow alley way parallel to the *stenopoi* and accessible from the *agora*
- b. Communication: independent
- c. Form: single
- d. No evidence for a *pergula*
- e. Features / function: terracotta slab floor and an oven in the south-west corner that has been used to interpreted this as a baker's shop

2. Entranceway: ----
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
- a. Shape: square
- b. Roof: open
- c. Porticoes: 4; 'broad portico' type (north and east)
- d. Columns: 3 x 3
- e. Position: central
- f. Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):
Room 1
- a. Shape: broad room
- b. Door: normal
- c. Position: north; orthogonal
- d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pseudo-concentric pattern
- e. Features: possibly a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception, or of a lower hierarchy to the rooms on the east side of the organisational space (see Rooms 7, 8, and 9)

Room 2
- a. Shape: long room
- b. Door: no entrance from organisational space
- c. Position: north; orthogonal
- d. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern
- e. Features: a large room accessed from another main room, and a complex of rooms, which are possible sleeping rooms; probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception

Room 7
- a. Shape: long room
- b. Door: normal
- c. Position: east; bayonet
- c. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear
- e. Features: change in the pattern of the *opus signinum* floor of the respective portico suggests room hierarchy; possibly a dining-room (see below); flanking room in a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms 7, 8, and 9)

Room 8
- a. Shape: square room
- b. Door: exedral
- c. Position: east; bayonet
- d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pseudo-concentric pattern
- e. Features: change in the pattern of the *opus signinum* floor of the respective portico suggests room hierarchy; the centre room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms 7, 8, and 9)

Room 9
- a. Shape: long room
- b. Door: normal
- d. Position: east; bayonet
- c. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement *opus scutulatum*; pseudo-concentric pattern
- d. Features: change in the pattern of the *opus signinum* floor of the respective portico suggests room hierarchy; possibly a dining-room (see below); flanking room in a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms 7, 8, and 9)

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room:

Room 7

Identification based upon its decoration and integration of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite

Room 9

Identification based upon its decoration and integration of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite

8. Food-preparation area:

Rooms 14 and 18

Identification based upon considerable quantities of ash found on the floor and a stone-lined gutter that channelled water into a cistern in Room 18; in this cistern were large quantities of course ware and a buff-clay brazier with no glaze

9. Latrine:

Room 16

Identification is based upon a lead pipe that leads from a possible bathing area (Room 12) through the room and out onto the street

10. Bathing area:

Room 12

No extant remains of a bathing installation; the room itself has a tripartite form of an entrance (anteroom?), a raised platform in the south-east corner, and a small space enclosed by a partition in the south-west corner; identification is based upon the platform which could have supported a tub; this platform is paved with waterproof *opus signinum* on the top, and has a raised lip on its edge, perhaps to prevent water flow; in addition to this, at floor level in the south-west corner is a lead pipe that leads into Room 15, and then flows south (Tsakirgis 1984, 61-62); an identification of a reception room has also been offered (Trümper 2010, 540, n. 42)

Rooms 21 and 22
- a. Hip-bath: ----
- b. Immersion bath: ----
- c. Sweat-room: Room 22?

Bath-suite:
- a. Anteroom: Room 21
- b. Main bath-installation: Room 22
- c. Service room: ----

11. Small square room: see sleeping room below
12. Secluded room: ----
13. Sleeping room:
Rooms 3 – 6
> Possible suite of sleeping rooms with Room 3 acting as an anteroom for the other three; Room 4 preserves evidence of a bipartite plan and window in the northern wall, both features are common for other identified sleeping rooms; Rooms 5 and 6 were originally a single main-room, perhaps an *andron* in Phase A, which was later divided

14. Other:
Room B2
> A large room with a spur wall behind Shop B, but entered from a corridor off the courtyard

Room i
> Entrance

Room ii
> A small room to the south of the entrance that is entered from the organisational space

Rooms 10 and 11
> Two small rooms located on the northern side of the house behind a domestic main room; no apparent access to these areas

Room 13
> Stairwell with a stone foundation for what is presumed to have been a wooden staircase

Room 15
> A medium-sized room accessed from the courtyard

Room 17
> A large room to the north of the bath-suite in the domestic annex

Rooms 19, 20
> Small rooms in the domestic annex

Features
1. Reception sequence: bayonet; orthogonal
2. Three-room suite: Type-III, originally a Type-II, but access to flanking rooms was changed in Phase B
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I (x2); Type-II

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
    a. *Opus signinum*:
> Porticos; the annex corridor; Rooms 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 15, 20, and 22

    b. Chip-pavement:
> Rooms 2, 5, and 6 (possibly Phase A); and Room 9

    c. *Opus sectile*: ----
    d. *Opus scutulatum*:
> Room 9 (chip-pavement with a meander and scatter of blue, green, and purple *crustae*)

    e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
    f. Other:
> Ceramic pavement in *opus spicatum*: basin
> Terracotta slabs: Shop B

2. Pavement pattern:

Main pavement:
   a. Concentric: ----
   b. All-over:
      Porticoes (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges on the east and rows on the north and south)
      Room 3 (*opus signinum*): geometric (double meander)
      Room 15 (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges)
   c. Pseudo-concentric:
      Rooms 1 and 8 (*opus signinum*): border: geometric (double meander); central field: geometric (lozenges)
      Room 9 (chip-pavement *opus scutulatum*): border: a scatter of polychrome *crustae*; central field: geometric (lozenges)
      Room 12 (*opus signinum*): border: geometric (rows); central field geometric (lozenges)
   d. Other
      Room 4 (*opus signinum*): plain, no inset *tesserae*
      Room 7, 20, 22, and annex corridor (*opus signinum*): pattern unclear
Supplementary pavement:
   a. Door treatment:
      'Doormat':
      Room 3 in front of Room 6 (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges)
      Room 12 (*opus signinum*): inscription (ΕΥΕΧΕΙ)
      Threshold:
      Room 3 (*opus signinum*): geometric (poised squares)
   b. *Scendiletto*: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.16

CATALOGUE ID: MORG09

Morgantina – House of the Tuscan Capitals
Date: Phase A: second half of the 3rd century BC
House type: three colonnaded-courtyard houses?
   Phase A plan unclear; appears to have been originally three separate courtyard houses that were later joined
Date: Phase B: 2nd century BC
House type: multiple colonnaded-courtyard house
   Type-IV: three colonnaded courtyards
   The western section of the house is not excavated; therefore it is unclear if this courtyard had a separate entrance; in its current state, the western courtyard is approached from the eastern courtyard. Though little more than a hypothesis, it is possible that the eastern section functioned as a non-canonical front reception hall, the western section was a back colonnaded courtyard, perhaps a decorative garden, and the northern section was a smaller domestic courtyard; a second corridor from the northern courtyard was later blocked, suggesting that this area later became an independent unit, perhaps in Phase C (post 35 BC)
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 39

Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop:
Room 30
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Communication: independent
      c.   Form: single
      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
      e.   Features / function: a pit made from courses of brick set into the middle of the floor
2. Entranceway:
<u>Eastern Section</u>
Room 1
      Entrance room (square)
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Access: direct
      c.   Axis: lateral
      d.   View: open

<u>Northern Section</u>
Room 27
      Entrance room (square)
      a.   Approach: *stenopos*
      b.   Access: direct
      c.   Axis: off-centre
      d.   View: screened
3. Entrance dependent:
<u>Eastern Section</u>
Room 2/3
      Large room
<u>Northern Section</u>
Room 28
      Simple room, with a platform in the south-west corner that takes up almost one-quarter of the room
4. Organisational space:
<u>Eastern Section</u>
      a.   Shape: square
      b.   Roof: open
      c.   Porticoes: 3; no 'broad portico' type (fourth portico was made into a small corridor, Room 17, by the addition of a wall between the eastern columns that extended to the southern rooms)
      d.   Columns: 2 x 2
      e.   Position: central
      f.   Paving: paved
<u>Western Section</u>
      Plan incomplete
      a.   Shape: rectangular?
      b.   Roof: open
      c.   Porticoes: 3 – 4; no 'broad portico' type, but the *tesserae* are closer set in the northern portico

  d. Columns: 5 x ?

  e. Position: central

  f. Paving: non-paved

<u>Northern Section</u>

  a. Shape: square

  b. Roof: open

  c. Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type

  d. Columns: 2 x 2

  e. Position: central

  f. Paving: paved; within the basin is an *impluvium*-like feature which was created by laying two parallel rows of bricks, narrow side up, with tiles between them, to produce a frame that resembles a trough.

5. Main room(s):

<u>Eastern Section</u>

Room 10

  a. Shape: square room

  b. Door: normal

  c. Position: west; bayonet

  d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern

  e. Features: ----

Room 13

  a. Shape: square room

  b. Door: normal

  c. Position: south; orthogonal

  d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear

  e. Features: platform on the south-west wall across from the door (possibly supported a terracotta bathtub)

<u>Western Section</u>

Room 20

  a. Shape: square room

  b. Door: exedral

  c. Position: east; other

  d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pseudo-concentric pattern

  e. Features: acts as an anteroom to Room 21

Room 21

  a. Shape: long room

  b. Door: normal

  c. Position: east; other

  d. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement *opus scutulatum*; pseudo-concentric pattern

  e. Features: ----

Room 22

  a. Shape: square room; narrow

  b. Position: east; other

  c. Decorative pavement: *opus pseudo-figlinum* with pieces of blue *crustae* in centre; pseudo-concentric pattern

  d. Features: evidence for a folding door used to close off the space dependent upon Room 20

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:

Rooms 14 and 15

Several millstones and oil presses were found.

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Room 13?

Platform on the south-west wall across from the door possible support for a terracotta bathtub

11. Small square room:

<u>Northern Section</u>

Room 24

 a. Location: along the side of the organisational space

 b. Door: narrow

 c. Decorated: *opus signinum*; no pattern

 d. Features: only decorated room of this section of the house

12. Secluded room: ----

13. Sleeping room:

Rooms 5 and 6

Identification is based both on the room-with-anteroom combination, as well as the *pseudo-scendiletto* pavement; Room 6 is particularly well decorated with two engaged columns on the inside of the room that coincide with the change in the pavement pattern

Rooms 8 and 9

Identification is based both on the room-with-anteroom combination, as well as the *pseudo-scendiletto* pavement

14. Other:

<u>Eastern Section</u>

Rooms 4 and 7

Medium-sized rooms, no identifiable features / function

Rooms 11 and 19

Corridors

Room 12

Irregular-shaped room that could be entered either from Room 13 (a domestic main room) or the corridor that leads to the unexcavated section to the west; the floor is paved with *opus signinum* (pattern, if any, unclear)

Room 16

Separated from the courtyard by a wall extending from the colonnade, and a trench at the end of the small corridor from the entrance (Room 17); function unclear

Rooms 17 and 18

Small room (18) beside the entrance and entered by means of the small corridor (17) that was created in Phase B by erecting a wall between the eastern columns

<u>Western Section</u>

Rooms 35 and 36

Two incompletely-excavated rooms accessed from the western section; there are no identifiable features / function; Room 35, however, preserves evidence for an *opus signinum* pavement; a change in the pattern of the *tesserae* in the northern portico suggests an importance for these rooms

<u>Northern Section</u>

Room 23

Corridor

Room 32

A series of three rooms consisting of a narrow anteroom and two small back rooms; Type-I (Hellenic) three-room suite in form, but rather small to be a main-room suite; no

identifiable features / function; their configuration is also similar to the bath-suite in Morg08 (Rooms 12 and 13), but there is no further evidence to support a similar identification

Rooms 25, 26, 29, 34

Relatively small rooms surrounding the courtyard with no identifiable features / function

A trial trench of the west of Room 22 revealed evidence for at least another six rooms

Features
1. Reception sequence: bayonet; other
2. Three-room suite: Type-I, but a small area, and unlikely to be a main-room suite
3. Decorative garden: possibly the western courtyard, but there are no identifiable features to support this other than an apparent lack of paving for the basin
4. Water collection and storage:
Eastern Section: Type-I
Western Section: Type-I (southern portico) and Type-II (Room 22); the two cisterns are connected by means of a terracotta pipe
Northern Section: possibly Type-IV

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
Eastern Section
    a.   *Opus signinum*:
        Porticos, Rooms 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13
    b.   Chip-pavement: ----
    c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
    d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
    e.   *Opus tessellatum*:
        Room 10: frame: bichrome (blue and white); central panel: monochrome (white);
            subsidiary: *opus signinum*
    f.   Other:
        Terracotta slabs: basin of eastern courtyard
Western Section
    a.   *Opus signinum*:
        Porticoes, Rooms 20, and 35
    b.   Chip-pavement:
        Room 21 (with blue *crustae*)
    c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
    d.   *Opus scutulatum*:
        Room 21 (chip-pavement with blue *crustae*);
        Room 22 (*opus pseudo-figlinum* with pieces of red, yellow, green, white, and blue *crustae* in the border and a central field with *crustae* of mostly white with some green, purple, and yellow set closer together)
    e.   *Opus tessellatum*:
        Room 21 (threshold): monochrome (white)
        Room 22 (threshold): bichrome (blue and white)
    f.   Other:
        Opus pseudo-figlinum with *crustae*: Room 22
Northern Section
    a.   *Opus signinum*:
        Porticoes and Room 24

      b.   Chip-pavement: ----
      c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
      d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
      e.   *Opus tessellatum*: ----
      f.   Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:

Main pavement:

<u>Eastern Section</u>

      a.   Concentric:

      Room 10 (*opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: geometric (double meander); central field: geometric (lozenges); frame geometric (tessellated waves); central panel: plain (monochrome white *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion)

      b.   All-over:

      Porticoes (north and south) and Rooms 3, and 7 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)

      Rooms 1 and 2 (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges)

      Room 6 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)

      c.   Pseudo-concentric:

      Room 5 (*opus signinum*): border geometric (single row), central field geometric (poised squares)

      d.   Other:

      Portico (west): too damaged to determine pattern

      Rooms 8 and 9 (*opus signinum*): scatter of polychrome *tesserae*

      Rooms 12, 13 (*opus signinum*): unknown

<u>Western Section</u>

      a.   Concentric:

      Room 20 (*opus signinum*): adjusting border: geometric (rows); frame: geometric (double meander); central field: geometric (rosette with poised squares)

      b.   All-over:

      Porticoes (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)

      c.   Pseudo-concentric:

      Room 21 (chip-pavement with *crustae*): scatter of blue *crustae* that are spaced wide apart in the centre and closer at the side, thus creating a central field and a border

      Room 22 (*opus pseudo-figlinum* with *crustae*): border: plain (scatter of red, yellow, green, white, and blue *crustae*); central field: plain (*crustae* set closer together; mostly white with some green, purple, and yellow)

      Room 35 (*opus signinum*): border: geometric (rows with *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion); central field: geometric (crosslets)

<u>Northern Section</u>

      No pavement pattern; *opus signinum* without *tesserae* in the porticoes and Room 24

Supplementary pavement:

<u>Eastern Section</u>

      a.   Door treatment:

      <u>'Doormat'</u>:

      Room 6 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rosette); situated to the west of the door, suggesting a change in the original position of the doorway

      <u>Threshold</u>:

      Room 1 (*opus signinum*): plain (scatter of blue and white *tesserae*)

      b.   *Scendiletto*:

True: ----
Pseudo:
Room 6 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows, closely set at the south and widely set at the north)

Western Section
    a. Door treatment:
    'Doormat': ----
    Threshold:
    Room 21 (*opus tessellatum*): plain (monochrome white)
    Room 22 (*opus tessellatum*): geometric (meander)
    b. *Scendiletto*: ----

Tesserae alignment in plain *opus tessellatum*:
Eastern Section
    a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: Room 10 (central panel)
    b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: ----
Western Section
    a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: Room 21 (threshold)
    b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: ----

3. Other decorative pavement features:
Lead used as edge for a single wave in Room 10

Plan: Figure 5.19

CATALOGUE ID: MORG10

Morgantina – Pappalardo House
Date: constructed during the 3rd century BC; pavement likely dates to the 2nd century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 15

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway:
Room 13
    Entrance room (square)
    a. Approach: *stenopos*
    b. Access: right-angle
    c. Axis: lateral
    d. View: screened
3. Entrance dependent:
Room 12
    A stone foundation the width of the door divides the room in half
4. Organisational space:
    a. Shape: square
    b. Roof: open
    c. Porticoes: 4; 'broad portico' type on the north
    d. Columns: 4 x 4?
    e. Position: central
    f. Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):
Room 1
     a. Shape: square room
     b. Door: wide
     c. Position: north; axial
     d. Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern
     e. Features: ----
Room 4
     a. Shape: long room
     b. Door: wide
     c. Position: north; bayonet
     d. Decorative pavement: ----
     e. Features: forms part of a coherent group of rooms (4, 5, and 6), which is similar to the Rooms 2, 3, and 4 in the Morg03; possibly a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception
Room 11
     a. Shape: square room
     b. Door: wide
     c. Position: south; U
     d. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern
     e. Features: probably a domestic main room and not a room intended for reception

6. Main-room dependent:
Room 5
     a. Access (main) room: Room 4 (possibly a domestic main room)
     b. Shape: rectangular
     c. Decorative pavement: ----
     d. Three-room suite: no
     e. Bipartite plan: no
     f. Features: preserves evidence for an arch made from flat brick tiles in the north-east corner over a cistern; forms part of a coherent group of rooms (4, 5, and 6), which is similar to the Rooms 2, 3, and 4 in the Morg03

7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room:
     a. Location: extension of portico
     b. Door: exedral
     c. Decorated: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern (lozenges)
     d. Features: ----
12. Sleeping room:
Rooms 2/3?
     Identification based upon its bipartite form and similarity to Rooms 5/6 and 8/9 in Morg09
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Room 6
     Small room entered off the extension of the portico; forms part of a coherent group of rooms (4, 5, and 6), which is similar to the Rooms 2, 3, and 4 in the Morg03
Room 10
     Corridor which provides access to a possible lateral *ambitus*

Rooms 7, 8, 9
 No identifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception sequence: axial; bayonet
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I; Type-II (Room 5)

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
 a. *Opus signinum*:
 Porticoes, Rooms 2, 3, and 6
 b. Chip-pavement:
 Room 11
 c. *Opus sectile*: ----
 d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
 e. *Opus tessellatum*:
 Room 1: frames: bichrome and polychrome (white, brown, yellow, blue, green, and grey); central panel: polychrome (no longer extant); subsidiary: monochrome (white) with *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion
 f. Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
 a. Concentric:
 Room 1 (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: plain (white *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion); outer frame: geometric (double meander); inner frame: geometric (double guilloche with rosettes); central panel: figural? (missing, but an arm with an arrow reported)
 b. All-over:
 North and east porticoes (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges)
 South and west porticoes (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
 Rooms 3 and 6 (*opus signinum*): geometric (rows)
 c. Pseudo-concentric:
 Room 2 (*opus signinum*): border: geometric (double meander); central field: geometric (lozenges)
 d. Other:
 Room 11 (chip-pavement): plain (no) pattern
Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum:
 a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: Room 1 (adjusting border)
 b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features:
Lead used as guides in meander and guilloche of Room 1

Plan: Figure 5.24

Main sources: Aubè 1872, 25-39; Basile 1874; BTCGI, XIII, 205-41; Columba 1910; Di Stefano 1997; Gabrici 1921; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 231-36; Pernice 1938, 12-14; Salinas 1904, 458; Spatafora 2003; Spatafora 2005; Spatafora and Montali 2006; Stillwell 1976, 671; von Boeselager 1983, 47-55; Wilson 1990a, 127; Wilson 2000b, 719; Wootton 2002.

CATALOGUE ID: PAL01

Palermo – Casa B
Date: mid- to late- 2nd-century-BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 10
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway: ----
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
    a.   Shape: rectangular
    b.   Roof: open
    c.   Porticoes: 3 – 4; 'broad portico' type on the north (perhaps 'rhodio' type)
    d.   Columns: 6 x 9
    e.   Position: central?; rooms are only visible on two sides, the third side appears to have been only a portico, while the fourth is unexcavated
    f.   Paving: non-paved
5. Main room(s):
Room P
    a.   Shape: long room
    b.   Door: wide
    c.   Position: north; bayonet? (entrance not preserved)
    d.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern; threshold with *crustae* in a diamond pattern and an inscription
    e.   Features: dining-room? (see below); probable flanking room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms P, Q, R, and S)
Room Q
    a.   Shape: long room
    b.   Door: wide
    c.   Position: north; bayonet? (entrance not preserved)
    d.   Decorative pavement: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern
    e.   Features: dining-room? (see below); probable flanking room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms P, Q, R, and S)
Room R
    a.   Shape: square room
    b.   Door: wide
    c.   Position: north; axial? (entrance not preserved)

    d. Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum* (white); *opus vermiculatum* (polychrome) concentric border and central panel; *opus sectile* (threshold)

    e. Features: probable central room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms P, Q, R, and S)

Room S

    a. Shape: long room

    b. Door: wide

    c. Position: north; bayonet? (entrance not preserved)

    d. Decorative pavement: chip-pavement *opus scutulatum*; plain pattern (scatter)

    e. Features: dining-room? (see below); probable flanking room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms P, Q, R, S)

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room:

Rooms P, Q, and S?

    Identification based primarily on their likely integration of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite; all three also have decorative pavements; Room P in particular has a threshold mosaic with an inscription, while Room Q has an adjusting border which could indicate the location of couches; the narrow shape of rooms Q and P also suggestive of the presence of three couches (*triclinium*)

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room:

Room X

    a. Location: along the sides of the organisational space

    b. Door: normal

    c. Non-decorated

    d. Window onto the courtyard; accessed from the extension of the portico (Room T1)

Rooms Y

    a. Location: along the sides of the organisational space

    b. Door: normal

    c. Decorated: painted walls

    d. Features: ----

Room Z1

    a. Location: along the sides of the organisational space

    b. Door: normal

    c. Decorated: chip-pavement; plain (no) pattern; painted walls

    d. Features: ----

Rooms Z

    a. Location: along the sides of the organisational space

    b. Door: normal

    c. Decorated: limestone floor and painted walls

    d. Features: ----

Room T1

    a. Location: extension of portico

    b. Door: exedral

    c. Decorated: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern, possibly figural

    d. Provides access to Room X

12. Sleeping room:
Rooms X, Y, Z, and Z1?
>The similarity of these rooms to Roman *cubicula*, and the window onto the courtyard of Room X, could be suggestive of being areas for sleeping, though they are better categorised as small square rooms

13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other: ----

Features
1. Reception sequence: axial? bayonet? Entrance not preserved.
2. Three-room suite: Type-III (Italian). Rooms P – S (P and Q divided lengthwise into two narrow rooms)
3. Decorative garden: yes; identification based upon a lack of paving, the presence of smaller diameter columns and a few plinths, which may suggest a central arboretum, and two small fountains; one of the fountains is early imperial in date, but the second could be a 2nd-century-BC feature.
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
>a. *Opus signinum*:
>East and west porticoes
>b. Chip-pavement:
>Rooms Z1, P, S, and Q
>c. *Opus sectile*:
>Room R (green, white, and dark green)
>d. *Opus scutulatum*:
>Room S (chip-pavement; white, black, red, yellow, green, and pink *crustae*)
>e. *Opus tessellatum*:
>Room T1: polychrome (white, black, grey, green, yellow, and red *crustae*)
>Room R: monochrome (white)
>*Opus vermiculatum*:
>Room R: polychrome (white, black, pink, red, yellow, blue, grey, green, and red *tesserae*); subsidiary: monochrome (*opus tessellatum*: white)
>f. Other:
>White mortar pavement: north portico
>Limestone slabs: Room Z

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
>a. Concentric:
>Room T1 (*opus tessellatum*): frame: geometric (black and white wave and a polychrome meander); central panel: figural (landscape suggested due to the presence of broad-leaves)
>Room R (*opus vermiculatum*): adjusting border (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white) *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion; outer frame: figural (polychrome flora and fauna with comedy masks); central panel: figural (polychrome hunt scene)
>b. All-over: ----
>c. Pseudo-concentric:
>Room Q (chip-pavement): border with smaller more irregular pieces
>d. Other:

Porticoes (*opus signinum*): pattern unclear
Room S (chip-pavement *opus scutulatum*): plain pattern (scatter)
Rooms Z1, P, (chip-pavement): plain (no) pattern
Supplementary Pavement:
    a.   Door treatment
       'Doormat': ----
       Threshold:
       Room P (chip-pavement with *crustae*): geometric (outer frame of diamonds: green; inner frame grey and yellow stones) with an inscription (ΧΑΙΡΕ CY doubled)
       Room R (*opus sectile*): geometric (perspective cubes)
    b.   Scendiletto: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum
    a.   *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: ----
    b.   *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: Room R (adjusting border)
3. Other decorative pattern features:
No use of lead in the mosaics

Plan: Figure 4.7

C.7   Segesta (Seg)

Main sources: Bechtold 1997a; Bechtold 1997b; BTCGI XVIII, 513-76; Camerata Scovazzo 1997; Daniele et al. 1999; Daniele 2000; Manni 1981, 222-23; Stillwell 1976, 817-8; and Wilson 2000b, 721.

CATALOGUE ID: SEG01

Segesta – The so-called Casa del Navarcha (SAS 09)
Date: Two buildings:
    Edificio I (Rooms A and E) suggests a date of the end of the 3rd century BC (post Roman conquest in 225 BC); they continue to be used until the early Imperial period
    Edificio II (Rooms B, C, D, I) succeeds Edificio I and partially destroys at least two of its rooms (Rooms A and E); the pavements suggest a date of the second half of the 2nd to the beginning of the 1st centuries BC; also continues to be used until the early Imperial period
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 6
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway: ----
3. Entrance dependent: ----

4. Organisational space:

Room D

    Excavated portions are limited and its plan remains largely hypothetical, two columns are *in situ*

    a.   Shape: square

    b.   Roof: open

    c.   Porticoes: 4; 'broad portico' type on the south and possibly east

    d.   Columns: 4 x 4

    e.   Position: plan incomplete, central presumed

    f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):

Room B

    a.   Shape: broad room

    b.   Door: normal

    c.   Position: south; entrance unknown

    d.   Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum* and *opus sectile*; concentric pattern; 'doormat' mosaic with an inscription (ΧΑΙΡΕ) before one enters the room

    e.   Features: two limestone blocks in the shape of prows (the largest measures 0.96 x 0.38 x 0.36 m); these lead to the house being identified with the *navarchus* Heraclius mentioned by Cicero (Cic, *Verr.*2.5.43.111, 5.45.120); walls were decorated with a polychromatic stucco cornice; Bechtold suggests an identification as either a *tablinum* or *triclinium* (Bechtold 1997a, 103).

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room: ----

12. Sleeping room: ----

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Room C

    Space to the east of the courtyard

Room I

    Γ-shaped room to the west of Room B; the width is the same as Room B and the length unknown; paved with terracotta slabs

Rooms A and E

    Belong to Edificio I and are partially destroyed by the construction of Edificio II, though they continued to be used into the early Imperial period:

    Room A is trapezoidal in plan, and preserves evidence for *opus signinum* pavement and white plastered walls with painted stucco cornices;

    Room E is not completely excavated, but appears to be a small square room, which communicated with Room A. It preserves remnants of a white *opus tessellatum* floor, and plastered walls that preserve pieces of *opus signinum*; the base of the wall plaster binds to the floor

Features

1. Reception sequence: entrance not known

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV? No evidence for a basin, but a feature which may represent a well or cistern that is central on the presumed plan of the organisational space

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
- a. *Opus signinum*:
  Room A
  Room D (courtyard: *opus signinum* with a scatter of polychrome *crustae* of green, white, and black)
- b. Chip-pavement: ----
- c. *Opus sectile*:
  Room B: polychrome (white, purple, and green)
- d. *Opus scutulatum*:
  Room D (courtyard: *opus signinum* with a scatter of polychrome *crustae* of green, white, and black)
- e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*:
  Room B: polychrome (white, black, red, yellow, green, purple, and grey)
  Room E: monochrome (white)
- f. Other:
  Room I: terracotta slabs

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
- a. Concentric:
  Room B (*opus tessellatum* and *opus sectile*): adjusting border: plain (monochrome white *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion), frame: geometric (tessellated double guilloche); central field: geometric (*opus sectile* rosettes)
- b. All-over: ----
- c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
- d. Other:
  Room A (*opus signinum*): plain (scatter)
  Room D (*opus signinum* with *crustae*): plain (scatter)
  Room E (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome white

Supplementary pavement:
- a. Door treatment:
  'Doormat':
  Courtyard outside of Room B (*opus signinum*): inscription (ΧΑΙΡΕ)
  Threshold: ----
- b. *Scendiletto*: ----

Tesserae alignment in plain *opus tessellatum*:
- a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: Room B (adjusting border)
- b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: Room E

3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 5.35

C.8   Solunto (Sol)

Main sources: Albanesi 2006; Bell 2005; BTCGI XIX, 467-77; De Vos 1975; Famà 1987; Greco 1993-1994; Greco 1997; Greco 2005; Hollegaard Olsen et al. 1995, 236-41; Italia and Lima 1987; Manni 1981, 225-6; Natoli 1966; Pernice 1938, 14-16; Portale 2006; Stillwell 1976, 849-50; Tusa et al. 1994; von Boeselager 1983, 55-60; Wilson 1990a, 119-120; Wilson 2000b, 721; Wölf 1998; Wölf 2003.

CATALOGUE ID: SOL01

Solunto – Casa di Leda
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 16

Room type
1. Shop:
Room I
   a. Approach: *plateia*
   b. Communication: independent
   c. Form: bipartite (single room, with an upper back level)
   d. *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace, the shop also preserves evidence for a stone platform presumably for a staircase to access this upper level, and for a central posthole, presumably for a support of the *pergula* floor
   e. Features / function: function unclear; small room connected to the *pergula* accessed the terrace level that contains the main cistern of the house

Room II
   a. Approach: *plateia*
   b. Communication: independent
   c. Form: bipartite (single room, with an upper back level)
   d. *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace, the shop also preserves evidence for a stone platform presumably for a staircase to access this upper level
   e. Features / function: ----

Room III
   a. Approach: *plateia*
   b. Communication: independent
   c. Form: bipartite (single room, with an upper back level)
   d. *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace (deeper than the other three), the shop also preserves evidence for stone platform, presumbably the base for a staircase to access this upper level
   e. Features / function: function unclear; large niche in its western wall

Room IV
   a. Approach: *plateia*
   b. Communication: independent
   c. Form: bipartite (single room, with an upper back level)
   d. *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace, also preserves evidence for stone platform, presumably the base for a staircase to access this upper level, and for a central posthole, presumably for a support of the *pergula* floor

      e. Features / function: function unclear; preserves evidence for two L-shaped benches in the north-east and south-west corners

Room L/M
      a. Approach: *stenopos*
      b. Communication: dependent
      c. Form: bipartite
      d. No evidence for a *pergula*
      e. Features / function: a series of 'troughs' or basins below slots in the wall that separates Room L from Room M; these are used to identify the rooms as a workshop, stable, kitchen, and banker's room

2. Entranceway:
Room A
      Entrance room (square)
      a. Approach: *stenopos*
      b. Access: direct
      c. Axis: central
      d. View: open

3. Entrance dependent:
Room F
      The entrance to this room is uncertain, and assumed to have been located in the now missing wall along the eastern side of the entranceway; the room is commonly interpreted as a small square room (*cubiculum*) due to the inclusion of the *in situ* central panel

4. Organisational space:
Room B
      a. Shape: square
      b. Roof: open
      c. Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
      d. Columns: 4 x 4
      e. Position: central
      f. Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):
Room G
      a. Shape: long room
      b. Door: normal
      c. Position: west; orthogonal
      d. Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; plain (no) pattern
      e. Features: location of the eponymous wall decorations; dining-room (see below)

Room H
      a. Shape: square room
      b. Door: exedral
      c. Position: north; axial
      d. Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; plain (no) pattern
      e. Features: window into Room D; possibly the central room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms D, H, J)

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room:
Room G
      Identification based upon shape; indentations in the floor that suggest the location of dining couches; and the eponymous wall decorations

8. Food-preparation area:

Room N

> Connected to what is commonly interpreted as a cistern in Room O (see bathing area below)

Room M

> Identification based on the presence of basins; this is also interpreted as a stable and a banker's room (see shop above).

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Room O

    a.   hip-bath: ----

    b.   immersion bath (heated or non): ----

    c.   sweat-room: Wölf suggests that Room O might be a sweat-bath due its proximity with the 'kitchen' (N) and its *opus signinum* pavement, but Trümper points out that it is rather large for such a purpose, and there is no evidence for a drain (Wölf 2003, 66; Trümper 2010, 546, n. 73)

11. Small square room:

Rooms D, E, J, and F commonly identified as *cubicula* and interpreted as bedrooms; here Rooms D, E, and J are considered more multi-functional reception rooms, and Room F is an entrance dependent

Rooms D, and J

    a.   Location: along the back of the organisational space

    b.   Door: normal

    c.   Decorated: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern; *scendiletto* (*opus sectile*)

    d.   Features: possibly the flanking rooms of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms D, H, J)

Room E

    a.   Location: along the front of the organisational space

    b.   Door: normal

    c.   Decorated: *opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern

    d.   Features: ----

12. Sleeping room:

Rooms D, E, J

> Identification based upon their shape and location around the courtyard, as well as the presence of *a scendiletto* in Rooms D and J (see small square room above)

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other: ----

Features

1. Reception sequence: axial; orthogonal

2. Three-room suite: Rooms D, H, J; Type-III (Italian), though not canonical as Rooms D and H communicate by means of a window

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV leading into a Type-III (courtyard); Type-II in Room O

Decorative pavements

1. Pavement type:

N.B. the o*pus tessellatum* and *opus sectile* pavements are possibly 1st-century-BC re-paving (see Greco 1997, esp. 47ff.)

     a.   *Opus signinum*:
         Room E (subsidiary to *opus tessellatum*)
     b.   Chip-pavement: ----
     c.   *Opus sectile*:
         Rooms D and J (pseudo-*scendiletto*: grey, white, and green)
     d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
     e.   <u>*Opus tessellatum*</u>:
         Courtyard (B), A, H, G: monochrome (white); courtyard (B) has a frame around
            the basin: bichrome (black and white)
         Room E: central panel frame: bichrome (black and white); subsidiary: *opus*
            signinum
         Room D: central panel frame: monochrome (red)
         <u>*Opus vermiculatum*</u>:
         Room F: central panel: polychrome (white, yellow, red, and grey); subsidiary
            (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white)
     f.   Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:

Main pavement:
     a.   Concentric:
         Room B (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border and central field: monochrome
            (white) *tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion; frame: geometric (wave) around
            the basin
         Room D (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border and central field: monochrome
            (white) *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion; frame: monochrome (red)
            tesserae; central panel: missing
         Room E (*opus signinum* and *opus tessellatum*): adjusting border and central field
            (*opus signinum*): pattern unclear; frame (*opus tessellatum*): geometric
            (wave); central panel: missing
         Room F (*opus tessellatum* and *opus vermiculatum*): adjusting border / central field
            (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white) *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion;
            central panel (*opus vermiculatum*): figural (astronomical unit)
         Room J (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border / central field: monochrome (white)
            tesserae laid in a diagonal fashion; possible missing central panel
     b.   All-over: ----
     c.   Pseudo-concentric: ----
     d.   Other:
         Rooms A, G, H, (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white) *tesserae* laid in a
         rectilinear fashion
         Room J (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white) *tesserae* laid in a diagonal
         fashion

Supplementary pavement:
     a.   Door treatment: ----
     b.   *Scendiletto*:
         <u>True</u>:
         Rooms D and J (*opus sectile*): geometric (perspective cubes)
         <u>Pseudo</u>: ----

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum:
     a.   *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: Rooms A, B, G, H
     b.   *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: Rooms D, F, J

3. Other decorative pavement features:
Strips of lead used in the central panel of Room F

Plan: Figure 4.20

CATALOGUE ID: SOL02

Solunto – Casa del Cerchio Mosaico
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: non-colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 9

Room type
1. Shop:
Room B
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Communication: dependent
- c. Form: single
- d. No evidence for a *pergula*
- e. Features / function: ----

Room I/i
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Communication: dependent
- c. Form: double
- d. No evidence for a *pergula*
- e. Features / function: ----

2. Entranceway:
Room A
Entrance corridor
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Access: right-angle
- c. Axis: lateral
- d. View: screened

3. Entrance dependent:
Room C
Two square basins beside the door

4. Organisational space:
Room D
- a. Shape: square
- b. Roof: open
- c. Porticoes: 0
- d. Columns: 0
- e. Position: side
- f. Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):
Room F
- a. Shape: square room
- b. Door: exedral
- c. Position: west; other
- d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern
- e. Features: ----

6. Main-room dependent:
Room G

a. Access (main) room: Room F (probably a reception main room)
b. Shape: square
c. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*, pseudo-*scendiletto*
d. Three-room suite: no
e. Bipartite plan: yes?
f. Features: arguably the best decorated room of the house; eponymous mosaic possibly a pseudo-*scendiletto*; windows onto Room F and H

Room H
a. Access (main) room: Room F (probably a reception main room)
b. Shape: rectangular
c. Decorative pavement: ----
d. Three-room suite: no
e. Bipartite plan: yes?
f. Features: double access from Room F; this might suggest that there was initially a cross wall; walls finely decorated

7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room:
Room G?
Identification based upon mosaic which could be interpreted as a pseudo-*scendiletto*; see main-room dependent
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Room E
No identifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception sequence: other
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
a. *Opus signinum*:
Rooms D (courtyard), E, F, G
b. Chip-pavement: ----
c. *Opus sectile*: ----
d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
e. *Opus tessellatum* / *opus vermiculatum*: ----
f. Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
a. Concentric: ----
b. All-over:
Room F (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges)
c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
d. Other:

Room G (*opus signinum*): geometric (rosette)
Rooms D, E (*opus signinum*): pattern unclear

Supplementary pavement:
a. Door treatment: ----
b. *Scendiletto*:
    True: ----
    Pseudo:
    Room G? (*opus signinum*), geometric (rosette surrounded with a narrow meander border)

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum:
a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: ----
b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: ----

3. Other decorative pavement features:
The floor of Room H was paved with a white limestone plaster

Plan: Figure 4.24

CATALOGUE ID: SOL03

Solunto – Casa a Cortile
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: corridor house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 10

Room type
1. Shop: -----
2. Entranceway:
Room A
    Entrance room (square)
    a. Approach: *stenopos*
    b. Access: direct
    c. Axis: central
    d. View: open
3. Entrance dependent:
Room D/E
    Divided into two rooms by a series of four basins
Room B
    On a slightly lower level
4. Organisational space:
Room f
    a. Shape: corridor
    b. Roof: open
    c. Porticoes: 1; no 'broad portico' type
    d. Columns: 1
    e. Position: central
    f. Paving: paved
5. Main room(s):
Room G
    a. Shape: square room
    b. Door: normal

c.   Position: west; orthogonal
   d.   Decorative pavement: ----
   e.   Features: entered from a porch
Room J
   a.   Shape: square room
   b.   Door: wide
   c.   Position: west; orthogonal
   d.   Decorative pavement: ----
   e.   Features: ----
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area:
Room L
   Channel running through it that connects to the *ambitus*
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room:
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Room F
   Rectangular court-like area that is open on its eastern end; evidence for brick tile in
   the open area; it is likely that the western section was part of a portico
Room K
   Large room, accessed from Room J with a window onto Room F
Room H
   Small room, accessed from the courtyard (f) by means of a narrow door

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
   a.   *Opus signinum*:
        Section a (the porch)
   b.   Chip-pavement: ----
   c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
   d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
   e.   *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
   f.   Other:
        Terracotta slabs in front of Room L
2. Pavement pattern:
Pattern unclear
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.25

CATALOGUE ID: SOL04

Solunto – Edificio con Macina
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: corridor house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 12

Room type
1. Shop:
Room B
      a. Approach: *stenopos*
      b. Communication: dependent
      c. Form: single
      d. No evidence for a *pergula*
      e. Features / function: ----
Room C
      a. Approach: *stenopos*
      b. Communication: dependent
      c. Form: single
      d. No evidence for a *pergula*
      e. Features / function: bakery?; remains of the base of what is likely a kiln, and the presence of a lava millstone
2. Entranceway:
Room A
      Entrance corridor
      a. Approach: *stenopos*
      b. Access: right-angle
      c. Axis: lateral
      d. View: screened
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
Room D
      a. Shape: corridor
      b. Roof: open
      c. Porticoes: 0
      d. Columns: 0
      e. Position: side
      f. Paving: non-paved
5. Main room(s):
Room F
      a. Shape: square room
      b. Door: normal
      c. Position: west; orthogonal
      d. Decorative pavement: ----
      e. Features: ----
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area:
Room N
      Has an opening in the wall that leads to the *ambitus*; excavators suggest it is similar to the open air rooms of Kerkouane

9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room:
Room J

In the north-west corner of the house plot; has a window onto Room M
14. Other:
Room E

Location of a large cistern with the mouth in a niche in the wall
Room G

Area in front of the possible main room, perhaps it functioned like a portico
Room H

Small room off the corridor
Room K / M

Secluded; little remains to suggest function

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-II

Decorative pavements: ----

Plan: Figure 4.26

CATALOGUE ID: SOL05

Solunto – Casa con Atrium Tuscanicum
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: multiple-courtyard house

Type-IV: upper level open courtyard with at least one colonnade, and a lower level closed organisational space
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 13

Room type
1. Shop:
Room A

    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Communication: dependent
    c.   Form: single
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: two entrances, one from the *plateia* and a second from the *stenopos*; water channel entering from the *stenopos* with a settling basin within the shop and an attached cistern; possibly acted as entranceway for the lower private section of the house
Room B

    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Communication: independent

      c.   Form: single

      d.   No evidence for a *pergula*

      e.   Features / function: ----

2. Entranceway:

Room C

      Entrance room (narrow)

      a.   Approach: *stenopos*

      b.   Access: direct

      c.   Axis: lateral

      d.   View: screened

3. Entrance dependent:

Room D

4. Organisational space:

Room H

      a.   Shape: irregular (square with a corridor)

      b.   Roof: closed

      c.   Porticoes: 0

      d.   Columns: 0

      e.   Position: central

      f.   Paving: paved

Room G/E

      a.   Shape: square

      b.   Roof: open

      c.   Porticoes: at least one (plan incomplete), which is possibly a colonnaded 'broad portico' type

      d.   Columns: 5

      e.   Position: central

      f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):

Room F

      a.   Shape: broad room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Position: south; axial

      d.   Decorative pavement: ----

      e.   Features: ----

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room:

Room N

      a.   Location: along the side of the organisational space

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Non-decorated

      d.   Features: niche in its west wall

12. Sleeping room:

Room L

      Small square room

      a.   Location: located next to the organisational space and entered from a small corridor (J)

b. Door: wide
c. Non-decorated
d. Features: alcove in its southern wall
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Room J
Corridor
Room M
Service corridor, provides access to two small rooms (N and O); accessed from the lower organisational space (H) and from main upper courtyard (G) by means of a staircase
Room O/P
Located on the bottom level (same level as the shops); interconnected; service rooms?

Features
1. Reception sequence: axial
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-I; Type-II; Type-IV?

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
a. *Opus signinum*:
Room H
b. Chip-pavement: ----
c. *Opus sectile*: ----
d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
e. *Opus tessellatum*:
Room G: monochrome (white)
f. Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern: ----
Main pavement:
a. Concentric: ----
b. All-over: ----
c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
d. Other:
Room H (*opus signinum*): not indicated
Room G (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome
Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: not indicated
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.27

CATALOGUE ID: SOL06

Solunto – Casa di Arpocrate
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house

Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 17

Room type
1. Shop: ----
Room Z
    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: single
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Function / Features: southern and western walls are thicker than the other walls of the house, possibly indicating storage of a commodity with lateral thrust.

2. Entranceway:
Room A
    Entrance room (square)
    a.   Approach: *stenopos*
    b.   Access: direct
    c.   Axis: central
    d.   View: screened

3. Entrance dependent:
Room B
    It is located on the lower terrace

4. Organisational space:
Room D
    a.   Shape: square
    b.   Roof: open
    c.   Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
    d.   Columns: 2 x 2
    e.   Position: central
    f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):
Room G
    a.   Shape: square room
    b.   Door: normal
    c.   Position: east; orthogonal
    d.   Decorative pavement: ----
    e.   Features: ----
Room H
    a.   Shape: square room
    b.   Door: wide
    c.   Position: south; axial
    d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; concentric pattern
    e.   Features: ----
Room M
    a.   Shape: broad room (slightly irregular)
    b.   Door: wide
    c.   Position: east; orthogonal
    d.   Decorative pavement: ----
    e.   Features: platform in the north-west corner and a large cistern; probably a domestic main room and not intended for reception

6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:

Room M

Identification based on irregular shape and presence of a cistern; more likely a domestic main room

Room T

Identification based on its association with Room S which is a possible 'kitchen / bath' complex

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Room S

Identification based upon a platform along its western wall that could have possibly supported a tub, its association with Room T ('kitchen / bath' complex), and its similarity with Room O in the Sol08

11. Small square room:

Room C

a. Location: along the front of the organisational space
b. Door: normal
c. Decorated: evidence for plastered walls
d. Features: small niche west wall; opening in the upper section of the west wall connects this with Room V (staircase?)

12. Sleeping room:

Room L

Very small square room

a. Location: approached from the courtyard by means of a corridor (J)
b. Door: normal
c. Non-decorated
d. Features: apparent alcove in the southern section; sleeping room or closet?

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Room J

Corridor

Rooms O, P and Q

A group of three contiguous rooms; a small group of bronzes, dated to the 1st century BC, that were discovered within the western wall of Room P and this lead to the suggestion that it may have been a domestic shrine

Rooms U/V

On a level above the main residence and have their own entrance from the *stenopos*, but a later door in the eastern wall could indicate they communicated with Room C by means of a staircase; Room U is paved with terracotta slabs and sits above a large cistern, whose mouth is in the eastern wall (food-preparation area?)

Features

1. Reception sequence: axial; orthogonal

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-II (x 2)

Decorative pavements

1. Pavement type:

a. *Opus signinum*:

Courtyard and basin (D and E); Rooms O (first paving), G, and H

b. Chip-pavement:

O (second paving, likely 1st century BC)
- c. *Opus sectile*: ----
- d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
- e. *Opus tessellatum*:
- f. Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
- a. Concentric:
  Room H (*opus signinum*): field: geometric (lozenges); central panel: geometric (rosette)
- b. All-over: ----
- c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
- d. Other:
  Courtyard: unclear, though the basin has a scatter of *tesserae*
  Rooms G and O (*opus signinum*): pattern (if any) unclear

Supplementary pavement:
- a. Door treatment:
  <u>'Doormat'</u>: ----
  <u>Threshold</u>:
  Room H (*opus signinum*): geometric (meander)
- b. *Scendiletto*: ----

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.28

CATALOGUE ID: SOL07

Solunto – So-called Ginnasio
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 17

Room type
1. Shop:
Room I
- a. Approach: *plateia*
- b. Communication: independent
- c. Form: single
- d. *Pergula*; preserves evidence for a staircase, presumably to an upper level
- e. Features / function: ----

Room II
- a. Approach: *plateia*
- b. Communication: independent
- c. Form: single
- d. *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace
- e. Features / function: ----

Room III/IV
- a. Approach: *plateia*
- b. Communication: independent

    c.   Form: double;

    d.   *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace and preserves evidence for a staircase, presumably to this level

    e.   Features / function: ----

Room A

    a.   Approach: *stenopos*

    b.   Communication: dependent

    c.   Form: single

    d.   *No pergula*

    e.   Features / function: a water channel with a settling basin that directed rainwater from the *stenopos* into a domestic cistern in the adjoining Room B

2. Entranceway:

Room O

    Entrance room (narrow)

    a.   Approach: *stenopos*

    b.   Access: direct

    c.   Axis: off-centre

    d.   View: open

3. Entrance dependent:

Room N

    Tusa et al. reconstruct this as an entrance dependent, though Wölf states that there is no indication of an opening on this side, and suggests instead that it had a small opening onto the courtyard in its north-west corner (Tusa et al. 1994, Tav.14; Wölf 2003, 14)

Room P

    While Wölf reconstructs this as an entrance dependent, Tusa et al. indicate no communication between these two rooms (Tusa et al. 1994, Tav. 14; Wölf 2003, 14)

4. Organisational space:

Room G

    a.   Shape: square

    b.   Roof: open

    c.   Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type

    d.   Columns: 4 x 4

    e.   Position: central

    f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):

Room J

    a.   Shape: square room

    b.   Door: exedral

    c.   Position: north; bayonet

    d.   Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; plain (no) pattern

    e.   Features: possibly the central room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms H, J, and L)

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:

Room B

    Located on the upper third level, contained the mouth of a cistern

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room:

Room H
    a. Location: back of the organisational space
    b. Door: normal
    c. Non-decorated
    d. Features: possibly a flanking room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms H, J, and L).

Room L
    a. Location: back of the organisational space
    b. Door: wide
    c. Non-Decorated
    d. Features: possibly a flanking room of a Type-III (Italian) three-room suite (Rooms H, J, and L).

Room M
    a. Location: front of organisational space
    b. Door: normal
    c. Non-decorated
    d. Features: ----

12. Sleeping room:
Rooms H, L, M
    These rooms are commonly referred to as *cubicula* and paralleled with Rooms D, E, and J in Sol01, which preserve evidence for a pseudo-*scendiletto*; in both houses these rooms are better categorised as small square rooms.

13. Secluded room:
Room D
    Accessed by means of a corridor

14. Other:
Room C
    Located on the upper third level; plan incomplete, but it includes a spur wall
Room E
    Small square room on the upper third level

Features
1. Reception sequence: bayonet
2. Three-room suite: Possibly Rooms H, J, L; Type-III (Italian)
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV; Type-II

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
    a. *Opus signinum*:
       Courtyard including basin
    b. Chip-pavement: ----
    c. *Opus sectile*: ----
    d. *Opus scutulatum*: ---
    e. *Opus tessellatum*:
       Room J: monochrome (white)
    f. Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
    a. Concentric: ----
    b. All-over:

Courtyard (*opus signinum*): geometric (lozenges); basin: plain (scatter of *tesserae*)

    c.   Pseudo-concentric: ----
    d.   Other:

Room J (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white) *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion

Supplementary pavement: ----

Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum:
    a.   *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: ----
    b.   *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: Room J

3. Other decorative pavement features:

Plan: Figure 4.30

CATALOGUE ID: SOL08

Solunto – Casa del Deposito a Volta
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 17

Room type
1. Shop:
Room I/i
    a.   Approach: *plateia*
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: bipartite
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula* proper, but connected to a room (i) on the upper terrace
    e.   Features / function: ----
Room II
    a.   Approach: *plateia*
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: single
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: ----
Room III
    a.   Approach: *plateia*
    b.   Communication: independent
    c.   Form: single
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
    e.   Features / function: ----
Room A
    a.   Approach: *plateia*
    b.   Communication: dependent
    c.   Form: single
    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*, but connected to a room (see Room D under Other below) on the upper terrace
    e.   Features / function: ----
Rooms B/C

a. Approach: *stenopos*
b. Communication: independent
c. Form: double
d. No evidence for a *pergula*
e. Features / function: on the second terrace communicate with Room D (see Other below), all three may have originally been one large room

Rooms P- S
a. Approach: *stenopos*
b. Communication: independent
c. Form: bipartite
d. No evidence for a *pergula*
e. Features / function: a brick shelf (Q) and a bench along the west wall; Rooms P and S are divided by series of 6 basins; function unclear, Tusa et al. (1994, 56) interpret Room S as a 'kitchen' and Room P as a stable

2. Entranceway

Room F

Entrance room (square)
a. Approach: *stenopos*
b. Access: direct
c. Axis: central
d. View: screened

3. Entrance dependent:

Room G

Well decorated

Room H

Appears to have its southern wall open to the organisational space, therefore not really a dependent room

4. Organisational space:

Room J
a. Shape: square
b. Roof: open
c. Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
d. Columns: 2 x 2
e. Position: central
f. Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):

Room M
a. Shape: square room
b. Door: normal
c. Position: south, bayonet
d. Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pseudo-concentric pattern
e. Features: small niche in the west wall

Room N
a. Shape: long room
b. Door: normal
c. Position: west, orthogonal
d. Decorative pavement: ----
e. Features: ----

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area:

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See Room S (above under Shop)

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Room O

Identification based on the presence of a platform paved with water resistant plaster against its back wall that could have held a basin (Trümper 2010, 543, n. 73 questions this identification)

11. Small square room: ----

12. Sleeping room: ----

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Room D

On the second terrace; communicates with Room A (shop) and Room J (courtyard) by means of two stone staircases; large cistern; evidence for two transverse arches (vaulted ceiling)

Room R

Corridor

Features

1. Reception sequence: bayonet; orthogonal

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-II; Type V

Decorative pavements

1. Pavement type:

    a.   *Opus signinum*:

        Room M

    b.   Chip-pavement: ----

    c.   *Opus sectile*: ----

    d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----

    e.   *Opus tessellatum*:

        Room G: monochrome (white)

    f.   Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:

Main pavement:

    a.   Concentric: ----

    b.   All-over:

    c.   Pseudo-concentric:

        Room M (*opus signinum*): narrow border: pattern unclear; central field: geometric (crosslets)

    d.   Other:

        Room G (*opus tessellatum*): monochrome (white) *tesserae*

Supplementary pavement: ----

Tesserae **alignment in plain *opus tessellatum***: not indicated

3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.31

CATALOGUE ID: SOL09

Solunto – Casa del Vano Circolare
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 18

Room type
1. Shop:
Room I/i
- a. Approach: *plateia*
- b. Communication: dependent
- c. Form: bipartite (single room, with an upper back level)
- d. *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace, also preserves evidence for a staircase presumably to access this upper level
- e. Features / function: back room (i) leads into the main living area by means of a second stone staircase

Room II
- a. Approach: *plateia*
- b. Communication: independent
- c. Form: bipartite (single room, with an upper back level)
- d. *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace, also preserves evidence for a staircase presumably to access this upper level
- e. Features / function: upper back room preserves evidence for the mouth of a cistern

Room III
- a. Approach: *plateia*
- b. Communication: independent
- c. Form: single
- d. No evidence for a *pergula*
- e. Features / function: evidence for an oven attached to its northern wall

Room IV
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Communication: independent
- c. Form: single
- d. No evidence for a *pergula*
- e. Features / function: ----

2. Entranceway:
Room A
   Entrance room (narrow)
- a. Approach: *stenopos*
- b. Access: right-angle
- c. Axis: lateral
- d. View: screened

3. Entrance dependent:
Room B
   Two square basins make up a portion of the south wall and a third basin is located in the western wall

4. Organisational space:
Room C
- a. Shape: square

      b.   Roof: open

      c.   Porticoes: 4; 'broad portico' type (west)

      d.   Columns: 2 x 2? (later addition?)

      e.   Position: central

      f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):

Room D

      a.   Shape: square room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Position: north; other

      d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; all-over pattern

      e.   Features: ----

Room E

      a.   Shape: square room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Position: north; other

      d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; concentric pattern

      e.   Features: dining-room? (see below)

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room:

Room E

      Off-centre door, concentric pavement

8. Food-preparation area:

Rooms L and M

      The two rooms communicate with one another; their proximity to a possible bath-suite
      may indicate access to water and possible identification as a food-preparation area

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area:

Rooms N, O, P

      a.   Hip-bath: ----

      b.   Immersion bath: ----

      c.   Sweat-room: Room O

      Bath-suite

      a.   Anteroom: Room N, Room P

      b.   Main bath installation: Room O

      c.   Service room: ----

11. Small square room:

Room F

      a.   Location: along the side of the organisational space

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Decorated: *opus signinum*; pattern unclear

      d.   Features: ----

Room G

      a.   Location: along the front of the organisational space

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Decorated: *opus signinum*; pattern unclear

      d.   Features: ----

Room H

      a.   Location: along the front of the organisational space

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Non-decorated

d. Features: ----
12. Secluded room: ----
13. Sleeping room: ----
14. Other: ----

Features
1. Reception sequence: other
2. Three-room suite: ---
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV?; Type-II

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
a. *Opus signinum*:
   Courtyard, Rooms D, E, F, G,
b. Chip-pavement: ----
c. *Opus sectile*: ----
d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
e. *Opus tessellatum*:
   Room E: central panel: polychrome (missing); subsidiary: *opus signinum*
f. Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement:
a. Concentric:
   Room E (*opus tessellatum* and *opus signinum*): adjusting border (*opus signinum*):
   pattern unclear; central panel (*opus tessellatum*): missing
b. All-over:
   Room D (*opus signinum*): geometric (crosslets)
c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
d. Other
   Courtyard, Rooms F, G (*opus signinum*): pattern unclear
Supplementary pavement: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum: ----
3. Other decorative pavement features:

Plan: Figure 4.32

CATALOGUE ID: SOL10

Solunto – Casa del Corridoio
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: unclear; best identified as a corridor house
   A long corridor (A) provides access to an organisational space (D), but it is unclear if
   either of these were open or closed.
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 13
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop:
Room I

    a.   Approach: *plateia*

    b.   Communication: independent

    c.   Form: single

    d.   No evidence for a *pergula*

    e.   Features / function: entered from the *plateia*

Room II

    a.   Approach: *plateia*

    b.   Communication: independent

    c.   Form: bipartite (single room, with an upper back level)

    d.   *Pergula*; an obvious second level built into the terrace

    e.   Features / function: ----

2. Entranceway:
Room N/P
Entrance room (square) connected to a corridor

    a.   Approach: *plateia*

    b.   Access: right-angle

    c.   Axis: lateral

    d.   View: screened

    Consists of a main area (N) with a back area (P) that also communicates with the house; it is the only apparent entrance into the house; for a similar room that provides access to a corridor see Sol03 Room A; for similar rooms that provide access to the house from the *plateia* see Sol05 Room A, Sol08 Room A, Sol09 Room I; evidence for a bench in the south-west corner (O); Room P has a large cistern (c) that has a cover of two stone blocks, the overflow of which was directed to the *plateia* by means of a brick channel.

3. Entrance dependent:
Room P

    Also communicates with the corridor, therefore not a true dependent; provides access to a cistern

4. Organisational space:
Room A

    a.   Shape: corridor

    b.   Roof: unclear; probably open due to the basin (b) that presumably fed the cistern (c)

    c.   Porticoes: 0

    d.   Columns: 0

    e.   Position: side

    f.   Paving: non-paved

5. Main room(s):
Room E

    Largest extant room of the house

    a.   Shape: square room

    b.   Door: normal

    c.   Position: north; orthogonal

    d.   Decorative pavement: ----

    e.   Features: ----

6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:

Room B

     Paved with *opus signinum*; function unclear

Room D

     Possibly a courtyard opening off the corridor, but could also be a large room.

Rooms F and G

     Plan incomplete; Tusa et al. identify them as *cubicula* (Tusa et al. 1994, 52)

Room H

     Plan incomplete

Room M

     Likely a large service area, presence of a large cistern in the terrace (L)

Room J

     Passage providing access to the *ambitus*

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-II; Type-IV (cistern located in adjacent room where it has an opening covered with two large stone blocks and a brick drain onto the plateia to direct overflow)

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
    a. *Opus signinum*:
       Room B
    b. Chip-pavement: ----
    c. *Opus sectile*: ----
    d. *Opus scutulatum*: ----
    e. *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
    f. Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
Pattern (if any) not indicated
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.33

CATALOGUE ID: SOL11

Solunto – Casa delle Maschere
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: multiple-courtyard house?

Type-IV: Upper level open courtyard with no evidence for a colonnade (possible that this was a reception hall with only a small opening in the roof), and a lower level presumably closed organisational space

Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 17

Plan incomplete; present location of the excavation offices

Room type

1. Shop:

Room q

      a. Approach: *stenopos*

      b. Communication: independent

      c. Form: single

      d. No evidence for a *pergula*

      e. Features / function: ----

2. Entranceway:

Room e

      Entrance room (narrow)

      a. Approach: *stenopos*

      b. Access: direct

      c. Axis: lateral

      d. View: screened

3. Entrance dependent: ----

4. Organisational space:

Room f

      a. Shape: square

      b. Roof: open

      c. Porticoes: 0

      d. Columns: 0

      e. Position: central

      f. Paving: paved

Room b

      a. Shape: square

      b. Roof: closed

      c. Porticoes: 0

      d. Columns: 0

      e. Position: central

      f. Paving: un-paved

      Approached from the *stenopos* by means of a narrow entrance room that leads to a flight of stairs and into a large open area

5. Main room(s):

Room m

      a. Shape: square room

      b. Door: wide

      c. Position: west; orthogonal

      d. Decorative pavement: white plaster floor (walls with white stucco)

      e. Features: ----

Room c

      a. Shape: square room

      b. Door: ?

      c. Position: west; orthogonal

      d. Decorative pavement: ----

e. Features: Second Style wall painting of masks and garlands
6. Main-room dependent: ----
7. Dining-room: ----
8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room:
Room h
    a. Location: along the back of the organisational space
    b. Door: normal
    c. Non-decorated
    d. Features: communicates with Room g
12. Sleeping room: ----
13. Secluded room: ----
14. Other:
Room a
    Secondary entrance into the lower terrace, with a staircase to the middle terrace
Room d
    A ramp that ascends to the upper level; two small rooms are located along its northern
    side
Room g
    Square room along the back of the organisational space; with a wide opening;
    provides access from the lower level
Room i
    On an upper third level; has a series of frescoed benches along the walls
Room l
    Narrow-room that also provides access to Room i
Room n
    Small-room with a narrow opening onto the organisational space
Room o
    Accessed from Room P
Room p
    Long room along the front of the organisational space that provides access to Room o

Features
1. Reception sequence: orthogonal
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV?.

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
    a. *Opus signinum*: ----
    b. Chip-pavement:
        Room G, with polychrome *crustae*
    c. *Opus sectile*: ----
    d. *Opus scutulatum*:
        Courtyard (Room f) and Room G (monochrome white *opus tessellatum* with
        green, yellow, purple, grey, and black *crustae*)
    e. *Opus tessellatum*:
        Courtyard (Room f): monochrome (white) with polychrome *crustae*

f. Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
No pattern: *opus tessellatum* with a scatter of polychrome *crustae*
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.34

CATALOGUE ID: SOL12

Solunto – Bottega Artigiana con Abitazione
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC
House type: multiple-courtyard house:
    Type-IV: open corridor on the lower terrace and a non-colonnaded courtyard on the
        middle terrace
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 13

Room type
1. Shop:
Rooms n and m
    Tusa et al. (1994, 92) identify this as a living area; their size and form suggest that
    'shop' is a better identification
    a. Approach: entered from a public area to the south of the theatre (via del Teatro)
    b. Communication: dependent
    c. Form: bipartite (both rooms have access into the rest of the house)
    d. No evidence for a *pergula*
    e. Features / function: Room n is paved with terracotta slabs and has a bench along
       the western wall (q)
2. Entranceway:
Room a
    Entrance room (narrow)
    a. Approach: entered from a public area to the south of the theatre (via del Teatro)
    b. Access: right-angle
    c. Axis: lateral
    d. View: screened
    e. Features: remains of a stone shelf on the south wall
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
Room b
    a. Shape: corridor
    b. Roof: open (presumed based on evidence for a drainage hole in the northern wall)
    c. Porticoes: 0
    d. Columns: 0
    e. Position: central
    f. Paving: non-paved
Room i
    a. Shape: irregular
    b. Roof: open (presumed)
    c. Porticoes: 0
    d. Columns: 0
    e. Position: central

      f.   Paving: non-paved

5. Main room(s):

Room e

      a.   Shape: square room

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Position: south; bayonet

      d.   Decorative pavement: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear

      e.   Features: plastered walls

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room:

Rooms c and d

      a.   Location: along the side of the organisational space

      b.   Door: normal

      c.   Decorated: *opus signinum*; pattern (if any) unclear; plastered walls

      d.   Features: ----

12. Sleeping room: ----

13. Secluded room: ----

14. Other:

Room f

      Narrow room accessed from the lower terrace corridor by a small staircase

Room g

      Large room with a narrow door from the lower terrace corridor; plastered walls

Room h

      Large room with a narrow door from the lower terrace corridor; plastered walls; staircase on the western side of the room provided access to the middle terrace workshop area

Room o

      Small room that has evidence for a drain hole in the outer northern wall

Room p

      Small room accessed from the middle terrace; also has a staircase leading to entrance room n

Features

1. Reception sequence: bayonet? (main room not certain)

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-III

Decorative pavements

1. Pavement type:

      a.   *Opus signinum*:

           Rooms a, c, d, and e

      b.   Chip-pavement: ----

      c.   *Opus sectile*: ----

      d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----

      e.   *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----

      f.   Other:

Room n: terracotta slabs
2. Pavement pattern: ----
Pattern (if any) unclear
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----
Plan: Figure 4.35

CATALOGUE ID: SOL13

Solunto – Casa del Ghirlande
Date: mid- to late- 2nd- century-BC? Wall and floor decoration probably date to the 1st century BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 9
Plan incomplete

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway:
Room a
　　　　Entrance room (narrow)
　　　　a.　Approach: *stenopos*
　　　　b.　Access: right-angle
　　　　c.　Axis: lateral
　　　　d.　View: screened
3. Entrance dependent: ----
4. Organisational space:
Room d
　　　　a.　Shape: square
　　　　　　Roof: open
　　　　b.　Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
　　　　c.　Columns: 3 x 3? (only 3 x 2 *in situ*)
　　　　d.　Position: central
　　　　e.　Paving: paved
　　　　Central basin was surrounded with blocks that had a moulded edge
5. Main room(s):
Room e
　　　　a.　Shape: broad room
　　　　b.　Door: normal
　　　　c.　Position: south; orthogonal
　　　　d.　Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; pseudo-concentric pattern
　　　　e.　Features: ----
Room g
　　　　a.　Shape: long room
　　　　b.　Door: normal
　　　　c.　Position: south; orthogonal
　　　　d.　Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern
　　　　e.　Features: ----
Room i
　　　　a.　Shape: square room
　　　　b.　Door: normal

     c.   Position: south; bayonet
     d.   Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern
     e.   Features: ----

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room:

Room f
     a.   Location: along the side of the organisational space
     b.   Door: normal
     c.   Decorated: *opus tessellatum*; half of the room had a black and white linear pattern while the other half had a now missing central panel
     d.   Features: evidence for a posthole and a drain-hole

12. Secluded room: ----

13. Sleeping room: ----

14. Other:

Room c and h
     Staircases to an upper terrace
Room l
     A room that does not appear to have been accessed from the courtyard

Features

1. Reception sequence: orthogonal; bayonet

2. Three-room suite: ----

3. Decorative garden: ----

4. Water collection and storage: Type-IV; Type-II

Decorative pavements

1. Pavement type:
     a.   *Opus signinum*: ----
     b.   Chip-pavement:
     Courtyard (white with polychrome *crustae*)
     c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
     d.   *Opus scutulatum*:
     Courtyard: chip-pavement with polychrome *crustae*
     e.   *Opus tessellatum*:
     Rooms e, f, g, i: bichrome (black and white)
     f.   Other: ----

2. Pavement pattern:

Main pavement:
     a.   Concentric:
     Room f (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: plain (monochrome white *tesserae*); central panel: missing
     Rooms g and i (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: plain (monochrome white *tesserae*); frame: plain (monochrome black *tesserae*); central field in white: plain (monochrome white *tesserae*)
     b.   All-over: ----
     c.   Pseudo-concentric:

Room e (*opus tessellatum*): border: plain (monochrome white *tesserae*); central
field: geometric (lozenges)
d.   Other:
Courtyard (chip-pavement *opus scutulatum*): plain (no) pattern
Supplementary pavement:
a.   Door treatment: ----
b.   *Scendiletto*:
   True: ----
   Pseudo:
   Room f (*opus tessellatum*): preserves a linear pattern of white and black *tesserae*
Tesserae **alignment in plain *opus tessellatum***: not indicated
3. Other decorative pavement features: ----

Plan: Figure 4.36

C.9   Tindari (Tin)

Main Sources: Bacci 1997-1998; Barreca 1958; Belvedere and Termine 2005; Bernabò
Brea 1966; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965; Gentili 1950; Gentili 1952; Hollegaard Olsen et
al. 1995, 242-7; La Torre 2004b; La Torre 2006; Manni 1981, 240; Mezquíriz 1954; Spigo
2005; Spigo 2006; Stillwell 1976, 943; von Boeselager 1983, 39-47; Wilson 1990a, 120-2;
Wilson 2000b, 722.

CATALOGUE ID: TIN01

Tindari – Casa B
Date: mid-3rd / early 2nd centuries BC
House type: hypothesised four non-colonnaded-courtyard houses (two on either side of a
central *ambitus*)
Date: second half of the 2nd to the early 1st centuries BC
House type: multiple-courtyard house
   Hypothesis A: Type-IV: front entrance hall (with only a small opening in the roof?)
   and back colonnaded courtyard
   Hypothesis B: Type-III, Type-I, or Type-IV: two separate courtyard houses, plans
   uncertain; it is possible that they were a separate reception hall (*atrium*) and
   colonnaded-courtyard house; a non-colonnaded-courtyard house and colonnaded-
   courtyard house; two non-colonnaded-courtyard houses is also possible
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 17

Room type
1. Shop:
Rooms 1, 2, and 3
   a.   Approach: *plateia*
   b.   Communication: independent
   c.   Form: single
   d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
   e.   Features / function: ----

Rooms 4, 5, and 6
- a.   Approach: *plateia*
- b.   Communication: independent
- c.   Form: bipartite
- d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
- e.   Features / function: ----

Room 7
- a.   Approach: *stenopos*
- b.   Communication: independent
- c.   Form: single
- d.   No evidence for a *pergula*
- e.   Features / function: ----

2. Entranceway:

Room 8

Entrance Room (square)
- a.   Approach: *stenopos*
- b.   Access: right-angle
- c.   Axis: lateral
- d.   View: screened

Room 1? (conjecture)

Entrance Room (narrow)
- a.   Approach: *stenopos*
- b.   Access: direct
- c.   Axis: central
- d.   View: open

3. Entrance dependent: ----

4. Organisational space:

Western
- a.   Shape: square
- b.   Roof: open
- c.   Porticoes: 4; no 'broad portico' type
- d.   Columns: 4 x 4
- e.   Position: central
- f.   Paving: paved

Eastern (largely conjecture)
- a.   Shape: square
- b.   Roof: open
- c.   Porticoes: 4
- d.   Columns: 0
- e.   Position: central
- f.   Paving: paved

5. Main room(s):

Room 7
- a.   Shape: broad room
- b.   Door: normal
- c.   Position: south; other
- d.   Decorative pavement: *opus tessellatum*; concentric pattern; 'doormat' mosaic
- e.   Features: ----

6. Main-room dependent: ----

7. Dining-room:

Room 7? (see main room)

8. Food-preparation area: ----
9. Latrine: ----
10. Bathing area: ----
11. Small square room: ----
12. Secluded room: ----
13. Sleeping room: ----
14. Other:
At least five additional rooms with no identifiable features or functions

Features
1. Reception sequence: other
2. Three-room suite: ----
3. Decorative garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
      a. *Opus signinum*:
          Porticoes, Rooms 2, 4, and 5
      b. Chip-pavement: ----
      c. *Opus sectile*: ----
      d. *Opus scutulatum*:
          Room 2?
      e. *Opus tessellatum*:
          Room 7: polychrome (white, black, green, yellow, red, and brown)
          Fill: polychrome
      f. Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
Main pavement: ----
      a. Concentric:
          Room 7 (*opus tessellatum*): adjusting border: plain (white *tesserae* laid in a
               diagonal fashion?) frame: geometric (wave in perspective); central panel:
               plain (white *tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion)
      b. All-over:
          Porticoes (*opus signinum*): geometric (meander)
      c. Pseudo-concentric: ----
      d. Other:
          Room 2, 4, and 5 (*opus signinum*): pattern (if any) unclear
          Fill (*opus tessellatum*): geometric (rosette)
          Fill (*opus signinum*): inscription (see below)
Supplementary pavement:
      a. Door treatment:
          <u>'Doormat'</u>:
          Room 7 (*opus tessellatum*): geometric (polychromatic rosette)
          <u>Threshold</u>: ----
      b. Scendiletto: ----
Tesserae* alignment in plain *opus tessellatum:
      a. *Tesserae* laid in a rectilinear fashion: ----
      b. *Tesserae* laid in a diagonal fashion: central panel of Room 7
3. Other decorative pavement features:
Thin lead strips in the waves of the larger mosaic and petals of 'doormat' mosaic;

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Possible evidence for an inscription in *opus signinum*: fragment in the museum with the partial inscription of]TAS, though the context is unknown

Plan: Figure 3.22

CATALOGUE ID: TIN02

Tindari – Casa C
Date: mid-3rd / early 2nd centuries BC
House type: hypothesised 4 non-colonnaded-courtyard houses (2 on either side of a central *ambitus*)
Date: second half of the 2nd to the early 1st centuries BC
House type: colonnaded-courtyard house
Total number of rooms (including the organisational space): 19

Room type
1. Shop: ----
2. Entranceway:
Room 1
> Entrance room (square)
>> a. Approach: *stenopos*
>> b. Access: direct
>> c. Axis: lateral
>> d. View: open

3. Entrance dependent:
Room 1a
4. Organisational space:
> a. Shape: rectangular
> b. Roof: open
> c. Porticoes: 4; 'broad portico' type (east and west)
> d. Columns: 7 x 4
> e. Position: central
> f. Paving: ----

5. Main room(s):
Room 2
> a. Shape: broad room
> b. Door: wide (double doorway)
> c. Position: west; bayonet
> d. Decorative pavement: ----
> e. Features: ----

Room 3
> a. Shape: square room
> b. Door: exedral
> c. Position: north; orthogonal
> d. Decorative pavement: ----
> e. Features: two columns *in antis*

6. Main-room dependent:
Three rooms dependent on Room 3
> a. Access (main) room: Room 3 (a reception main room)
> b. Shape: square

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      c.   Decorative pavement: ----
      d.   Three-room suite: yes?
      e.   Bipartite plan: no
Features: two rooms accessed from the west and one from the east side of Room 3.
Possibly part of a three-room suite, but this feature is not entirely clear.

7. Dining-room: ----

8. Food-preparation area: ----

9. Latrine: ----

10. Bathing area: ----

11. Small square room:
Five rooms along the southern portico
      a.   Location: along the sides of the organisational space
      b.   Door: all normal
      c.   One decorated (other floors not cleared of debris)
      d.   Features: ----

12. Secluded room: ----

13. Sleeping room: ----

14. Other:
Additional six rooms with no identifiable features / function

Features
1. Reception Sequence: orthogonal; bayonet
2. Three-room Suite: possibly Room 3 and those on either side of it, but these do not fit any
of the prescribed types
3. Decorative Garden: ----
4. Water collection and storage: ----

Decorative pavements
1. Pavement type:
      a.   *Opus signinum*:
           Room 4
      b.   Chip-pavement: ----
      c.   *Opus sectile*: ----
      d.   *Opus scutulatum*: ----
      e.   *Opus tessellatum / opus vermiculatum*: ----
      f.   Other: ----
2. Pavement pattern:
Unclear
3. Other decorative pattern features: ----

Plan: Figure 3.22

Appendix D: Summary tables: types, features, decorative pavements, and social

stratification

Summaries of the various house and room types, as well as decorative pavements, of domestic architecture from mid-Republican Sicily, and discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, are provided in the following tables. Abbreviations used in the tables are as follows:

?	unclear	n/norm	normal
#	number	N	north
a	axial	nar	narrow
all	all-over	or / orth	orthogonal
b / bay	bayonet	ot / oth	other
bi	bichrome	rect	rectangular
cent	centre	pl	plain
ch / chip	chip-pavement	*plat*	*plateia*
co / con	concentric	pois	poised squares
Corr	corridor	poly	polychrome
Dep	dependents	pseud	pseudo
Diag	diagonal	psf	*opus pseudo-figlinum*
dom	domestic	psc	pseudo-concentric
e / exed	exedral	rec	reception
E	east	rect	rectangular
ext	portico extension	S	south
Fig	figural	se / sect	*opus sectile*
Hous	house	scree	screened
indepen	independent	sc / scut	*opus scutulatum*
insc	inscription	sig	*opus signinum*
irreg	irregular	*sten*	*stenopos*
L	right-angle	s / sq	square
lat	lateral	tesv	*opus tessellatum* / *vermiculatem*
loz	lozenges	thres	threshold mosaic
mat	doormat	U	U-shaped
mea	meander	w	wide
mono	monochrome	W	west

D.1   Summaries of house type

Table D.1. Summary of house type

| | Non-colonnaded | | | | Colonnaded | | | | |
House	Hall	Corridor	Non-colonnaded	Single colonnade	Single courtyard	Type-I	Type-II	Type-III	Type-IV
HM01			1						
HM02			1						
HM03	?		?						
HM04					1				
HM05			1						
HM06			1						
HM07			1						
Iato01						1			
Iato02					1	?			
Iato03					1				
Iato04					1				
Lic01		1							
Lic02		1							
Lic03		1							
Lic04		1							
Mar02					1				
Mar03				1					
Mar04			1						
Morg01							1		
Morg02							1		
Morg03							1		
Morg04			1						
Morg05			1						
Morg06					1				

	Non-colonnaded				Colonnaded				
House	Hall	Corridor	Non-colonnaded	Single colonnade	Single courtyard	Multiple courtyard			
						Type-I	Type-II	Type-III	Type-IV
Morg07			1						
Morg08					1				
Morg09									1
Morg10					1				
Pal01					1				
Seg01									
Sol01					1				
Sol02			1						
Sol03		1							
Sol04		1							
Sol05									1
Sol06					1				
Sol07					1				
Sol08					1				
Sol09					1				
Sol10		1							
Sol11									1
Sol12									1
Sol13					1				
Tin01					1				1
Tin02					1				
Totals	0 (+1?)	7	10 (+1?)	1	17	1 (+1?)	3	0	5

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Table D.2. Summary of organisational spaces (courtyards)

House	Room	Shape				Roof		Porticoes #	Broad N	Broad E	Broad S	Broad W	Columns #	Position central	Position side	Paving no	Paving yes
		square	rect	corridor	irreg	open	closed	#	N	E	S	W	#	central	side	no	yes
HM01		1				1		0					0	1		1	
HM02			1			1		0					0	1			1
HM03		1				?	?	0					0	1		1	
HM04		1				1		4					2:2	1			1
HM05			1			1		0					0	1		1	
HM06			1			1		0					0	1		1	
HM07	II				1	1		0					0	1		1	
Iato01	east	1				1		4					4:4	1			1
Iato01	west				1	1		3					2	1			2
Iato02		1				1		4					4:5	1		?	?
Iato03		?				1		3-4					5:5?	1		?	
Iato04		1				1		4					3:4?	1		?	?
Lic01	5			1		1		2	1	1			0	1			1
Lic02	5			1		1		2	1	1			0	1		?	
Lic03	5			1		1		0					0	1		?	
Lic04	5			1		1		0					0	1		?	
Mar02		1				1		4					2:2	1			1
Mar03		1				1		1					4	?			1
Mar04		1				1		0					0	1			1
Morg01			1			1		4					3:7	1			1
Morg02	south		1			1		3			1		3:6	1		1	
Morg02	north	1				1		3	1				3:4	1			1
Morg03	south	1				1		3					3:4	1		1	
Morg03	north	1				1		4	1				3:3	1			1

House	Room	Shape				Roof		Porticoes					Columns	Position		Paving	
		square	rect	corridor	irreg	open	closed	#	N	E	S	W	#	central	side	no	yes
Morg04			1			1		1	1				0	1		1	
Morg05			1			1		3	1	?	?		0	1			1
Morg06			1			1		3-4	1				2:?	1		?	?
Morg07			1			1		1	1				0	1			1
Morg08		1				1		4	1	1			3:3	1			1
Morg09	east	1				1		3					2:2	1			1
Morg09	west		1			1		3-4					5:?	1		1	
Morg09	north	1				1		4					2:2	1			1
Morg10		1				1		4	1				4:4	1			1
Pal01			1			1		3-4	1				6:9	1		1	
Seg01		1				1		4		1	1		4:4	1			1
Sol01		1				1		4					4:4	1			1
Sol02		1				1		0					0		1		1
Sol03				1		1		1					1	1			1
Sol04				1		1		0					0		1	1	
Sol05	H				1		1	0					0	1			1
Sol05	G	1				1		1-4				?	5	1			1
Sol06	D	1				1		4					2:2	1			1
Sol07	G	1				1		4					4:4	1			1
Sol08	J	1				1		4					2:2	1			1
Sol09	C	1				1		4				1	2:2	1			1
Sol10	A			1		1		0					0		1	1	
Sol11	f	1				1		0					0	1			1
Sol11	b	1					1	0					0	1		1	
Sol12	b			1		1		0					0	1		1	
Sol12	i				1	1		0					0	1		1	

House	Room	Shape				Roof		Porticoes					Columns	Position		Paving	
										Broad							
		square	rect	corridor	irreg	open	closed	#	N	E	S	W	#	central	side	no	yes
Sol13	d	1				1		4					3:3	1			1
Tin01	west	1				1		4					4:4	1			1
Tin01	east?	1				1		4					0	1			1
Tin02			1			1		4		1		1	3:4	1		?	?
Totals		29 +1?	12	8	4	51 +1?	2 +1?		11	5	2	2		50 +1?	3	15 +7?	32 +4?

Table D.3. Summary of colonnaded courtyards

House	Room	Shape square	Shape rectangle	Porticoes #	Broad N	Broad E	Broad S	Broad W	Columns	Basin Paved no	Basin Paved yes
HM04		✓		4					2:2		✓
Iato01	east	✓		4					4:4		✓
Iato02		✓		4					4:5	?	?
Iato03		✓		3-4					5:5?	?	
Iato04		✓		4					3:4?	?	?
Mar02		✓		4					2:2		✓
Morg01			✓	4					3:7		✓
Morg02	south		✓	3			✓		3:6	✓	
Morg02	north	✓		3	✓				3:4		✓
Morg03	south	✓		3					3:4	✓	
Morg03	north	✓		4	✓				3:3		✓
Morg06			✓	3-4	✓				2:?	?	?
Morg08		✓		4	✓	✓			3:3		✓
Morg09	east	✓		3					2:2		✓
Morg09	west		✓	3-4					5:?	✓	
Morg09	north	✓		4					2:2		✓
Morg10		✓		4	✓				4:4		✓
Pal01			✓	3-4	✓				6:9	✓	
Seg01		✓		4		✓	✓		4:4		✓
Sol01		✓		4					4:4		✓
Sol05	G	✓		3-4				✓	5		✓
Sol06	D	✓		4					2:2		✓
Sol07	G	✓		4					4:4		✓
Sol08	J	✓		4					2:2		✓
Sol09	C	✓		4				✓	2:2		✓
Sol13	d	✓		4					3:3		✓
Tin01	west	✓		4					4:4		✓
Tin02			✓	4		✓		✓	3:4	?	?
Totals		22	6		6	3	2	3		4-9	19-23

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D.2   Summaries of room type

Table D.4. Summary of room types: shops

House	Room		Approach		Communication			Form		*Pergula*	
		sten	*plateia*	other	indepen	dependent	single	double	bi-partite	yes	no
HM01	3		1			1	1				1
HM02	3	1			1		1				1
HM03	4/5	1				1			1		1
HM04	3?		1			1	1				1
HM04	4/4A		1		1				1		1
HM04	5		1		1				1		1
HM04	6/7	1			1				1		1
HM05	5/6	1				1		1			1
HM06	IV/V	1			1			1			1
Lic02	9	1			1		1				1
Iato01	3/4			1	1				1		1
Iato01	12/13			1	1				1		1
Iato02	2			1	1 (?)		1				1
Iato02	3			1	1		1				1
Morg03	21		1			?	1				1
Morg03	22		1			?	1				1
Morg03	23/24		1			?		1			1
Morg04	8/9	1				1			1		1
Morg05	C	1			1				1		1
Morg05	D	1			1				1		1
Morg05	E	1			1				1		1
Morg05	F	1			1				1		1
Morg06	1	1				1?	1				1

House	Room	Approach			Communication		Form			*Pergula*	
		sten	*plateia*	other	indepen	dependent	single	double	bi-partite	yes	no
Morg07	iv?		1			1	1				1
Morg08	A			1	1				1		1
Morg08	B			1	1		1				1
Morg09	30	1			1		1				1
Sol01	I		1		1		1			1	
Sol01	II		1		1		1			1	
Sol01	III		1		1		1			1	
Sol01	IV		1		1		1			1	
Sol01	L/M	1				1			1		1
Sol02	B	1				1	1				1
Sol02	I/i	1				1		1			1
Sol04	B	1				1	1				1
Sol04	C	1				1	1				1
Sol05	A	1				1	1				1
Sol05	B	1			1		1				1
Sol06	Z	1			1		1				1
Sol07	I		1		1		1			1	
Sol07	II		1		1		1			1	
Sol07	III/IV		1		1			1		1	
Sol07	A	1				1	1				1
Sol08	I/i		1		1				1	1	
Sol08	II		1		1		1				1?
Sol08	III		1		1		1				1
Sol08	A		1			1	1				1
Sol08	B/C	1			1			1			1
Sol08	P-S	1			1				1		1

House	Room	Approach			Communication		Form			*Pergula*	
		sten	*plateia*	other	indepen	dependent	single	double	bi-partite	yes	no
Sol09	I/i		1			1			1	1	
Sol09	II		1		1				1	1	
Sol09	III		1		1		1				1
Sol09	IV	1			1		1				1
Sol10	I		1		1		1				1
Sol10	II		1		1				1	1	
Sol11	q	1			1		1				1
Sol12	n/m?			1		1			1		1
Tin01b	1, 2, 3		3		3		3				3
Tin01b	4, 5, 6		3		3				3		3
Tin01b	7	1			1		1				1
Totals		27	30	7	44	16	36	6	22	11	52

Table D.5. Summary of room types: entranceways

Hous	Room	sq	nar	Corr	N/A	sten	plat	other	direct	L	cent	Axis off centre	lat	open	scree	#	Room
HM01	1			1		1			1				1	1		0	
HM02	1			1		1			1				1	1		0	
HM03	1			1		1			1				1	1		0	
HM04	1	1					1			1			1		1	0	
HM05					1	1			1				1	1		0	
HM06	1	1				1			1				1	1		0	
HM07	I			1		1				1			1		1	0	
Iato 01	1	1						1	1			1			1	2	8, 9
Iato 02	3		1					1	1				1	1		0	
Iato 03	1?	1						1		1			1		1	0	
Iato 04	3	1						1	1				1	1		0	
Lic01					1	1			1				1		1	0	
Lic02	10				1	1			1				1		1	0	
Lic04					1	1			1		1				1	0	
Morg 01	21	1				1				1		1			1	1	22
Morg 02	11	1				1				1			1		1	2	7, 17
Morg 03	1		1			1				1			1		1	1	6
Morg 03	8		1			1				1			1		1	0	
Morg 04	7			1		1			1				1	1		0	
Morg 05	1			1			1		1				1	1		2	6, 7
Morg 07	i	1					1		1		1			1		0	

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		Room				Approach			Access		Axis	off centre		View		Dependent?	
Hous	Room	sq	nar	Corr	N/A	*sten*	*plat*	other	direct	L	cent	centre	lat	open	scree	#	Room
Morg 09	1	1				1			1				1	1		2	2/3, 28
Morg 09	27	1				1			1			1			1		
Morg 10	13	1				1				1			1		1	1	12
Sol01	A	1				1			1		1			1		1	F
Sol02	A			1		1				1				1		1	C
Sol03	A	1				1			1		1			1		2	D/E, B
Sol04	A			1		1				1				1		1	0
Sol05	C		1			1			1					1		1	D
Sol06	A	1				1			1		1				1	1	B
Sol07	O		1			1			1			1		1		2	N?, P?
Sol08	F	1				1			1		1				1	2	G, H?
Sol09	A		1			1				1			1		1	1	B
Sol10	N	1					1			1			1		1	1	P
Sol11	e		1			1			1				1		1	0	
Sol12	a		1					1		1			1		1	0	
Sol13	a		1			1				1			1		1	0	
Tin01	8	1				1				1			1		1	0	
Tin01	1?		1			1			1		1			1		0	
Tin02	1	1				1			1				1	1		1	1a
Total		18	10	8	4	31	4	4	25	15	7	4	29	16	24	24	

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Table D.6. Summary of room types: entrance dependents

House	Room(s)	Features
Iato01	8, 9	Access into these rooms is unclear, possibly from the entranceway; Room 8 is hypothesised to have been unroofed due to a lack of any formal paving or indication of a beaten floor
Morg01	22	Latrine?
Morg02	7, 17	
Morg03	6	
Morg05	6, 7	Both are small square rooms with narrow doors and no decoration; Room 6 has a stone lined pit in the centre; Room 7 preserves evidence for a drain
Morg09	2/3, 28	Room 2/3 is a large room, relatively well decorated, that was later divided into two rooms and the floor covered with plaster; Room 28 is a simple room with a large platform in the SW corner that takes up almost 1/4 of the room
Morg10	12	A stone foundation the width of the door divides the room in half
Sol01	F	The entrance to this room is uncertain, and assumed to have been located in the now missing wall along the eastern wall of the entranceway, the room is commonly interpreted as a small square room (*cubicula*) due to the inclusion of the *in situ* central panel
Sol02	C	Two square basins beside the door
Sol03	D/E, B	Room D/E is divided into two by a series of four basins; room B is on a slightly lower level
Sol05	D	
Sol06	B	On the lower terrace
Sol07	N?, P?	Communication between these rooms and the entrance room is uncertain
Sol08	G, H?	Room G is well decorated; Room H appears to have its southern wall open to the organisational space, therefore not really a dependent
Sol09	B	Two square basins make up a portion of the south wall and a third basin is located in the western wall
Sol10	P	Also connects to the corridor, therefore not a true dependent; provides access to a cistern
Tin02b	1a	

Table D.7. Summary of room types: main rooms (part 1: architecture)

House	Room	Shape				Door			Cardinal				Position		Alignment		
		broad	long	sq	oth	exed	wide	norm	N	E	S	W	axial	bay	orth	U	other
HM01	3			1				1			1					1	
HM01	4		1				1					1			1		
HM01	5	1						1	1				1				
HM02	3			1				1			1					1	
HM02	6	1						1	1				1				
HM02	7	1						1	1					1			
HM03	3			1				1			1					1	
HM05	2	1						1				1			1		
HM06	6			1				1		1					1		
HM07	III			1				1			1		1				
lato01	16			1		1			1				1				
lato01	17			1				1	1				1				
lato01	5	1						1				1			1		
lato02	5			1		1						1			1		
lato02	7		1					1		1					1		
lato02	8			1				1	1					1			
Lic01	2			1				1	1						1		
Lic01	3			1				1	1						1		
Lic02	2			1				1	1						1		
Lic02	3			1				1	1						1		
Lic03	2			1				1	1						1		
Lic03	3			1				1	1						1		
Lic04	2			1				1	1						1		
Lic04	3			1				1	1						1		

| House | Room | Shape | | | | Door | | | Cardinal | | | | Position | Alignment | | | |
		broad	long	sq	oth	exed	wide	norm	N	E	S	W	axial	bay	orth	U	other
Morg01	1			1				1		1					1		
Morg01	2			1				1		1			1				
Morg01	11	1						1		1				1			
Morg01	14			1				1		1				1			
Morg01	17	1					1		1						1		
Morg02	1			1			1				1			1			
Morg02	4				1			1				1			1		
Morg02	5				1			1				1			1		
Morg02	12			1		1			1							1	
Morg02	14		1					1			1			1			
Morg02	15			1		1			1						1		
Morg02	21	1						1	1					1			
Morg02	19	1						1		1					1		
Morg02	22		1					1	1				1				
Morg03	4			1				1		1					1		
Morg03	5			1				1			1						1
Morg03	7	1						1			1					1	
Morg03	12			1				1		1							1
Morg03	17	1						1	1				1				
Morg04	4			1			1			1					1		
Morg04	10			1				1	1						1		
Morg05	2			1				1	1							1	
Morg05	3			1				1			1			1			
Morg06	2	1						1	1								
Morg07	iv		1					1		1					1		
Morg08	1	1						1	1						1		

House	Room	Shape				Door			Cardinal				Position				
															Alignment		
		broad	long	sq	oth	exed	wide	norm	N	E	S	W	axial	bay	orth	U	other
Morg08	2		1			-	-	-	1						1		
Morg08	7		1					1		1				1			
Morg08	8			1		1				1				1			
Morg08	9		1					1		1				1			
Morg09	10			1				1				1		1			
Morg09	13			1				1			1				1		
Morg09	20			1		1				1							1
Morg09	21		1					1		1							1
Morg09	22			1				1		1							1
Morg10	1			1			1		1				1				
Morg10	4		1				1		1					1			
Morg10	11			1			1				1					1	
Pal01	P		1				1		1					1			
Pal01	Q		1				1		1					1			
Pal01	R			1			1		1				1				
Pal01	S		1				1		1					1			
Seg01	B	1						1			1						
Sol01	G		1					1				1			1		
Sol01	H			1		1			1				1				
Sol02	F			1		1						1					1
Sol03	G			1				1				1			1		
Sol03	J			1			1					1			1		
Sol04	F			1				1				1			1		
Sol05	F	1						1			1		1				
Sol06	G			1				1		1					1		
Sol06	H			1			1				1		1				

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| House | Room | Shape | | | | Door | | | Cardinal | | | | Position | | | | |
		broad	long	sq	oth	exed	wide	norm	N	E	S	W	axial	bay	orth	U	other
Sol06	M	1					1			1					1		
Sol07	J			1		1			1					1			
Sol08	M			1				1			1			1			
Sol08	N		1					1				1			1		
Sol09	D			1				1	1								1
Sol09	E			1				1	1								1
Sol10	E			1				1	1						1		
Sol11	m			1			1					1			1		
Sol11	c			1		?	?	?				1			1		
Sol12	e			1				1			1			1			
Sol13	e	1						1			1				1		
Sol13	g		1					1			1				1		
Sol13	i			1				1			1			1			
Tin01	7	1						1			1						1
Tin02	2	1					1						1	1			
Tin02	3			1		1			1						1		
Totals		19	16	55	2	10	16	64	36	20	20	16	11	23	40	7	9

Table D.8. Summary of room types: main rooms (part 2: features)

House	Room	Decorative Pavement											Primary Function?			Dep	3 Room Suite*			
		Type						Pattern												
		chip	sig	tesv	sect	scut	psf	con	all	psc	plain	?	rec	dom	?	Dep	I	II	III	IV
HM01	3												1			0				
HM01	4													1		0				
HM01	5													1		0				
HM02	3												1			0				
HM02	6													1		0				
HM02	7													1		0				
HM03	3												1			0				
HM05	2													1		1?				
HM06	6													1		1?				
HM07	III													1		1?				
Iato01	16		1									1	1			1				1
Iato01	17		1						1				1			0				1
Iato01	5		1								1		1			0				
Iato02	5		1									1	1			2		1		
Iato02	7		1										1		1	0				
Iato02	8		1							1			1			0				
Lic01	2	1									1			1		1				
Lic01	3	1									1		1			0				
Lic02	2	1									1			1		1				
Lic02	3	1									1		1			0				
Lic03	2	1									1			1		1				
Lic03	3		1									1	1			0				
Lic04	2													1		1				
Lic04	3												1			0				

| House | Room | Decorative Pavement | | | | | | | | | | | Primary Function? | | | Dep | 3 Room Suite* | | | |
| | | Type | | | | | | Pattern | | | | | | | | | | | | |
		chip	sig	tesv	sect	scut	psf	con	all	psc	plain	?	rec	dom	?		I	II	III	IV
Morg 01	1			1				1					1			0				
Morg 01	2			1				1					1			0				
Morg 01	11												1			2				
Morg 01	14			1				1					1			0				
Morg 01	17													1		3				
Morg 02	1			1				1					1			0				
Morg 02	4			1				1					1			0				
Morg 02	5	1									1		1			0				
Morg 02	12			1				1					1			0				
Morg 02	14		1						1				1			0				
Morg 02	15	1									1		1			2		1		
Morg 02	21		1								1			1		2				
Morg 02	19													1		0				
Morg 02	22													1		1				
Morg 03	4													1		1				
Morg 03	5		1					1					1			0				
Morg 03	7													1		0				
Morg 03	12		1							1			1			0				
Morg 03	17													1		4				

House	Room	Decorative Pavement								Pattern			Primary Function?				3 Room Suite*			
		Type														Dep				
		chip	sig	tesv	sect	scut	psf	con	all	psc	plain	?	rec	dom	?		I	II	III	IV
Morg 04	4		1							1			1			1				
Morg 04	10													1		1				
Morg 05	2													1		0				
Morg 05	3												1			1				
Morg 06	2													1		0				
Morg 07	iv														1	0				
Morg 08	1		1							1				1		1				
Morg 08	2	1									1			1		0				
Morg 08	7		1							1			1			0			1	
Morg 08	8		1							1			1			0			1	
Morg 08	9		1									1	1			0			1	
Morg 09	10		1	1				1					1			0				
Morg 09	13		1								1			1						
Morg 09	20		1							1			1			1				
Morg 09	21	1								1			1			0				
Morg 09	22					1	1			1			1			0				
Morg 10	1			1				1					1			0				
Morg 10	4													1						
Morg 10	11	1									1			1						

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		Decorative Pavement										Primary Function?				3 Room Suite*			
		Type						Pattern												
House	Room	chip	sig	tesv	sect	scut	psf	con	all	psc	plain	?	rec	dom	?	Dep	I	II	III	IV
Pal01	P	1									1		1			0			1	
Pal01	Q	1									1		1			0			1	
Pal01	R			1	1			1					1			0			1	
Pal01	S					1			1				1			0			1	
Seg01	B			1	1			1					1			0				
Sol01	G			1							1		1							
Sol01	H			1							1		1			0			?	
Sol02	F		1						1				1			2				
Sol03	G												1			0				
Sol03	J													1		0				
Sol04	F													1		0				
Sol05	F												1			0				
Sol06	G														1	0				
Sol06	H		1					1					1			0				
Sol06	M													1		0				
Sol07	J			1							1		1			0			?	
Sol08	M		1							1			1			0				
Sol08	N														1	0				
Sol09	D		1						1				1			0				
Sol09	E		1					1					1			0				
Sol10	E													1		0				
Sol11	m														1	1				
Sol11	c												1			0				
Sol12	e		1									1		1		0				
Sol13	e			1						1			1			0				
Sol13	g			1				1					1			0				

| House | Room | Decorative Pavement | | | | | | | | | | | Primary Function? | | | | 3 Room Suite* | | | |
| | | Type | | | | | | Pattern | | | | | | | | | | | | |
		chip	sig	tesv	sect	scut	psf	con	all	psc	plain	?	rec	dom	?	Dep	I	II	III	IV
Sol13	i			1				1					1			0				
Tin01	7			1				1					1			0				
Tin02	2													1		0				
Tin02	3												1			2				
Totals		12	25	17	2	2	1	16	5	11	17	6	54	33	5	32	0	2	7	2

* I = Hellenic; II = Macedonian; III = Italian; IV = Other (see Appendix A for descriptions)

Table D.9. Summary of room type: main rooms: reception long rooms detail

| House | Room | Type | | Door | | | Position Cardinal | | | | Position Alignment | | | | | Decorative Pavement | | Type | | | | | | Pattern | | |
		I	II	e	w	n	N	E	S	W	a	b	or	U	ot	ch	sig	tes v	se	sc	psf	co	all	ps c	pl	?
Morg02	14	1				1			1			1					1						1			
Morg08	7		1			1		1				1					1							1		
Morg08	9		1			1		1				1					1							1		
Morg09	21		1			1		1							1	1								1		
Pal01	P		1		1		1					1				1									1	
Pal01	Q		1		1		1					1				1									1	
Pal01	S		1		1		1					1								1			1			
Sol01	G		1			1				1		1						1							1	
Sol13	g	1				1			1			1						1				1				
Totals		2	7	0	3	6	3	3	2	1	0	6	2	0	1	3	3	2	0	1	0	1	2	3	3	1

Table D.10. Summary of room types: main rooms: *tablinum*-type rooms detail

| House | Room | Door | | | | Position | | | | | | | | | Decorative Pavement | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | cardinal | | | | alignment | | | | | Type | | | | | | Pattern | | | |
		s	e	w	n	N	E	S	W	a	b	or	U	ot	ch	sig	tes v	se	sc	psf	co	all	ps c	pl
Morg08	8	1	1			1					1						1						1	
Morg09	10	1			1				1		1					1	1				1			
Pal01	R	1		1		1				1						1		1			1			
Sol01	H	1	1			1				1								1						1
Sol06	H	1		1				1		1						1					1			
Sol07	J	1	1				1				1						1							1
Sol08	M	1			1			1			1					1							1	
Sol11	m	1		1					1			1												
Totals		8	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	3	4	1	0	0	0	4	4	1	0	0	3	0	2	2

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Table D.11. Summary of room types: main-room dependents

House	Room	Main Room			Shape		Decorative Pavement										Plan*			
							Type				Pattern									
			rec	dom	rect	sq	chip	sig	tesv	oth	con	all	psc	plain	?	3	2	1	oth
HM05	3	2		1	1													1	
HM06	5	6		1	1													1	
HM07	IIIa	III		1	1												1		
Iato01	15	16	1			1		1				1				1			
Iato02	4	5	1			1										1			
Iato02	6	5	1			1										1			
Lic01	1			1	1		1	1						1		1			
Lic02	1			1	1		1							1		1			
Lic03	1			1	1		1							1		1			
Lic04	1			1	1		1							1		1			
Morg01	9/10	11	1		1											1			
Morg01	15/16	17		1	1			1						1		1			
Morg01	18	17		1	1											?	?		?
Morg02	8	15	1			1		1				1				1			
Morg02	13	15	1			1		1				1				1			
Morg02	23	22		1	1													1	
Morg02	24/25	21		1	1			1				1					1		
Morg03	3	4		1		1		1					1						1
Morg03	16, 18, 19, 20	17		4		4											4		
Morg04	5	4	1			1		1				1						1	
Morg04	6	10		1	1			1							1		1		
Morg05	4	3	1			1		1							1			1	
Morg10	5	4		1	1														1
Sol02	G	F	1			1		1								?	?		

			Main Room		Shape		Decorative Pavement Type				Pattern					Plan*			
House	Room		rec	dom	rect	sq	chip	sig	tesv	oth	con	all	psc	plain	?	3	2	1	oth
Sol02	H	F	1		1												?	?	
Tin02	3 rooms	3	3			3										3?			
Totals			13	18	17	14	4	11	0	0	0	5	0	6	2	5 +3?	9 +3?	9 +3?	2

* 3 = three-room suite; 2 = bi-partite; 1 = single

Table D.12. Summary of room types: food preparation, latrines, and bathing

| House | Room | Food prep | Latrine | Bathing | Hip-tub | Immersion | | Sweat-room | Bath-suite | | |
						Heated	Non		Ante-room	Main	Service
HM01	6	1									
HM01	7 (SE corner)		1								
HM02	6	1									
HM03	9	1									
HM06	9	1									
Iato01	14	1									
Iato01	23	1									
Iato01	18, 20, 21, 22			1		1			2	1	1
Iato02	19			1		1			1?	1	1
Iato04	east annex			1				1	1-5?	1	
Lic01	1	1		1	1						
Lic01	4,7	2									
Lic02	1	1		1	1						
Lic02	4,7	2									
Lic03	1	1		1	1						
Lic04	1	1		1	1						
Mar03				1							
Morg01	15	1									
Morg01	22		1								
Morg01	10			1	1						
Morg01	7, 8			1				1	7	8	
Morg02	3			1		1			1	1	?
Morg02	16	1									
Morg02	21			1	1						
Morg03	10/11	1	1	1	1						

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House	Room	Food prep	Latrine	Bathing	Hip-tub	Immersion		Sweat-room	Ante-room	Bath-suite	Service
						Heated	Non			Main	
Morg04	6	1		1	1						
Morg04	10			1	1						
Morg05	6, 7	2									
Morg06	2			1	1						
Morg08	12			1	1				1	1	
Morg08	14, 18	2									
Morg08	16		1								
Morg08	21, 22			1				1	1	1	
Morg09	13			1	1						
Morg09	14, 15	2									
Sol01	M	1									
Sol01	N	1									
Sol01	O			1				1			
Sol03	L	1									
Sol04	N	1									
Sol06	S			1	1						
Sol06	T	1									
Sol07	B	1									
Sol08	S	1									
Sol08	O			1	1						
Sol09	L, M	2									
Sol09	N, O,P			1				1	2	1	
Totals		33	4	23	14	3	0	5	14 (1?)	15	2

Table D.13. Summary of room types: small square rooms

House	Room(s)	Location					Door		Decorated	
		ext	side	front	back	exedral	wide	normal	yes	no
HM05	7				1			1		1
HM06	3			1				1		1
Iato01	2a	1				1			1	
Mar01	24, 25		2					2		2
Morg01	23	1						1		1
Morg02	26	1						1	1	
Morg02	27	1				1			1	
Morg03	15	1				1				1
Morg03	14	1						1	1	
Morg05	5	1						1		1
Morg06		1				1				1
Morg09	24		1					1	1	
Morg10		1				1			1	
Pal01	X		1					1		1
Pal01	Y		1					1	1	
Pal01	Z1		1					1	1	
Pal01	Z		1					1	1	
Pal01	T1	1				1			1	
Sol01	D, J				2			2	2	
Sol01	E			1				1	1	
Sol05	N				1			1		1
Sol06	C			1				1	1	
Sol07	H				1			1		1
Sol07	L				1		1			1
Sol07	M			1				1		1

House	Room(s)	Location				exedral	Door		Decorated	
		ext	side	front	back		wide	normal	yes	no
Sol09	F		1					1	1	
Sol09	G			1				1	1	
Sol09	H			1				1		1
Sol11	h				1			1		1
Sol12	c, d		2					2	2	
Sol13	f		1					1	1	
Tin02	5 rooms		5					5	1	4
Totals		10	16	6	7	6	1	32	20	19

Table D.14. Summary of room types: sleeping, secluded, and other

House	Room	Sleeping?	Secluded	Other			
				corridor	stair	misc.	?
HM02	5		1				
HM02	4,8,9						3
HM03	6,7						2
HM03	8		1				
HM04	9, 10,						2
HM05	4						1
HM05	8,9,10,11					4	
HM06	7,8,					2	
HM06	4, 11, 12, 13						4
HM07							3
Iato01	5	1					
Iato01	6						1
Iato01	7			1			
Iato01	10,19						2
Iato01	11						1
Iato01	24,25						2
Iato02							1
Iato03							1
Iato04							1
Lic01	1?	1					
Lic01	6,8,9,10						4
Lic02	1?	1					
Lic02	6,8,9						3
Lic03	1?	1					
Lic03	4						1
Lic04	1?	1					
Lic04							5
Mar02							4
Morg01	3,5,6,19,20						5
Morg01	4,12			2			
Morg01	9,10	2					
Morg01	13				1		
Morg02	2,10			2			
Morg02	9	1					
Morg02	18						1
Morg02	20						1
Morg02	24,26	2					
Morg02	25	1	1				

House	Room	Sleeping ?	Secluded	corridor	stair	misc.	?
					Other		
Morg02	25b	1	1				
Morg03	2						1
Morg03	9						1
Morg03	13				1		
Morg04	3						1
Morg04	6	1					
Morg04							2
Morg05	4	1					
Morg05							1
Morg06	3						1
Morg06	5,6						2
Morg07							3
Morg08	3,4,5,6?	3					1
Morg08	10,11						2
Morg08	13				1		
Morg08	15						1
Morg08	17						1
Morg08	19,20						2
Morg08	B2						1
Morg08	i						1
Morg08	ii						1
Morg09	4,7						2
Morg09	5/6	1					
Morg09	8/9	1					
Mor09	11,19			2			
Morg09	12						1
Morg09	16						1
Mor09	17			1			
Morg09	18						1
Morg09	23			1			
Morg09	25,26,29,34						4
Morg09	32						3
Morg09	35,36						2
Morg09							6
Morg10	2/3	1					
Morg10	6						
Morg10	7,8,9						1
Morg10	10						1
Pal01	X, Y, Z, Z1	4					

House	Room	Sleeping ?	Secluded	Other corridor	stair	misc.	?
Seg01	A,E						1
Seg01	C						1
Seg01	I						1
Sol01	D,E,J	3					
Sol02	G	1					
Sol02	E						1
Sol03	F						1
Sol03	K						1
Sol03	H						1
Sol04	J		1				
Sol04	E						1
Sol04	G						1
Sol04	H						1
Sol04	K/M						2
Sol05	J			1			
Sol05	L	1					
Sol05	M						1
Sol05	O/P						2
Sol06	J			1			
Sol06	L	1					
Sol06	O,P,Q					3	
Sol06	U/V						2
Sol07	D?		1				
Sol07	C						1
Sol07	E						1
Sol07	H, L, M	3					
Sol08	D						1
Sol08	R			1			
Sol10	B						1
Sol10	D						1
Sol10	F,G						2
Sol10	H						1
Sol10	M						1
Sol10	J			1			
Sol11	a						1
Sol11	i						1
Sol11	o						1
Sol11	d			1			2
Sol11	g						1

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House	Room	Sleeping ?	Secluded	corridor	Other		?
					stair	misc.	
Sol11	l						1
Sol11	n						1
Sol11	p						1
Sol12	f						1
Sol12	g						1
Sol12	h						1
Sol12	p						1
Sol12	o						1
Sol13	c and h				2		
Sol13	l						1
Tin01							5
Tin02							1
Tin02							6
Totals		33	6	16	5	9	143

D.3　Summaries of decorative pavements

Table D.15. Summary of decorative pavements: type

House	Room	No.	sig	chip	sect	scut	psf	#	tessellated mono	bi	poly
HM01	7	1	1								
HM03	fill	2	1					1		1	
Iato01	porticoes (including 2a), 3, 4, 5, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22	13	13								
Iato01	fill (16a, 17a, 5a)	3	1					2	1		1
Iato02	porticoes, 4, 7, 8	4	4								
Iato02	5	1		1							
Iato03	porticoes, 2	2	2								
Iato04	porticoes, 3, 4 rooms in eastern annex	6	6								
Lic01	1 (alcove)	1	1								
Lic01	1,2,3	3		3							
Lic02	1,2,3	3		3							
Lic03	3	1	1								
Lic03	1,2	2		2							
Mar02	courtyard and at least 4 rooms	5	5								
Mar02	central basin; later paving in the rooms	3						3	1	2	
Mar03	courtyard (and basin), 3	2	2								
Mar04	courtyard and at least one room	2	2								
Morg01	courtyard, 7 and 15, platform of Room 10	4	4								
Morg01	1,2,14	3		2				3			3
Morg02	courtyard (x2),3,8,9, 10,13,14,19,21,22,25,26,27	14	14								
Morg02	north portico, 5,15	3		3							
Morg02	1,3,4,11,12	5						5	2	1	2

House	Room	No.	sig	chip	sect	scut	psf	tessellated #	mono	bi	poly
Morg02	24	1	1					1			1
Morg03	porticoes,2,3,5,12,15,16,17,18,20, 21,22,23,24	14	14								
Morg03	14	1		1				1			1
Morg04	portico, 4,5,6,10	5	5								
Morg05	2,3,4	3	3								
Morg06	north and west porticoes,2,3,5	4	4								
Morg08	porticoes, corridor, 1,3,4,7,8,12,15,20,22,	11	11								
Morg08	2,5,6	3		3							
Morg08	9	1		1		1					
Morg09	porticoes (x3)1,2,5,6,7,8,9,10,12,13,20,24,35	16	16								
Morg09	10	1						1		1	
Morg09	21	1		1		1		1	1		
Morg09	22	1				1	1	1		1	
Morg10	porticoes,2,3,6	4	4								
Morg10	11	1		1							
Morg10	1	1						1			1
Pal01	porticoes	1	1								
Pal01	Z1,P,Q	3		3							
Pal01	R	1			1			1			1
Pal01	S	1		1		1					
Pal01	T1	1						1			1
Seg01	D	1	1			1					
Seg01	B	1			1			1			1
Seg01	A	1	1								
Seg01	E	1						1	1		
Sol01	courtyard	1						1		1	
Sol01	A,H,G	3						3	3		

House	Room	No.	sig	chip	sect	scut	psf	#	tessellated mono	bi	poly
Sol01	D	1			1			1	1		
Sol01	E	1	1					1		1	
Sol01	F	1						1			1
Sol01	J	1			1						
Sol02	courtyard, E, F, G	4	4								
Sol03	a	1	1								
Sol05	H	1	1								
Sol05	G	1						1	1		
Sol06	courtyard, G, H	3	3								
Sol06	O	1	1	1							
Sol07	courtyard	1	1								
Sol07	J	1						1	1		
Sol08	M	1	1								
Sol08	G	1						1	1		
Sol09	courtyard, D, F,G	4	4								
Sol09	E	1	1					1			1
Sol10	B	1	1								
Sol11	courtyard (Room f)	1				1		1			1
Sol11	g	1		1		1					
Sol12	a,c,d,e	4	4								
Sol13	courtyard	1		1		1					
Sol13	e,f,g,i	4						4		4	
Tin01	porticoes,4,5	3	3								
Tin01	2	1	1			1					
Tin01	7	1						1			1
Tin01	fill	2	1					1			1
Tin02	4	1	1								

House	Room	No.	sig	chip	sect	scut	psf	#	tessellated		
									mono	bi	poly
Totals		210	147	28	4	9	1	42	13	12	17

Table D.16. Summary of decorative pavements: main pavements pattern

House	Room	Con	All	Psc	Other	sig	tesv	other
		Paving Pattern				Paving Type		
HM01	7				1			
HM03	fill	1					1	
HM03	fill		1			1		
Iato01	15,16,17,20,21,22		6			6		
Iato01	porticoes (including 2a), 3, 4, 5, 7, 18, 19				7	7		
Iato01	5a,16a (fill)				2		2	
Iato01	17a (fill)	1					1	
Iato02	porticoes		1			1		
Iato02	8			1		1		
Iato02	4,7				2	2		
Iato02	5				1			1
Iato03	porticoes,2				2	2		
Iato04	porticoes		1			1		
Iato04	3, 4 rooms in annex				5	5		
Lic01	1,2,3				3			3
Lic01	Room 1 alcove				1	1		
Lic02	1,2,3				3			3
Lic03	3		1			1		
Lic03	1,2				2			2
Mar02	courtyard		1			1		
Mar02	basin				1		1	
Mar02	4 rooms				4	4		
Mar02	2 rooms				2		2	
Mar03	courtyard (and basin),3				2	2		
Mar04	courtyard and 1 room				2	2		
Morg01	1	1					1	
Morg01	2	1					1	
Morg01	14	1					1	
Morg01	porticoes		1			1		
Morg01	7,15				2	1		
Morg01	platform of Room 10				1	1		
Morg02	1	1					1	
Morg02	4	1					1	
Morg02	12	1					1	
Morg02	south porticoes, 8, 10, 13		4			4		
Morg02	9		1			1		
Morg02	13		1			1		

House	Room	Paving Pattern				Paving Type		
		Con	All	Psc	Other	sig	tesv	other
Morg02	14			1		1		
Morg02	3				1	1	1	
Morg02	north portico, 5,15				3			3
Morg02	11				1		1	
Morg02	24,25		2			2		
Morg02	26		1			1		
Morg02	27		1			1		
Morg02	north courtyard; 19, 21, 22				4	5		
Morg03	5	1				1		
Morg03	2		1			1		
Morg03	3				1	1		
Morg03	14	1					1	
Morg03	porticoes,15		2			2		
Morg03	12			1		1		
Morg03	16,17,18,20				4	4		
Morg03	21,22,23,24				4	4		
Morg04	north portico, 5		2			2		
Morg04	4			1		1		
Morg04	6,10				2	1		
Morg05	2,3,4				3	3		
Morg06	3		1			1		
Morg06	5				1	1		
Morg06	porticoes, 2				2	2		
Morg08	porticoes		1			1		
Morg08	1,8			2		2		
Morg08	2,5,6				3			3
Morg08	3		1			1		
Morg08	15		1			1		
Morg08	9			1				1
Morg08	12			1		1		
Morg08	4				1	1		
Morg08	7, 20, 22,corridor				4	4		
Morg09	10	1				1	1	
Morg09	east courtyard porticoes, 3,7		3			3		
Morg09	1,2		2			2		
Morg09	6		1			1		
Morg09	5			1		1		
Morg09	20	1				1		
Morg09	west courtyard porticoes		1			1		

House	Room	Paving Pattern				Paving Type		
		Con	All	Psc	Other	sig	tesv	other
Morg09	21,22			2				2
Morg09	35			1		1		
Morg09	8,9,12,13, north courtyard				5	5		
Morg09	24				1	1		
Morg10	1	1					1	
Morg10	porticoes		1			1		
Morg10	3,6		2			2		
Morg10	2			1		1		
Morg10	11				1			1
Pal01	T1	1					1	
Pal01	R	1					1	
Pal01	porticoes				1	1		
Pal01	Q			1				1
Pal01	Z1, P, S				3			3
Seg01	B	1					1	1
Seg01	D				1	1		1
Seg01	A				1	1		
Seg01	E				1		1	
Sol01	courtyard (B)	1					1	
Sol01	D,J	2					2	
Sol01	E	1				1	1	
Sol01	F	1					1	
Sol01	A,G,H				3		1	
Sol02	F		1			1		
Sol02	G				1	1		
Sol02	D,E				2	1		
Sol03	a				1	1		
Sol05	G,H				2	1	1	
Sol06	H	1				1		
Sol06	courtyard, G, O				3	3		
Sol07	courtyard		1			1		
Sol07	J				1		1	
Sol08	M			1		1		
Sol08	G				1		1	
Sol09	E	1					1	
Sol09	D		1			1		
Sol09	courtyard, F, G				3	1		
Sol10	B				1	1		
Sol11	courtyard (f)				1		1	1

House	Room	Paving Pattern				Paving Type		
		Con	All	Psc	Other	sig	tesv	other
Sol11	g				1			1
Sol12	a,c,d,e				4	4		
Sol13	f	1					1	
Sol13	g,i	2					2	
Sol13	e			1			1	
Sol13	courtyard				1			1
Tin01	7	1					1	
Tin01	porticoes		1			1		
Tin01	2,4,5				3	1		
Tin01	fill	1			1		2	
Tin02	4				1	1		
Totals		28	45	16	121	139	39	27

Table D.17. Summary of decorative pavements: supplementary pavements 1: 'doormats' and thresholds

House	Room	mat	thres	sig	tesv	sec	other	#	cube	rows	rose	loz	pois	mea	oth	Fig	Insc	Plain
					Type						Geometric							
Iato01	17		1	1													1	
Morg01	1	1			1									1		1		
Morg01	2	1			1											1		
Morg02	24		1		1			1	1									
Morg02	25		1	1				1			1							
Morg02	26		1	1				1		1								
Morg03	2		1	1				1		1								
Morg03	14	1			1													1
Morg06	3		1	1				1			1							
Morg08	3	1		1				1				1						
Morg08	3		1	1				1					1					
Morg08	12	1		1													1	
Morg09	6	1		1				1			1							
Morg09	1		1	1														1
Morg09	21		1		1													1
Morg09	22		1		1									1				
Pal01	P		1				1	1								1	1	
Pal01	R		1			1		1	1									
Seg01	courtyard	1		1													1	
Sol06	H		1		1			1						1				
Tin01	7	1			1			1				1						
Totals		8	13	12	7	1	1	12	2	2	4	1	1	3	1	2	4	3

Table D.18. Summary of decorative pavements: supplementary pavements 2: other

| House | Room | | | Scendiletto | | | | | | | Alignment in tessellated | | Lead |
		true	pseud	sig	tesv	sect	row	loz	cube	other	rect	diag	
HM03												1	
Morg01	14										1	1	
Morg01	1											1	
Morg02	9	1		1			1	1					
Morg02	1,4,12										3		
Morg02	3											1	
Morg02	24		1	1			1	1					
Morg02	25		1	1			1	1					
Morg02	26		1	1						1			
Morg03	14											1	
Morg09	6		1	1			1						
Morg09	21										1		
Morg09	10										1		1
Morg10	1										1		1
Pal01	R											1	
Seg01	B										1		
Seg01	E											1	
Sol01	D,J	2				2			2				1
Sol01	A,B,G,H										4		
Sol01	D,F,J											3	
Sol02	G		1	1						1			
Sol07	J											1	
Sol13	f		1		1					1			
Tin01	7											1	1
Totals		3	6	6	1	2	4	3	2	3	12	12	4

D.4   Summaries of social stratification

Table D.19. Postulated social stratification of the houses of mid-Republican Sicily based upon evidence for display of material wealth

Criteria	Level			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Size	large	large to moderate	moderate to small	small
Courtyard type	colonnaded	colonnaded	colonnaded or non-colonnaded	non-colonnaded
Decorative pavement	*opus vermiculatum*; figural and polychrome *opus tessellatum*; *opus sectile*; *opus scutulatum*	plain or geometric *opus tessellatum*; patterned *opus signinum*	chip-pavement; patterned *opus signinum*	plain *opus signinum* to none
Bath-suite	heated immersion bathtub	either cleansing or a sweat-bath	no evidence for a bath-suite	no evidence for a bath-suite
Examples*	11: Iato01; Iato02; Morg01; Morg02; Morg08+; Morg09; Pal01; Seg01; Sol01; Sol07; and Tin01.	12: Iato03; Iato04; Morg03; Morg06; Morg10; Sol05; Sol06; Sol08; Sol09; Sol11; Sol13; and Tin02	10: HM03; HM04; Lic01; Lic02; Lic03; Lic04; Mar02; Mar03++; Morg04; Sol02	12: HM01; HM02; HM05; HM06; HM07; Mar04; Morg05; Morg07; Sol03; Sol04; Sol10; Sol12

* These are prospective categories. Not all criteria need to be met and houses are designated based on the category that 'best' fits their description.
+ Morg08 is not as finely decorated as the others in this category, and its bath-suite does not have a heated immersion tub. Its inclusion in the first level, and not the second, is based on size, the possible inclusion of two different varieties of communal bath-suite, and the *opus scutulatum* pavement.
++ Mar03 preserves evidence for a single colonnade and possibly a bath-suite that is associated with the courtyard. Its inclusion in the third level, and not the second, is based upon it not having a full colonnade, and the fact that the bathing area is not entirely certain and could be representative of a more traditional Punic-type bathing installation.

Table D.20. Suggested evidence for Roman reception practice and its frequency relating to the postulated social stratification of the houses of mid-Republican Sicily

House	Open view from street	Type-III (Italian) 3-room suite	Possible '*tablinum*'	Possible '*triclinium*'	Colonnaded garden	Small meeting room
Level 1						
Iato01						
Iato02	1					
Morg01						?
Morg02				1	1	1
Morg08		1	1	1		1
Morg09	1		1	1	1	1
Pal01		1	1	1	1	1
Seg01						
Sol01	1	1	1	1		1
Sol07	1	1	1			1
Tin01	1					
Totals	5	4	5	5	3	6
Level 2						
Iato03						
Iato04	1					
Morg03						1
Morg06						
Morg10						?
Sol05						
Sol06			1			1
Sol08			1			
Sol09						1
Sol11			1			1
Sol13				1		1
Tin02	1					1
Totals	2	0	3	1	0	6
Level 3						
HM03	1					
HM04						
Lic01						
Lic02						
Lic03						
Lic04						
Mar02						
Mar03						
Morg04	1					

House	Open view from street	Type-III (Italian) 3-room suite	Possible '*tablinum*'	Possible '*triclinium*'	Colonnaded garden	Small meeting room
Sol02						?
Totals	2	0	0	0	0	0
Level 4						
HM01	1					
HM02	1					
HM05	1					
HM06	1					
HM07						
Mar04						
Morg05	1					
Morg07	1					
Sol03	1					
Sol04						
Sol10						
Sol12						
Totals	7	0	0	0	0	0
Combined total	15	4	8	6	3	12

? Possible interpretations of small meeting rooms could also be suggested for Morg01 Room 2; Morg10 Room 6; and Sol02 Room G