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HELLENISTIC HOUSING IN ACHAIA PHTHIOTIS: A REGIONAL APPROACH TO DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION¹

Following the call for a more regional approach towards the Hellenistic world by S. Alcock², a number of studies have been published approaching the archaeology of this period from a more regional perspective. Such a perspective is a challenge in studies of domestic economy and housing, since our data is more dependent on detailed – and thus time-consuming – excavations as well as publications. We simply lack the specificity needed. Nonetheless, in this paper, I will take a regional outlook in the study of housing and domestic economy. I will argue that such studies are useful, but that we should identify a few possible pitfalls in such studies as well.

My region of study is Achaia Phthiotis in central Greece. Within this region, two major urban Hellenistic centers are currently being studied: New Halos³ and Kastro Kallithea⁴. I will discuss and compare both cities in terms of the methodologies of excavation and artifact analysis, the architecture and the layout of the houses and their contents. In conclusion, I will assess what these houses tell us about urban life in Achaia Phthiotis during the Hellenistic period, arguing that it is not possible to design a uniform interpretive framework or model for cities such as these, but that cities have a habitation history of their own, which we should take into account even on the regional level.

Achaia Phthiotis

Achaia Phthiotis is part of Thessaly. It belongs to the outlying regions of the large Thessalian flatlands, which consist of a variety of landscapes with rolling hills alternating with small plains and areas with a more mountainous character such as the Othris Mountains. The borders of Achaia Phthiotis were relatively fluid throughout history but in general the region was bounded by the gulf of Malis, the Thessaliois plain, the Phthiotis plain and the Pagasitic gulf. A number of urban centers dating to the Classical and Hellenistic

¹ I would like to thank the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, the 15th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, the University of Alberta, the Canadian Institute in Greece and the municipality of NARTHAKI for their continuing support of the archaeological project at Kastro Kallithea. I would also like to express my gratitude to H. R. Reinders for letting me use the data of the Halos project and for providing me with helpful information on the site and its surroundings. I am also very grateful for the useful information by S. Karapanou, especially in regard to the Hellenistic houses she excavated at Pharsala. S. Gouglas has been invaluable in the Kallithea project: measurements of the visible architecture have taken place under his supervision and he produced the major maps of the site (figs. 12–14). All of the other plans in this paper are my own, except where mentioned otherwise. My warm thanks also go to S. Hijmans, for his suggestions and comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Any mistakes or shortcomings are – of course – my own.

² S. ALCOCK, *Breaking up the Hellenistic World: Survey and Society*, in: I. MORRIS (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies* (Cambridge 1994) 171–190.

³ The Halos Archaeological Project is directed by H. R. Reinders of Groningen University in cooperation with the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Volos. The project commenced in 1976 and has produced numerous publications. Four monographs have appeared among which REINDERS 1988 and REINDERS – PRUMMEL 2003, with contributions of G. VAN BOEKEL, Y. BURNIER, M. J. HAAGSMA, S. E. HIJMANS, V. BEESTMAN-KRUIJSHAAR, B. MULDER, W. PRUMMEL, H. R. REINDERS, J. SCHELVIS and H. WOLDRING.

⁴ The Archaeological Project at Kastro Kallithea is an initiative of the undersigned and is carried out in cooperation with the 15th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Larissa. The project started in 2004. Apart from annual fieldwork reports, and smaller papers, a major article was published in *Mouseion* (TZIAFALIAS et al. 2006). A second preliminary publication of the survey results is forthcoming. Once our fieldwork has finished, the results are to be published in a monograph.

periods have been identified in this area: Melitaia, Phthiotic Thebes, Phthiotic Eretria, Xylades, Pteleon, Antron, Larissa Kremaste, Halos and the site at Kastro Kallithea (fig. 1).

Halos

Many of these urban centers underwent a physical change at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd c. BC. New layouts were established in all cases, including extensive fortifications. Of all these urban centers, the one of New Halos is the best researched so far. Halos is located at the southern end of the small coastal plain of Almiros, in antiquity named the Krokian plain. The Classical city has been identified at Magoula Plataniotiki near the Pagasitic gulf and is situated on a sandy reef amidst a coastal swamp (fig. 2). It was this city that was destroyed by Parmenion, the general of Philip II, in 346 BC as reported by Demosthenes⁵. Research has indicated that a new city was established around 302 BC farther from the coast, between a spur of the Othris Mountains and the coastal marsh, effectively closing off the coastal plain⁶. Excavations revealed that the city was inhabited for only about 35 years. All signs point to an abandonment of the city around 265 BC after a sudden event. Only the south-eastern city gate seems to have remained inhabited throughout the remainder of the 3rd c. BC⁷.

The strategic importance of the site can also be recognized in its fortifications and its layout (fig. 3). The city consists of two parts: a higher triangular area, surrounded by an enceinte with towers and gates located on the slope of a hill and an acropolis on the summit. The lower area, rectangular in form, is surrounded by an enceinte with towers and gates as well (fig. 4). The layout of the lower city follows a grid plan, as far as could have been determined, consisting of streets and a small number of avenues, resulting in abnormally long housing blocks, the longest of which measures 220 m in length. At the beginning of the archaeological fieldwork in Halos, in 1976, the architecture at the site proved to be very well preserved, despite the rather shallow stratigraphy. Many of the foundations of the houses and housing blocks were still easily visible at the surface. The site was originally in use as grazing grounds but was increasingly utilized for agriculture as a result of the introduction of heavy agricultural machinery. In rapid pace large parts of the site were destroyed by bulldozing away the foundation stones of the buildings within the lower city. This necessitated action and a plan was made to excavate a number of houses in the lower city on pieces of land that were not yet affected by the agricultural activities. Over the next years these pieces of land were bought by the Netherlands Institute at Athens and expropriated on behalf of the Greek state in order to secure them for future research. The fact that the site had only been inhabited for a short time and seemed to have been abandoned suddenly made it very worthwhile to record the contents of the houses in detail in order to obtain insight into the location of activity areas and thus into the organization of domestic space. The first house to be excavated in 1977 was the House of the Coroplast, followed by the House of the Geometric Krater in 1984. I myself joined the project in 1987 with the beginning of the excavation of the House of Agathon. I helped to set up a system of excavating and recording the material found in this house and the subsequent houses with the aim to conduct an analysis of the distribution of finds, work that I have recently taken up again. Six houses have now been completely excavated and the architecture of these houses and a catalogue of finds were published in a monograph, which appeared in 2003⁸.

The houses are simple in their layout and can be summarized as single entrance courtyard houses as exemplified in fig. 5. Two houses (the House of the Coroplast and the House of the Snakes) were located on the northern side of their respective housing block and four houses (The House of the Ptolemaic Coins, the House of Agathon, the House of the Amphorae and the House of the Geometric Krater) on the south side. The houses are very similar in size, each measuring about 15 m in depth and with a width ranging between 12.50 m and 15 m. We have found no evidence for a second floor, such as stairways or stones serving as bases for wooden stairs. We have also not found any bases for pillars or stairs which would support the

⁵ Demosth. or. 19, 39.

⁶ This is the result of several seasons of excavation at various locations in New Halos starting in 1976; cf. REINDERS 1988; REINDERS – PRUMMEL 2003.

⁷ REINDERS et al. 1996.

⁸ REINDERS – PRUMMEL 2003. Another monograph on the social organization and domestic economy at New Halos, based on the analysis of artifacts and their distribution in the houses is in preparation (HAAGSMA in preparation). In the summer of 2007, the Groningen team started excavating another house which was labelled the House of the Tub.

presence of a second floor, such as is the case at Olynthus⁹. All the floors of the houses were constructed of trodden earth on top of a Pleistocene sedimentation of stone cobbles mixed with soil. In only one case the remains of a pebble floor were discovered. The distribution of the finds did not suggest a possible fall from an upper story, since all broken potsherds that could be restored to one particular vessel were retrieved from individual rooms. The stratigraphy at Halos is fairly straightforward and does not provide any indication for a floor level lying on top of a lower floor¹⁰. In addition, the deposit is shallow, while the area has not been particularly prone to erosion. There is also no indication for the quarrying of foundation stones of the houses¹¹. This might be an indication that the upper structure of mud-brick was not very high. We therefore assume that the houses all had one floor.

The covered parts of the houses all have a very comparable configuration (fig. 6). Usually there is a main living room with four adjoining spaces and an extra room or corridor. The rooms are also surprisingly identical in relative size. The large living rooms, for instance, consistently take up between 17 and 20.67% of the total space in a house. The recent excavation of the House of the Tub supports these strong spatial similarities even though the plan of this house appears to be similar only to that of the House of the Coroplast.

Another aspect in which the houses at New Halos are quite similar is that there are no signs of any form of spatial articulation. While in houses at comparable sites we find cement floors, painted walls, mosaics and the use of stone ornaments such as capitals, none of these elements have been found in New Halos. All of the houses were constructed of simple materials¹². Maybe they were decorated with perishable materials, but no evidence of that has survived. The houses in New Halos show a lot of similarities, especially in their spatial configuration, but that does not necessarily mean that this is the case with regard to their usage as well, since a comparable internal division of spaces does not necessarily indicate similarities in human activities taking place in those spaces. It is therefore necessary to look at the distribution of finds within the houses. The location and preservation of artifacts and especially the identification of potential ›tool kits‹ could tell us something about the nature of domestic activities and therefore about the organization of the household itself.

As already indicated, the stratigraphy of the excavated houses at Halos is a simple one, which is shown in fig. 7. The majority of finds were located on a distinct floor level at a depth of only about 0.30 m. In most of the houses we discovered many vessels and other artifacts scattered over floors, often mixed in or located under roof tiles. In certain areas the surface of the houses has been affected by harrowing¹³. The excavation and recording methods at Halos have been (and will be) explained elsewhere in detail¹⁴, but in summary we can state that all artifacts have been recorded by room. The study of these artifacts has been finalized; metal, organic material and coins have been analyzed and the sherds have been collected, sorted, counted, weighed

⁹ CAHILL 2002, 95.

¹⁰ HAAGSMA 2003, 39.

¹¹ Quarrying at Halos is documented in the 19th c. According to J. L. USSING, *Griechische Reisen und Studien* (Copenhagen 1857) 100, the large blocks of the eastern city wall were quarried to erect the fort of Beli Pasha, just outside Almiros. Recent research at the medieval site of Almiros has shown that quarrying must already have occurred in Medieval times, since the tower of a Byzantine fortress at Tsingeli was constructed of city wall stones from both Halos and Phthiotic Thebes (H. R. REINDERS – Y. AALDERS, *The Medieval City of Almiros and its Hinterland*, *Pharos* 15, 2007, 47–58 esp. 52). All foundation stones found in New Halos derive from the hill on which the acropolis is located. This hill consists of a particular limestone which has proven to be very suitable for the production of lime, as indicated by the presence of many traditional lime kilns in the southern plain of Almiros. In the earlier 20th c. a quarry was started up at the foot of the upper city, »where a strip of 400 × 150 m. has been cut away« (REINDERS 1988, 60). This quarry is not in use anymore. Another large quarry was started up in the early 1990s outside the ancient city at the west side of the acropolis of Halos. Apart from their use as building material, part of the city walls might therefore have suffered from quarrying for the production of lime as well. Yet, most of the much smaller stones of the foundation walls of the houses have escaped this fate since many of these foundations were still visible *in situ* at the surface of the site during the 1970s (Reinders, personal communication; HAAGSMA 2003, 39 f.).

¹² HAAGSMA 2003, 39–47.

¹³ The effect of these post-depositional processes has been carefully examined as part of the study of the distribution of finds (HAAGSMA in preparation) and in summary we can state that the finds in the Halos houses show a distinct distribution pattern and that the effects of post-depositional processes on this distribution are limited (contra M. FIEDLER, *Houses at Leukas in Acarnania: A Case Study in Ancient Household Organization*, in: B. AULT – L. NEVETT [eds.], *Ancient Greek Houses and Households. Chronological, Regional and Social Diversity* [Philadelphia 2005] 99–118).

¹⁴ HAAGSMA 2003, 39; HAAGSMA in preparation.

and drafted, work that I carried out together with C. Beestman-Kruyshaar, who has published the ceramics¹⁵. As part of this project, we also studied the ceramic finds in more detail laying out all sherds room by room, carefully reconstructing individual vessels. As an example of artifact distribution, I will present the results of storage pottery in two houses: the House of the Snakes and the House of the Broken Amphorae¹⁶. The total volume of material derived from these two houses was substantial. The House of the Snakes, for instance, yielded 32 908 sherds, weighing 823 kg including the roof tiles. Excluding the roof tiles, these numbers are: 17 504 pottery sherds, weighing 165 kg.

I have taken one category – long term storage – as an example, the distribution of *pithoi*, transport amphorae and *pithos* lids over the various spaces in each of the two houses. Not surprisingly, we witness that storage in both houses was limited to very particular areas, usually one or two rooms. In the House of the Snakes these are rooms 5 and 6. Room 5 yielded 21 kg of amphora sherds, which could be separated into at least 5 individual vessels after sorting. We have not been able to reconstruct and restore all the vessels we found, but we can be certain that most of the amphorae found are of northern Greek provenance, with storage capacities ranging from 20 to 50 litres¹⁷. In contrast, only a total of 3.5 kg of *pithos* fragments were found, although these too belong to at least 5 different vessels. The presence of these different vessels corresponds with the empty *pithos* holes that we found in both rooms 5 and 6. The lack of sherds may be a result of a variety of depositional and post-depositional processes. It may have been the effect of harrowing, whereby larger sherds become more distributed over the site's surface in comparison to the smaller ones. Or, since larger pots – like *pithoi* – are more expensive, salvation of these items might have been part of the abandonment of the houses.

As its name betrays, the House of the Amphorae yielded a large number of storage vessels as well (fig. 9), but here we see that the *pithoi* and amphorae are stored separately. Room 5 contained at least 5 amphorae, the surviving sherds weighing 26 kg in total, while several other amphorae were found apparently elsewhere in the house. *Pithoi* were restricted to room 4. This small area yielded 5 vessels and 21 kg of material. Two small benches at the side of the room may indicate the original location of the *pithoi*. Despite this difference in distribution, the storage capacities of both houses are nonetheless quite comparable (fig. 10).

It is noteworthy that at Halos all houses have storage capacities, although not in the same volume. The houses can – in fact – be separated into two sets: the two largest houses (200 q. m. +) possess the largest numbers of both *pithoi* and amphorae while the four smaller houses (147–166 sq. m.) contain fewer of both, with the exception of the House of Agathon, where a very large number of all kinds of vessels, loom-weights, figurines and agricultural equipment was found in one single room (room 5). It is also interesting to note that of the only two houses in New Halos of which we have indications of the inhabitant's occupation, we witness differences in storage volume. The House of Agathon, with its stored agricultural equipment has by far the largest storage volume of the smaller houses¹⁸. This may indicate that the main economic base of the household occupying the House of Agathon was agricultural in character, necessitating storage vessels such as those found. The house with the smallest volume was occupied by a Coroplast, i.e. somebody not or only partially dependent on agricultural produce, which may reflect the presence of a relatively small number of storage vessels.

Do these observed differences in storage capacities mean that the households occupying the excavated houses at New Halos varied in the level of their wealth? I do not think so. Nicholas Cahill has pointed out in his exemplary study of the houses of Olynthos that storage practices could vary significantly within a city¹⁹. In Olynthos, some households, though very few, had storage capacities that would serve a household for a year, but the majority of households had to rely on another storage strategy and might have obtained from communal storage available elsewhere in the city. Such areas have indeed been identified at Olynthos. Compared to Olynthos, two of the houses at New Halos have large storage facilities: the House of the Snakes

¹⁵ BEESTMAN-KRUYSHAAR 2003.

¹⁶ The methodologies used in this analysis will be explained in detail and a full review of the results will be given in HAAGSMA in preparation.

¹⁷ BEESTMAN-KRUYSHAAR 2003, 90–92.

¹⁸ HAAGSMA 2003, 75.

¹⁹ CAHILL 2002, 226–236.

and the House of the Amphorae, and their storage capacities may have been large enough to feed an average household for a year. Perhaps part of the households relied on buying from the market, although large scale storage facilities have not been identified at New Halos and probably never will be given the destruction of the remainder of the city.

We can conclude that the houses at Halos are comparable in their architectural layout, they all lack any form of architectural articulation and embellishment and there are no remarkable differences in the relative value and of artifacts.²⁰ Taken all this together, this points to a rather homogeneous population in terms of social organization and domestic economy. The inhabitants of New Halos worked as craftspeople, lived of animal husbandry, hunting and shellfish²¹, and given the agricultural equipment found in the houses, they must at least partly have lived off the produce of allotments near the city²². No clear expression of wealth was found in the houses.

Kallithea

The newly studied site near the village of Kallithea (the so-called Kastro Kallitheas) provides an excellent base for an interregional comparison with the city at New Halos. The distance between New Halos and Kallithea is well over 25 km as the crow flies (fig. 1), but there is a strong visual connection since Kallithea is situated on top of a 600 meter high knoll with two tops (figs. 11, 12), effectively closing off the Plain of Almiros on its western side. This knoll is a landmark in the lower lying rolling hills and provides a commanding view of the surroundings, emphasizing the strategic location of the site²³. The site is very well preserved and is characterized by the presence of extensive fortifications, city gates and buildings and streets that can easily be recognized at the surface once one walks over the site. The hilltop has been in use as grazing area for cattle, sheep and goats and in some areas bedrock emerges at the surface. No agricultural or quarrying activities have taken place at the site. These aspects and the remote location have ensured the relatively good condition of the archaeological remains.

The city measures 34 hectares in relation to its outer fortification walls and at least three construction phases have been recognized up until now. The round acropolis is the oldest part of the site (fig. 13). A second building phase includes the fortifications encircling the hilltops and the internal fortifications, the *diateichismata*. Furthermore, a public area consisting of an agora, with a *stoa*, public buildings and a small sanctuary has been recognized as well as housing areas, all fitting into a regular grid of streets. This building phase can tentatively be dated to the late 4th and early 3rd c. BC, largely based on the coins and ceramics found on site. In addition to mapping the visible architectural remains, we have intensively surveyed the site, collected surface finds in units of 20 × 20 m.

The visible architecture at the site correlated significantly with a stronger density of artifacts and we therefore concluded that not all areas of the site were in use at the same time, and that some parts of the site were never occupied. Housing was restricted to the eastern part of the site and part of the western area, both in vicinity of the city gates. The plan of the housing area is regular with housing blocks of the same size in the eastern and western areas: measuring 45 × 39.5 m. We do not yet have a clear idea of how the individual houses fit into the housing blocks and whether we have a regular pattern such as in Halos, but the buildings do have varied dimensions (fig. 14). The individual houses range from 14 × 15 m as in buildings 8 and 9, to

²⁰ There are significant differences in the distribution of artifacts within the houses but none of these differences can be attributed to a distinction in wealth.

²¹ PRUMMEL 2003, 215–221.

²² Over the past 18 years, the Halos Archaeological Survey Project has surveyed the southern part of the plain of Almiros, the Sourpi plain and the eastern and southern slopes of Mount Othris. Up until now few remains belong to the time period to which the city could be dated (302–265 BC) and it seems that the number of farmsteads belonging to this period is limited.

²³ The site at Kallithea (Kislar) was briefly studied by F. Stählin during the early 1900s, cf. F. STÄHLIN, *Zur Landeskunde der Phthiotis*, AM 31, 1906, 1–37; F. STÄHLIN, *Die Grenzen von Melitaia, Perea, Peumata und Chalai*, AM 39, 1914, 83–103; F. STÄHLIN, *Das hellenische Thessalien* (Stuttgart 1924, reprint Amsterdam 1967); RE XIX 2 (1938) 1399–1405 s. v. Peuma (F. STÄHLIN). His study was mainly historical-topographical in character and no fieldwork was carried out. Stählin identified the site as the ancient city of Peuma, known from a number of inscriptions and coins. But since these inscriptions have not been found on the site and the number of coins found is as yet limited, we prefer to call the site by its modern toponym.

14 × 19 m as in building 10 (fig. 15)²⁴. The house plans vary as well. Based on what is visible at the surface, we can recognize buildings similar to what we have at Halos with a courtyard to the southwest and a similar configuration of rooms with one large room and four smaller side-rooms (building 8). But houses with a more complex configuration exist as well, such as building 10, which have a multitude of spaces and a courtyard in the centre. One aspect that the houses have in common – and which differs from Halos – is an entrance away from the street or avenue²⁵.

There are also indications that at least some of the houses had a second storey: a retaining wall with slots for beams lower on the hill, as well as a stairway hewn out in the rocks in one of the buildings in the housing area at Kallithea are indications for this.

Our project aims to excavate at least three houses in future years. As the entire terrain is already owned by the Greek state, we are in the fortunate position that we can sample with care all over the site, making sure that we include houses in good state of preservation, with varying ground plans and in various areas of the site.

We have started excavating building 10 this year after having dug a small test trench in 2006. The deposit covering building 10 proved to be quite thick with at least 80 cm of soil to be removed in order to reach the lowest floor level. One preliminary result was that more than one architectural and habitation phase was detected, both in the architecture as well as in the stratigraphy. So far, we can identify at least one floor level which we have tentatively dated to the middle of the 2nd c. BC.

This floor level, of which we have only excavated 2 sq. m so far, shows signs of sudden abandonment. Artifacts in good state of preservation, like a complete *unguentarium* and a lamp were found on the floor, as well as remains of a marble *louterion*, a number of loom-weights and *astragalia*. In terms of architecture, we determined that the foundations of the building were constructed out of stone up to a fairly high level. The foundations appear to have been strengthened in the second phase with heavier worked blocks, sometimes consisting of *spolia*, lying on top of smaller foundation stones. In at least three of the rooms we excavated we found traces of plaster in various colors: red, yellow, black and blue, as well as moldings (fig. 16). In addition, two capitals in the area closest to the courtyard were discovered, as well as a marble block with three protrusions, probably serving as a symbolic marker of a doorway, a very typical phenomenon in Achaia Phthiotis (fig. 17)²⁶.

Conclusion

In terms of size, construction and architectural articulation, building 10 bears the signs of a house with displays of relative wealth. It compares to a number of houses in Pharsala excavated by S. Karapanou²⁷.

At this point we are – of course – dealing with a single partially excavated house and we cannot draw any conclusions yet about social organization and domestic economy in Kallithea without further research. But the information we have retrieved from Kastro Kallithea so far does tell us something about New Halos, although the houses there were two or three generations earlier. It implies that the rather simple and homogeneous housing in the city of New Halos does not set a standard for Hellenistic housing in this part of the Greek mainland. It also shows how unique New Halos may be, given its remarkably short urban history.

²⁴ Whether these buildings have a domestic purpose is as yet unverified. Our survey results do not indicate specific information about the nature of human activities in these buildings other than domestic ones. However, the amount of deposit in the abovementioned buildings is such that the material of the lower strata has often not appeared at the surface of the terrain. This has been determined by the excavation of a number of test trenches in buildings 8 and 10. Only an excavation can provide a clearer picture about the nature of human activities in these buildings.

²⁵ Houses with entrances that do not provide a direct connection between the house and the street or avenue are not common in the Classical and Hellenistic period. The known houses at Kallithea having an entrance in the alleyway resemble a Classical/Hellenistic house in Pharsala (Polizou property at the 25th March street 7) excavated by S. Karapanou of the 15th Ephorate at Larissa in this respect (KARAPANOU 1999, 423). There are indications that other houses in Pharsala have entrances to alleys as well.

²⁶ Another such a stone was found at the entrance of building 5, a presumable small sanctuary near the agora (TZIAFALIAS et al. 2006). Similar stones have been also found in Phthiotic Eretria in the context of a sanctuary which was probably dedicated to Apollo (I. BLUM, *Die Stadt Eretria in Thessalien*, AAA 15, 1982, 159–175) as well as Hellenistic domestic contexts in Pharsala (Karapanou, personal communication).

²⁷ KARAPANOU 1999, 423.

What does this tell us about Kastro Kallithea? If we place building 10 in its urban context, we should be able to say something about the urban history as well. Survey and excavations of the public area of the city, the agora, proved that it was abandoned after a sudden event, exemplified by traces of fire in several public buildings together with the presence of arrowheads and catapult balls.

No comparable traces have been found in the housing area so far. It looks like this particular part of the site, especially the area near the eastern city had been in use for a longer period of time. Given the rather turbulent history of this part of Thessaly, with the alternating – or simultaneous – presence of Greeks, Macedonians, Aetolians and Romans, we assume that the city may have been in use by a variety of parties over time, who used the strategic location of the site, its natural defensive terrain and its fortifications for their own purposes. It is to be expected that the history of building activities and occupation of the housing in this city will display more variety than in cities in which this is not the case.

Clearly, this is all work in progress, in particular in the case of Kallithea, and the results are still preliminary. But what I hope to have achieved with this paper are two things. I wanted to stress the value and potential of the type of excavation and analysis we have conducted at Halos for an understanding of the social organization of the households there. And I hope to have shown, with my example from Kallithea, how wary we must be of extrapolating broader conclusions from those results. Even cities as close together – both regionally and chronologically – as New Halos and Kallithea appear, at first glance at least, seem to have been remarkably different.

List of Bibliographical Abbreviations

The citation follows guidelines of the German Archaeological Institute <www.dainst.org> (16.01.2009) and those of the Austrian Archaeological Institute <www.oeai.at/publik/autoren.html> (16.01.2009).

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Sources of Illustrations

- Figs. 1. 4–11. 15–17: M. J. Haagsma.
 Fig. 2: after REINDERS – PRUMMEL 2003, 17 fig. 1, 9.
 Fig. 3: after REINDERS–PRUMMEL 2003, 32 fig. 1, 19.
 Figs. 12–14: S. Gouglas.

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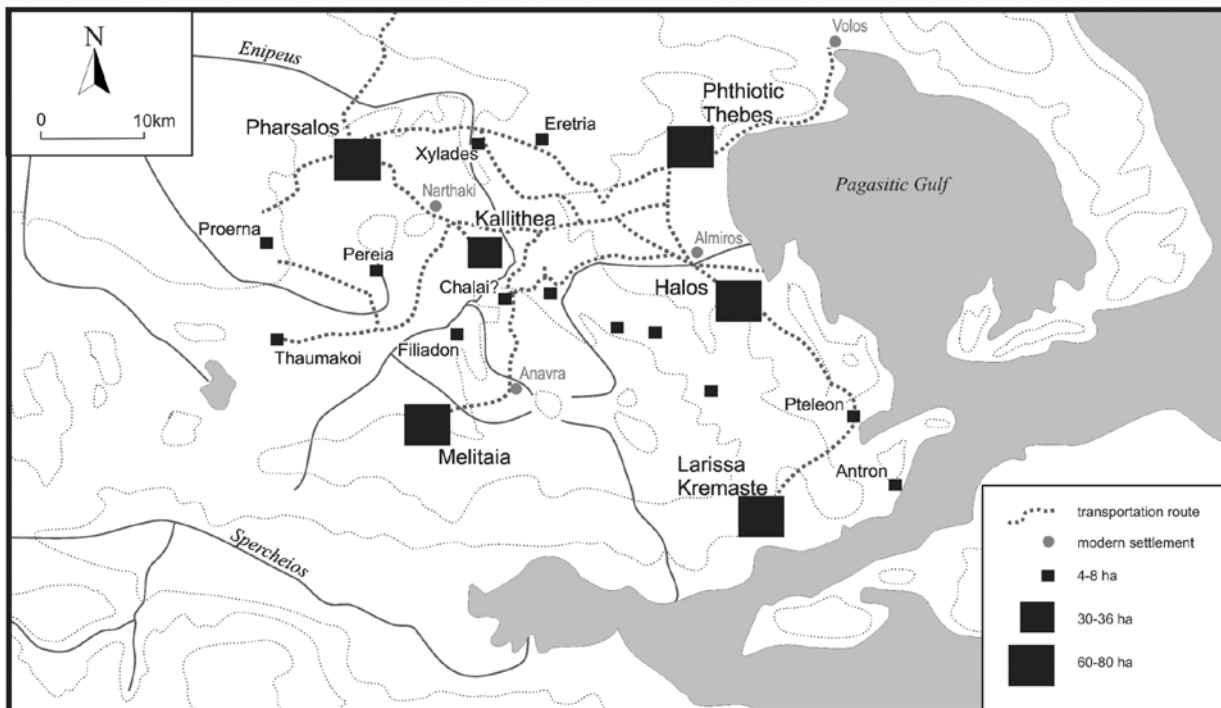


Fig. 1: Map of Achaia Phthiotis with cities in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods

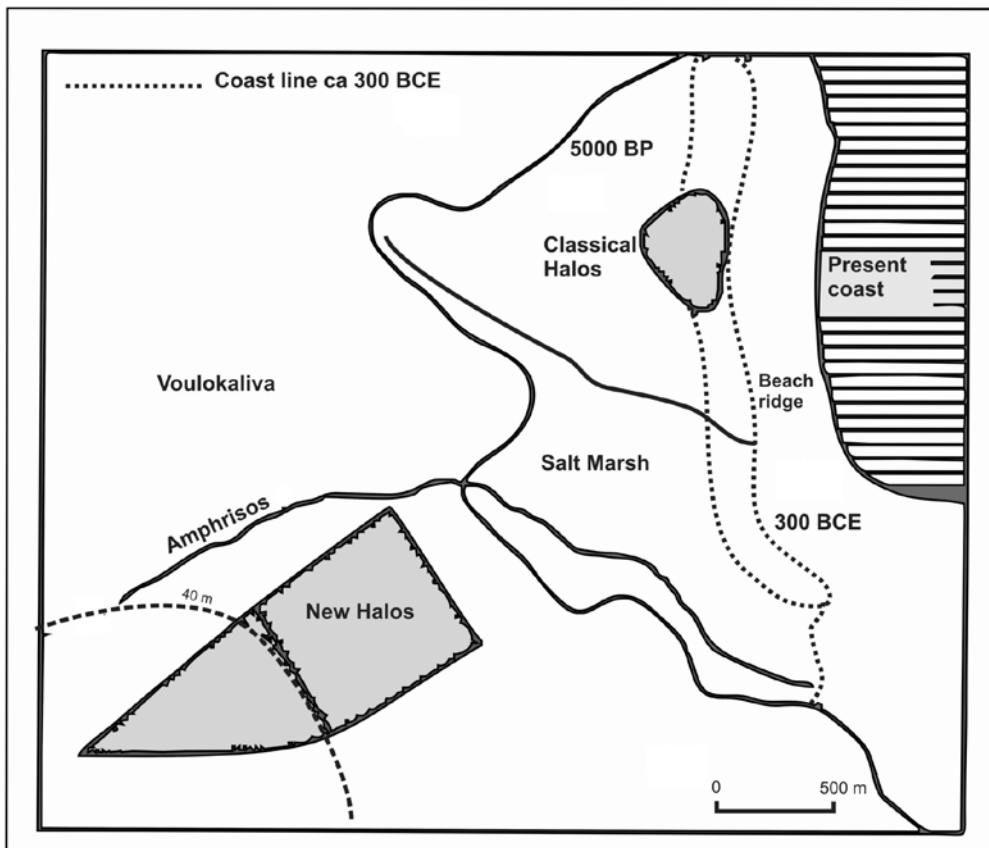


Fig. 2: Classical and Hellenistic Halos

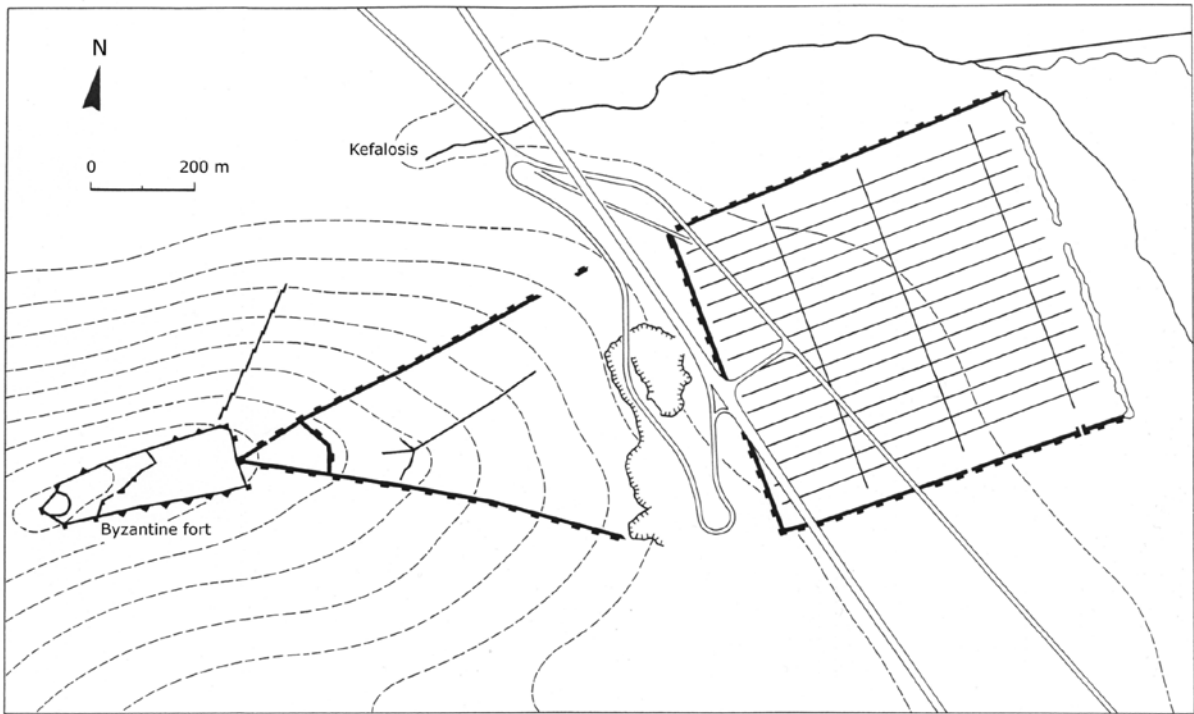


Fig. 3: Plan of New Halos

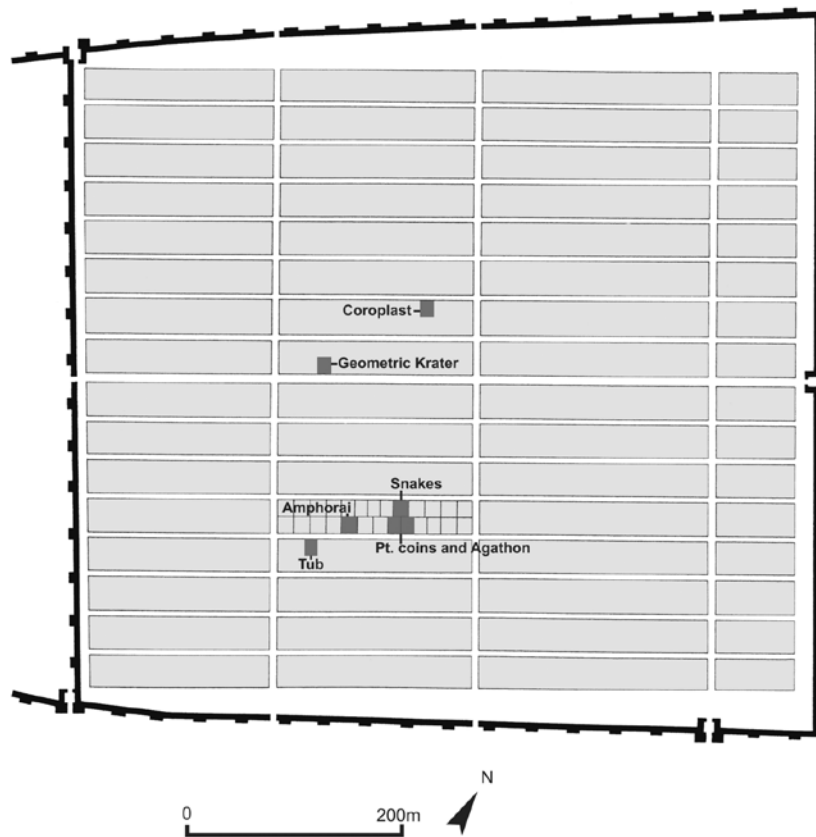


Fig. 4: Plan of the lower city of New Halos with housing blocks, street-plan and the location of the excavated houses

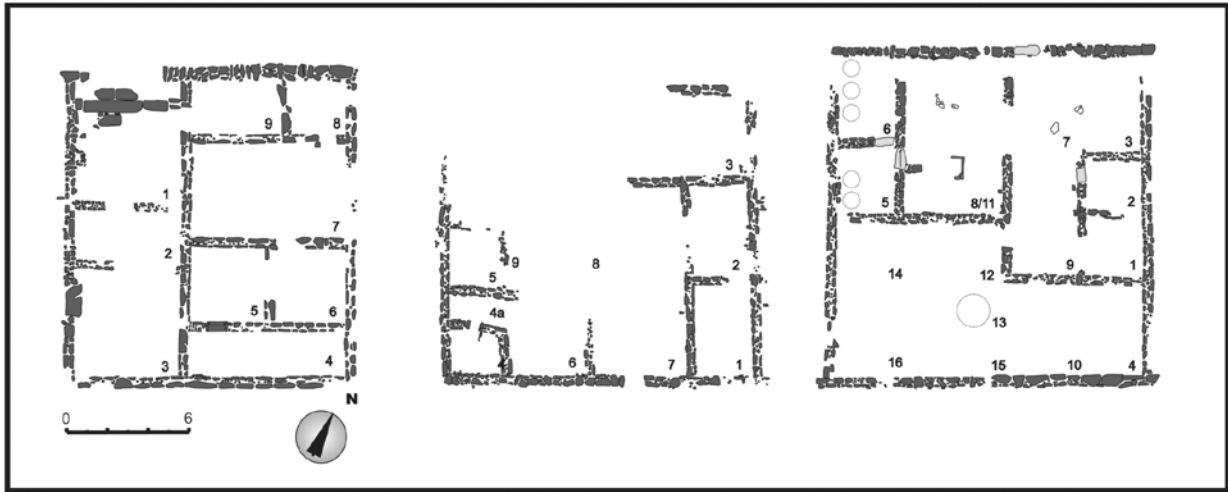


Fig. 5: Plans of the Houses of the Coroplast, Amphorae and Snakes at New Halos

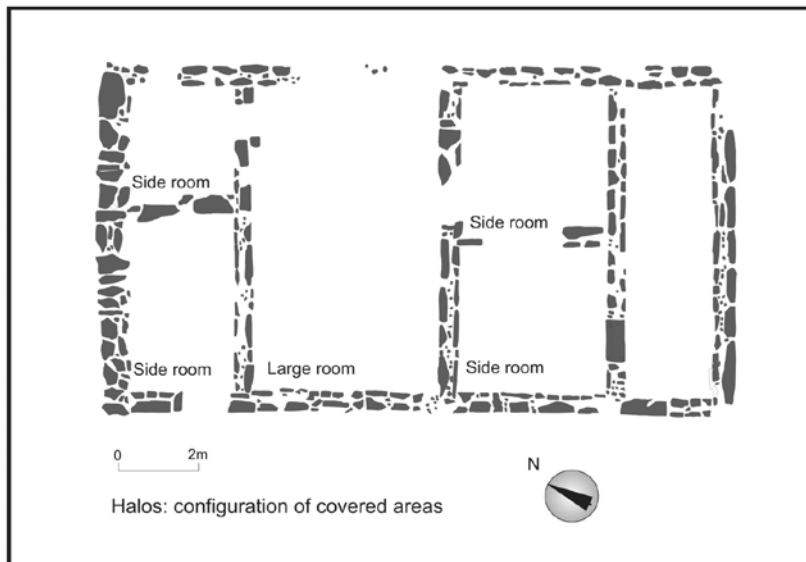


Fig. 6: Configuration of covered spaces in the houses of New Halos

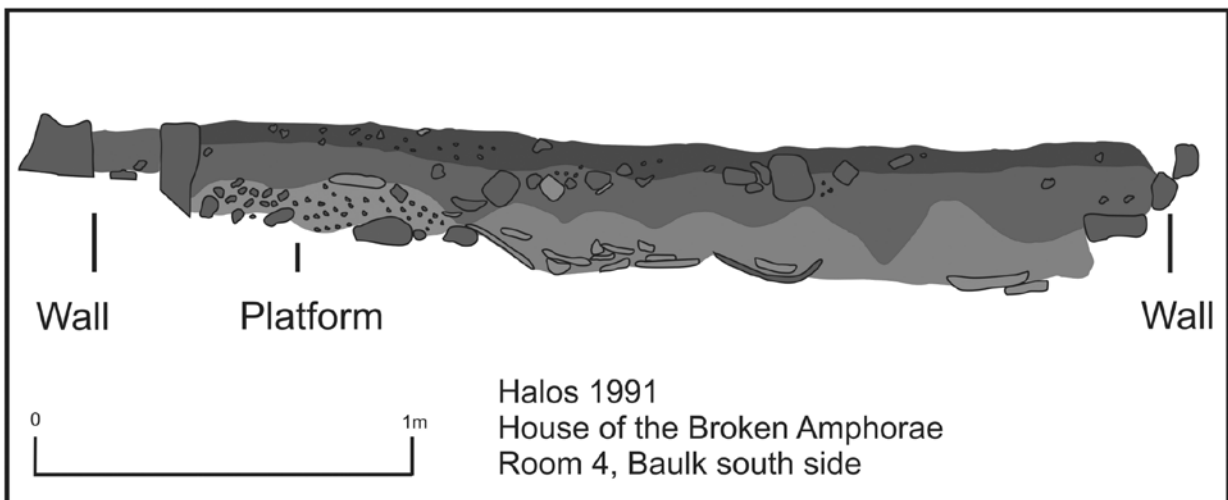


Fig. 7: Example of stratigraphy in the houses of New Halos (section profile of House 18, room 4 SS)



Fig. 8: Storage distribution in the House of the Snakes: *pithoi* and transport amphorae



Fig. 9: Storage distribution in the House of the Amphorae: *pithoi* and storage amphorae

New Halos				
Storage per House				
	<i>Amphorae</i>	<i>Pithoi</i>	<i>Pithos lids</i>	<i>Surface area</i>
House of the Snakes	14	7	1	207,31
House of the Amphorae	11	6	2	201,22
House of the Ptolemaic Coins	5	2	1	154,27
House of Agathon	10	2	2	147,27
House of the Geometric Krater	4	1?		155,6
House of the Coroplast	4	1		166,55

Fig. 10: Distribution of storage vessels in all excavated houses at New Halos



Fig. 11: Kastro Kallithea from the North

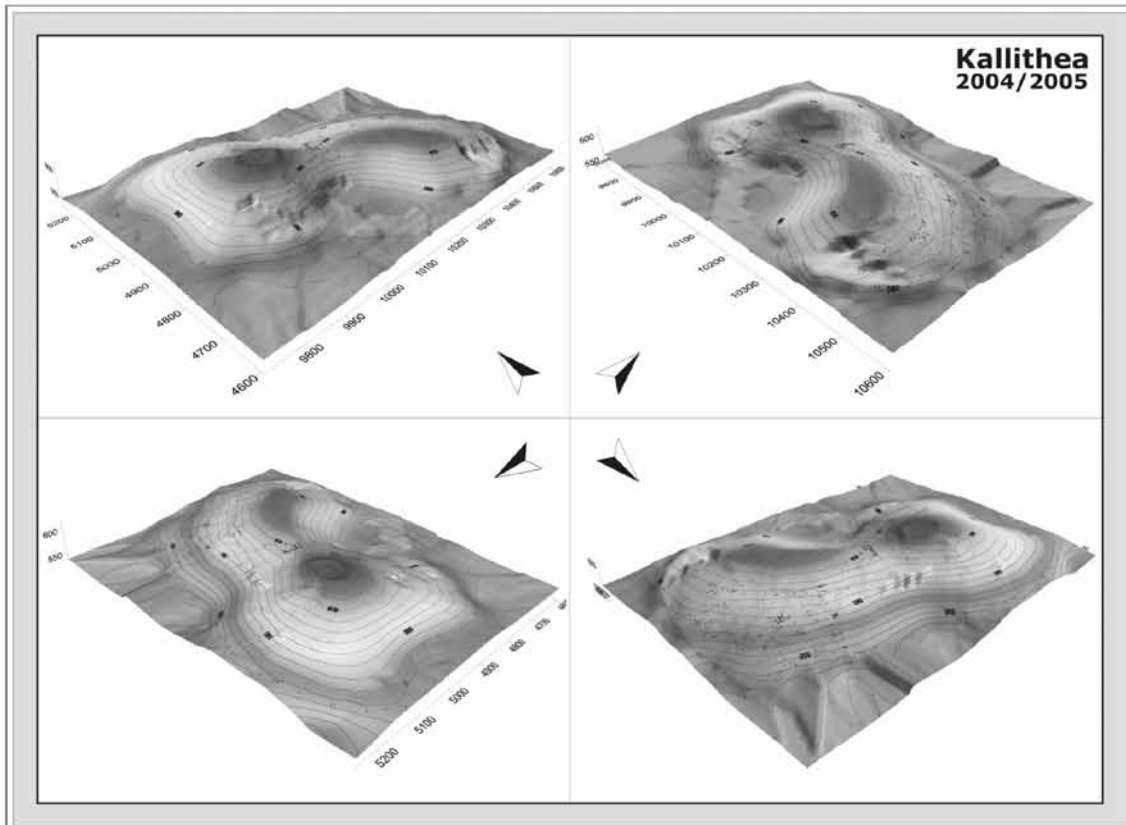


Fig. 12: Three dimensional map of the hill at Kastro Kallithea

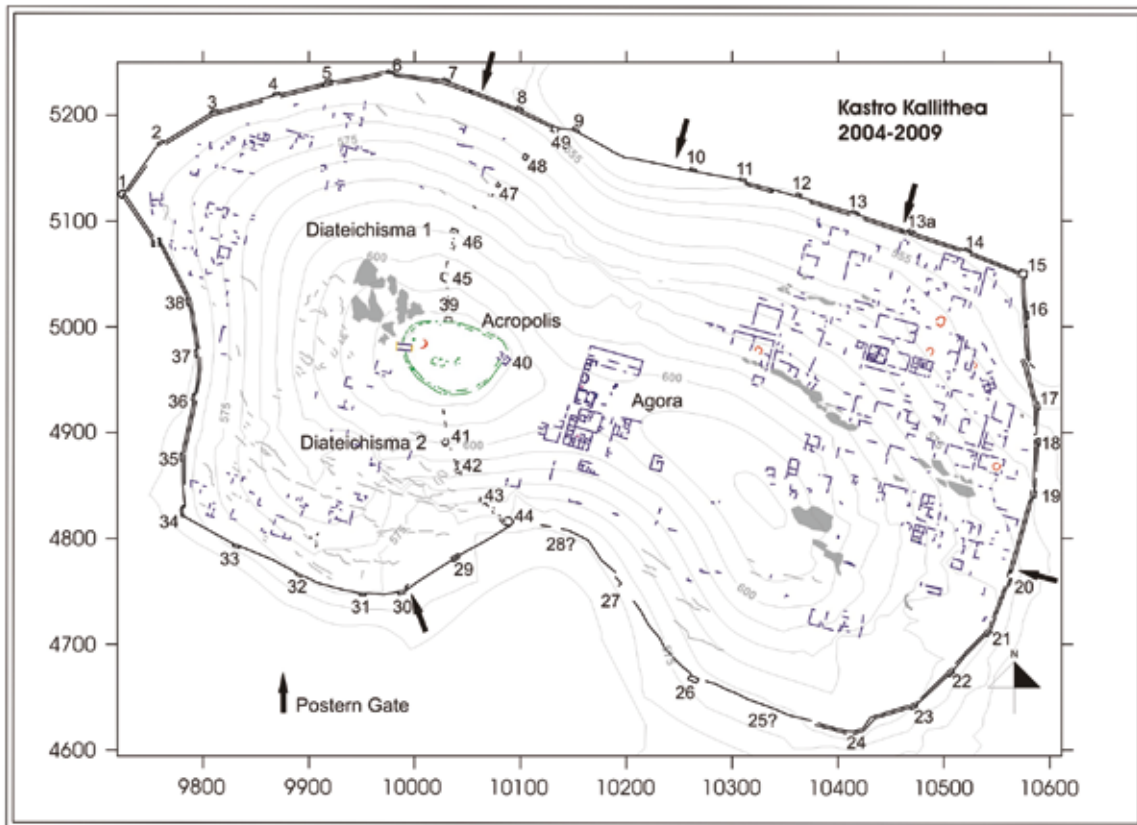


Fig. 13: Plan of the remains surveyed at site at Kastro Kallithea in 2004–2006

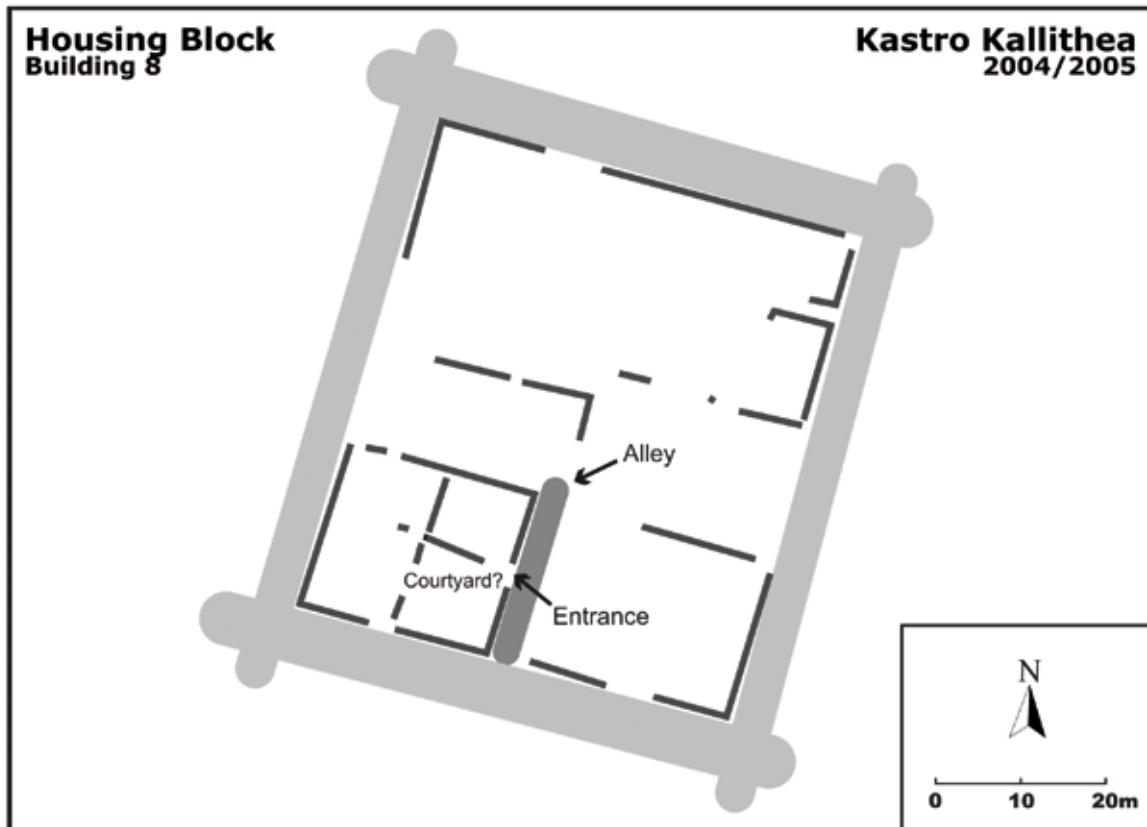


Fig. 14a: Housing block with building 8 at Kastro Kallithea

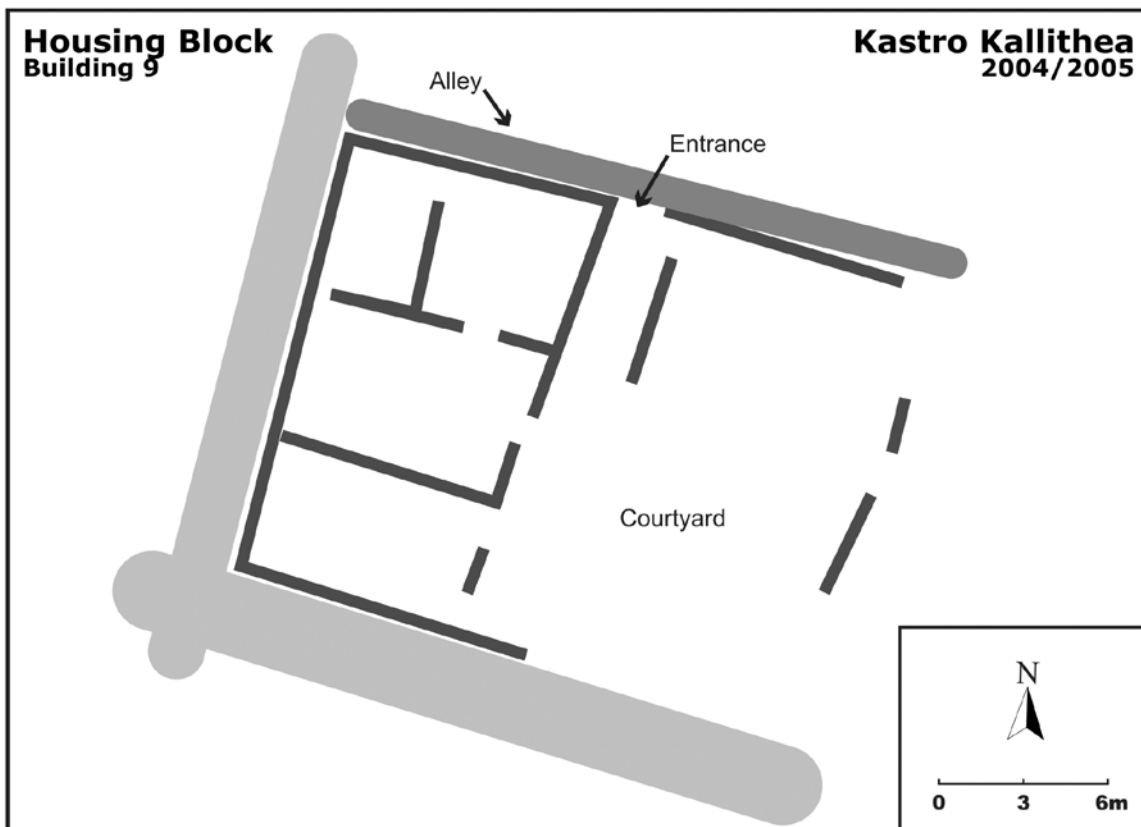


Fig. 14b: Housing block with building 9 at Kastro Kallithea

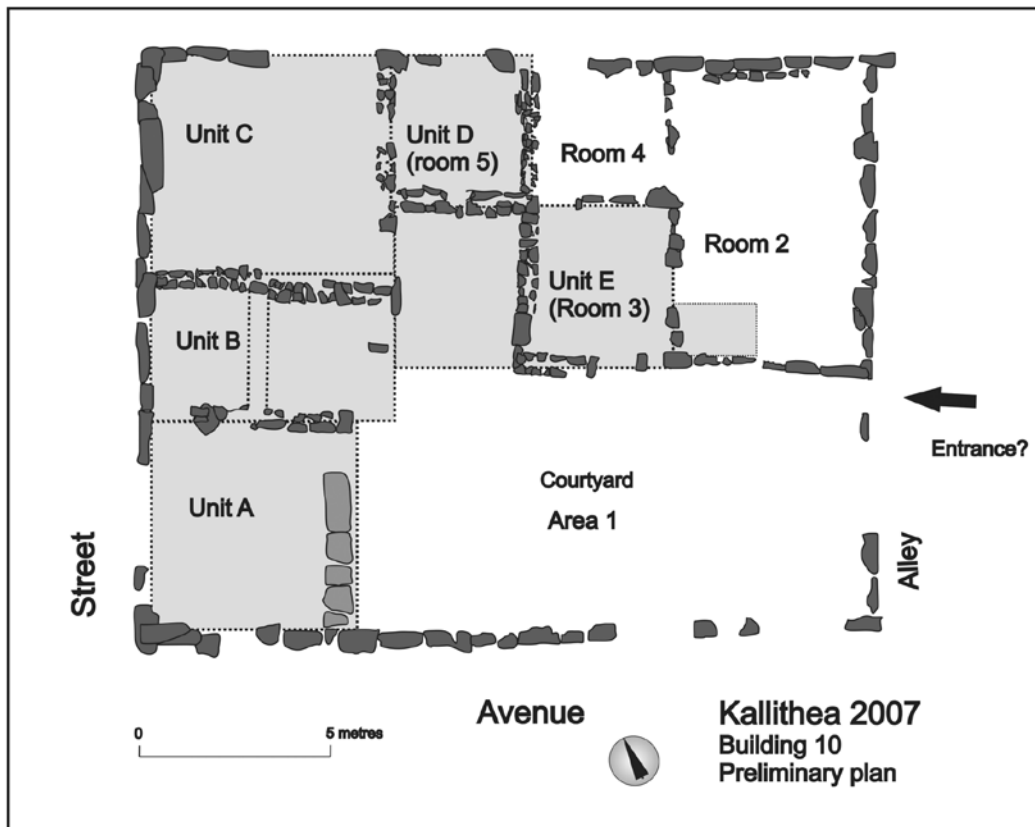


Fig. 15: Building 10 at Kastro Kallithea



Fig. 16: Kallithea, building 10. Plaster on the wall in the southwest corner of room 2



Fig. 17: Kallithea, Building 10 between areas C and E: stone capital and marble block with breast-like protrusions

