Chapter 7 Domestic Economy and Social Organisation in New Halos

7.1 Introduction
In the previous chapter we have discussed the wider spatial and temporal dimensions in which domestic activities occurred. In this last chapter we will tie the information of the four previous chapters together and will discuss the results of this study on a social-historical and economic level. Our focus will be on how spatial patterns of activities structure social relations and how these social relations relate to the domestic and regional economies that we have been able to identify. We will engage in embedding observed patterns of domestic and regional economies in the political history of the area and assess what this can tell us about the economic sustainability of the urban centre at Halos. Finally, we will evaluate this economic situation in more detail. To what extend were households able (and wanted) to contribute to the maintenance and development of their city?

7.2 Household size and slaves
In our previous chapters we have seen that house size strongly correlates with the number of storage vessels; large houses display more storage capacity. We will discuss this matter further in paragraph 7.3, below. We also witness that the overall number of vessels per house differs considerably (see table 7.1). This difference correlates partially with the number of storage vessels per house; the ‘large houses’ (the House of the Snakes and the House of the Amphorae) contain the largest number of vessels associated with cooking, consumption and storage, while the ‘smaller houses’ (House of the Coroplast, the House of the Geometric Krater (n.b. partially preserved) and the House of the Ptolemaic Coins contain considerably fewer specimens. This pattern is further reinforced by a correlation between house size, the number of storage vessels, vessels used for consumption/ cooking and organic remains. The numbers of organic remains recovered from the Houses of the Snakes, the Amphorae and Agathon is, percentage-wise, about twice as large as those found in the other houses. The exception in the pattern as a whole is the House of Agathon, a ‘small’ house, which contains about twice as many vessels as the other small houses and a relative large number of organic remains. But another anomaly becomes apparent as well: the House of the Snakes, a ‘large house’, contains at least twice as many vessels as the House of Agathon and four times as many as most of the smaller houses.1 Could this pattern be indicative for differences in household size?

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1 This pattern may originally have been present in the House of the Amphorae as well; it is very likely that the low number of diagnostic vessels in this house is the result of the poor preservation of a large section of the house. We also need to keep in mind that two of the small houses (the Geometric Krater and the Ptolemaic Coins) were partially preserved. In the case of the latter, this was done due to damage by harrowing and thus the courtyard (except for the pastas) remained largely unexcavated. In the case of the House of the Geometric Krater, a road was partially built over the house. Since most of the artefacts in the houses have been found in the covered areas (which were all excavated), we may assume that the contents of courtyard area would not have significantly added to the number of vessels per house.
Table 7.1. Absolute number of artefacts per house.

In the case study carried out by Priemus, which we reviewed in chapter 1, we have seen that household size can differ considerably over time. The number of household members living in the same domestic spatial unit, can change dramatically in the span of time of a generation. If we want to estimate the number of inhabitants of a city, we are forced to take an average number of people occupying the houses. To guesstimate this average, scholars have employed various methods, each of them having its problems. One of these is to take the surface area occupied by the house and calculate the number of household members based on the available number of square meters, while others take into account the ancient written sources regarding household organisation and occupancy. The consensus regarding the average number of household members is 4-6 per house, excluding slaves. This is also the number we keep as an average for the houses at New Halos. If the city was indeed completely filled with buildings and houses, the estimated number of houses must have been 1440, meaning that the city must have had about 9000 inhabitants, excluding slaves.

But each house in New Halos must - of course - have held various numbers of household members over time. I would suggest that the differences in numbers of cooking, storage and consumption equipment have a relationship with the number of people occupying the house at the time of abandonment. Nicholas Cahill proposes this for two houses which were destroyed by human attack, excavated in Archaic Sardis in Lydia. He deemed that the 19 vessels found in the ‘southern house’ may reflect a pattern of usage of an average family, while the occupancy of the northern house with its ca. 200 vessels must have been an altogether different story. The house, which contains a workshop, may have been an area where a larger number of people - perhaps slaves - worked as part of a cottage industry.

Slaves were an integral part of Greek domestic economy and they were regarded as members and property of the household. Slaves were used as cheap labour in Greek
agriculture and workshops, while others worked as domestic servants. Slaves usually derived from cities and areas which were conquered by the Greeks and sometimes they were tenants who could not pay their rents who could be sold into slavery. It is notoriously difficult to recognise slaves in the archaeological record. They are frequently mentioned in written sources and in inscriptions, but none of these are relevant to our situation in New Halos at the time of the existence of the urban centre. A number of manumission records have been found in the city territory, but they can all be firmly dated to the mid 1st century BCE and they can, therefore not serve as evidence for our time frame.

Could the two anomalies at New Halos; the House of Agathon and the House of the Snakes provide us with indirect evidence for the relationship between various forms of domestic economy and the number of slaves involved in these economies? The House of the Snakes yielded a whopping 194 vessels. What pottery forms contributed most to this number? These can be identified as amphorae (20), bowls (24) and especially the high number of chytrae (30), lopades (11), jars (11) and jugs (15). Given the nature of the pottery, the house must have been a place where cooking and consumption took place regularly. The number of vessels associated with these activities implies that a larger number of people were involved compared to most of the other houses. It is difficult to explain this exception to the pattern. One suggestion may be that the house may have served as a tavern, but the spatial organisation of the building does not fit the bill; there are no clear areas set aside for dining. Another proposition may have more validity; we have not been able to identify a distinct economy or workshop in this house, apart from income generated from agricultural activities; the house yielded the largest number of storage vessels up to date as well as a high number of food remains (bone fragments and shells). This, and the absence of other indicators of an alternative domestic economy suggest that the prime means of existence of the household was that of mixed farming. In this economy, the household may have employed slaves who could have herded flocks and worked on the land. This would - at least partially - explain the enhanced number of consumption and storage vessels in comparison to the other houses.

The relative overrepresentation of vessels in the House of Agathon needs to be explained differently. We have identified the House of Agathon as a setting where cash-generating textile production was carried out. The 100 loomweights will have produced cloths for a larger number of people than the number of members in the household. The house contains 95 vessels, almost three times as many as the neighbouring House of the Ptolemaic Coins and since the two houses were built

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7 The manumission records cite the names of a large number of individually owned slaves who paid 15 staters to their masters to buy their own and sometimes their family’s freedom. (IG IX, 102, 104 109 and 110) The inscriptions record various strategoi serving the Thessalian league and thanks to the new list of strategoi listed in an inscription found at Demetrias and studied by Herwig Kramolisch, we know the precise (late) date of these inscriptions: between 70- 45 BCE. (Kramolisch, H., *Demetrias II. Die Strategen des Thessalischen Bundes vom Jahr 196 v. Chr. bis zum Ausgang der Römischen Republik*, ed. Milojcic, V. and D. Theocharis, Die Deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien. Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes 12. Bonn: Habelt, 1978)

8 Compared to other sites of contemporary date, this number is excessively high. The largest number of vessels found in Olynthus was 106 (the House of the Many Colours). (Cahill 2002, p.183.), but the – sometimes- selective recording of the artefacts found at this site has to be kept in mind.
together, the difference is all the more striking.\(^9\) If we consider what kind of pottery is responsible for the high number it comes to the overrepresentation of similar forms as in the House of the Snakes. The number of amphorae (10) is elevated, as well as the numbers of bowls (13), chytrae (13), kraters (7), jugs (6) and to a certain extent, plates (7). The higher number of kraters will be discussed in paragraph 7.3, but everything points to a household which had to feed a larger number of people than most of the other houses.

Could it be that the increased number of vessels, combined with the domestic industry point to the presence of slaves in the household, which participated in the production of textiles? The house itself is not spatially enlarged. It has a limited number of rooms and two of the side rooms were in use as storage areas (rooms 1 and 5). If this were a large scale workshop which used slaves, as Cahill has suggested for the northern house at Sardis and which he has identified at Olynthus, the lack of space regarding work and housing would be problematic. Instead, I would argue in favour of an argument not often used in the study of Classical and Hellenistic Housing; household spaces could have been separate while household activities could have been shared. Since the houses of Agathon and the Ptolemaic Coins were jointly built, the two neighbouring households, which likely differed in size, may have been connected by way of kinship. Textile production, food processing and consumption could have been activities that were shared amongst the members of the two households. The higher number of storage and consumption vessels in the House of Agathon may therefore make up for the very low numbers in the House of the Ptolemaic Coins.\(^{10}\)

Since our sample is limited, we cannot make any definitive claims regarding the relationship between forms of domestic economy and the number of household members (including slaves), but we have at least identified some variables to be reckoned with. The remaining archaeological evidence on the site does not allow us to further test this possible relationship, although it would be interesting to see whether the newly excavated House of the Tub at Halos, a large house, would display a similar pattern of correlations (increased numbers of storage, organic remains \textit{and} cooking/consumption ware) as the House of the Snakes.

\section*{7.3 Women and Men}

Ancient Greek and Roman written sources provide us with limited, but vivid details about domestic scenes involving husbands and wives.\(^{11}\) The most cited is Lysias’ speech defending Euphilotes who is accused of murdering Eratothenes after catching him in the act of adultery with Euphilotes’ wife. In the speech, Lysias gives a detailed description of Euphiletus’ house and describes the upper floor as the women’s quarters (Gynaikon) and the men’s realms (Andron) below. This arrangement had been turned around after a child was born. It was deemed better to avoid climbing

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\(^9\) The house of the Ptolemaic Coins was not completely excavated. Due to damage by harrowing, the courtyard (except for the pastas) remained largely unexcavated. But since most of the artefacts in the houses have been found in the covered areas (which were all excavated), we may assume that the contents of courtyard area would not have significantly added to the number of artefacts.

\(^{10}\) It should be acknowledged that there is no such evidence for the other houses. The House of Agathon and the House of the Ptolemaic Coins were the only neighbouring houses excavated, simply because they were best preserved. In the case of the other houses, neighbouring lots were too damaged to excavate. The study of the preserved foundations of these houses has yielded no conclusive evidence that they were built or laid out in conjunction, despite the fact that many of the exterior walls were shared.

\(^{11}\) See Nevett 1999,10ff for an overview of and the problems with interpreting these written accounts.
stairs at night when the child needed to be suckled or washed, but - on the other hand - it also facilitated the visits of Eratosthenes, the secret lover of Euphiletus’ wife.\textsuperscript{12}

The belief that male and female domestic space existed in symmetric opposition dominated the modern scholarly perspective of the organisation of the physical arrangement of the house as well as that of the household itself for a long time.\textsuperscript{13} The image of separate women’s and men’s quarters was so strong that archaeologists sometimes looked for confirmation of these ideas in the architecture and suggested the andron as the men’s quarters and the women’s quarters being the spaces available in the rest of the house, such as the kitchen area, the large living room and adjacent rooms.\textsuperscript{14} This ideal concept of social space was given additional symbolic depth by the structuralist approach of the ‘French school’ which associated femaleness with the static hearth ‘Hestia’ and the doorway, associated with movement in and out of the house with Hermes, the male.\textsuperscript{15}

But ideal concepts of social space are never directly reflected in the material record. What is of importance is if and how these ideals may have been negotiated in the domestic context through daily activities and social practice. Under the influence of post-processual archaeology, the dichotomy of spatial concepts and social practice became increasingly acknowledged, especially under the influence of social theorists such as Bourdieu and de Certeau. Hence, the priority given to the literary sources in the analyses of the social organizations of households in ancient Greece became progressively criticised from the early 1990s onward, especially after Michael Jameson’s call for closer scrutiny of the archaeological record and for increase of the number of data sets available.\textsuperscript{16} Jameson stated that the social oppositions along the lines of gender and status cannot easily be correlated with the architecture of the houses alone and he suggested that the study of distribution of artefacts should be included in the assessments of social space.\textsuperscript{17} This research was taken up by various scholars with Nevett especially focusing on male and female space in Greek houses.\textsuperscript{18} Her research gave an important new stimulus to the study of housing in ancient Greece from the perspective of social practice. Based on the study of artefact distribution and spatial configuration of houses at Olynthus she concluded that women’s activities were organised in such a way that in case a male outsider would

\textsuperscript{12} Lysias I, 9-11. Other accounts on the Greek house naming the gynaikon and andron are Vitruvius’ \textit{De Architectura} VI, vii, 2 and 5, Xenophon \textit{Oeconomicus} IX, 4-6, Lysias III, 6-8. The quote from Lysias made Jameson suggest that the men’s and women’s realms were not defined by architecture but by use. Jameson 1999b, 187.
\textsuperscript{13} Nevett 1999, 18-20.
\textsuperscript{15} Vernant 1974.
\textsuperscript{16} ‘Careful analysis of artefact distribution, especially on sites abandoned after sudden disaster, can add nuance and complexity to the purely architectural evidence.’ In: Jameson 1990a, p. 109. Also see Jameson 1990b. These scholars were Jameson’s PhD student Bradley Ault who analysed the houses of Halieis, Lisa Nevett and Nicholas Cahill, both mainly working on the houses of Olynthus and myself, working on the houses of Halos. The Halos housing research initially focused on three houses and resulted in an Mphil thesis at Cambridge University (1990) which confirmed Jameson’s conclusions on male and female space. Jameson 1990b, 191.
enter the house the women could easily retreat to more private settings. Thus, the catalyst for a spatial segregation along the lines of gender would have been the external male visitor. In their daily activities, women were not restricted in spatial terms, but used all parts of the house. Nevett proposes that the larger part of the house was generally associated with women and could be viewed as a gynaikonitis as a whole. Spatial arrangements were in place to secure the isolation of certain areas on the occasion of male visitor(s) to the andron of the house. The spatial integration of the andron and the vicinity of private rooms, Nevett argues, suggests a ‘tension between the desire to bring guests into the heart of the household, and a wish to keep them separate from it, supporting the notion of some degree of control over contact between guests and household members within the domestic context.’

Cahill does not agree with this conclusion as far as the houses at Olynthus are concerned; he argues that they do not display a particular area where access was obviously restricted, and it seems that almost all spaces are equally accessible from the pastas or the courtyard. The andron too was located where the rest of the house could be visited and displayed, if only for a brief period of time. He does, however, identify the kitchen complex as a space that contrasts strongly with the identified andrones and disregarding what the inhabitants of Olynthus would have called this suite, a gynaikonitis or some other term, he identifies it with the presence of women.

We have seen in chapters 2 and 3 that most of the houses at Halos have a comparable configuration: the house has one entrance, is most often entered by way of the courtyard and depending on the size of the housing plot, the courtyard leads either directly to the large room, or to the large room and a number of additional side rooms. The deepest areas of the house are represented by the side rooms, which were mostly accessible only by moving through the large room of the house and they are associated with a number of activities, such as storage, weaving or - sometimes - with very few artefacts suggesting that these may have been sleeping areas. The large rooms acted as central spaces where a multitude of activities took place, such as cooking, weaving, grinding and domestic cult. Especially weaving, grinding and cooking are strongly associated with women and we can therefore conclude that the central room of the houses was a space in which control could be exercised over the adjacent side rooms and in which deliberate isolation or avoidance of visiting outsiders would be problematic. Many of the associated activities in the large room are associated with women.

Does this mean that we can identify a gynaikonitis in the houses? I concur with Nevett and Cahill that formally naming and labelling these spaces along the lines of gender does not truly add to our understanding of how social relations were negotiated in the domestic sphere. We should also acknowledge the challenges in our research; while the presence of men in public life is not difficult to prove with archaeological means, the opposite is true for the domestic sphere, especially when the houses do not contain the most recognisable architectural space associated with men, the andron. We have been able to trace female domestic activities with relative ease in the houses and we have even been able to allocate these activities to sets of rooms. But what about the men? How can we identify men in a domestic archaeological record which lacks a formalised ‘male’ space? The perceived asymmetry that is often associated with the separation of space between men and women in Greek houses does not only bear

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19 Nevett 1999, 155.
relevance to the architecture, but also to the domestic data set on the whole; it is simply easier to track women than men on the basis of domestic artefact distribution. The House of the Coroplast provides us probably with the clearest example of male activity in the domestic sphere at Halos. Given the fact that most names on terracotta moulds are male, we can make a good case that the terracotta maker at Halos was a man and that his main working area was just off the courtyard in area 3. The House of the Coroplast has two different building phases. In the first phase the covered area of the house, with the large room (room 7) and side rooms could be entered from the courtyard, area 2. At some point in time, the entrance to room 7 from the courtyard was walled up and access to the covered area was directed through area 3. Area 3 thus changed into a space from which control could be carried out on who entered the ‘domestic area’ of the house. In this domestic area we have ample evidence for female activities; the evidence for weaving in room 4 and probable food preparation in room 7. Does this mean that women and other household members were controlled in their movements in and out of the house? Do we see this form of control on movement in and out of the house in other houses as well?

If we take consumption as an expression of male activity then we have to conclude that the distribution of faunal remains indicates that consumption took place in the large room and some of the side rooms, while distinct patterns in the distribution of consumption ware could not be discerned. Consumption ware occurs - again - in the large room and side rooms of the houses, and the only exceptions that we have are concentrations in the ‘pastas’ of the House of Agathon and in room 3 of the House of the Snakes. These last two areas lie outside of the spaces including the large room and side rooms and when we look at their location, they do seem to control areas of movement, either in and out of the house (rooms 3 House of the Snakes) or in or out of the courtyard (House of Agathon). But we have to keep in mind that consumption ware was not handled by men alone; women consumed too.

Some of the houses embody particular areas that could in theory and at times have served as formal dining and drinking spaces. These are spaces outside the large room /side room realm which could be accessed from the courtyard or a transitional space such as a corridor. In the CA analysis, these areas are not particularly well-defined, in the sense that they can be clearly associated with a particular set of artefacts or activities. Rooms 7 of the houses of Agathon and the Ptolemaic Coins are such areas, as well as - again - room 3 of the House of the Snakes. If we take the contents of these spaces into account, two of them contain kraters –a vessel not frequently found at Halos and one that was closely associated with the classic symposion, while room 3 is - in addition - associated with consumption ware. Would this evidence be sufficient to postulate that on occasion these spaces served as makeshift andrones? We must issue caution; the kraters were not decorated. They could have easily served other purposes than mixing water and wine, such as was presumably the case in room 1 of the House of Agathon, where five kraters were found in combination with storage and consumption pottery. The pattern of the presence of evidence for communal drinking in ‘controlling spaces’, however, strengthens the case that on occasion drinking parties may have been organised here, but the evidence is - admittedly - not overwhelming. We need - therefore - to evaluate the evidence in relation to male consumption patterns in a larger historic-geographical context, which will be done in the next paragraph.

21 The krater is a vessel that traditionally played a central role in the symposion. Not many are found at Halos. The role of the krater changes, however, at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. We will discuss this phenomenon and its relation to Macedonian dining culture in the next paragraph.
The distribution of equipment for textile production and utensils for food preparation and cooking shows very clear patterns, as we have seen in the previous chapter. All these activities are related to the covered areas of the house including the large room and the side rooms. No evidence of weaving or food preparation was found in areas with a lot of light, such as in the pastadai. This may have been due to seasonality but in any event it clearly associates women with the enclosed and covered areas of the houses. This was even the case in the House of Agathon in which weaving seems to have taken the role of a household industry. There are enough indications that particularly women were involved in that industry. Entrance to these spaces was restricted as the permeability diagrams of chapter 3 show, and they could be accessed only via the courtyard or pastas (House of the Geometric Krater, Agathon, the Ptolemaic Coins, the Tub) or via a transition space, such as the corridor in the House of the Snakes. There is some circulation between the side rooms, but the large room controls access to virtually all side rooms.

Only in the larger houses do we see a distinction between the large room/side room set and additional rooms equally accessible from the courtyard or the corridor. The House of the Amphorae is too damaged to provide the ability to distinguish this pattern, but in the House of the Snakes and the House of the Tub we witness a pattern of separation with the corridor and courtyard separating the ‘female area’ from ancillary spaces. The data set of the House of the Tub is not included here and two of the ‘separated rooms’ in the House of the Snakes (rooms 1 and 2) are not distinctly associated with particular artefacts, but room 3 is; we have determined that it may be associated with (male) consumption.

Concluding we can state that the architectural evidence taken together with the distribution of artefacts cautiously point to a separation of male and female production patterns (the House of the Coroplast) and possibly temporary separate consumption patterns (The House of Agathon, The House of the Snakes). The other houses show no such asymmetry. It must be emphasized that compared with other Greek houses such as Olynthus, the access to the areas associated with recognised female activities at Halos is more restricted.

Would this pattern suggest an ambiguity between the desire to bring in external male visitors and showing off part of the house, whilst keeping the female members of the household segregated, as Nevett suggests for Greek housing in general?

In the first place we may state that the interior of the houses at Halos does not suggest a desire to show off its interior. There is no embellishment and articulation to speak of and there is little evidence that the inhabitants took pride in the way they treated their daily living space. I see another kind of ambiguity: that of restricting access to areas associated with female activities whilst leaving the more easily accessible areas plain and architecturally unarticulated. What does this mean?

Before answering this question we will have to review the idea of exclusivity. In our search for female activity we should be careful in overemphasizing and labelling the spaces where we can recognize them. The fact that the large room/side room configuration is associated with female activities does not mean that no other actions by other household members took place in these areas. We have seen that this set of spaces is also associated with non-gender specific activities, such as bathing, storage, and domestic cult in which men, women and children participated. Perhaps we can therefore say that the Halians displayed a sense of privacy and protection in the configuration of their domestic space and that mundane daily activities needed to be kept out of sight of visitors. This is not to say that gender did not play a role in how household space was conceived, but there is no clear evidence that gender was the
fundamental directive for the spatial segregation of activities associated with notions of privacy.22

Because our data set is small, it would be unwise to draw large-scale conclusions on the construction and perception of social roles of men and women in Halian society. We have seen that the male terracotta maker operated in an area which controlled access to the more private domains of the house. But women were active contributors to an important cash generating domestic economy too; that of textile production. The evidence we have for the latter, points to production in the domestic setting in areas associated with privacy, but this observation cannot serve as decisive evidence on how restricted or free women were in their movements in and outside their houses. A domestic economy of mixed farming/horticulture would suggest an active participation of women in the work force outside of the domestic realm. Ethnographic evidence does indeed suggest that women aided in pastoralist, building and agriculturalist activities 23 But these activity patterns only incompletely reflect the cultivation of shame in visual encounters with the other sex, the concepts of male and female ‘honour’ and the degrees, ways and times in which this should be protected.24

The excavated houses that form part of this book may give us an idea of spatial differentiation along the lines of gender to some degree. But from Priemus25 and other studies we have learned that use of domestic space is flexible and that time of the day, season, the stage of the household life cycle, gender, age and social status are important variables which each play their role.26

22 This is in contrast with what Nevett concludes for the preponderance of single entrance courtyard houses in Classical Greece (Nevett 1999, 174).
‘As to the breeding of herdsmen it is simple a matter in the case of those who stay all the time on the farm not only boys, but even girls tend the flocks…. As to the breeding of herdsmen, it is a simple matter in the case of those who stay all the time on the farm, as they have a female fellow-slave in the steading, and the Venus of herdsmen looks no farther than this. But in the case of those who tend the herds in the mountain valleys and wooded lands, and keep off the rains not by the roof of the steading but by makeshift huts, many have thought that it was advisable to send along women to follow the herds, to prepare food for the herdsmen, and make them more diligent. Such women should, however, be strong and not ill-looking. In many places they are not inferior to the men at work, as may be seen here and there in Illyricum, being able either to tend the herd, or carry firewood and cook the food, or keep things in order in their huts.’
24 The protection of female honour is emphasized by Ault 2005, p. 75, but it is interesting –in addition- to consider the cultivation of shame and the protective measurements regarding honour on the temporal scale of the household life cycle. Saraktsansi women show different patterns of movement in and about the house according to their age group. To avoid the public gaze, young girls must control their movements from age 16 onwards and are not allowed to fetch water on their own nor are they invited to weddings and dance in public at village festivals. Married women do not have time to cultivate their shame in such a way to remain secluded in their huts and they frequently show themselves, but their presence outside of the domestic realm is always related to their domestic tasks. Only after her oldest son is married and his new wife takes over the management of the household are women relatively free from social convention and allowed to freely shop and socialise outside of the house. (Campbell 1964, 286-291).
25 See Chapter 1
26 One of these variations along the lines of gender may well be present in the House of the Tub, where one of the side rooms (room 5) was found to have plastered walls while the room contents suggests consumption. If this were an andron, then it would be completely integrated in the spaces associated with female and ‘private’ activities which would throw a whole new light on patterns of gender specific activities at Halos.
7.4 Table manners, conspicuous consumption and cultural identity: Thessalians, Athenians, Macedonians and the inhabitants of New Halos

Food stuffs and eating habits are part of the range of ways in which people express and perceive their cultural identities and those of others. What people consume and their various ways of consumption often define social, ethnic and religious groups, groups that distinguish themselves from others by placing a taboo on eating or even touching certain food types or by only eating particular sanctioned foods. The perceptions of the eating habits of ‘others’ play an important role in the construction of cultural identities as voicing that perception often serves to define ‘the self’ as part of a distinctive group. It is therefore interesting to read how Thessalian consumption habits and table manners were viewed by other Greeks, especially in view of the - in Athenian eyes - uncomfortably close relationships many Thessalian cities had with the Macedonians in the 4th century BCE and thereafter. Theopompus of Chios, cited by Athenaeus, held the Thessalians in low regard because of their gluttony and extravagance, and implies that they lived a life spent in dancing, dicing and drinking. He writes:

Some of them spend their time with dancing girls and flute girls, some pass their days in dicing and drinking and similar licentiousness, and they are more interested in ensuring that the tables served to them are full of all kinds of relishes than that their lives are respectably led.
(Theopompus 115F49 in Athenaeus 527a)

Theopompus clearly sees Thessaly as lying on the outskirts of Greece proper where the lands of barbarians began, filled with danger, desire for luxury and excess. No wonder they got along just fine with Athens’ archenemy, Philip II of Macedon:

Knowing that the Thessalians were licentious and unrestrained in their life style, Philip got up parties for them and tried all kinds of amusements with them, dancing, kômoi, every licentious act. He was a vulgar man himself, getting drunk every day and enjoying the sort of pastimes that lead in that direction…. He won over most of the Thessalians that came in contact with him by parties rather than by bribes.
(Theopompus 115F162 in Athenaeus 260b)27

These kinds of stories should - of course - be placed in the context of the sentiments of the times and the perspectives of the writers, even though Theopompus must have been a close witness as he spent time at the Macedonian court in the 340s. His reports must have found a willing ear: in the late 4th century BCE part of the Greek population saw the Macedonian kingdom as a serious threat to its independence and stories about their indulgence and unculturedness would have had an audience ready to believe them.

Sources such as these imply that Thessalians and Macedonians were excessive in their consumption of wine and meat, while the southern Greeks practiced restraint. It may very well be that Thessaly, with its natural resources suitable for raising cattle, sheep and goat, was seen as an area where meat was more readily available and that this was wilfully projected on the close relationships some Thessalian cities such as Larisa and Pharsalus, but not Halos, held with Macedonian royalty, where generosity of food and

27 Both citations are from Dalby 1997, 153.
drink maintained a ruler’s status. Meat on Macedonian dishes, however, came reportedly often from hunting, although some sources report that roasting big animals such as pigs and filling them with delicacies originated in Macedonia.\(^{28}\)

But the Athenian attitude towards restraint on food and drink started to become less solid in the course of the later 4\(^{th}\) and 3\(^{rd}\) centuries BCE. Antigonus the One Eyed, his son Demetrius Poliorcetes and later Ptolemy II capitalized on the sympathy of Athens’ aristocrats by participating in symposia and other banquets organised by the Athenians themselves.\(^{29}\) The organizers obviously tried to live up to Macedonian standards and in various accounts do we read that Athenians took over at least part of the habits of Macedonians with regard to food choices, drinking habits and table manners. Hippolochus, cited by Athenaeus, gives a description of a wedding feast of Caranus, where gold cups were used and gifts of jewellery were distributed and where far too much meat was served, mostly of wild animals and birds.\(^{30}\) In Menander’s comedy *False Heracles* which mocks the licentious behaviour of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens, the change in eating habits is reflected in the reversal of the traditional order for dinner, with the meat served as a dessert.\(^{31}\)

These changes in consumption at the end of the 4\(^{th}\) and the beginning of the 3\(^{rd}\) centuries BCE also include drinking habits and the setting of the symposion. Susan Rotroff has pointed out that one of the most striking results of comparative studies of Late Classical and Hellenistic deposits in the Athenian agora is the relative rarity of the fine ware krater in the later period.\(^{32}\) The fine ware krater, existed in various forms and was usually glazed and decorated, first in black figure and later in red figure technique. It traditionally served as the centre piece in the classic symposion. The vessel was used for the mixing of water and wine and was often richly decorated with mythological scenes serving as an inspiration for reciting poetry and song.\(^{33}\) Its setting is the centre of the andron, located in both the public and the domestic realm, where usually up to seven couches could be placed along the walls. The symposiarch was in charge of the course of events. He determined the proportions of wine and water and the number of draughts for the evening. The classic symposion as such was originally an intimate bonding ritual which stimulated the cohesion of various social groups while large banquets in Classical Athens would have been seen as disturbing the balance of power between the numerous private and public factions within the city. The culture of small scale dining in andrones contrasts starkly with what we witness in Macedonian contexts. In the houses excavated at the Macedonian capital Pella, andrones seem to be much larger in size and there are multiple rooms in houses that can be interpreted as andrones: the House of Dionysos has at least two and the House

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\(^{28}\) The relationship between hunting and Macedonian royal culture has often been compared to that in Persian royal culture, where royals hunted in specialised gardens: the *paradeisoi*. Macedonians took over these cultural traits; hunting scenes are popular in Macedonian mosaics and wall paintings and *paradeisoi* were incorporated in various newly planned Hellenistic palatial cities, such as Alexandria. Hippolochus in Athenaeus 129b.

\(^{29}\) The culture of reciprocity of benefits and honours between Hellenistic Monarchs, their cortège and wealthy citizens in the Early Hellenistic period was referred to in Chapter 4 and will be again discussed in the last paragraph of this chapter.

\(^{30}\) Athenaeus 129b in Dalby 1997, 155.

\(^{31}\) Dalby 1997, 156.

\(^{32}\) Rotroff, S., *The missing krater and the Hellenistic symposium: drinking in the Age of Alexander the Great*. Published Lecture given at Christchurch, N.Z, 1996. See also a discussion on drinking and dining at the close of the 4\(^{th}\) century BCE in Whitley 2001, 412ff.

of the rape of Helen at least five and all of them are decorated with mosaics. The Palace at Vergina had countless dining rooms, all for fifteen couches or more. There are many accounts of symposia held in Macedonian contexts and they all portray these events as large scale, hard drinking and sometimes downright violent, as participants sometimes faced the ultimate consequence of remarks uttered in a drunken haze.

Athens seems to take up that trend at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. In some of the houses we witness andrones becoming larger: the Classical house at Menander street, in Athens, was refurbished and enlarged in the late 4th century BCE; an unprecedented fifteen couch andron decorated with a pebble mosaic was added to the house, testifying to the enlarged scale of drinking parties in Athens from that time onward in the domestic sphere. In addition, epigraphical evidence points to the increasing custom of privately sponsored public parties in which hundreds of Athenians could participate. These parties were thus celebrated in the private and public sphere. In the words of Theophrastus: ‘To have a well-built house is a complement which a flatterer may pay the person he is soft-soaping.’ Arguments for the disappearing fine ware krater in the late 4th century and early 3rd centuries BCE may be placed in this context. Whitley poses that given the fact that Macedonians were used to large and ostentatious metal vessels, a decorated terracotta one may be out of place in the now more opulent setting of the symposium and may be easily dwarfed by the sheer size of the andron. Rotroff suggests that the Macedonians mixed their wine and water in different ways: they would receive both water and wine and could mix it according to their preference while having the freedom to decide how much they would consume. The dearth of fine ware kraters in Athenian deposits, the enlargement of and the increased opulence in Athenian andrones may indeed represent changes in the habits of ritualized drinking and feasting. And this change may indeed have a relationship with introduction and acceptance of Macedonian table manners. Susan Rotroff, in her discussion on the evolution of the use and form of fine ware kraters in Athens, suggests that in the Archaic period, many kraters were made of metal. The symposium was originally an aristocratic event and the organizers could display their wealth through the make and decoration of their serving and drinking vessels, which would explain the limited number of terracotta specimens in the Athenian deposits. In the Classical period, in which Athens had become a democracy, feasting and dining took often place in a more public sphere. Since now feasting and dining was an event in which all citizens could participate at the expense of the polis itself, relatively cheaper

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37 The known ones have not been found in domestic contexts, but rather in funerary ones. An example is the famous and ostentatiously decorated Derveni Krater, a possible Thessalian product found in a Macedonian context.
38 Rotroff 1996, 15. See also Pownall, F., The Symposia of Philip II and Alexander III of Macedon— The View From Greece. In press. I thank my colleague Fran Pownall for allowing me to refer to her as yet unpublished paper for this chapter.
materials were used to satisfy the larger number of diners. The number of terracotta kraters found in Classical deposits exceeds, therefore, that of every other period. But this changes at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century BCE. Not only does the fine ware krater disappear from the archaeological record in the course of the Hellenistic period, the limited numbers that were found are also smaller than their predecessors. This is not a development that stands on its own and Rotroff notes that jugs, pitchers and other paraphernalia associated with the symposium shrink in size too, except for the table amphorae. Drinking cups, on the other hand, become larger and new pouring vessels are being introduced as well. One of those is the lagynos, a pitcher meant for pouring wine - but not one that, like other jugs - can be dipped in a krater to fill it up with a wine and water mixture. The lagynos was sometimes used to transport wine and Rotroff suggests that participants in a feast could bring wine of their own in these pitchers. The findings imply that conspicuous consumption in early Hellenistic Athens increased in certain circles, as well as the number of participants. The individuals responsible for those parties would belong to what Rotroff calls ‘the metal class’, as they were the ones who could afford the funding of feasts with a large number of participants and the display that went with it: vessels of bronze and silver. The sheer number of people participating, hundreds by some accounts, would mean that either enormous metal kraters would be used (which, if they were, have not survived in the archaeological record) or small ones shared by two or three to mix wine and water, or none at all.39

How do these findings compare to what we observe in New Halos, a town re-founded under Macedonian influence during that precarious period of change? Would we see Theopompus’ words confirmed and witness ostentatious display and find evidence for lavish drinking and dining? Do we see close affiliations with Macedonian drinking and eating habits in the houses, just as we see in Athens?

An answer is not easy to provide. The evidence we have regarding the change of drinking paraphernalia in Athens derives largely from public contexts, while in this study we deal with consumption in domestic realms. But the disappearing krater is not a phenomenon that can only be witnessed in Athens. In Corinth the same trend has been reported by Edwards.40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Room</th>
<th>Sort of Room</th>
<th>No of Kraters</th>
<th>Light</th>
<th>Associated artefacts</th>
<th>Room size in M²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House of the Coroplast</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Side room</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>From courtyard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Agathon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Side room</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Storage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Agathon</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Side room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>From courtyard</td>
<td>Storage of Household goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Agathon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Larger side room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>From courtyard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of the Ptolemaic Coins</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Large room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>From courtyard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of the Amphorae</td>
<td>4u2</td>
<td>Small side room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of the Snakes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Larger side room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Street?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of the Snakes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Larger room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Street?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2. Distribution of kraters in Halos.

39 Rotroff 1996.
40 Edwards 1975, 45.
Above, we notice that no less than fifteen kraters were found in the six houses at Halos with especially the House of the Coroplast and the House of Agathon contributing to that number. None of those were decorated and they are all made of medium coarse orange ware and a few were made of the local Halos ware, which means that some at least were locally produced. Given their context, we have already concluded in the previous chapter that at least some of them must have served another usage such as for storage of food stuffs or simply as vessels that could fulfill range of domestic purposes. But that they were also used for fluids at Halos becomes clear from a krater (P251) found with a spout/strainer in room 1 of the House of Agathon. Here, the krater, which is relatively small sized and can be picked up fairly easily, was meant to pour liquids.

Some caution should be taken. Rotroff’s arguments regarding the dearth of kraters in Athens refer to the fine ware kraters, which are usually decorated entirely with glaze. In her later work on the Hellenistic plain wares, Rotroff concluded that the coarse ware kraters, which in Athens are sometimes partially decorated, remain in production throughout the Hellenistic period. Even though it has been suggested that the course ware variety could have served a range of purposes, Rotroff keeps the possibility open that these kraters could have been used for mixing water and wine as well. She suggests that the light ground variety was probably preferred for such a purpose given the closer analogy to silver vessels. This has brought her to cast some doubt on the conclusions she made earlier regarding the krater as an indicator of changing consumption habits and its connection to social change.

The absolute number of kraters in the Athenian agora assemblage is small, but the number only represents a sample which makes it not suitable for quantitative analysis. We can therefore not say much about the relative scarcity or abundance and their proportion in relation to other vessels in Athens. But the numbers of the ones found at Halos are representative and those found at late 4th century BCE Olynthus to a certain degree. The kraters found at Olynthus amount to forty-one, a relatively low number with regard to the number of houses that were excavated. Almost all of these were red figured with very few black glazed specimens and there is no correlation at all with the presence of andrones in the houses. Based on the relative scarcity of sympotic pottery, the limited number of kraters and drinking cups in the Houses of Olynthus suggests that originally most sympotic ware was made of metals which must have been taken as booty by the Macedonians at the occasion of the conquest of the city in 348 BCE, Cahill argues. Archaeological evidence strongly associates Macedonians with metal drinking vessels, but that connection is first and foremost based on different depositional

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41 Beestman-Kruyshaar 2003, pp. 88-89.
42 Rotroff 2006. But in Corinth they seem to disappear. Edwards (1975, 107) suggests that the few examples may have been used by “housewives.”
43 Rotroff 2006 15.
45 cf. the discussion by Cahill on the distribution of kraters in Olynthus. Cahill 2002, 181-190. I am not certain whether the possible existence of “coarse ware kraters” in Olynthus has been given much thought. Cahill asserts that the red figured pottery at the excavation was meticulously collected and published, while a great deal of the undecorated pottery was not mended and published. This may mean that a variety of forms in coarser ware, such as kraters, were missed and that the actual number of these terracotta vessels was higher.
practices of Greeks and Macedonians. In Macedon, apart from usage in the context of drinking parties, metal vessels were frequently taken out of circulation and deposited in graves, as is testified in the Classical necropolis of Sindos and the royal graves found at Vergina. This contrasts starkly with Greek traditions which, as Vickers and Gill imply, testify to the usage of these objects as inheritance capital, meaning that metal vases and other objects remained in circulation until melted for other purposes. They thus did not frequently reach the archaeological domestic record. One can expect that only in case of disaster and sudden abandonment, such as at Olynthus and Halos one would encounter evidence for the use of metal drinking vessels.

In the previous chapter we have already seen that the limited evidence we have in Halos for metal vessels consist of two bronze handles, one of a kylix and one of a kantharos. In addition, we have one iron handle which probably belonged to a cauldron. Overall, we can state that there is very little evidence for bronze items in any form in the houses. This dearth of bronze items can on the one hand be attributed to abandonment practices and scavenging, but taken that the houses of Olynthus were extensively looted, one would expect the number of metal items be equally low, which is not the case. In Olynthus fragments of at least twenty-one bronze cups, fourteen jugs or oinochoai, nine bowls and other fragments and a variety of handles from bronze vessels point to their relatively common usage in the households of this late Classical city.

We have no such evidence for Halos. Furthermore, the number of terracotta kraters in the houses of Halos is relatively high in comparison to those of Olynthus, even if we take out the ones that were perhaps used in storage. On average, we have one krater per house. This suggests that we do not have a clear missing number of kraters on which we could build an argument that metal ones were taken during abandonment.

Summarising, we can conclude that - based on the limited evidence for metal drinking items found in the houses, combined with the, in comparison with Olynthus, relative high number of terracotta kraters, the original frequency of metal drinking items in the houses at Halos was not high.

Does this outcome and the eating habits that we have been able to identify in the previous chapter tell us that the city indeed lived up to the Thessalian consumption standards as described by Theopompus? Since Theopompus writes about eating habits and not about artefacts used in consumption, a clear answer is still surprisingly difficult to provide. We have seen that meat was consumed regularly at Halos. Southern Greeks living in environs that were less associated with raising animals must have cultivated their limited access to meat as restraint. Since we only have literary sources from outside Thessaly, the view we have is a biased one, in which difference in diet is used in a hyperbole to define ‘otherness’. The same argument is valid for the

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47 For an overview on the most relevant literature regarding metal vessels and their relation to wealth see Chapter 6, note 92. During the Early Iron Age, the Archaic and Classical periods, bronze objects were also frequently deposited as votive objects in sanctuaries. But in the Hellenistic period, as we have seen in the discussion in the previous chapter, mass produced terracotta figurines often provided a cheap alternative to votive offerings made of precious metals.

48 Cahill 2002, 190.
perceived drinking habits. In short, a perceived unrestrained lifestyle does not necessarily have a direct relationship with the ostentatious artefacts and settings usually associated with conspicuous consumption.

But, what we can, at least, say is that we neither have the evidence for the settings for conspicuous consumption, nor the artefacts that are usually associated with it. The relative high number of coarse ware kraters at Halos suggests that they may have been used on occasion for mixing wine and water that implicate drinking at the houses. But the inhabitants did not have the desire or the means to articulate and formalize particular spaces in their houses for these occasions. There is thus a marked difference between the Macedonian tendency to incorporate - sometimes - multiple andrones in their houses, the enlargement of andrones at Athens and the absence thereof in those at Halos, a city developed under Macedonian influence.

There is thus very little evidence we have from New Halos that would allow us to postulate extravagant banquets as witnessed in the archaeological and historical sources at Athens, Corinth and as the ancient sources ascribe to Macedonian customs. The configuration, articulation and decoration of the houses do not fit the bill and neither does the consumption gear, such as cups, plates and symposion equipment, which are lacking in numbers as well as glamour. If the Halians held formal symposia at all, they may have taken place in public spaces, for which we have no evidence. If they celebrated at home, the form was probably rather ‘Classical Greek’ with a lagynos or other jug to hold the wine, a krater for mixing wine and water, bowls for drinking and serving food and kantharoi and other cups serving the diluted wine, most of which were of local production and some of which were made of bronze.49

Now that we have an idea of eating and drinking habits in the domestic contexts of Halos, our next step is to assess how these findings compare with other possible evidence of conspicuous consumption at Halos. Since bronze and metal items represent value we need to examine more closely the deposition of metal items in other contexts of the city. The Demeter sanctuary did not yield any bronze items at all, although there are indications that this building was looted in antiquity.50 The information we have regarding the 74 graves and their contents excavated at Halos potentially provide us with indications whether funerary culture display particular Macedonian traits. In the preliminary reports, the excavators are very clear on the items recovered in the graves. The first report describes the contents per grave, while the second gives an excellent summary of the metal items found.51 A limited number of bronze items were recovered from the graves and they consist of artefacts associated with personal hygiene, such as at least 3 mirrors and strigils. Furthermore, bronze coins were found. These are the artefacts that are also on display in the archaeological museum of Almiros. Given the fact that the two preliminary reports describe the highlights of the excavations, we may assume that metal sympotic vessels, customary in Macedonian graves, were not found.

Our evidence may be limited, but the consistent lack of ostentatious display in the domestic, religious as well as funerary contexts points to a city lacking a wealthy elite. In contrast, the situation at Athens at the end of the 4th century BCE was far more diverse as Demosthenes writes: ‘Some have reared their private houses more stately than our public buildings, while the lower the fortunes of our city have sunk,

49 cf Beestman-Kruyshaar 2003, 101 concludes that most of the household pottery was locally made and that only a small percentage was imported.
50 Reinders 1988, 134. In room 4, a life-size terracotta head was found lacking a face. Holes in the head indicate that perhaps a metal face and crown were originally attached.
the higher have their fortunes soared.\textsuperscript{52} Clearly, a small segment of the Athenian population knew ‘how to play the game’ by getting involved in a culture of flattery enabling the closures of lucrative financial deals and the exploitation of a population eager to survive the food crises caused by failing crops and foreign threats. The evidence for Halos we have does not point to the increasing ‘inequality’ Demosthenes deplores. In fact, we have very little evidence for competition and social stress in the households at Halos at all. Instead, we are dealing with an odd ambiguity. We have a city developed under Macedonian influence with ‘state-of-the-art’ defensive structures on the one hand while we find simple domestic and religious buildings and modest funerary customs on the other. There is no evidence that Halians adopted Macedonian consumption habits or otherwise chose to express identities associated with Hellenistic rulers. The lack of display of the population seems to point to a social organisation based on relative equality in a setting that must have been expensive to build and to maintain.

We should - however - be weary of falling into the trap of explaining the lack of display purely from an economic point of view. The lack of articulation may also be a result of a certain reluctance of the inhabitants of the polis to invest in the urban centre and in their domestic spaces which formed part of it. Perhaps we can explain this as a tactic,\textsuperscript{53} an effortless resistance to contributing to an urban environment largely forced upon a population which had inhabited the city’s territory previously in a very different way. In order to explore this matter further, we will evaluate our findings regarding the domestic economies we have been able to identify and place them first in their environmental, economic and - eventually - in their historic contexts.

7.5 Economic sustainability of urban landscapes: the case of New Halos

Ancient Greek sources provide us with detailed information about the nomenclature used in domestic contexts.\textsuperscript{54} The ταμιεία or πιθεόν may mean a store room for pithoi, a wine cellar and is sometimes identified as a treasury. The sources do not agree on what exactly is stored in the store room, but that is the nature of storage itself, as we have seen in the previous chapter; in the house of Ischomachus basically all household items were in storage. This was not the case at Halos and areas for storage of food or grain are - in fact - most easily identified in the houses. All of them are located ‘deep’ in the houses in side rooms with high degrees of depth and closedness and low openness values.\textsuperscript{55} Since the excavation of the Halos houses was specifically aimed at recording artefacts in order to analyse their distribution in spatial terms it is not likely that items were missed. The particular site formation processes at Halos and the shallow deposit caused the fragmented state in which most pithoi were

\textsuperscript{52} Demosthenes, 3.29
\textsuperscript{53} I use the word ‘tactic’ here in the sense as Michel de Certeau has explained in his work ‘The Practice of Everyday Life. (Certeau, de 1984). Tactic is explained as a timeless, spaceless entity employed by individuals or groups that operates behind an appearance of conformity. It will infiltrate, but not take over and is exemplary of exploiting a weak position and transforming it into the stronger one.

\textsuperscript{54} Robinson has categorised all domestic nomenclature derived from literature and inscriptions in his extremely useful ‘testimonia selecta’ and reference list of some Greek words’, Robinson 1946, 399-471 (with Annarie Peters).

\textsuperscript{55} These rooms are: House of the Coroplast, room 4; House of the Geometric Krater, room 2; House of Agathon, room 1 and 5; House of the Ptolemaic Coins, room 3 and 4; House of the Amphorae, rooms 4u1 and 5; House of the Snakes, rooms 5 and 6. For the values of these rooms, see chapter 3.
found back. Yet, their distinct spatial distribution, their association with rooms with either raised platforms or rooms with negative features suggest a ‘real’ pattern. Some of the storage areas were used for storing other items than food and fluids alone: weaving equipment, a large variety of household items, and in two cases, a set of coins. We can therefore conclude that Pithea and Tamieia are thus specialised and secluded spaces in the houses at Halos. The importance of secure storage of household property as well as the procurement of food stuffs is further emphasized by a cult dedicated to Zeus Ktesios set up next to the hearth in front of the entrance to storage areas 5 and 6 of the House of the Snakes. The diet of the households at Halos depended for a large part on meat, shells and cereals and that the inhabitants processed the cereals themselves is testified by the presence of hopper-rubber mills in every house.

But what we have also seen in the previous chapter is that the households at Halos employed different strategies of storage of agricultural produce. The smaller houses of the excavated sample contained significantly fewer pithoi and we may conclude that even if all pithoi were only used to store grain, their number and probable capacity was too small to support the average household on an annual base. The large houses, on the other hand, contained four or more pithoi, which was likely enough to store grain for a household for a year. Other possible storage areas in the city and in the polis territory may - of course - have existed. Good examples are the communal storage areas found at Olynthus, but we have no evidence for them at Halos. There is epigraphical and archaeological evidence from elsewhere in Greece which testifies to storage facilities located in family owned farmsteads in the country side, and this will have been a strategy too. Yet, this last alternative has only limited relevance to Halos, as we will see in the discussion below.

At Olynthus, Cahill identified a clear spatial pattern of different household storage strategies; the houses on the North Hill contained significantly fewer storage facilities than the houses in the villa section. The latter included houses which presented the common strategy of storing a year’s worth of grain, while evidence for other forms of cash generating domestic economies are lacking. These houses, Cahill argues, fit well into the ‘primitivist’ model of self sufficiency, minimizing the involvement with the market. A different picture emerges for the houses of the North Hill. While Cahill assumes that also these households were involved in farming, generating agricultural produce, they may have either stored their grain elsewhere or sold off their produce and bought back from the market. These households were also involved in producing commodities and may have needed a temporal buffer for a month or so, which could be replenished with food stuffs bought with cash generated by selling off their products.

In two of the households with limited storage possibilities at Halos, the House of the Coroplast and the House of Agathon we have identified cash generating domestic economies, namely coroplasty and textile production. These households, if they were engaged in agricultural activities on top of their other domestic economies, may have indeed sold off their produce and may have bought grain back from the market with

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56 This differs significantly from what Ault (2005, 72) found in the houses at Halieis; ‘given the multitudes of strategies for storage and subsistence available to house-holders, it is not surprising that we lack clear and consistent evidence for the location of the tamieion.’

57 See Cahill’s discussion on alternative economies at Olynthus (Cahill 2002, 281-288).


the cash generated by their products. One of the other ‘small storage’ houses, the House of the Ptolemaic Coins, is closely connected to the House of Agathon. We established earlier that these two houses were built together, perhaps by a group of people whose relationship was based on ties of kinship. Even though the contents of the House of the Ptolemaic Coins do not point to a surplus production of textiles, weaving is clearly manifested in this house and it may be that the domestic economies of both households, textile production, were connected through familial affiliations. Thus, regarding the pattern between domestic economies and storage capacities at Halos, we see similarities with Olynthus. But, there are also a number of differences in this comparison. First, the relationship between alternative domestic economies and storage capacities in Halos is clearly associated with house size. We observe something similar at Olynthus but here we see that the larger houses are spatially separated from the older ones on the North Hill; they are located in the villa section. It would be tempting to see whether we could distinguish a possible pattern in the distribution of house and plot sizes over the city of Halos. An attempt of outlining housing plots in housing blocks 2.7, 6.2 and 6.4 at Halos has been made by Reinders on the basis of external foundation walls visible at the surface. The first impression is that different sizes of plots were distributed rather haphazardly over the housing blocks. We find houses with front widths of 15m next to houses with front widths of 13.75m or 12.50m in one single housing block. I have suggested earlier that the varying widths may indicate a system of ranking, since we may have evidence that plots were handed out equally to the ones people had left behind. We have to keep in mind, however, that our sample is - admittedly - small and that we have only excavated 0.5% of the estimated original 1440 houses. Our available data at present is too limited to establish any firm conclusions regarding a possible random or patterned distribution of different sized houses over the city. Unfortunately, the unfavourable effects of ploughing and bulldozering on the architecture of the houses in the lower city, has limited the possibilities of pursuing further research in this matter.

Secondly, based on an assessment of historical evidence and the nature of the finds in the houses of the North Hill, Cahill assumes that at least some of these households were involved in agricultural activities. Given the fact that the countryside of Olynthus was famously fertile, this assumption is a logical one. Cahill’s suggestion that the ‘older households’ of the North Hill could have stored their surplus in farmsteads safely located in the vicinity of the city in comparison to those of the newer villa section, whose allotments must have been located at larger distances where farmsteads were less defensible can - as Cahill admits - only be verified by a systematic survey of the polis chora. Cahill implicitly uses the model of the ‘consumer city’ and of an economy based on mixed farming to explain domestic economies and variations thereof in relation to the houses of Olynthus. This model assumes an equilibrium between the income coming from rural rents and rural labour, whereby the products of rural labour supplied the subsistence needs of the urban population. Manufacturing and inter-regional commerce were seen as ‘essentially petty’. We may question to what extent this

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60 Reinders 1988, 113.
61 See the discussion in chapter 3. The argument is based on the letter by Antigonus the One Eyed sent to the cities of Lebedos and Teos.
63 Although Finley notes that the quintessential consumer cities, such as Rome, required large numbers of craftsmen and shopkeepers. (Finley 1977, 21). Cf Weber, M., The agrarian sociology of ancient
model is applicable to the situation at Halos. First, human agency had a major role to play in the establishment of this urban environment: the foundation of a large city under Macedonian influence may have had consequences for landownership, the organisation of agricultural activities, exchange of produce, taxation and therefore for the economic sustainability of the urban landscape; the houses were abandoned after only 35 years of habitation. Secondly, Halos is located in the so-called perioikoi of Thessaly. While the western and eastern Thessalian plains are known for their fertility and their cultivation of grain, this is less apparent for the perioikoi, which are overall more associated with economies focused on animal husbandry and pastoralism. In order to better explain the pattern of relationships we have identified between storage, house size and variable domestic economies, we have to examine patterns of land use in the chora of Halos in which we should assess whether the environment of the city could support the demand placed on its natural resources. Subsequently, the results will be correlated with the historical information we have regarding the relationship between Hellenistic poleis and their monarchs.

7.5.1 Domestic economies and land use
In order to fully analyze the economic relationships between city and countryside and to assess the role of domestic economies therein, a detailed evaluation of the survey results of the Halos chora would be in place. But since these results are in the course of being studied and published, the analysis that follows below can only be preliminary.

The consensus model for land use and a self-sufficient domestic ‘oikonomia’ in the Classical and Early Hellenistic period prescribes the presence of a ‘chora’ with a settlement pattern of dispersed farmsteads being used by farmers engaged in mixed agriculture/animal husbandry. In this model, an urban centre with a central agora fulfills the role of the central place for selling off the agricultural surplus of the region and serves as a hub for exchange of other products. Farmsteads, located on landholdings of city dwellers, are inhabited permanently or temporarily by the owner or tenant and serve as housing for slaves, as storage areas of agricultural surplus and as locations to keep domestic animals.
There appear to be problems with applying this model of land-use to New Halos and its environs. Even though the territory of Halos may certainly contain areas suitable for arable farming, these areas may not have been available in abundance. They include the so-called ‘finger ridges’ on the transitional areas from the plain of Almiros towards the Othris mountains up to ca. 300m and may have included a section of the coastal plain, now covered under a thick layer of coastal, fluvial, deltaic and marsh deposits (see fig. 7.2).\textsuperscript{66} In addition, Sourpi Plain yielded similar small fertile areas on the transitional areas from plain to mountain. Overall, the soils in the Almiros and Sourpi plains have been characterised as ‘well drained and of moderate to low fertility’, but the individual cores taken show that only the areas where Neolithic and Bronze Age sites (which includes the finger ridges) are found soil fertility is increased.\textsuperscript{67} We have to keep in mind, however, that these conclusions are based on the analysis of present day topsoils, a number of which are young soils and the result of long sedimentation processes.

\textsuperscript{66} Floras and Sgouras 2004, 7.
\textsuperscript{67} Floras and Sgouras 2004, 18.
The survey of both plains yielded but a limited number of sites dating to the Classical/Hellenistic periods. The preliminary publication of the Sourpi plain survey only associated two sites with certainty to the Classical Hellenistic period, of which only the site at Yeorgou Tripa yielded an abundance of artefacts. The sites on the finger ridges at Almiros plain may have been slightly larger in number, but the range of material was limited in terms of types. In addition, material associated in date with the Hellenistic city was next to non-existent. Based on the material found in the plain of Almiros, I have only been able to identify two rural sites with certainty as contemporary with the

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69 I have studied this section of the material of the surveyed terrain myself in the spring of 1998 and I am grateful to Prof. Dr. H.R. Reinders that I am allowed to refer to this information in this volume. The majority of the farmsteads found were Late Roman/Early Medieval in date. (Reinders 2000, 91). For the archaeo-botanical and palynological data see Woldring 2003.
existence of the Hellenistic city, of which one was the fortress/village of Aghios Nikolaos. These data show us a very different picture from, for instance, the Boeotia survey in which the number of Classical/Early Hellenistic farmstead sites has been described as ‘innumerable’. Even though they may not have been occupied all at the same time, it is true that the Boeotian landscape was densely populated from the Late Archaic to the 2nd century BCE. If we apply the figures regarding yields of land and sizes of landholdings to the information we have thus far from the survey at Halos, we arrive at the following figures.

Given that we have been able to identify ca. seven Classical/Early Hellenistic farmsteads in the chora of Halos, which have an average size of 5.4 hectares of cultivated land. That would amount to an area of cultivated land of 37.8 hectares. The yield would be annually ca. 400 or 800 kgs of grain per hectare (depending on whether we take Jameson’s or Bintliff and Snodgrass’s figures per year, but should include 50% of the fields being left fallow). Taking the lower figure, this would be

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70 For the Archaic/Classical/Hellenistic farmstead sites resulting from the Boeotia Survey see: Bintliff, J.L. and A. M. Snodgrass, “The Cambridge/Bradford/Boeotian Expedition. The first four years,” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12 (1985): 123-161. Bintliff, J.L. and Snodgrass, A.M., “Mediterranean Survey and the City,” *Antiquity* 62 (1988): 57-71. For subsequent discussions: Bintliff, J., “Territorial Behaviour and the Natural History of the Greek Polis,” in *Stuttgart Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums. Geographica Historica* 7, ed. E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend, (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1994), 207-249. The authors even keep the possibility open that the survey ‘only [reflects] a remnant of the original pattern.’ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 143. The figures employed in the Boeotia survey differ from those used by Engels for Roman Corinth, (Engels 1990, 27-33) who assumed, based on the growth of barley and current environmental factors regarding the area that an absolute minimum 1.17 hectare of land per individual was needed for self-sufficiency. Engels argues that a population of ca. 10000 would need a surface area of 11700 hectares to support themselves. This would mean that for Halos we would need at least about 10.000 hectares of land, a figure even higher than that calculated based on the Boeotia survey.
more than enough to feed seven families for a year and it would create a surplus but is by far not enough to feed the population of the urban centre.

At the newly established city of Halos we deal with 1440 families.\textsuperscript{71} Given that, as Gehrke assumes, 80% of those families were involved in farming, we would need to find another 1225 landholdings of an average size of 5.4 hectares each with possible farmsteads in the city territory to feed the population of the urban centre of Halos. This would amount to a need of a total of 6615 hectares of arable land in the territory of Halos to feed the inhabitants of the urban centre. This number does not include those living in the small hamlets that have been identified in the mountains (Vrinena and Kofoi) and the site at Karatsadagl.

We have to keep in mind that sites could have been ‘missed’ during the survey or that not all cultivated land was occupied by farmsteads. In addition, the geomorphology of the area is a complicated one and the areas of the coastal zone of the Almiros and that of the bay of Sourpi (identified as zone 5 in the survey) may well contain evidence now hidden under layers of sedimentation.

If we make a rough calculation as to the amount of land that may have been under cultivation we may arrive at more reliable conclusions regarding the use of natural resources in the polis \textit{chora}. The argument for the choice of land would be the zone where most small sites were found. These include the farmstead sites of the Late Roman/Early Medieval date, which seem in location to overlap with the sites of Classical Hellenistic date. This zone is zone 2, the area that is characterised by finger ridges separated by drainage gullies.\textsuperscript{72} The surveyed area of the southern plain at Almiros amounted to $25 \times 5 \text{ km} = 125 \text{ km}^2$. The finger ridges zone (zone 2), where most arable soils were found amounts to ca. $30 \text{ km}^2 = 3000 \text{ hectares}$. That of the Sourpi plain amounts to roughly 500 hectares.

This number, 3500 hectares, is about half of what would be needed for a self sufficient mixed farming economy of the city of Halos. We also have to keep in mind that this is a maximum number; the real area of land used may have been smaller; the amount of hectares is exaggerated as the gullies of zone 2 would not have been cultivated in antiquity. If we would add the land for which we do not have evidence for cultivation, such as the Voulokaliva area (zone 3), then we may come somewhat closer to the figure that is needed to apply the model of self sufficiency to Halos, but is still not enough.

There are also other forms of evidence that we need to take into account. First, the palynological data imply that intensive farming was practiced only on a small scale during the Hellenistic period. This does not agree with our calculations for the need of self sufficiency since we concluded that for the urban centre to be fed, the larger part of the territory should have been intensively farmed. Secondly, there is evidence that the territory of Halos was used extensively for animal husbandry: not only have we found abundant evidence based on faunal remains that the inhabitants of the city were engaged in herding sheep, goats and cattle;\textsuperscript{73} further evidence for animal husbandry in the polis is revealed in two - admittedly late - inscriptions dating to the early and middle 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BCE. The first one was found at Delphi and reports on a conflict between Halos and the neighbouring polis of Phthiotic Thebes concerning grazing rights on sacred land.\textsuperscript{74} Another inscription found at Halos testifies to the importance

\textsuperscript{71} Reinders 1988, 186.
\textsuperscript{72} Reinders, 2004, 4.
\textsuperscript{73} Prummel 2003.
of grazing rights in the territory as well.\textsuperscript{75} In this inscription, the polis declared an individual from Larisa a proxenos (= public friend). The polis of Halos granted Menippos and his descendants citizenship, protection, ‘equality in taxes’ (epiteleia), grazing rights (epinomia), the right to purchase a house, safety and inviolability of person and protection from forcible seizure, in war and peace, on sea and land regarding him, his household and his property. The economic benefit ‘grazing rights’ is of importance here. Not every polis specified that right.\textsuperscript{76}

Additional evidence for the use of land would be the analysis of sherd scatters in relation to sedimentation and erosion patterns in the territory. The ‘halos’ of sherd scatters may indicate manuring the land with waste from the city and thus a use in intensive cultivation, but these data are not available to me.\textsuperscript{77}

With the evidence we currently have, the model of self sufficiency in mixed farming is difficult to apply unanimously to the territory of New Halos since it requires the presence of a sufficient amount of arable land, an abundance of rural installations to house animals, agricultural equipment and surplus. And our numbers do not at all coincide with the hypothetical ideal Aristotellean city as summarised by Nagle: “Aristotle’s ideal state would have had a territory of about 60 km\textsuperscript{2} with a population of 500 to 1000 households, that is, about 2% to 3% the size of Athens”.\textsuperscript{78} “The average household in such a city would have own land with the size of about 12 hectares. “It would supply sufficient wine, oil, grain, legumes, fruit, milk for daily living, and meat on occasion. It possessed a slave or two.”\textsuperscript{79}

As I have indicated above, there may be several reasons for the lack of this evidence, but this matter needs a full investigation of the survey data which is beyond the scope of this study. We may, however, conclude that at New Halos we probably deal with the majority of domestic economies geared towards pastoralism, limited cultivation of grain, horticulture, and perhaps, the cultivation of olives, although we have not found extensive evidence for the latter two in the houses, apart from the presence of horticultural tools (such as sickles, hoes, spades and a dikella) and a single olive press found in the area of the presumed agora.

Pastoralism is a form of domestic economy completely or partially based on livestock as a means of living.\textsuperscript{80} It can take very different forms ranging from herding flocks from a sedentary basis to an economy that involves transhumant strategies in which flocks are transferred intra-regionally or inter-regionally or over varying distances on a seasonal base. Based on research of recent pastoralist strategies in two regions in

\textsuperscript{75} IG IX 102. These kinds of inscriptions may bear relevance to particular land use in the territory. A proxeny decree from Pharsalos, for instance, allowed for the cultivation of vines. Declaring an individual a proxenos is for a city a way to show gratitude to a foreign citizen who would offer hospitality and assistance to visitors of that particular city state. These visitors could be merchants travelling on business, ambassadors or jurors. (McLean 2002, 233ff).\textsuperscript{76} Christoph Chandezon (Chandezon, 2003), concluded that ‘epinomia’ was most often granted in areas with plentiful pasture, such as the eastern Greek mainland and the Peloponnese.\textsuperscript{77} Prummel (2003) suggests that the herding of cattle and sheep aided in manuring the land. For manuring of cultivated land see Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Ault 1999; Snodgrass 1994. The first indications are that sherd scatters around the city area are minimal in number. Reinders pers. comm.\textsuperscript{78} Nagle 2006, 312.\textsuperscript{79} Nagle 2006, 75.\textsuperscript{80} See the excellent discussion of Arto Penttinen on pastoralism in the Berbati Valley. Penttinen, A., “From the Early Iron Age to the Early Roman Times,” in: Pyrgouthis. A Rural Site in the Berbati Valley from the Early Iron Age to Late Antiquity, ed. Hjohalm, J., A Penttinen and B. Wells, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 52, (Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens, 2005), 98-101. See also discussions in Hodkinson 1988 and the reactions of Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, Reinders and Prummel 1998 and Prummel 2003.
Greece, Claudia Chang distinguished two types of pastoralism, one which she calls the ‘intensively managed system’ which represents the consensus model of a mixed agriculture and farming and the ‘extensively managed system’ which corresponds to a larger scale of specialisation with larger flocks travelling over larger distances. In this system, complete families would travel with their flocks. Due to the temporary nature of their settlement and the perishable materials used in building huts and pens, it is this last system that leaves the fewest traces in the archaeological record. Reinders and Prummel propose that the animal remains in the houses at Halos derive from either specialised pastoralists living outside of the city area who must have practiced transhumant strategies by seasonally transferring their flocks between the plains to the Othris Mountains, or by mixed farmers or both. Prummel’s argument against the practice of exclusive mixed farming/animal husbandry is that it would not generate enough animals to meet the demand for wool, hides and sacrificial animals is in my view a valid one. But the question is whether this demand is one of subsistence or cash. Since the chora of the polis may not have generated the amount of grain required to sustain the population (ca. 9000) of the city, I would argue that an mixed farming economy exclusively based on mixed farming would not produce enough cash to buy additional grain.

Admittedly, the number of houses we excavated is small, but we have been able to identify two domestic industries: terracotta-making and textile production, while domestic economies involving larger scale processing of grain products (milling and bakeries) such as at Olynthus, could not be identified. Textile production has been identified in the majority of the houses and when we compare the evidence with that found in cities like Olynthus and Halieis (which both had fertile country sides suitable for the cultivation of wheat and olives respectively) at Halos there are many more loomweights found per house, which means that the production of textiles at Halos is more pronounced than in the other two cities. This observation implies a domestic economy in line with the model of mixed farming/horticulture/animal husbandry with a particular emphasis on the latter. We must assume that in Halos cultivation of grain and horticulture was purely practiced for subsistence purposes while oleoculture is a cash generating form of domestic economy, for which we only have limited evidence in the city before the second half of the 3rd century BCE when the large mansion incorporating the former south-east gate was built. Animal husbandry was an important subsistence economy, but on a larger scale it was also a cash-generating enterprise and cash was needed for the inhabitants of Halos to acquire additional grain.

The two economic models of mixed farming and extensive pastoralism have long been thought to be difficult to unite in the context of Greek poleis. It has now been


82 Reinders and Prummel 1998.

83 Prummel 2003, 99.

84 Forbes 1995, 326. Although see Chang 1994 who defines it mainly as a subsistence economy. In support of Forbes’ argument I refer to Timothy Howe who argues that for landscapes with limited ability for growing cereals, such as Arcadia and central Greece, animals as well as their products were used as media for exchange to acquire agricultural produce. Howe also discusses Thessaly, but focuses especially on the lowlands where elite groups were able to acquire large flocks of cattle, sheep and goats in addition to cultivating cereals. Our landscape, Achaia Phthiotis, has more in common with that of central Greece. (Howe, T., Pastoral Politics: Animals, Agriculture and Society in Ancient Greece. Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians 9, (Claremont: Regina Books, 2008)).
recognised, however, that much of the argument in favour or against the two models is a matter of semantics and that they need not have been mutually exclusive; there is no reason why mixed farming and extensive pastoralism could not be practiced side by side.85 Alcock et al. argue that ‘extensive and intensive methods of farming could be employed simultaneously by different families from the same city, depending on their social and economic status, the size of their holdings and household and other factors.’86 These ‘other factors’ include political circumstances, and in our case we have to keep in mind that the (re-)establishment of a city by a Hellenistic ruler was first and foremost a political act. The territory was previously under the control of Pharsalus but we do not know what effect the change of control had on rural landownership at Halos, nor do we know whether the division of land amongst the inhabitants included the handing out of rural land.

The urban dwellers at Halos may thus have practiced horticulture, perhaps olive cultivation, while others could have been involved in cultivating the far lying soils on the finger ridges of Mount Othris87 in the southern area of the plain and could have herded flocks of cattle, sheep and goats. The necessity for those that practiced mixed farming and lived in the city to move up to the mountains in the summer was probably limited; the coastal swamp may have provided for summer pastures88 while extra fodder was available from discard associated with the horticultural and agricultural activities. Flocks may have been housed outside the city walls near Kephalosis spring and the river. But the polis territory of Halos provided for specialist pastoralists too: it includes a large section of the Othris Mountains and the area is large enough to facilitate the travel from pastures between the plains and the mountains without being bothered by polis borders.

7.5.2 Grain and harbours

Thessaly is known for its cereal production, and various sources explicitly mention the region as an exporter of grain.89 But we have to keep in mind that these sources refer to the plains and usually not to the perioikoi.90 Grain cultivation is especially

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87 The Hellenistic fortress of Aghios Nikolaos seems to overlook one of these areas. Would this fortress also guard the agricultural soils?
88 Palynological research has pointed out that the flats fell dry occasionally (Bottema S., “A Reconstruction of the Halos Environment on the basis of Palynological Information,” in: Reinders 1988, 223.
90 See for instance Isocrates VIII, 117f who contrasts the indolence and contemporary poverty of the Thessalians, who were blessed with a rich and abundant territory with the fortune of the Megarians who lived in a region with limited resources. Thucyides (1,2) describes Thessaly as one of the most fertile regions in Greece. On regional views of Thessaly: see Decourt, J.-C., Th. Nielsen, B. Helly, “Thessaly and adjacent Regions,” in: M.H. Hansen and Th. Nielsen (eds) An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 676ff., who assert that in the Classical
linked to the tetrads which cover the area of the great Thessalian eastern and western plains.\textsuperscript{91} Production was not at a constant level however; Garnsey at al. cite evidence for food crises in Thessaly and elsewhere in Greece caused by a drought sometime in the 320's BCE when Thessaly imported grain to Larisa, Meliboia and Atrax. At other times Thessaly produced enough surplus to furnish Thebes, Cos, Athens and Rome with grain.\textsuperscript{92} A well-known inscription from the mid 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BCE from Larisa meticulously prescribes the procedures to be followed in the delivery of grain to Rome. It is significant, however, that in this inscription, the region of Achaia Phthiotis is not named as a supplier of grain; only the inhabitants of the tetrads: the Pelasgiotai, the Phthiotai, the Hestiaiotai and the Thessaliotai are named. Given that at New Halos in Achaia Phthiotis we have a newly built city inhabited by ca. 9000 inhabitants with a territory that could not completely supply the population of grain, where would it come from?

Thessaly does not have a coastline that is suitable for multiple harbours.\textsuperscript{93} Importing and exporting commodities overseas was restricted to a few - at times heavily contested - coastal areas. There are also only a handful of land routes that link the inner Thessalian plains with the coast, with especially the corridor between Larisa, Pherae and the small coastal area of the northern Pagasitic Gulf representing the main trade route. This small coastal area has been the locus of a large number of successive coastal settlements, with the Classical cities of Amphanae, Pagasae, ‘Goritsa’ and in the early Hellenistic times, Demetrias, serving as the main harbours of Thessaly.\textsuperscript{94} Other land routes leading from central Thessaly to the Pagasitic Gulf are the routes Pharsalus-Eretria-Phthiotic Thebes-Pyraosos, and Pharsalus-Peuma-Halos. It may have been via the latter route - and the sea - that grain reached the inhabitants of Halos.

Pharsalos received the territory of the polis Halos, after the Classical city was destroyed by Parmenion in 346 BCE. This gesture was certainly favourable to Pharsalos, since it gave the city more or less direct access to the sea and control over a trade route which it did not possess before (see fig. 7.4). The city may have finally been able to sell of its surplus of agricultural produce including grain directly overseas, a fortunate economic position that the Classical city of Halos held previously since it may have capitalised on the export of grain coming from inland Thessaly.\textsuperscript{95} There is archaeological evidence that the ‘landing place’\textsuperscript{96} at the Classical period, Thessaly proper only included the four tetrads Histiaiotis, Thessaliotis, Phthiotis and Pelasgiotis.

\textsuperscript{91} Grain production was not the only subsistence economy related to these environments. Especially the western plains also contained marshy areas unsuitable for agriculture. These marshy areas were excellent for usage as summer pastures for cattle. (Garnsey et al. 1984, 31) See also de Vooys, A.C., Western Thessaly in Transition. \textit{Tijdschrift voor het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap} 75 (1959): 31-54.

\textsuperscript{92} Garnsey et al. 1984, 34.

\textsuperscript{93} See the diachronic analysis of ports and harbours by Reinders in Reinders and Prummel 2003, 10-30.

\textsuperscript{94} It is known that both the cities of Larisa and Pherae competed for hegemony over the harbour of Pagasae. Xenophon (\textit{Hellenica} 5.4.56) mentions that Jason of Pherae, who then had control over the harbour, sent grain to Thebes in 377 BCE, probably in order to limit the power of Sparta which had ravaged Thebes’ territory twice and held Pharsalos at this point in time.

\textsuperscript{95} A modern analogy may be found in the establishment of an enormous grain milling factory during the 1990s near Halos. This factory, ‘Loulis’, is located at sea just off Sourpi Bay and possesses its own harbour. It processes cereals from the current plain of Almiros and of grain of the western Thessalian Plain. The flour is redistributed in the area and also transported overseas.

\textsuperscript{96} Halos presumably did not have a real harbour, since the lagoon area west of the sandy reef had already filled with sediment at this point in time (Reinder 1987, p.41ff ) but it was a well-known landing spot. cf. Herodotus reports a visit of Xerxes to Halos (where he disembarked 10.000 troops) and Demosthenes landed at Halos as part of an embassy to Philip II, when it was under siege.
city of Halos was in use in this period, the later 4th century BCE; well datable sherd of Attic cups, (325-300 BCE) were retrieved during the survey of Magoula Plataniotiki in 1990.

When Halos was ‘liberated’ and re-founded by Demetrius Poliorcetes, the urban area was relocated further inland away from the sea. Its new location was clearly meant to control the NS route over land. But Demetrius paid much attention to securing sea routes as well; the liberation of Halos was accompanied by that of neighbouring cities which each had harbours. For strategic reasons, Demetrius needed a safe and reliable harbour for his navy as well, but it is unlikely that the landing place at Halos was suitable for such a purpose in the long term.

We may assume that from 302 BCE onward control over the landing spot near the former Classical city was taken away from Pharsalos. The landing place may again

(Herodotus VII, 173, Demosthenes, On the false Embassy). After the encampment opposite Cassander, Demetrius Poliorcetes set out to Ephesus with large number of troops from Halos and thus the landing spot at Halos must have been able to accommodate his fleet (Diodorus, XX, 110)

Reportedly, Demetrius freed and fortified Larisa Cremaste, conquered Antron and Pteleon and left a garrison in Pherae (Diodorus XX, 110, 105). The ethnic (re?)-unification of this territory may be testified in the coins of the cities Larisa Cremaste, Halos, Phthiotic Thebes and Peuma (Kallithea) minted bronze coins just after this period. They are sometimes taken as evidence that these cities formed a league of their own since they all bear the hallmark AX, similar to that of the coins of the Achaean League on the Peloponnese. This is contested by A. Furtwaengler who sees in this symbol the mark XA of a mint master. This seems unlikely to me. Furtwaengler, A.E., Demetrias, eine makedonische Gruendung im Netz hellenistischer Handel- und Geldpolitik. Habilitationsschrift. (University of Heidelberg: 1990) as cited in Reinders 2003, 143.

Strabo (9.5.15) emphasizes that the harbours of Demetrias, the city Demetrius founded after 294 BCE in the north of the Pagasitic Gulf, functioned as a naval station for Demetrius Poliorcetes. The fact that Demetrias, Chalkis and Corinth were referred to as the ‘fetters of Greece’ testifies to military control these cities exercised during the Hellenistic period. (Strabo 9.4.15; Livy 32.37.3; Polybius 18.11.4-7).
have served as a hub of the export of produce coming from Achaia Phthiotis itself - such as dairy products, wool and textiles, and grain from inland Thessaly. The finds found at the 1990 survey also indicate that the ‘landing place’ at Halos was in use during the early 3rd century BCE. The long term association of Achaia Phthiotis with wool and textiles may be reflected in the Halos’ foundation myths and the fact that these myths were displayed as emblems on the coins of the Classical as well as the Hellenistic city. The ram with the ‘golden fleece’ on which the children of Athamas fled may refer to one of the major commodities that Achaia Phthiotis yielded: wool and textiles. If wool and textiles were indeed major products of the region, as our archaeological and environmental evidence implies, then it is not surprising that its long term mythological connotations are depicted on the very artefacts that facilitated trade of these commodities: coinage.

Yet, we cannot merely take for granted that the newly freed citizens of the city had once again full control over the city’s access to the sea or that they reaped full benefits from engaging in overseas trade. First, the Hellenistic city does not lie on the route from sea to inland. Reaching the sea from this location is not easy and one has to make a detour around the salt march to reach the road to the coast. Secondly, Phthiotic

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99 That textiles were traded overseas is exemplified in the cargo of the late 4th century BCE shipwreck found near Kyrenia on Cyprus. Based on the disposition of cargo and ballast the excavator presumes that there was once was a perishable freight, perhaps textiles. Swiny, H.W. and M. Katz, “The Kyrenia shipwreck: a fourth century BCE Greek merchant ship,” Colston Papers 23 (1973): 339-359. See also Gibbins, D., “Shipwrecks and Hellenistic Trade,” in Hellenistic Economies, ed. Archibald, Z., J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen and G.J. Oliver, (London: Routledge, 2001), 273-313.

100 Apollonius Rhodius in his Argonautica describes the plain of Almiros as follows: … and made him the keeper of all their sheep, that pastured on Athamas’s Plain in Phthia, and around towering Othrys, and by Apidanos’s sacred stream. Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, 513-515. Peter Green translation (1997). The scholia of Apollonius report that there was a local myth in Thessaly where Athamas was king of Halos. (Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius, 513. (ed. C. Wendel 1958, 170). Other versions of the myth locate the kingdom of Athamas in Phocis, and area which the Thessalians occupied during the Archaic period. Herbert Hoffmann suggests that ‘in economic terms ‘Golden Fleece’ joins wealth in metals (gold) with wealth in flocks (fleece), and these two commodities together constitute the basis of the pre-monetary economy.’ Hoffman, H., “Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori: The Imagery of Heroic Immortality on Athenian Painted Vases,” in Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture, ed. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 36 (pp. 28-51). There is a plethora of scholarship on the ‘golden fleece’ as a signifier of wealth, connecting wool, flocks, trade, metals, the colour purple and sacrifice. Very few of these analyses are founded on structural archaeological evidence. See also: Jenkins, I.D. “The Ambiguity of Greek Textiles,” Arethusa 18 (1985): 109-132; Gernet, L., The Anthropology of Ancient Greece. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 95-98; Detienne, M. and J.-P. Vernant, Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society, (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1978), 279.

101 I rather like to see the ram and its wool as ancient ‘Homer’ markers of wealth, which figure in the depiction of the myth as emblems associated with the most important commodities of the region. There are many examples of regional commodities figuring on polis coinage as ethnic emblems, either linked in with local mythology or not: Athena (olive oil) on the coins of Athens, Kamiros (figs, Zeus), Peparethos (Skopelos) grape/wine Dionysus), Skyros (figs and goats). Local myths and legends on coins underlining the ‘autonomy’ of a polis, even though autonomy needed to be negotiated continuously, especially in the Hellenistic period. Cf. Ziesmann, S., Autonomie und Münzprägung in Griechenland und Kleinasien in der Zeit Philipps II. und Alexanders des Großen. Trier: Wissenschaftliger Verlag, 2005, on coinage and ‘autonomy’ in the early Hellenistic period.

102 Reinders suggests that in Hellenistic times boats could still sail up the river Amphrysos to the city (Reinders 2003). The river is now canalized and we cannot assess its original width. But in my opinion the upper course of the river is too narrow for allowing ships to pass through. ‘Palynological investigation has shown that there was no open water between the city and the beach ridge at the coast.’ (Reinders 1988, 50).
Thebes may have taken over the role of the major overseas trade centre of the region since by the end of the 4th century BCE it had incorporated several smaller settlements, including Pyrasos at the sea, which from that time onward served as Thebes’ harbour. Finally, since war activities were expensive, the Hellenistic diadochs had developed sophisticated and efficient ways to secure finances from the cities they had ‘liberated’. Thus taxation on imports and exports were an important source of income for the diadochoi and their successors which paid for their building activities and their wars. This was - among other things - achieved by controlling harbours as hubs for exchange. This and the foundation of a new major harbour in the north of the Pagasitic Gulf (Demetrias) in 294 BCE by Demetrius Poliorcetes would - over time - not have had a positive effect on Halos’ overseas trade potential. This is exemplified by the 2nd century inscription from Larisa concerning the delivery of Thessalian grain to Rome. It mentions three major ports from which the grain should be shipped: Phalarna, Demetreion (Pyrasos, the harbour of Phthiotic Thebes) and Demetrias. It is telling that neither Halos, nor the harbour of the fortified city of Larisa Cremaste, both serving as major ports for disembarking thousands of troups in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BCE are mentioned anymore in this time period. This excursus on trade and harbours may seem to go rather beyond the topic of domestic economy at Halos, but it is meant to highlight some possible consequences of the nature of domestic economies at Halos in their relation to the ‘rate of success’ of the newly established urban centre and its participating households. This discussion is also necessary because economies based on animal husbandry, limited cultivation of grain, horticulture and perhaps olives, created a dependency on cereal import which may have increased the vulnerability of the community in ‘bad years’ or in otherwise hazardous circumstances. Secondly, the interference of Hellenistic rulers needing
funds to pay for their wars may have had a negative impact on a sustainable economy and on the creation of a class of wealthy merchants and prosperous landowners. The inscriptive evidence does - indeed - not support the presence of a wealthy class or the acknowledgement of wealthy benefactors: there is no evidence that the polis of Halos issued ‘proxeny’ decrees during the existence of its Hellenistic urban centre. There are two Hilians who received proxeny from Delphi in 293 BCE, only a few years after the refoundation of the polis.\textsuperscript{108}

Finally, we should not forget that the diadochs were actively recruiting mercenaries in the cities under their influence.\textsuperscript{109} That this and the continuous wars in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BCE had a detrimental effect on the demography of the region is shown in a late 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BCE letter by King Philip V to the city of Larisa and in Livy which report on Philip’s efforts to increase the population numbers of Thessaly.\textsuperscript{110}

In the environmental, economic and political milieu, described above, Peter Garnsey’s definition of ‘a typical Greek city of the Hellenistic period’ may have applied to New Halos. He describes it as ‘[with] above all, a chronic tendency to food crises, and a dependency for their resolution on wealthy and generous individuals, whether residents or outsiders.’\textsuperscript{111} Garnsey devised this scenario for Athens and other cities in Magnesia and Achaea Phthiotis were reportedly occupied by Celtic tribes led by Brennos. (Pausanias X, 20, 4). The Celts crossed the Spercheios river and plundered the countryside of Herakleia Trachinia, but were defeated by a contingent of Greeks and Aetolians with the help of the Athenian navy. The Celts afterwards marched towards Aetolia, taking its main city, Kallion, but casualties were heavy on the Celts’ side. It was only with the help of Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, that the Celts were forced to retreat.

\textsuperscript{108} The issues of proxeny decrees by city states is one way of assessing the relative wealth of a polis. In the course of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, the issue of proxeny decrees became increasingly a way to bind wealthy and influential individuals to a city by providing them with privileges. These ’public friends’ could –among many other things– receive tax relief, they could be granted seats of honour in the theatre or they could be allowed entry to the assembly. In times of stress, polieis granted fewer proxeny decrees but would make certain that this would be remedied in the nearby future. (McLean 2002, 236.) The two Hilians receiving proxeny from Delphi must have provided hospitality to visitors from Delphi to the town of Halos. They are described as Euphraios son of Gorgos and Smilas son of Pasixenos, Achaians from Halos. The inscription specified that they were declared proxenoi and benefactors and that they were allowed to visit the oracle. It may be telling that the inscription does not mention the more generous perks which Delphi sometimes awarded, such as the right to occupy the front row at the theatre. (FD III 2:182) The only evidence we have of Halos itself declaring an individual ‘public friend’ (proxenos) and a benefactor (euergetes) dates from 184/3 BCE. It was issued to Menippos son of Diophantos from Larisa (see p. 257 in this chapter).

\textsuperscript{109} I have been able to find some inscriptional evidence of Hilians migrating to other parts of the Hellenistic world. Grave stelae of Hilians have been found in Demetrias (IG IX, 2, 1173, dating to the early 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BCE) and in Histiaia (IG XII, 9, 1212, nd).

\textsuperscript{110} The effects of wars and economic crises on the demography of both Thessaly and Macedon during the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BCE is testified by the measures taken by Philip V. He ordered to increase the birth rate by compelling everybody to have children because the population had been depleted in the wars of the previous years. (Livy XXXIX, 24.1-4) as cited in Austin 1981, 136. Livy’s reports are confirmed by a letter of Philip V to Larisa preserved in the form of an inscription. In this letter the king attempted to increase the numbers of people living in Larissa. SIG 543; Walbank, F.W., The Hellenistic World, (London: Fontana, 1992), 273-277.

\textsuperscript{111} Garnsey, P., Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crises, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 163. A good example of ‘financial exhaustion’ is found in an inscription dated to 204/3 from –again- Teos in which the city publicly praises Antiochos III for declaring the citizens tribute free: ‘when he stayed in our city, he saw that we were exhausted both in our public and our private affairs because of the continuous wars and the great burden of the contributions we were bearing’. Cited from Austin 1981, 253. Also the city of Ephesos displays significant financial difficulties around 300 BCE and later, not in the least because Demetrius uses it as his base in the quarrels with Lysimachus. See Calapá, A., “Das Stadtbild von Ephesos in

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the late 4th century BCE and he saw it precluding a period of further demise in the early 3rd century BCE. This was confirmed by Graham Oliver who asserted that Athens in the 280s was desperately seeking independence from Demetrius Poliorcetes and trying to re-establish vital contacts with external powers. Many other cities found themselves in a similar position. This created a culture in which material expressions of personal wealth and benefactions, such as enlarged housing and sponsorships of public structures played an important mediating role between citizens and rulers. But what is a-typical - and significant - in our case study is the very lack of display of individual wealth at New Halos: in the previous paragraphs we have concluded that neither the excavated houses nor other architectural constructions - except for the defensive structures - in the city betray expressions of wealth by individual residents. Nor is there clear evidence that the Hellenistic rulers and the inhabitants invested much in the infrastructure of the city; we have found no water drainage or sewerage system, there is limited evidence for large public buildings and no records of public sponsorship have yet come to light.

We have also demonstrated that the economic and political circumstances in which the city operated did not stimulate the development of a wealthy merchant or landowning class. In addition, the interests of the city’s original benefactor, Demetrius Poliorcetes, became diverted to his new capital Demetrias. There may, therefore, not have been (enough) prominent and wealthy individuals who could or were willing to come to the rescue in the event of a crisis.

In view of the discussion above it is no miracle that the earthquake that destroyed the city around 265 BCE acted as a catalyst for the abandonment of the urban centre as likely no funds could, or were willing to be generated for the repairs of individual houses and the defensive works. There are no indications that benefactors wanted to invest in the urban centre as we have neither archaeological evidence for this, nor historical and inscriptions evidencing testifying to honouring benefactors belonging to the cortège of one of the Hellenistic monarchs. In addition, the Chremonidean war of 267-261 BCE fought between Antigonus Gonatas and Ptolemy II of Egypt


113 Sometimes, other cities –or rulers- generated funds for the renovation of a city affected by earthquakes; the city of Rhodes -for instance- was destroyed by earthquake in 227/226 BCE and a concerted effort by other cities and by Hellenistic rulers, such as Ptolemy III, Antigonus Doson, Queen Chryseis, Seleucus II, Hieron II and Gelon II was made to contribute to the refurbishment of this important centre of exchange in the eastern Aegean. cf. Bringmann, K., “Die Ehre des Königs und der Ruhm der Stadt,” in: Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus, ed. M. Wörrle and P. Zanker, Colloquium München 24-26 June 1993. (München: C.H. Beck, 1995), 93-103. See also Cohen 1995, 25. Strabo (12.8.18 and 13.4.10) reports that Philadelpheia, a town on the road from Pergamon to Sardis to Laodikeia, was frequently hit by earthquakes. The constant tremors caused cracking in the walls of the houses of the city. As a result many of the inhabitants preferred to live in the country, outside the city walls.

probably had an unfavourable effect on the generation of funds for renovation. Indeed, the ‘economy of war’ in the Hellenistic period had a major influence on the distribution of food and of maintaining trade contacts in large areas in the eastern Mediterranean.\(^\text{115}\)

Finally, we may question whether the less well-to-do inhabitants of Halos were willing to invest in an urban centre which was largely built for defensive purposes, was expensive to maintain and was removed from important resources. Earlier in this chapter, I have suggested that the limited investment in the individual houses should not only be explained from a presumed lack of resources or of wealthy benefactors, but should also be approached from a deeper social level. Were the Haliens overall willing to invest in an expensive urban centre? Our sample of houses is limited and a general answer to this question for the population on the whole is problematic to give. Yet, the domestic evidence we have, such as that the limited articulation of the domestic environment, the lack of effort to highlight polis related activities associated with the houses (such as symposia) and the enhanced ‘privacy’ of domestic activities in comparison to other cities, combined with our archaeological, environmental and historical data may point to an array of ‘tactics’\(^\text{116}\) perhaps sub-consciously employed by the Halian population. They may have been part of a reluctance to participate and invest in ‘making something out of their new urban environment.’ This attitude may relate to what Léopold Migeotte concluded for the preponderance of Greek towns: that conservative attitudes prevailed in the collective decisions of citizens and that the majority of towns remained faithful to traditional life.\(^\text{117}\) The ‘traditional life’ of the Haliens, with its dependence on an economy that required an intensified mobility with flocks, or that required control over overseas contacts, may not have fit the urban life style the Hellenistic monarchs who founded the new urban centre, had in mind.

The population of Halos must have moved elsewhere; the city’s cemeteries remained only partially in use, there is no evidence for re-population, except for habitation of a large newly built structure incorporating the former south-east gate. The polis Halos as a social, economic and political entity remained in existence for at least two more centuries, but it stopped minting coins and households must have shifted to locations where their life styles and economies could have been carried out more effectively.


\(^{116}\) de Certeau 1984, 36-37.

\(^{117}\) Migeotte 2009, 175.
Chapter 8: Concluding remarks

This book started off with a discussion on how we should approach the relationship between houses and households on the one hand and between households and the ancient city on the other. We first set out to assess the quality and quantity of our database, especially on the regional level. We concluded that we need good archaeological data such as complete excavated houses, with reliable recordings of their contents in order to study both the distribution of activities and the concept of domestic space on a socio-economic level. But we also need extensive contextual information, such as survey and environmental data in order to create a more workable interpretive framework in our assessment of the relationships between household, town and country, a second focus in our study. We can conclude that the Hellenistic city of Halos is an ideal case study in these respects.

In chapter 7, we have contextualized the abandonment of the urban centre of the polis Halos by assessing the presence of and access to natural resources in the environs by households inhabiting the city. We also have related these observations to aspects of the social and economic organizations of the household. We have identified various domestic economies and we assessed relationships between women and men as expressed in physical domestic space and the probable presence and absence of slaves. Implicitly, we came back to idea of how the new foundation of the polis and establishment of the new town relate to the concept of the so-called consumer city which we introduced in chapter 1. A consumer city is a city in which at least 80% of the population was involved in mixed farming as their main domestic economy, an economy aimed at self-sufficiency and the production of limited agricultural surplus. The produced surplus was sold at the market and the earnings would benefit both household and state. According to this model, a limited percentage of the population was engaged in trade and craft activities. Because these economies were not seen as having potential to contributing to a city’s economic prosperity, they were regarded as a humble way of making a living. The model, as devised by Moses Finley recalls the concepts of ‘ideal city economics’ by Aristotle and Pseudo-Aristotle. I have employed this discussion amongst ancient historians mainly as a useful framework and backdrop for the assessment of the relationships between town in country in New Halos and the viability of its urban centre.

Was Halos indeed planned as a city with a population whose economic base followed the ideal Aristotelean model of urban social and economic organization based on mixed farming and self sufficiency in which surplus produced by the wealthiest citizens would benefit the city state? Do the circumstances that led to the demise of the urban centre shed light on diverging, and sometimes faltering policies of Hellenistic rulers? Should we label the re-establishment of the polis Halos a failure from the onset?

Throughout this book, we followed a meandering pathway in order to provide some answers to these questions as further queries, of both historical and archaeological nature, needed to be dealt with on the way. The source material for this study was the architecture of six houses, their urban and rural contexts and their contents. We first looked at traditions of city planning and the relationship between Hellenistic rulers, their cities and, indirectly, the households inhabiting these cities. From inscriptional and historical evidence we concluded that this relationship was an ambiguous and highly volatile one. It was often based on reciprocity in which a ruler provided the city with ‘protection’ and economic input, while at the same time he taxed cities and needed to use them as bases for military campaigns and as centres to maintain control
over countryside and harbours by way of housing garrisons. Hellenistic policies
towards the cities could change invariably over time, leaving a city at one time
celebrating its ruler with a city cult, while the ruler could force an entire population to
move to another spot in subsequent years, such as in Skepsis. In addition, unexpected
circumstances such as intruding tribes and natural disasters like droughts and seismic
events could severely compromise the viability of the local economy of a city and the
quality of life of households and their members.

The new urban centre of Halos was established in another location than the original
Classical one near the coast. This new setting served as an important point of control
in the north-south land route along the east coast of Thessaly. The city plan and the
houses of New Halos were mostly planned in a typical and well-known Hellenistic
fashion with a higher and lower city, both fortified with many towers, broad walls and
well designed city gates. The area of the lower city was divided up in blocks, serving
as building allotments for housing and possible (future) public buildings. The higher
city was not divided up in regular fashion; the sparse foundation walls with differing
orientation, the presence of an acropolis and possible grand battery imply that this
area was designed to serve as a second line of defence in case of an attack on the city.
The way the housing blocks were ‘filled in’ with foundation walls in the lower city
does not suggest that an allotment distribution system was based on equal lot size,
such as in other, mostly Late Classical, cities. As we have seen in chapter 3, plot sizes
differed. The three different size categories of house plots were distributed unequally,
both over individual housing blocks as over the city as a whole. The letter of
Antigonus the One Eyed, the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes, to Teos and Lebedos
has provided us with a number of important clues: this system of distribution of plot
size as we have discovered it, may have been based on allocation of plots that people
moving into the new city had left behind. The inscription also suggests that the
resettled inhabitants needed to build their own houses, with some form of aid and
compensation from the ruler (the roof-tiles and loans for public amenities). That this
was the case at Halos too could be confirmed by an assessment of the way that house
foundations bond; housing blocks were laid out and separated in a north and south
row, but the plots were filled in individually. There is no direct evidence of aid or
compensation in the building of New Halos. The four epidosis inscriptions found in
two of the houses may point to a subscription to purchasing lots within or outside the
city, but they are difficult to interpret.

The differences in plot size means that we witness some form of ranking in house size
from the onset of habitation within the city. The question was what these size
differences signify. Do they imply differences in household size, household economy
or, possibly, in household wealth? Or all of these? We followed up on this question
with an assessment of the spatial articulations and contents of each house. We
concluded that none of the houses were articulated with regular and fashionable home
decorations found elsewhere in the Late Classical and Hellenistic world, such as wall
paintings, mosaics and peristyles. In that sense, the houses did not differ from each
other at all, with the exception of the House of the Tub, which contained one plastered
room and a large hearth built in the western wall of its ‘large room’. In their spatial
configuration, the houses differed but moderately. In most houses, the ‘large room’
was a central space that gave access to several side rooms, which all lay relatively
‘deep’ in the house. Here, the House of the Coroplast was an exception: the workshop
of the Coroplast faced the small courtyard, near the entrance. The route to the other,
more private rooms of the house led right through the workshop, while in an earlier
habitation phase, the ‘large room’ could be entered from the courtyard, which is in line with most other houses.

In the analysis of the contents of the houses, we concluded that they were abandoned, probably after sudden disaster and that several valuable items, a few remains of metal vessels, jewellery and other items must have been taken during the abandonment or shortly thereafter. The distribution of finds suggests differences in the ways the inhabitants employed their domestic space and in the ways in which they earned a living. Storage vessels were found in all of the dwellings and their location is set ‘deep’ into the house. Large houses contained significantly more storage vessels. The number of storage vessels in the House of the Snakes and the House of the Amphorae imply that they were used to preserve the yields of farming to feed the household for up to a year. The smaller houses contained sometimes but a few vessels, but the further contents of three of the houses provide evidence of other means of making a living; terracotta making (the House of the Coroplast) and textile production (the House of Agathon and the House of the Ptolemaic Coins). There may have existed an economic connection between the latter two houses, one that was probably based on kinship.

Other forms of evidence regarding the use of natural resources in the environment can be found in the pollen diagrams, the faunal remains retrieved from the houses and in the results of the intensive survey of the chora of the city. None of these independent data sets suggests that the area around the city was intensively cultivated. Rather, they imply that pastoralism was an economy prevalent in this area, which is further supported by the in general higher number of loomweights per house in comparison to other cities (pointing to wool working), as well as the mythology and coinage of the city which highlights the role of sheep and fleeces in the economic sphere.

Patterns of domestic production and consumption of food and commodities give further depth to the economic and social organization of the households of New Halos. Preparation and cooking of food was not clearly localised in all houses, but was mostly associated with the ‘large room.’ Consumption of food and drink took likely place in a variety of spaces within the house and can be associated with the small side rooms and in one case with the pastas. These consumption patterns are not related to a ‘place’, nor are they related to a domestic space that was architecturally articulated. What we can say here is that both production and consumption are relatively ‘private’ activities as they are located relatively deep into the house. This is also the case with textile production. Even though locations of looms were difficult to identify, they were in both cases found in side rooms and loomweights in general are often associated with storage pottery.

The lack of specialised and architecturally formalised spaces in New Halos, like ‘kitchens’, andrones, etc., known from literary sources and often recognised elsewhere in Greek housing, is striking. But this formalisation may have nothing to do with the way these spaces were used on a daily base, as we have seen in Priemus’ example in Rotterdam and as Nevett and Cahill have concluded for Olynthus. Above we considered whether some spaces in the house could have functioned as makeshift ‘andrones’. This may have been the case, but the artefacts normally associated with the symposion could have been used for normal consumption as well, they are not of high quality, and the lack of other architectural and spatial formalisation does not indicate any desire to show off the interior of the house to visitors from outside. This lack further enhances the ‘privacy’ of many activities in the houses and there is some evidence that gender is involved; domestic textile production, usually associated with women, was one of those more private activities. That said, we should keep in mind
that textile production is only one of many activities found in the houses. Other recognised activities like consumption and cult involved men and children too and we should conclude that it is unlikely that gender (in the form of the cultivation of shame) was the single and prime directive in the conceptualization of private and public life in New Halos.

Varying numbers of artefacts per house, especially those related to food production and consumption may indicate that a varying number of people lived in the houses. For the House of the Snakes we have suggested that the combination of a high number of vessels associated with storage and a large number of cooking and consumption vessels points to a domestic economy of mixed farming in which slaves may have been involved. In all the other houses the number of cooking and consumption vessels was considerably lower in number. Despite the shared economic base between the Houses of the Ptolemaic Coins and the House of Agathon, one household must have been considerably smaller than the other.

In the beginning of this book we suggested that if Cassander or Demetrius Poliorcetes left a garrison behind in the city, its living quarters may have been located in the upper city. There are no clear indications in the houses (nor in the graves) for Macedonian presence; consumption patterns as well as depositional funerary customs at Halos did not point to particular Macedonian cultural traits and traditions practiced in the city. This may have been a matter of choice, however; the inhabitants may have consciously chosen not to express their cultural identities in these particular ways.

In two locations have we been able to identify domestic cult practices. In both these cases cult activity was located near the hearth of the house and in one case, in the house of the Snakes, a cult to Zeus Ktesios was recognized. This points to a specific concern with the storage of food and with property this household possessed. Given the fact that this house may have had a domestic economy based on mixed farming, with all the accompanying risks, the particular location and practice of this cult makes sense. We do not know a lot about city-wide cults at New Halos; the only cult centre certainly contemporary with the Hellenistic city is the newly identified Demeter and Kore sanctuary in the former so-called sepulchral building. Also this cult is connected to the assurance of food and crops and fertility in general.

This concern with fertility and the continued existence of household and community is, in addition, reflected in the production and consumption of terracotta figurines. The find locations of terracotta figurines indicate that these items were produced in domestic context and used and deposited in houses as well as sanctuaries and graves. Their iconography is significant; they point to a usage in cults focusing on fertility, procreation and the survival of household and community as well as to a form of ancestor commemoration and civic pride. The inhabitants of the city clearly needed imagery related to the reproductivity of both household and community as well as to its mythical history and identity. The household played a dynamic role in fuelling and satisfying this social need.

We have concluded that this social need was related to the limited economic and natural resources of the city and its inhabitants. It seems that, when Demetrius or Cassander re-established the polis of Halos, their main concern was to create a defensive bulwark which controlled the main north-south route through Achaia Phthiotis. The re-establishment of the polis went hand in hand with pitching it ‘autonomous and free’, a policy which Demetrius and his father Antigonus the One Eyed practiced, but which, in fact, often meant that cities remained under economic control of these Hellenistic rulers. This policy is clearly reflected in highlighting the city’s identity and past; the iconography on the coinage of the new city was based on
the coinage of the Classical one and its foundation myth. In addition, the re-
establishment of the city may have been accompanied with the well-known practice of
inviting poets to celebrate a city’s glorious past in poems and song. The Late
Classical/Early Hellenistic inscription celebrating Thessalian heroes found in the
south-east gate may testify to this custom.
But when the city was rebuilt not a lot of thought and energy went into an assessment
of whether the available resources in the vicinity of the city would be able to sustain
the further development and maintenance of an urban centre of this particular size and
location. The lower city provided space for ca. 9000 inhabitants. Our analysis of
house contents combined with zoo-archaeological, palynological evidence and the
preliminary results of the rural survey at Halos has shown that the landscape
surrounding the city did not provide for large scale cultivation of cereals. The
population must have largely lived off animal husbandry combined with horticulture,
limited cultivation of cereals, possible cultivation of olives and domestic industries
such as textile and terracotta production, while importing cereals from inland
Thessaly or overseas.
Economies which are largely pastoralist in nature are usually not compatible with
living in, supporting and maintaining a large urban centre. In addition, the volatile
political circumstances in the early 3rd century BCE may have further enhanced a
position of dependency on cereal as the main staple food which had to come from
elsewhere. The Hellenistic ruler likely in charge of the re-establishment of New
Halos, Demetrius Poliorcetes, was defeated in the battle of Ipsus soon after this re-
foundication, only to come back in 294 BCE establishing a new capital, Demetrias,
elsewhere along the coastal line of the Pagasitic Gulf. In the meantime, it is uncertain
whether New Halos was able to benefit from its position near the coast, as it
undoubtedly did in Classical times. The position of the new Hellenistic city did not
allow for easy access to the sea and we may wonder to what extent the port was kept
under control by means of taxation by the Macedonians as was the case in various
other cities. The short term invasion of Celts in Achaia Phthiotis in 279 BCE,
although we have no archaeological and direct historical evidence of them occupying
the city, must have further compromised the vulnerable trade and exchange network
of which New Halos was a part.
New Halos was abandoned around 265 BCE, presumably after an earthquake. The
population did not return to their former houses. Rather than this being a result of one
of the Antigonids moving the entire city population or the inhabitants in any other
way unable to return to their city, I argue that the abandonment was a conscious
choice made by the inhabitants themselves. The previous years of habitation of the
city left its traces in the archaeological record. The location of the households and the
economic and political circumstances under which people carried out their domestic
tasks, did not create favourable opportunities for all households to be both self
sufficient and make contributions to the urban environment. The lack of investment in
the houses, the graves as well as in the city itself, the concern with foodstuffs and
storage in domestic and city cults and the lack of evidence for the existence of a
wealthy upper class, point to both an inability to and resistance toward restoring,
developing and maintaining this large urban centre. In addition, the abandonment was
carried out in a very brief period of time and coincides with the stagnation of
important communal activities, such as the minting of coins and the use of large parts
of the cemeteries outside the city gates.
The urban centre ceased to exist, but the households likely not and neither did the
political, religious and economic community of the polis. At least part of the
households must have remained in the city territory, and it is possible that they relocated to areas closer to the mountains, where arable land was more abundant and springs and grazing grounds on the slopes of the Othris were in the vicinity. Long term patterns of settlement and land use in the region show the attraction of these locations.\(^1\)

We should conclude that even though ancient authors like Diodorus praise rulers like Demetrius Poliorcetes for their wise choices in finding suitable locations for new cities, such as in the case of Sikyon, their decisions did not always work out well. In the case of New Halos, the choice of location was an understandable one from a strategic point of view. But the scale of the city was not well chosen, nor were the character and availability of natural resources sufficiently taken into account. New Halos was not a successful ‘consumer city’, nor was able to become a thriving ‘producer city’. We also can conclude that the strategies employed by the Hellenistic rulers to subjectify\(^2\) polis inhabitants, by declaring the inhabitants ‘free and autonomous’ while keeping them under control in heavily fortified cities, sometimes with garrisons as watchdogs, was not a singular narrative of domination. This form of power could meet with ambiguous attitudes; resistance on the one hand and compliance on the other. The resistance could take the form of tactics; the tactics we suggest that may have played a role was a reluctance toward contributing to the built environment the household was part of. Compliance, on the other hand could take the form of actively exploiting the dependency of a Hellenistic ruler on the loyalty and resources of cities and its inhabitants, such as in Athens or Larisa. We have, however, no evidence of this latter tactic in New Halos.

Would the outcome of this study mean that we can label the inhabitants of the city as ‘poor’? This is a qualitative term and given the precarious circumstances of many cities in the early Hellenistic period, we do not know whether the situation in Halos was exceptional. In the previous chapter I have tried to argue that the lack of display in the households does not mean that the householders necessarily had limited means, although we may not exclude periods of famine. We will have to await physical anthropological research performed on the skeletal remains of the cemeteries at New Halos to see whether there is any evidence for malnutrition or disease resulting in a short life span.\(^3\)

With this research we have been able to open a small ‘time window’ which has given us detailed insight in the domestic life style of six households at New Halos. We have gained a better understanding of how domestic economies were carried out in this time frame. But we have also seen that we cannot adequately interpret the remains of these households if we fail to use additional data sets which, on the one hand, allow us to place the town in long term processes of settlement and land use and, on the other hand, provide us with the necessary historical context. How typical are these results of

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\(^1\) Small settlements along the ‘finger ridges’ can be pointed out in the Neolithic, Classical, Late Roman/Byzantine and Turkish periods. ‘Tsiflikia’ were large scale farmsteads owned by Turkish landowners and they are often located in the vicinity of archaeological sites of earlier periods. This is also the case with some of the Greek villages in the region: Vrinena, Kofoi, Old Platanos and others were built either nearby or on top of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman settlements.

\(^2\) The process of subjectification of human beings throughout history is a significant aspect of Michel Foucault’s work. I see the built environment of the Hellenistic city as a strategy employed by Hellenistic rulers to gain domination over a polis population and their territory in which the fortified city functioned as an architectural embodiment of power and control.

\(^3\) Malaria was indigenous in this part of Greece up until the 19th century and probably was in antiquity. The vicinity of the town to the swampy area between beach reef and hills may have been detrimental to the health of the inhabitants.
this research and to what extent may we extrapolate from them? And more importantly, how ‘typical’ is Halos’ habitation history in this period on a micro-regional, regional and inter-regional scale?

Halos was not the only urban centre that was abandoned during this period in time. Other well researched sites, such as Eretria at Euboea became deserted, as well as Halieis on the Peloponnese. But we may not assume that the underlying dynamics and processes of abandonment were similar in all of these cities. It is no longer feasible to use all-encompassing models to explain social and economic processes pertaining to very large areas. Especially since Susan Alcock’s call for ‘breaking up the Hellenistic World’, historians as well as archaeologists have increasingly favoured area studies in which local survey, environmental and excavation data form the principal components to research socio-economic variation at interregional, regional and intraregional level. In this respect, the study of domestic economy and social organisation has proven to be a valuable research perspective, in Halos as well as other parts of the Greek world. Studies such as these can contribute important new information to our knowledge on regional economies especially when combined with archaeological surveys, landscape studies and historical analyses. The survey of the *chora* of Halos has already provided excellent long term data regarding settlement patterns and land use valid for a large area of Achaia Phthiotis. The excavation of the south-eastern city gate has yielded important new information on the subsequent habitation of the territory. But we have, as yet, limited insight in the economic relations of this ‘intra-region’ with poleis and economies which were more directed to inland Thessaly and those overseas. The project *New Perspectives on Ancient Pottery* carried out by the University of Amsterdam aims to obtain better insight in the relationship between imported and locally produced pottery in different find-contexts and periods, among which at Halos. In addition, monumental urban centres in the vicinity of Halos, such as those of Phthiotic Thebes and Kastro Kallithea (Peuma), were not abandoned in the early Hellenistic period. Their survival may shed light on the demise of the urban centre at New Halos and vice versa. This is one of the reasons why the 15th Ephorate at Larisa and the University of Alberta started archaeological research at the nearby inland urban centre of Kastro Kallithea. The Kallithea project is another ‘intra-regional project’ combining survey and excavation which aims to complement, but also to further complicate the information we have gained from New Halos.

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4 Karl Reber has suggested that the Chremonidean war had a role to play in this process. The large and rich houses in this city became subdivided into smaller units in the years previous to the abandonment. (Reber, 1998).
