

ROMANS, RUBBISH, AND REFUSE

THE ARCHAEOBOTANICAL ASSEMBLAGE
OF REGIONE VI, INSULA I, POMPEII

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FOR

DR. S. E. STEPHENSON

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Glossary

<i>Atrium</i>	A formal anteroom for the reception of clients within the Roman house.
<i>Cauponae</i>	A commercial shop which only served drinks.
<i>Cella vinaria</i>	A fermentation room for grapes for the purposes of wine-making.
<i>Cenacula</i>	Dining room, usually located on the upper storey, within the Roman house.
<i>Cubiculum</i>	A small room traditionally defined as a bedroom within the Roman house.
<i>Culina</i>	Kitchen
<i>Dolia</i> (plural)	An underground large pottery vessel used for the storage of food or the fermentation of wine.
<i>Dolium</i> (singular)	
<i>Exedrae</i>	A small open side room within the traditional Roman atrium house.
<i>Fauces</i>	The main narrow entrance hallway into the traditional Roman atrium house.
<i>Hortus</i>	Roman garden.
<i>Latifundia</i>	A large agricultural estate growing cash crops harvested by slave labour and owned by wealthy Roman elite.
<i>Oecil</i>	Large open room within traditional Roman house.
<i>Oecus</i>	<i>Main hall in Roman house.</i>
<i>Olea perforata</i>	Portable ceramic planting pots used to transport trees or other plants and used as a potting vessel in gardens.
<i>Opus quadratum</i>	A type of Roman construction style in which square blocks of stones of the same height were laid in parallel courses without mortar.
<i>Opus signinum</i>	A Roman building material which utilised broken fragments of tiles and pottery mixed with mortar.
<i>Otium</i>	Roman concept of total relaxation.
<i>Penariae</i>	Where food was kept in Roman house.
<i>Peristyle</i>	Garden and ambulatories within Roman house.
<i>Taberna</i>	Bar
<i>Tablinium</i>	Room in the Roman house off to one side of the atrium.
<i>Thermopolia</i>	A public food and drink establishment.
<i>Torcularium</i>	A wine press for crushing grapes for wine.
<i>Triclinium</i>	The label given to the dining room within a traditional Roman atrium house.
<i>Villae rusticae</i> (plural)	Large agricultural estates outside the city gates.
<i>Villa rustica</i> (singular)	
<i>Villa suburbana</i>	Agricultural Roman luxury residence located just outside the city gates.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Due to its catastrophic destruction and subsequent outstanding preservation, Pompeii has entered into the annals of history and archaeological lore, a relatively unimportant Mediterranean port city in southern Italy during its brief life span, it now rivals the fame of Rome itself. It has had a widespread and profound influence upon philosophy, art and culture in Western society and has sparked innumerable heated debates on a plethora of academic and popular subjects since its rediscovery, 250 years ago. Arising from its humble status as an early Italic village on a volcanic outcropping it is now regarded as the most famous and well-preserved UNESCO world heritage site due to the rare glimpse it offers to visitors and scholars alike, into a past way of life that was captured so precisely on the 24th of August 79 AD with the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. Despite the fact that Pompeii is the earliest continuously excavated Roman site and one of the most visited and well-studied archaeological sites there is still much that is not understood about it, especially in terms of its long-term development from pre-Roman times (Laidlaw 2007, 620).

Despite its world renown as an archaeological site, the past twelve years of archaeological excavations (1995-2006) by the Anglo-American Project in Pompeii (AAPP) provides one of the few examples of chronological depth in Pompeii. The analysis of all the recovered archaeobotanical material from the only triangularly shaped insula, Regione VI, insula I from Pompeii, adjacent to the Herculaneum Gate, provided a unique research opportunity of a highly documented case study of urban environmental analysis. This research is able to provide a diachronic analysis of wider patterns of food consumption and natural resource use though the approximate three hundred years of occupation of this insula and examine the cultural impacts that subsequent waves of immigration may have had on this multiethnic city with the invasion of the Samnites, the influence of the nearby Greek colonies of southern Italy and finally the colonization by the Romans after the Social Wars in 89 BC.

The ultimate goal of the Anglo-American Project in Pompeii is to reconstruct a holistic view of everyday life in the ancient city of Pompeii and to examine, in detail, issues of intensification, urbanisation and inequality using Regione VI, insula I as a lens through which to understand the complexity and changing nature of this provincial city through its entire period of occupation. The analysis of the archaeobotanical remains will assist in all these spheres of enquiry. As a highly documented case study of urban archaeobotany it has the potential to examine issues of economic and social differentiation as reflected in access to and processing of agricultural produce and food consumption.

1.1 Pompeii: historical background

The Sarno River supplied the entire fertile plain south-east of Mount Vesuvius and supported the agricultural villages which were situated along the upper reaches of its valley and near the mouth of the river around 700 BC. The original Oscan or Greek settlement at Pompeii dates back to the 6th century BC and was built on an isolated volcanic ridge about 39 metres above sea-level at the time (Jashemski 1979a, 4). Pompeii was beholden to and became the port city of *Nucceria Alfaterna*, or *Noceria*, a city situated at an important road junction and which dominated the southern region of Campania (Grant 2005, 17).

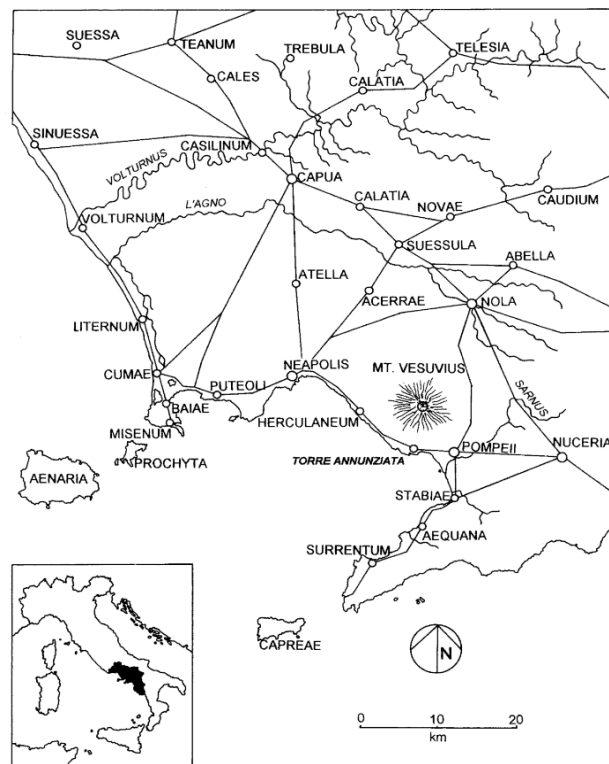


FIGURE 1: POMPEII AND THE SURROUNDING REGION (AAPP 2005 RESOURCE BOOK, P. 37)

During ancient times, the region of Campania (highlighted in black in the small map in the left-hand corner of Figure 1) has been argued to have been the chief granary of the peninsula. In some districts as many as three grain crops were produced each year, in addition to a crop of vegetables (Jashemski 1979a, 4). Ancient sources exclaim over the wonderful variety of crops grown throughout the year with harvests postulated to have been six times greater than the average crop yield for the rest of the Italian peninsula (Grant 2005, 15).

Recent archaeological evidence uncovered at the site of Capua has supplied evidence that Etruscan intrusions into the region of Campania begun *circa* 650 BC. It appears that towards the end of the next century the Etruscans extended their control over larger areas of the Campanian plain. Etruscans came into contact with the Greeks at the city of Cumae, thought to be the earliest Greek settlement in Italy dating to 750 BC, which subsequently became the Etruscans' main centre of Greek commerce (Grüger et al. 2002, 240). The Etruscans attacked the city of Cumae in 524 and 474 BC and were rebuffed each time. At this time it seems likely that Etruscans controlled the city of Pompeii, as inferred from known Etruscan trading contacts at Pompeii, Etruscan bucchero pottery which has been found throughout Pompeii and fragments of Etruscan inscriptions found on black vases excavated from beneath the Temple of Apollo (Grant 2005, 20).

By the mid- 5th century BC the Samnites, renowned as tough indigenous mountain people, swept down from their original homeland in the Apennines of central and southern Italy towards the coast. The Etruscans were defeated by the Samnites in 474 BC. In 423 BC, while mainland Greece was engaged in the Peloponnesian War and unable to send reinforcements, the Samnites attacked the Greek colony of Capua, which at the time was the most important Etruscan centre in Campania, and other Greek colonies along the coast. In 421-420 BC the Samnites took over the Greek colony of Cumae and subsequently moved into the Campanian plain and resettled Pompeii and Herculaneum.

The Samnite people spoke Oscan, one of the three main dialects, along with Latin and Umbrian, of the Italic branch from the Indo-European family of languages (Descœudres 2007, 15). This new 'Oscan' Campania, although probably still retaining traces of past Etruscan influences, formed itself into a separate federation of towns in 445 BC under the leadership of the city of Capua. Neapolis (Naples) located further north became a bicultural city with elements of both Greek and Samnite influence (Grant 2005, 20). Thus, by the 4th century BC Pompeii may have followed Stabiae, Herculaneum and the villages of the Sarno Valley as part of a loose confederation with controlling influence upon it from *Nuceria*.

Around 358-354 BC the Samnites entered into a defensive alliance with Rome, possibly fearing an invasion by the Gauls from the north. Roman sources claimed that non-Samnite Campanian cities made an appeal to Rome fearing further Samnite invasion and thus triggered the First Samnite War, 343-341 BC, and the entrance of the Romans into Campania. During the Second Samnite War, 326-304 BC, in which the Romans' legendary defeat in 321 BC at *Caudine Forks* took place in the interior of the region, the Romans captured Neapolis in 327-326 BC. The Romans sacked *Nuceria*, and took Pompeii and possibly Herculaneum in 310-302 BC. By 300 BC the region of Campania was now wholly under the control of the Romans (Grant 2005, 22).

The 2nd century BC saw a period of construction in Pompeii in response to a major expansion in the local population and by the end of the 2nd century BC was an urban community ((Jashemski 1979a, 4). By the 2nd century BC, Pompeii is known to have had intense commercial contacts with several areas throughout the Mediterranean region (Ciaraldi 2001, 32). It was the expansion of trade in the Mediterranean in the later part of the 1st century BC and the subsequent expansion of the empire from Augustus onwards which allowed the 1st century AD Pompeii to have become a densely occupied urban centre (Parker 1990, 330).

Towards the end of the Republican period much of the land surrounding the city was farmed by *villae rusticae*, large farming estates in the country, or cash crops grown from market gardens. Along the coast of the Gulf of Baiae, the western section of the Gulf of Pozzuoli and the Bay of Naples were numerous luxury villas, owned by the upper classes, and this was an especially popular area when the Emperor Tiberius owned the entire island of Capri during the Early Imperial period (Grüger et al. 2002, 240; Jashemski 1979a, 289). However, recent archaeological discoveries suggest that small landowners continued to exist and farm in this area in the 1st century AD (Fraysn 1979, 20; Lomas 1993, 118). In 91 BC, during the Social War in which the Italians attempted to gain equal rights and privileges granted to Roman citizens, the Vesuvian cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae defected from their previous allegiance with Rome (Descœudres 2007, 15). In 89 BC Pompeii was attacked by General Sulla and his army and archaeological evidence testifies to the damage caused by the siege-artillery. Ballista and sling bullet indentations on city walls have been found outside the vulnerable Herculaneum Gate (Jones and Robinson 2007, 395). At the end of the war Pompeii received Roman citizenship. However, a colony of Sulla's retired soldiers, known as *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum*, was imposed in 80 BC upon Pompeii (Grant 2005, 23). Cicero writes of the violent ill-will of the citizens of Pompeii against the newly imposed Roman colonists. However, other Classicists have argued that the land for the Roman soldiers was taken from the people of nearby ruined Stabiae rather than Pompeii (Grant and Forman 1976, 23).

As evident from the extensive building projects outside the city walls during the late 1st century BC with the *Pax Romana*, the inhabitants of Pompeii were no longer worried about invasions as the Romans had conquered the Italian peninsula by this time (Cooley 2003, 111; MacKendrick 1960, 200). Indeed, the early years of the Roman colony provided evidence of building and refurbishment of villas in the countryside surrounding Pompeii (Ling 2005, 63). At the time of its destruction, the city of Pompeii was approximately 167 acres (63.5 ha); elliptical in shape with a circumference of 2 miles (3km), (an average size for an Italian town at the time of the early Roman Empire), with a population of approximately ten to twenty thousand people (Cooley 2003, 33; Grant 2005, 33) with a more

conservative estimate of population of 8,000 to 12,000 (Jongman 2007, 513; Ling 2005, 98; Westfall 2007, 129).

1.2 Pompeii: a case study in urban archaeobotany

Although there was interest expressed in the later part of the 19th and the early 20th century in exploring Pompeii's pre-Roman roots, this was undertaken by studying the surviving standing masonry structures and changes in building techniques and materials. Paradoxically, despite Pompeii's parallel development with the discipline of archaeology, its potential as a case study for refining analytical methodologies of wider archaeological utility has been underexploited. Hence, Pompeii was regarded as a static single-layer site. This synchronic perspective, focusing mainly on the Roman period leading up to the destruction of the city in AD 79, is reflected in the limited archaeological investigations carried out in the recent past beyond the AD 79 destruction layer (Robinson 2002, 93). It was not until the early Pompeian archaeologist Maiuri, during the 1930s and 40s, began excavations beneath the AD 79 layer that its pre-Roman roots began to come to light (Cooley 2003, 113-114).

There has been a recent movement to allow full-scale major stratigraphic excavations below the AD 79 destruction layer, under the former leadership of *Soprintendente* Prof P. Guzzo, the Archaeological Superintendent of Pompeii, in houses and areas that have been disturbed by excavations in the recent past. During the course of the AAPP, excavations have taken place below the AD 79 destruction layer, where no substantial intact floors have survived, and in which a dated construction sequence based upon evidence from sealed deposits has been created. Along with other recent excavations (Wallace-Hadrill and Fulford 1999 with the British School at Rome, Carafa 1997, the Pompeii Forum Project directed by J. J. Dobbins 1994 and the Temple of Apollo by De Caro 1986) the overall result has been a growing trend towards understanding the complexity of the chronological sequence for urbanisation and the Roman influence upon the city of Pompeii (Robinson 2002, 94).

Practically this research is significant as an entire insula block within the city of Pompeii has never been excavated in its entirety to date. This research represents a unique opportunity to undertake a diachronic study of urban archaeobotany from a variety of different contexts. As a case study Pompeii has the potential to contribute to questions of economic and social differentiation as reflected in access to and processing of agricultural and trade products, on-site processing and preparation, the use of domestic and public space based upon the preserved archaeobotanical assemblage, differential food consumption in a complex urban society and the role that archaeobotanical analyses can contribute to these topics.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

The main objective of this research is the analysis of the archaeobotanical assemblage, the preserved seeds and

macro-botanical remains, with respect to the chronological and stratigraphic record, recovered over the course of the past twelve years from the excavation of Regione VI, insula I by the AAPP. The study of this one city block, Regione VI, insula I, is a unique opportunity to examine the preserved plant material both across contemporaneous households, from a variety of domestic and commercial contexts, and diachronically, over the three hundred years for which suitable data has been excavated. This research will offer a new view of Roman and pre-Roman households and local economies and how they developed over time. It will also provide a test ground for urban archaeobotanical methodology, an area which is largely underdeveloped since most environmental research has tended to focus on larger scale issues such as societal development and the origins of farming.

1.4 Research questions

Pompeii is well-situated as a firmly documented archaeological context from which to explore issues of food distribution and consumption in a complex urban society and the role that archaeobotanical analysis can contribute to studies of social differentiation through both food and agricultural economy. In the recent past, literary and art historical sources from frescos and mosaics from Pompeii and Herculaneum, have been used to study Roman cuisine and diet (Jashemski et al. 2002, 80-180). However, these are potentially elite-biased idealized representations and contrasting these constructed images against preserved food refuse (cereal grains and chaff, fruit pips, agricultural weeds, etc.) provides a more holistic view of the Roman diet from all levels of society.

1.5 Status, ethnicity and Romanisation

One of the aims of this research is to examine the archaeobotanical assemblage through time to see if there are changes in the socio-economic status of the inhabitants of Insula VI.I and explore any economic, political, ethnic and *trade factors* which may have influenced dietary changes over the occupation of the site.

Food in Greco-Roman society was a powerful and constant visible marker of ethnic and cultural differences. It repeatedly reinforced the social and economic distinctions between rich and poor. It served as a vehicle not only for communicating status, but also for maintaining familial, social and political relationships and served to maintain the rigid social hierarchy present within Roman society. Conspicuous consumption and displays of food in Roman society were powerful signifiers of wealth, status and power, especially when exotic or imported items were on the menu (Garnsey 1999, xi; van der Veen 2003, 405).

Roman-type ingredients and similar methods of procurement and preparation of food items have been employed as indicators of a Roman cuisine or lifestyle in previous studies and will be one aspect considered in this research (Jones 1991 cited in Meadows 1999, 105).

Although it has to be acknowledged that Roman veterans and citizens often came from disparate areas of the Roman Empire and were increasingly, during the Roman Imperial and Early Empire, exposed to new influences and cultures through warfare, trade and migrations of new and subjected peoples. This study will use Pompeii to examine aspects of ethnicity and the process of the incorporation of a Roman colony within Pompeii through the evidence of cuisine in the archaeobotanical record from Insula VI.I.

Previous studies have utilised the faunal evidence to examine the process of Romanisation. During the late Republican period in Italy, a high pork consumption pattern emerges as a feature of the Roman diet. Present faunal data suggests that a similar pig-dominated pattern emerged earlier, in the 3rd to 2nd century BC, in the region of Latium, north of Campania. This chronological distinction in meat consumption is most clearly seen in the Bay of Naples area. Thus, the cattle-dominant diet of the 1st century BC was replaced by the high pig pattern present in the Imperial period (King 1999, 169). Indeed, preliminary research on the faunal assemblage from Regione VI, insula I at Pompeii by Dr. J. Richardson (2006) revealed a similar high pig pattern indicating that dietary preferences appear to have shifted over time and class distinctions in differential meat consumption are noticeable in the archaeological record.

Historic sources discussing Roman agriculture such as Cato, Columella and Varro write of the general trend from mixed farming towards larger estates with specialized vine and olive cultivation, yielding higher profits, between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD. Archaeological evidence compiled by Lomas (1993, 118-119) also illustrates this shift from smaller farms in the early 2nd century BC towards larger specialized estates by the 1st century AD; with the caveat that significant numbers of smaller mixed farmsteads survive into this period (Rosenstein 2008, 3). Preliminary charcoal evidence by Veal and Thompson (2008, 10-11) found a decline in beech from the 1st century BC onwards and a corresponding increase in orchard and vineyard cuttings. This correlates with the above mentioned known archaeological evidence and suggests that the overall charcoal patterns reveal 'increasing penetration of Roman influences into the area over time' (Veal and Thompson 2008, 11). Following along these multiple lines of evidence this research will investigate if the process of the incorporation of previous Samnite and other native Italic peoples into an imposed Roman colony and the general trends in agricultural production can be observed through changes in vegetation, seasonality, exploitation of the natural environment, and the consumption and trade of different plant materials in the archaeological record.

1.6 City and hinterland

Another area of research to be investigated is the pattern of interconnections and economic changes over time between Pompeii and its rural hinterland and its participation in the

trade networks within the wider Mediterranean basin using the archaeobotanical assemblage from Insula VI.I. The ancient city in general was known to have encompassed both the rural hinterland and an urban centre, where the administration and its public cults were situated. The difficulty lies in integrating previous paleoenvironmental research on the Vesuvian cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the surrounding areas with the complexity of the archaeology and history of the region and the daily interaction between town and country (Ciaraldi 2007, 19). A town the size and complexity of Pompeii must have relied upon its surrounding hinterland for the majority of its food, fuels and other natural resources to maintain the population. Pompeii possessed excellent river connections with the towns of its economic hinterland. With the construction of the Roman harbour in 194 BC at Puteoli, Pompeii was well-situated to take full advantage of its position within maritime trade (De Caro 2007, 76).

Recent research into archaeobotany within the vicinity of Mount Vesuvius (Borgogino 1999, 2006; Ciaraldi 2001, 2007; Jashemski et al. 2002; Meyer 1980, 1988, 1994; Robinson 1999, 2002) has revealed a change in the number and diversity of plants recovered and this represents a significant change in the economic history of Pompeii and pre-Roman regional trade. Exotic goods discovered at Pompeii by Ciaraldi, such as black pepper and *citrus* fruit, suggest that some of the items may have passed through the main Italian port city of Puteoli, on the Campanian coastline, implying that Pompeii may have been engaged to some degree with the trade networks throughout the Mediterranean basin (Ciaraldi 2001, 32).

1.7 Pompeii as a type site and economic models

This study will attempt to use the archaeobotanical evidence from Insula VI.I to address some of the issues surrounding trade and the economy at Pompeii. For decades there has been an ongoing debate amongst Classicists and Romanists regarding the appropriateness of theoretical models used to study the ancient economy of the Roman city. Pompeii, due to its chance preservation, has erroneously in the past, been labelled and perceived as a 'type-site' of Roman urbanism and economy. However, Pompeii's economy was unique in the sense that it was closely integrated into the luxury villas on the Bay of Naples and within the wider Campanian economy of trade centred upon Puteoli (Laurence 1994, 53). Rostovtzeff (1957) argued for the use of modern economic models, using the cities of 20th century Western Europe and North America in which the increase in traded goods resulted in the rise of a middle class, to understand the Roman economy in general and the ancient economy of Pompeii in particular (Laurence 2007, 9).

The initial academic debate began with Finley's adaptation of the Greek polis as the ideal ancient city as a 'consumer city' economy model based upon Werner Sombart and Max Weber's description of the evolution of the ideal Western capitalist city (Jongman 2007, 502; Lomas

1995, 1), which was never intended for application to the ancient city. As opposed to the ‘producer city’, in which agricultural produce from the surrounding countryside was purchased in part through the manufacture and export of luxury goods to the countryside and external markets, the ‘consumer city’ is defined as a city which is economically parasitic upon the agricultural production of its hinterland (Finley 1973, 131; Jongman 2007, 502; Laurence 1994, 51). This model was used in the recent past as the accepted theoretical framework for understanding the economy of the Roman city. Within the Weberian model no economic growth or development occurred (Jongman 2007, 502; Wallace-Hadrill 1992, 241).

Environmental data is another area of study being used to examine the economy of the city of Pompeii. Veal and Thompson (2008, 10) argue that the majority of the taxa identified from the charcoal evidence from the House of the Vestals (VI.I.vii) was believed to have grown in the lower level managed montane deciduous forests or the higher altitude natural forests surrounding the city of Pompeii; with the majority of the surrounding plain given over to cereal cultivation (Jongman 2007, 502; Lomas 1993, 118-119; Veal 2009, 229; Veal and Thompson 2008, 10). The low diversity of wood recovered from an environment with a diversity of ecosystems and different woods to choose from suggests that strong human selection was occurring. Six different taxa are observed in the 2nd century BC, nine in the 1st century BC and ten in the 1st century AD (Veal and Thompson 2008, 6). The trend by the 1st century AD revealed that Fagaceae (Beech) diminished in importance in comparison with other woods, such as fruits and vines, which while relatively scarce in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC appears in greatest numbers during the 1st century AD, increasing to 20% of the assemblage.

Veal and Thompson (2008, 7) argue that significant cultural and economic implications can be inferred from the continued dominance of beech in the analysed charcoal assemblage through time. With its preferred ecological niche, some 800 metres above sea level, the nearest source of beech would have been at least 15 km from the city. Transport of raw timber or charcoal down the Sarno River, which originates in the Apennines, was a known major trade route linking Pompeii to the inland cities. However, lower montane managed taxa such as hazel and oak increased along with orchard and vineyard cuttings through time towards the 1st century BC. This increase in taxonomic diversity within the charcoal assemblage over time, with the use of highly managed woods and an increase in orchard and vine cuttings, Veal and Thompson (2008, 1) argue (that this selection of wood) represents a ‘developed market structure for wood supply to the city’. This evidence correlates well with archaeological evidence from Pompeii which suggest increasingly sophisticated consumption and greater efficiency of production by the 1st century AD.

1.8 Situate environmental data

Another research goal is to situate and compare the known environmental data from the Vesuvian region, including recent wood charcoal analysis from Pompeii, with the current archaeobotanical results from Insula VI.I. Interestingly, no *Olea* sp. (olive) charcoal was recovered for the entire occupation of the House of the Vestals (VI.I.vii) (Veal and Thompson 2008, 7). Yet, the archaeobotanical background noise of the House of the Vestals (VI.I.vii) is largely composed of charred olive stones which increase through time towards the 1st century AD. Similarly, Walnuts and Peaches, which are eastern imports, have been recovered from the 2nd century BC onwards (Ciaraldi 2007, 149). Thus, one may ask if the trends elucidated from the charcoal data are visible in the archaeobotanical assemblage and question if the developing and increasingly sophisticated market system was influencing the food items being brought into and consumed within the city of Pompeii.

1.9 Domestic space

This study hopes to examine the spatial distribution of the archaeobotanical material recovered from Insula VI.I in order to contribute to the understanding of the use of space within an urban setting. Spatial analysis of Roman domestic space by Wallace-Hadrill (1990, 1995), Zanker (1998) and Laurence (2007) and recent work by Allison (2007) on the material cultural remains from the Insula of Menander, Regione I, insula IX, have challenged traditional concepts of Roman domestic space in Pompeii. Allison (1999, 2004, 2007) highlights her concerns regarding the unquestioned assumptions about Roman domestic household behaviour. Based upon her assessment of the Insula of Menander (I.X.iv) she argues that food preparation and storage within the Roman house appears to have been flexible in terms of location. Therefore, by examining all phases from every room within the different properties within Insula VI.I this study hopes to further examine the question of Roman domestic behaviour and attempts to test Allison’s more flexible concept of food preparation, consumption, storage and disposal within the Roman household through comparison of the different assemblages both spatially and chronologically from Insula VI.I.