

HESPERIA

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME 84
2015



Copyright © The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, originally published in *Hesperia* 84 (2015), pp. 47–95. This offprint is supplied for personal, non-commercial use only, and reflects the definitive electronic version of the article, found at <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2972/hesperia.84.1.0047>>.

HESPERIA

Susan Lupack, EDITOR

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Carla M. Antonaccio, *Duke University*
Angelos Chaniotis, *Institute for Advanced Study*
Jack L. Davis, *University of Cincinnati*
A. A. Donohue, *Bryn Mawr College*
Jan Driessen, *Université Catholique de Louvain*
Marian H. Feldman, *University of California, Berkeley*
Gloria Ferrari Pinney, *Harvard University*
Thomas W. Gallant, *University of California, San Diego*
Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Guy M. Hedreen, *Williams College*
Carol C. Mattusch, *George Mason University*
Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *University of Thessaly at Volos*
Lisa C. Nevett, *University of Michigan*
John H. Oakley, *The College of William and Mary*
Josiah Ober, *Stanford University*
John K. Papadopoulos, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Jeremy B. Rutter, *Dartmouth College*
Monika Trümper, *Freie Universität Berlin*

Hesperia is published quarterly by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Founded in 1932 to publish the work of the American School, the journal now welcomes submissions from all scholars working in the fields of Greek archaeology, art, epigraphy, history, materials science, ethnography, and literature, from earliest prehistoric times onward. *Hesperia* is a refereed journal, indexed in *Abstracts in Anthropology*, *L'Année philologique*, *Art Index*, *Arts and Humanities Citation Index*, *Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals*, *Current Contents*, *IBZ: Internationale Bibliographie der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenliteratur*, *Numismatic Literature*, *Periodicals Contents Index*, *Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies*, and *TOCS-IN*. The journal is also a member of CrossRef.

HESPERIA SUPPLEMENTS

The *Hesperia* Supplement series (ISSN 1064-1173) presents book-length studies in the fields of Greek archaeology, art, language, and history. Founded in 1937, the series was originally designed to accommodate extended essays too long for inclusion in *Hesperia*. Since that date the Supplements have established a strong identity of their own, featuring single-author monographs, excavation reports, and edited collections on topics of interest to researchers in classics, archaeology, art history, and Hellenic studies.

Back issues of *Hesperia* and *Hesperia* Supplements are electronically archived in JSTOR (www.jstor.org), where all but the most recent titles may be found. For order information and a complete list of titles, see the ASCSA website (www.ascsa.edu.gr). The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, established in 1881, is a research and teaching institution dedicated to the advanced study of the archaeology, art, history, philosophy, language, and literature of Greece and the Greek world.

SPACE AND SOCIAL COMPLEXITY IN GREECE FROM THE EARLY IRON AGE TO THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

ABSTRACT

This article explores ways in which the increasing segmentation and specialization of domestic space in central and western Greece in the 8th–4th centuries B.C. relate to social complexity. Segmentation served to differentiate between members of a household, introducing different patterns in the use of space, both between men and women and between free and slave. The need for physical boundaries and architecturally specialized rooms intensified as the size and heterogeneity of communities increased, and stronger cues in the built environment were needed to ensure that behavioral conventions were observed. Other factors contributing to the increase in rooms include social stratification and economic specialization.

I was given my supper in the tiny kitchen while the family ate in the living-room. It was strange to be considered not fit to eat in the same room as other human beings. It was a good supper, a thick soup with butter beans in it, but loneliness and misery had taken away my appetite. How delicious, in comparison, seemed the remembered slice of marge-spread toast given me by Mam and eaten as a member of a family.

—A 14-year-old girl's first evening in domestic service, 1928¹

One of the most striking changes in Greek houses between the Early Iron Age and the Late Classical period is an increase in the typical number of rooms, from one or two in the 10th century B.C. to seven or more in the 4th century.² This development must have had a profound influence on the ways in which people lived and related to each other, but few studies

1. Foley 1974, p. 161.

2. This article is part of the project “Strategies, Structures, and Ideologies of the Built Environment,” directed by Nick Fisher and James Whitley at Cardiff University and funded by the British Academy and the Arts and

Humanities Research Board. It has benefited from discussions with many students and colleagues, especially Rachel Hurdley, Clare Kelly-Blazeby, Janett Morgan, and Mark Woolmer; I am grateful to them all, as well as to Kirsty Harding for producing the

illustrations, and to Nick Fisher, James Whitley, and the anonymous *Hesperia* referees for commenting on earlier versions, although only I can be held responsible for the end product.

of Greek houses have considered it explicitly:³ previous work has tended to investigate architectural typology and the relationship of different house types to wider social and political issues,⁴ or, more recently, to analyze circulation patterns and the location of activities within the house in order to reconstruct social relations between the occupants.⁵ Typology and circulation patterns are obviously dependent on the number of rooms in the house, but although it is often noted that the increasing segmentation of space would have permitted greater functional and social differentiation, there has been little attempt to explore the implications of this in detail, except to link it to the ideology of gender separation that is attested in Classical texts. This article will explore some possible answers to the deceptively simple question, why did some Greek households of the 4th century B.C. need a greater number of rooms than those of the 10th century? I will suggest a range of other factors in addition to gender, such as slavery, social stratification, economic complexity, and the stresses caused by the increasing size, density, and heterogeneity of settlements. Studies of Greek houses usually focus either on the Geometric and Archaic periods or on the Classical period, but I will consider the development of domestic space across a longer span of time in order to gain a broader perspective on the ways in which social change played out in the household.

The starting point for this article is the theory that the degree of segmentation and specialization in the built environment is related to social complexity. In a broad cross-cultural survey, Kent observed that as complexity increases—that is, as gender and age distinctions, social stratification, and religious, political, and economic specialization increase—so too does the tendency to partition space according to different functions or the gender, age, or status of those using it.⁶ These spatial divisions may be expressed practically, through the use of discrete activity areas, or—especially in more complex societies—architecturally, by means of partitions or separate buildings. Thus in the simplest societies, where there is no formal hierarchy of power or status, no economic specialization, and little emphasis on gender differences, dwellings are typically unpartitioned, and all activities take place in the same space. In more complex societies with more marked stratification, some part-time specialists, and sharper differentiation between the sexes, different parts of the living space may be used for different activities, and the space may also be conceptually divided by gender. In the most complex societies, which are characterized by permanent stratification, full-time economic and political specialization, and a relatively strict division of labor by gender, domestic space is more likely to be physically partitioned into specialized areas, and status and wealth distinctions are marked by a range of house sizes with differing numbers of rooms. This pattern of increasing segmentation and specialization of space within the house is mirrored in the wider built environment by the development of differentiated building types for different activities.

Kent categorized the societies in her study into groups of increasing complexity based on the neoevolutionary typology of band, tribe, chiefdom, and state, and her theory would seem to be borne out by the fact that the process of increasing segmentation in Greek houses occurs in parallel with the development of states. However, Jameson, in his contribution to the same edited volume, argued that it is difficult to fit Greek houses into Kent's

3. Two exceptions are Fusaro (1982), who considers the multiplication of rooms in houses between the Late Geometric and the Archaic periods, and Nevett (2010, pp. 22–62), who links the increasing segmentation of domestic space in the Archaic and Classical periods to the development of the ideals of citizenship. Goldberg (1999) and Antonaccio (2000) have used the behavioral approach applied here as a way of understanding gender relations in Classical houses.

4. E.g., Fagerström 1988b; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; Lang 1996; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

5. Nevett 1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2003, 2005; Cahill 2002.

6. Kent 1990c.

model, partly because the polis does not fit neatly into the conventional typology, and partly because the space inside Classical houses does not appear to be as specialized as Kent's model predicts.⁷ The first of his objections can be discounted, as it is generally recognized that the problem lies with the typology rather than the polis: the neoevolutionary scheme has been widely criticized for oversimplifying the diversity of social groupings and for implying that societies move through a universal series of discrete steps rather than changing gradually and in diverse ways.⁸ Kent was aware of these problems, and used the typology simply as a heuristic device.⁹ There can be no dispute that social complexity increased in Greece in the period between the 10th and the 4th centuries B.C., which saw the development of formal state institutions, increasing specialization of roles, especially in the economic sphere, and a sharpening of distinctions between men and women and free and slave; it is not necessary to categorize Greek communities at any particular point in order to learn from the general trajectory of change in domestic architecture.

As for Jameson's other objection, I hope to show that it can be overcome by examining the relationship between space and social complexity from the bottom up: in other words, by attempting to reconstruct how people used and experienced the spaces that were created by increasing segmentation. In order to explain why more architecturally bounded and specialized spaces are needed as society becomes more complex, it is necessary to understand how the architectural pattern that Kent observed translates into actual behavior. She argued that culture structures behavior, which in turn structures architecture,¹⁰ but I would add that the relationship between architecture and behavior is a recursive one: the built environment is constructed to accommodate typical or ideal behavioral patterns, as Kent believed, but it is also designed to generate those patterns in various ways. On a purely physical level, architecture channels people's movements and interaction with others; on a more symbolic level, it also functions as a system of signs that cue appropriate behavioral responses in particular situations.¹¹ Partitions work in both practical and symbolic ways: they can either include or exclude; they may keep different groups of people apart, or enclose them and define them as a group; and they create the potential for differential access to different spaces, and for one person or group to control another. It is not simply that partitions divide space into rooms that can be identified with particular social categories (although this may be the case), but that individuals' social identities are formed and negotiated by repeated movement through the spaces thus created, by where they can and cannot go, and by whom they can and cannot mix with.¹² An increase in social complexity involves an increase in differentiation between social groups or roles, and the creation of boundaries in the built environment is one way of generating and reinforcing these new distinctions. As the household is "a primary arena for the expression of age and sex roles, kinship, socialization, and economic cooperation where the very stuff of culture is mediated and transformed into action,"¹³ the architecture of houses is likely to be deeply affected by such wider changes.

But boundaries can serve many different purposes.¹⁴ The need for boundaries to express social distinctions was compounded by urbanization, which was concomitant with the development of social complexity

7. Jameson 1990a, p. 109.

8. E.g., Yoffee 1993; 2005, pp. 4–41; Terrenato and Haggis 2011. For critiques relating specifically to the polis, see Ferguson 1991; Morris 1997; Berent 2000; Westgate 2007a.

9. Kent 1990c, p. 129.

10. Kent 1990b, esp. pp. 3–4.

11. Rapoport 1990a; 1990b, pp. 12–13; Sanders 1990, pp. 43–51. Kent (1991, pp. 465–468) questioned how far architecture determines behavior, citing the example of Navajos, who maintain their traditional spatial habits when living in European-style houses, and pointing out that people are more likely to adapt buildings to suit their preferred activity patterns than vice versa. However, Rapoport (1990b, p. 18) does not claim that architecture determines behavior, only that it acts as a mnemonic to reinforce behavioral patterns learned through other means.

12. Rapoport 1990a, pp. 65–67; Blanton 1994, pp. 9–10; Sørensen 2000, chap. 8, esp. pp. 144–152.

13. Netting, Wilk, and Arnould 1984, p. xxii.

14. Lawrence 1996.

in Greece. Fletcher has argued that significant increases in the size and density of communities are dependent on the emergence of new ways of controlling interaction and new methods of communication if the stresses of living in large, heterogeneous groups are not to become unbearable.¹⁵ An increase in architectural segmentation is a common response to both of these needs: partitions are an obvious means of controlling interaction by keeping people apart and reducing the transmission of visual and auditory information to tolerable levels,¹⁶ but they also serve the need for more effective communication, by ordering space into explicit and predictable patterns, and thus cueing appropriate patterns of behavior.

Therefore both the increased complexity of social distinctions and the increased scale and density of communities will tend to encourage the segmentation of space. These two factors are interrelated. In less complex societies and in small communities it is possible to mark social distinctions and keep people apart by means of symbolic boundaries enforced by rules or conventions,¹⁷ but in a large and highly differentiated community it is more difficult for everyone to know everyone else and where they belong. In the latter, conventions and conceptual divisions of space may be insufficient to ensure correct behavior, and thus it is necessary for cues to be encoded in the built environment in the form of physical partitions. In the most complex and large-scale societies these behavioral cues are likely to need further reinforcement by semifixed features such as decoration and furnishings, and by nonfixed elements, including the behavior and appearance of other people.¹⁸ Social change itself creates uncertainties, which may generate a need for more cues, and more explicit ones.

Greece is a good case study for investigating the relationship between social complexity and spatial segmentation because we have a good range of domestic architecture covering a long period of time when there was clearly significant social change, including several sites where large areas of housing were constructed from scratch in the Classical period, which are particularly informative because they give us an indication of what was considered ideal at the time. We also have a number of sites where there is a sequence of housing of different dates (such as Oropos, Corinth, and Thorikos), or where houses were remodeled over time (such as Zagora and Thasos), which allow us to observe how the inhabitants modified their living space to adapt to changing needs. This helps to address a problem that is inherent in attempts to reconstruct social patterns from buildings—namely, that behavior tends to change more rapidly than architecture. Although the configuration of space inside a house may reflect the priorities of the people it was originally built for, the use and meaning of spaces are fluid and negotiable, and may change without any perceptible alteration to the architecture of the house;¹⁹ architectural change makes changes in social needs concrete and visible.

Even so, we still have to deal with one of the greatest problems facing any study that aims to trace the evolution of Greek houses over a long period: inevitably there is a tendency to fit surviving houses of different dates from different sites into a single typological series and assume that this corresponds to a universal sequence of development, which means that potentially significant regional differences may be overlooked. This can be avoided to some extent by focusing on a limited area, and therefore this

15. Fletcher 1995, esp. chap. 6.

16. Fletcher 1995, pp. 134–135.

17. Lawrence 1996, p. 15.

18. Rapoport 1990b, esp. pp. 16–18.

19. Lawrence 1996, pp. 12–13. Such changes in meaning may be signaled by semifixed and nonfixed features (Rapoport 1990a, pp. 88–101), which tend to be less archaeologically visible.

article will consider only central and western Greece, as defined by Morris, because although social complexity also increased in northern Greece and Crete over this period, both housing and social organization seem to have developed differently in these regions.²⁰ This does not eliminate the problem entirely, as there is clearly some variation in house plans at different sites in central and western Greece, and we also know that there were different forms of social organization, such as the communal institutions in Sparta, which might have been reflected in housing, if only it had survived. But there are enough similarities between houses across a wide range of sites in the region to suggest the existence of a broad (though not necessarily universal) cultural pattern that transcended local variations.

In the later part of the period, we also have textual evidence, which can give us some indications of what kinds of social distinctions might have mattered and how they might have been marked by the use of space in the house. However, this brings us up against another perennial problem—namely, that most of the literary evidence was produced by a narrow male elite in Athens, and we cannot be sure how far the values it expresses were shared in other cities and regions, or even by other groups within Athens. Moreover, many of the relevant texts are either political or legal speeches, where the speaker has an axe to grind or philosophical works, which tend to be moralizing or idealizing; or comic works, which are intended to be funny rather than strictly realistic.²¹ Nevertheless, they must bear some relationship to real people's values: no orator would be listened to if he did not appeal to values that were approved of (if not always observed in practice) by a substantial proportion of the jury or assembly, and no comic writer would raise a laugh if the characters and scenarios he created were completely unrecognizable to his audience. However, the audience for most genres would have been predominantly male and free; the values and feelings of women and slaves are almost impossible for us to retrieve. There is also very little detail in the literary sources about how everyday household tasks were carried out—such matters were either too obvious to mention or of little interest to elite male writers—which means that any attempt to reconstruct the movements of women and slaves in the house is bound to be speculative. Ethnographic parallels with more recent, better-documented societies can help us to imagine the ways in which particular configurations of space could have been used, although suggestions made on this basis can only be tentative.

One final problem needs to be addressed before proceeding—namely, how we recognize specialization of space. Excavators often identify the function of rooms on the basis of their contents, but this is problematic because the finds may be merely rubbish left behind or dumped when the house was abandoned, rather than debris from the activities that actually took place in the room; postdepositional disturbance may further complicate the picture.²² Nevertheless, I will note differences in the range of objects found in different rooms, because they may reflect differentiated patterns of use, even if they cannot be taken as definitive evidence for a specific function. Where possible, however, greater reliance will be placed on fixed features that relate to particular functions, such as hearths, bathtubs, or beddings for storage jars, although even these need not mean that the room was used solely for that purpose.

20. Morris 1998a, pp. 10–13, fig. 1; the region comprises the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands (except Crete), and the northern and eastern coastal regions, excluding inland Thessaly, Epiros, Macedonia, and Thrace. For developments in Macedonian housing, see Morris 1998a, pp. 46–47, 72–73; Lang 2005, pp. 22–24; for Crete, Morris 1998a, pp. 63–65, 72–73; Westgate 2007b; Haggis et al. 2011. Overseas regions where Greeks settled, such as Magna Grecia and the Black Sea, are also excluded, because here, too, social dynamics and domestic architecture developed along somewhat different lines; for an overview, see Nevett 1999, pp. 127–153, 168–173.

21. Comic fragments are referred to by their numbers in *PCG*.

22. The problems with this approach have been extensively discussed; see, e.g., LaMotta and Schiffer 1999; Cahill 2002, pp. 67–72. The latter also points out that objects may have been used for more than one purpose, and identifying their function is not always straightforward.

EARLY IRON AGE HOUSING

The collapse of the palatial systems of the Bronze Age brought an end to the construction of complex and specialized architecture in central and western Greece for several centuries. Most houses of the 10th, 9th, and 8th centuries B.C. consist of a single room, perhaps with a porch in front (Figs. 1, 2:a).²³ This room, or the space outside the house, must have been used by all members of the household and for the full range of domestic activities. There may have been discrete activity areas within the room, or conceptual divisions of the space by gender or status such as have been observed in single-roomed dwellings in more recent societies,²⁴ but these are difficult to reconstruct from archaeological evidence alone, although evidence at Nichoria and Zagora suggests that the back part of the room was preferred for storage,²⁵ and it is likely that activities requiring light, such as weaving, would have taken place near the door or outside, as there were probably few windows.²⁶ At some sites there are houses of different sizes, which are presumed to indicate some kind of social hierarchy (e.g., Emporio, Fig. 1:c), and a few houses have more than one room, although usually no more than two or three.²⁷ The only structure with a significantly greater number of spaces is the exceptionally large 10th-century building at Lefkandi, which had at least seven rooms, including the porch and corridor, but it is uncertain whether it was a house or a cult building; if it was a house, it must represent the very top of the social scale in the period.²⁸

23. For surveys of Early Iron Age and Archaic housing, see Fagerström 1988b; Lang 1996; Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Morris 1998a; Hoepfner 1999, pp. 129–199. Some of these houses, especially the earlier ones, are oval or apsidal, and others are rectangular, but for the purpose of understanding social relations within the household, the external shape of the house is less important than the arrangement of the space inside, as Nevett (2003, p. 12) has pointed out.

24. For example, the Mongolian yurt illustrated by Hillier and Hanson (1984, p. 179, fig. 112), or the Berber house analyzed by Bourdieu (1970); Kent (1990c, pp. 133–136) gives further examples. There are hints in the Homeric epics and other Early Archaic poetry of conceptual divisions of space by function and status, such as the use of the inner part of the room for sleeping (Luce 2002b, pp. 77–86), but such behavioral patterns leave little or no archaeological trace. Mallen (2011) attempts to identify gendered areas within the main room of Unit IV-1 at Nichoria, but her argument relies on

the assumption that the finds remained in the part of the room where they were used, and, inevitably, on suppositions about the gendering of activities.

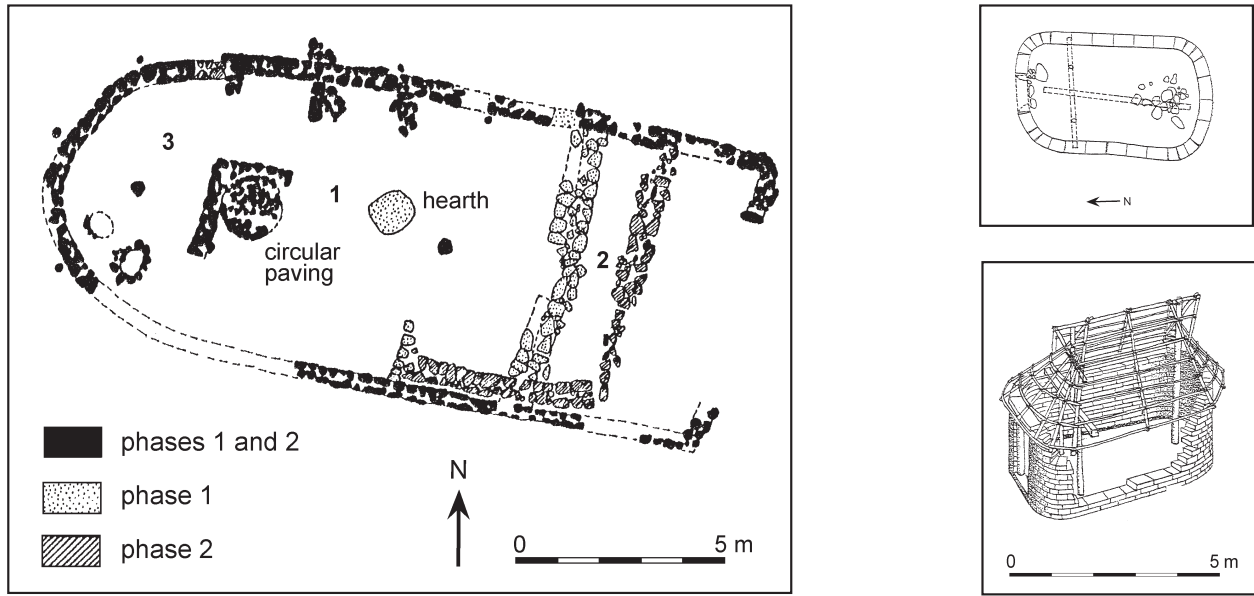
25. At Zagora, many of the houses had benches for storage jars along the back walls (Fig. 2:a), and in Unit IV-1 at Nichoria (Fig. 1:a) the apse contained two pits, charred seeds, various implements, and many fragments of coarse pottery including pithoi (McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 36–37; Fagerström 1988a, pp. 40–41), although in Unit IV-5 the forecourt was used for storage (McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, p. 52).

26. Parisinou 2007, esp. pp. 215–217. Luce (2002b, pp. 60–61) discusses a 7th-century single-room house at Delphi, whose contents were grouped in different parts of the room according to function (e.g., cooking vessels, tableware, textile production equipment), but, as he points out, this might reflect the order in which the objects were stored, rather than where they were used.

27. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, tables I–X; 2001, pp. 143–152. For

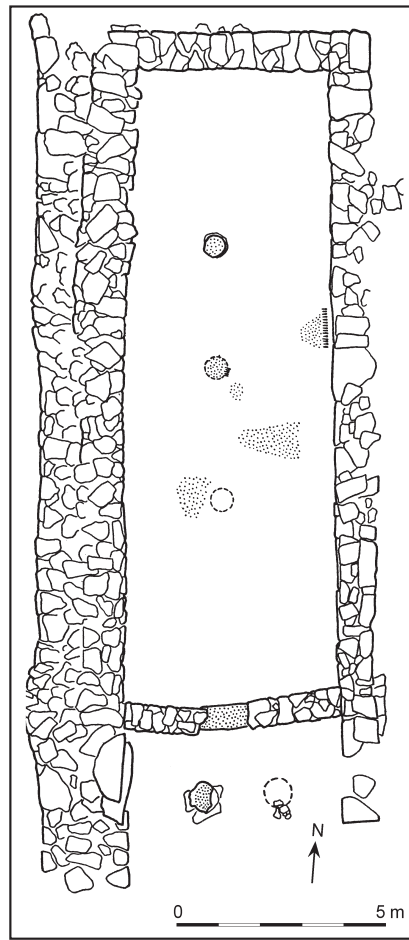
Emporio, see Boardman 1967, pp. 31–51, esp. pp. 34, 249; Fusaro 1982; although Fagerström (1988b, p. 88) has questioned the identification of the Megaron Hall as a house, suggesting instead that it was a communal reception hall. Thompson (2003, pp. 51–53) suggests that the smaller structures were accommodation for slaves rather than independent houses, but they greatly outnumber the larger houses, and do not seem to be attached to them in any regular pattern.

28. Popham, Calligas, and Sackett 1993. A row of postholes across the east room may mark the line of a further partition, and there could have been others in the destroyed part of the building. Coucouzeli (1999; 2004, pp. 461–472) has interpreted it as a longhouse for a clan, on the model of those found in Native American societies, with compartments inside for several families, under the leadership of a headman. However, only two of the supposed compartments are preserved, and there is little other evidence for either the spatial pattern or the form of social organization that she proposes.



a

b



c

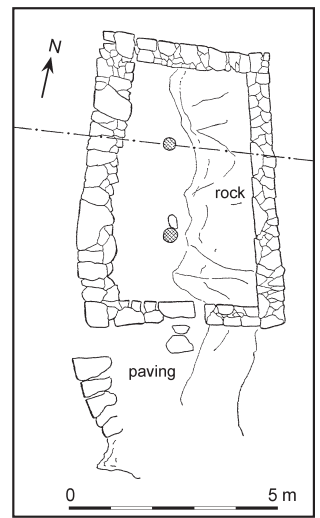


Figure 1. Early Iron Age houses: (a) Nichoria, Unit IV-1, 10th and 9th centuries B.C.; (b) Old Smyrna, oval house, ca. 900 B.C.; (c) Emporio, "Megaron Hall" (left) and House G (right), 8th or 7th century B.C. (a) Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 264; (b) courtesy British School at Athens; (c) Boardman 1967, pp. 32, 45, figs. 16, 22; courtesy British School at Athens

If there is more than one room, the interior is usually divided across the width (as in Unit IV-1 at Nichoria, Fig. 1:a),²⁹ which means that it was necessary to pass through each room to reach the one beyond, limiting the potential for controlling encounters between people. Otherwise there is little variation between houses in complexity or appearance; building materials are basic—rubble, mud brick, or wattle and daub, with thatched or mud roofs—and there is no evidence of decoration. The lack of segmentation and specialization in domestic architecture is paralleled in the public sphere: there are no public structures in this period, and few if any specialized religious buildings. On the basis of Kent's observations of more recent societies, this level of architectural segmentation is consistent with reconstructions of Early Iron Age Greece as a ranked or incipient stratified society, dominated by local chiefs, kings, or Big Men.³⁰

STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE LATE GEOMETRIC AND ARCHAIC PERIODS

Single-room houses remain the most common type until at least the end of the Archaic period,³¹ but from the second half of the 8th century onward, there are increasing numbers of houses with multiple rooms. These multiroom houses take different forms at different sites.

The trend toward segmentation of space is most clearly represented at Zagora on Andros, where we can see one- and two-room houses being remodeled into units with multiple rooms within the space of a generation or so (Fig. 2).³² The earliest houses, dating to the mid-8th century, consisted of either a single large room, often with a porch in front, or two rooms, one in front of the other; there was often a bench at the back of the house containing nests for storage jars (Fig. 2:a). Later in the 8th century, the number of rooms in many of the houses was increased, either by subdividing existing rooms or by adding new ones, or both. Some of the single-room houses were divided into smaller compartments,³³ and some were also expanded by the addition of new rooms, separated from the original building by an open space (Fig. 2:b). In other cases new rooms were built onto existing houses,³⁴ or rooms from more than one house were joined together to form a larger complex.³⁵ Some of these changes may be attributable to the changing composition of individual families over their life cycle—an extra unit might be created to accommodate married offspring, for instance—and the picture is complicated by the difficulty of determining what constitutes a single house. But there were different features and finds in different rooms, which led the excavators to argue that when the houses were expanded, the spaces were used for different ranges of activities, rather than the new rooms duplicating the functions of the older ones. Thus, in Figure 2:b, the excavators thought that the suites of rooms created from the original one-room houses were used for storage and service functions, while the new rooms on the west side of the courts contained debris from everyday living and the reception of guests, including loomweights and fine tableware.³⁶

The modifications also created a wider range of variation in the size and complexity of the houses, which is suggestive of increased social

29. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, tables III, VI, VIII. According to the excavators, Unit IV-1 was built as a single room with a shallow porch, and the rear apse and enclosed forecourt were added in a second phase; see McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 19–42, fig. 2-11; phase 1 was dated to the 10th century, phase 2 to the mid-9th. Both Mazarakis Ainian (1997, pp. 74–79, fig. 265) and Fagerström (1988a), however, have argued that the apse and forecourt were part of the original structure.

30. Morris 1987, 2000; Whitley 1991; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

31. Nevett 2003, p. 18.

32. Cambitoglou 1972; Cambitoglou et al. [1971] 1992; 1988, vol. I, esp. pp. 154–158.

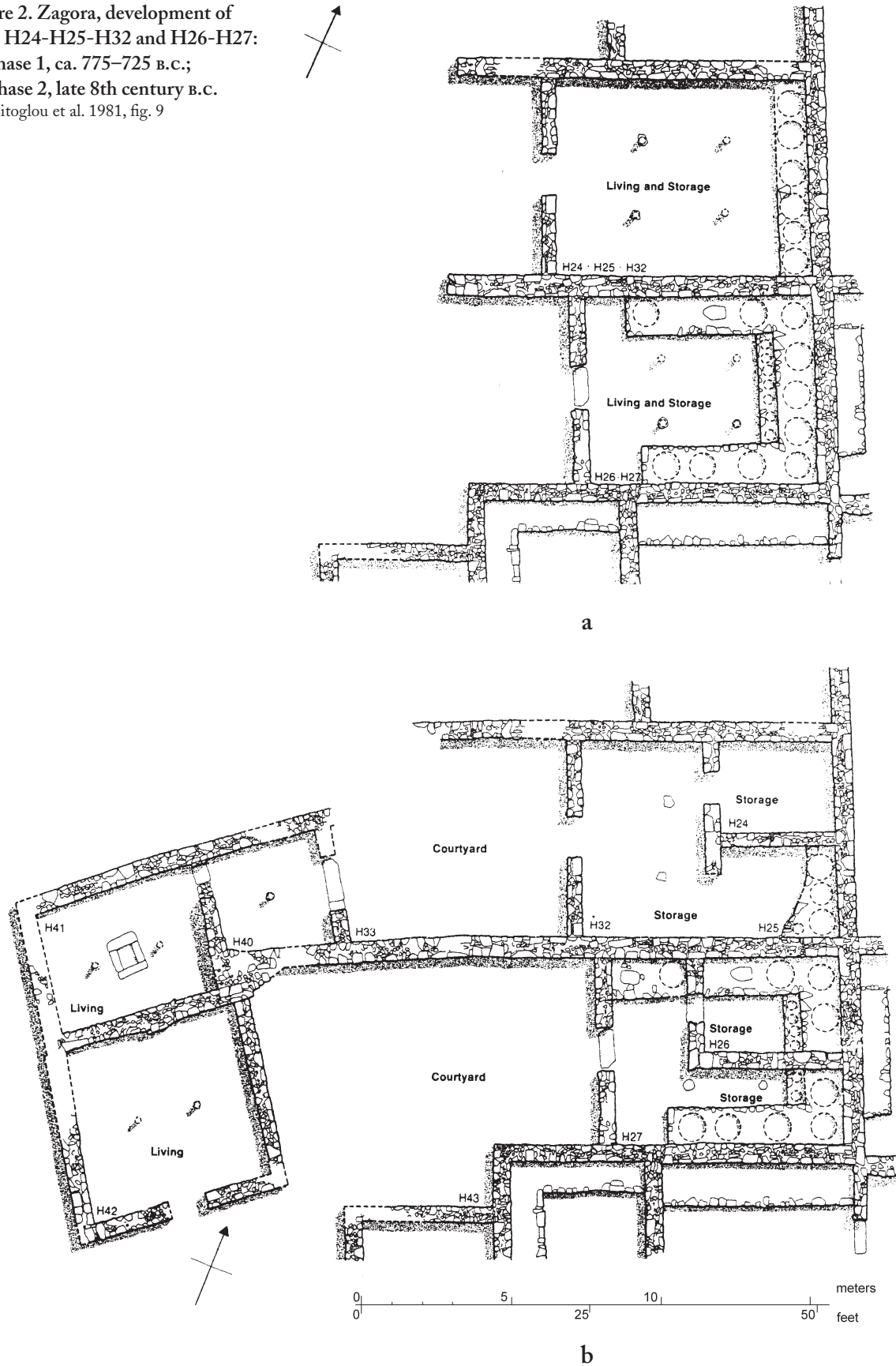
33. E.g., D10-D11.

34. E.g., D1-D2-D3-D4, which may also have had an upper room above D3.

35. E.g., H19-H21-H22-H23-H28-H29, discussed below.

36. Cambitoglou et al. 1988, vol. I, pp. 107–128, 157, 238.

Figure 2. Zagora, development of units H24-H25-H32 and H26-H27:
 (a) phase 1, ca. 775-725 B.C.;
 (b) phase 2, late 8th century B.C.
 Cambitoglou et al. 1981, fig. 9



stratification. The largest and most prominent house, which is generally assumed to be the residence of the leading man, was created by combining three of the original houses to form a complex of three to five rooms (H19, H22, H28, H29, and possibly H23), opening onto a central courtyard (H21). The excavators identified differentiated functions for the rooms, arguing that the original room H19 was a multipurpose living room, while one of the newly acquired rooms (H22) was used for receiving guests, and another (H28) for storing and preparing food. However, in fact there is some overlap between the activities represented in different rooms,³⁷ which leaves open the possibility that the complex contained accommodation for more than one family or group, who perhaps shared the courtyard.³⁸ On the slopes below the plateau, in area J, there are even more strongly segmented houses, though the rooms here are smaller, perhaps because of the slope of the hillside.³⁹ One complex looks startlingly—but probably fortuitously—like a Classical house, with a long entrance passage (J3) leading to a courtyard (J6) and two suites of rooms (J8-J9-J10-J11-J12 and J21-J22). Coucouzeli identifies highly differentiated functions for the 11 rooms in this complex, on the basis of slim (and as yet largely unpublished) evidence, although once again some features, such as benches with and without pithos nests, are duplicated in different areas, and it seems hard to rule out the possibility that the complex contained more than one household.⁴⁰ At the same time, some inhabitants of Zagora continued to live in single-roomed houses: several rooms in areas E and F, near the fortification wall, may have been individual houses.⁴¹

The houses at Zagora have become central to narratives of the development of Greek houses, as they seem to represent an evolutionary link between the one-room houses of the Early Iron Age and the courtyard houses of the Archaic and Classical periods. Such heavy reliance on a single site is questionable, however, especially given the problems of interpretation noted above. Nevertheless, there are architecturally segmented houses at other contemporary sites, although they look rather different, and some raise interpretative problems of their own. At some sites in the 8th and early 7th centuries, each dwelling consists of several freestanding buildings enclosed in a compound; each compound typically contains two large oval or apsidal buildings, which seem to have had differentiated functions, and a range of smaller, more specialized structures such as kilns, animal pens,

37. Cambitoglou et al. [1971] 1992, pp. 45–50, plan IV; 1988, vol. I, pp. 79–106, 157–158, vol. II, pls. 8, 9, 12; modified by Luce 2002b, pp. 68–73; Coucouzeli 2007, pp. 172–173. H19 had a hearth and a bench with pithos nests, and its final floor yielded objects related to cooking, eating, drinking, and food storage, as well as spindle whorls, loom-weights, and beads, suggesting the presence of women. H28 also contained cooking equipment and a storage bench, built when the room became part of the same house as H19 and H21; H29 may

have been annexed at the same time. H22 had a hearth and contained largely fine wares, as did H23; a bench in H22 was removed when the room was incorporated into the complex.

38. As suggested by Foxhall 2009, pp. 498–500.

39. Cambitoglou 1972, p. 262.

40. Coucouzeli 2007, pp. 175–177. Two further rooms (J4 and J5, opening off the passage J3) may also belong to this complex. Any analysis of area J must be provisional until the final publication has appeared. For prelimi-

nary reports, see Cambitoglou 1972, pp. 262–264, fig. 6; Cambitoglou et al. 1988, vol. I, pp. 131–137, 160–161, vol. II, pl. 14. The date of area J is not entirely clear: Green (1990, pp. 42–44) places it in Late Geometric I, i.e., contemporary with the earlier, single-room houses in areas D and H, but Coucouzeli (2007, pp. 175, 180–181) assumes that it was built at the same time as or soon after the subdivision of the houses on the plateau.

41. Cambitoglou et al. [1971] 1992, p. 20; 1988, vol. I, pp. 139–146, 156.



Figure 3. Oropos, Attica, compound houses in the Central Quarter, 8th–7th century B.C. Mazarakis Ainian 2007, p. 158, fig. 17.2; courtesy Archaeological Society of Athens

or granaries.⁴² In the most complete example, in the Central Quarter at Oropos in Attica (Fig. 3), Building IA contained a variety of domestic debris, including equipment for food preparation, spindle whorls, loomweights, and murex shells, perhaps from textile dyeing, while the adjacent Building Θ had a bench in its inner room, perhaps for storage, and its contents included drinking wares and coarse pottery, lamps, and lead weights from fishing nets; Mazarakis Ainian suggests that this building was used for formal drinking.⁴³ The smaller structures in the compound were thought to be a cult building (ΣΤ and Ζ) and a pottery kiln (Η, possibly added in a later phase). Southwest of the compound was another pair of oval buildings with a slightly different set of functions: one (Α) was used for ironworking, while the other (Β) contained domestic debris, including spindle whorls and loomweights. Another compound with two main buildings was excavated in the nearby West Quarter, and Mazarakis Ainian has proposed that similar compound houses can be reconstructed at other Late Geometric sites in Euboea, including Eretria, Lefkandi, and Viglatouri.⁴⁴ He has also raised the possibility that earlier single-room structures such as those at

42. Mazarakis Ainian (2002a, pp. 220–223; 2007, pp. 165–166) argues that each compound represents a single household.

43. Mazarakis Ainian 2002a; 2002b; 2007, pp. 157–159, with references to earlier reports.

44. Mazarakis Ainian 2002a, pp. 208–222; 2007, pp. 159–163.

Old Smyrna (Fig. 1:b) might have formed part of larger compounds, which would push the appearance of this type of multiroom house further back than the 8th century, although he still sees compound houses as part of a development from single-room to multiroom houses.⁴⁵

More certainly new, and rather more widespread, is a type of house with a row of rooms side by side, each accessed separately from a circulation space in front (Fig. 4). The earliest known, at Thorikos, dates from around 700 B.C.; it had two or three rooms opening off a large rectangular space that was probably unroofed (Fig. 4:a, rooms H, G, J, L).⁴⁶ The fixtures and contents of the rooms suggested that they were used for different ranges of activities: room G had a low bench around the walls and contained mainly vessels for eating and drinking, whereas the pottery in J was predominantly utilitarian, and was mingled with charcoal and animal bone, especially around a stone platform in one corner, which may have been the base for a hearth. A similar house of roughly the same date has been excavated at Corinth (Fig. 4:b): it probably had three rooms opening off a courtyard and one accessed directly from the street.⁴⁷ A slightly later house at Corinth appears to have had three or four rooms around a courtyard.⁴⁸ The 7th-century houses at Vroulia on Rhodes also consisted of a number of rooms side by side, entered independently from an anteroom or courtyard in front (Fig. 4:c); there seem to be two different types of rooms, which may correspond to a functional difference, although they are not arranged in a regular pattern, and it is not clear where one house ends and the next starts.⁴⁹ The 7th-century houses at Miletos and Old Smyrna also seem to reflect a development toward multiple rooms opening off a circulation space, although here too interpretation is hampered by the difficulty of determining boundaries between households.⁵⁰ At Kalabaktepe, south of Miletos, the excavators thought that when the original one-room houses were rebuilt after the construction of the fortification wall in the mid-7th century, they had more spaces, with differentiated functions. Thus, for example, in one house a cooking area in the courtyard was replaced by an enclosed space with a clay oven and sockets in the floor for storage vessels.⁵¹

45. Mazarakis Ainian 2007, pp. 163, 168.

46. *Thorikos* III, pp. 10–18, plan II; Van Gelder 2011. The plan of the west side of the house was unclear: the east and west walls of L are Middle Hellenic, but may have been reused. The rooms to the north were part of a separate structure.

47. House 1, south of the Sacred Spring; see Williams and Fisher 1971, pp. 5–10, fig. 2. Not all of the doorways were securely located.

48. House 2, in the area later occupied by the South Stoa; see Williams and Fisher 1972, pp. 145–149, fig. 2, pl. 21:a.

49. Kinch 1914, pp. 112–124, foldout plan; Morris 1992, pp. 193–

199, fig. 47; Lang 1996, pp. 193–194, figs. 64, 65. Some of the rooms are accessed via an anteroom, while others have no door and seem to have been used for storage. It is not clear whether the long walls projecting into the space in front of the houses are courtyard enclosures (as Lang takes them to be) or terrace retaining walls. Hoepfner (1999, pp. 194–199) identifies bench supports in some rooms, which he thinks were used for seated dining, and thus reconstructs regular houses with two rooms, one for living and one for dining. This reconstruction, however, takes no account of the irregular distribution of the doorless rooms, and in one case divides two rooms that seem to be

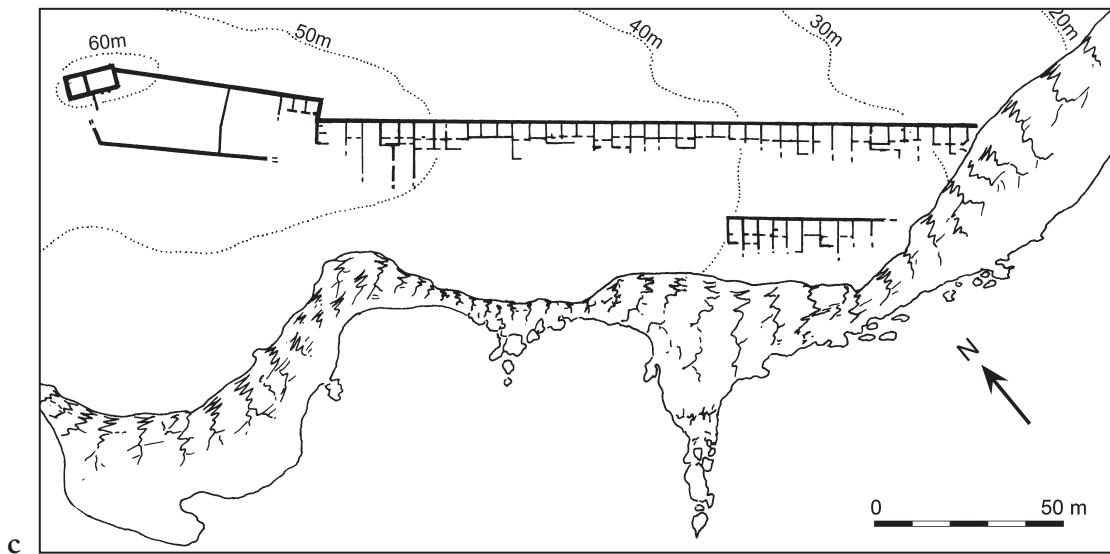
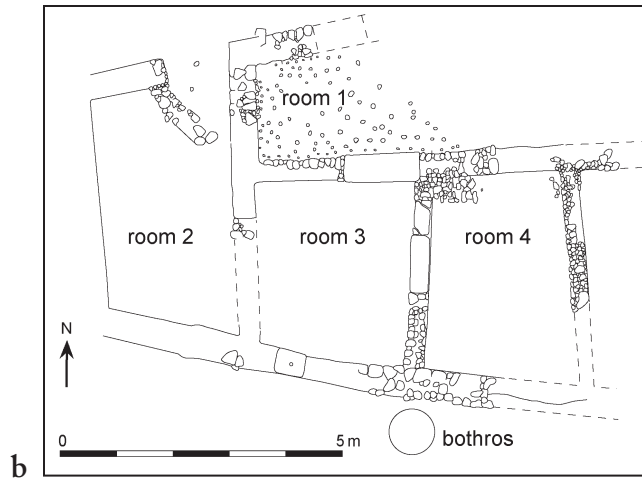
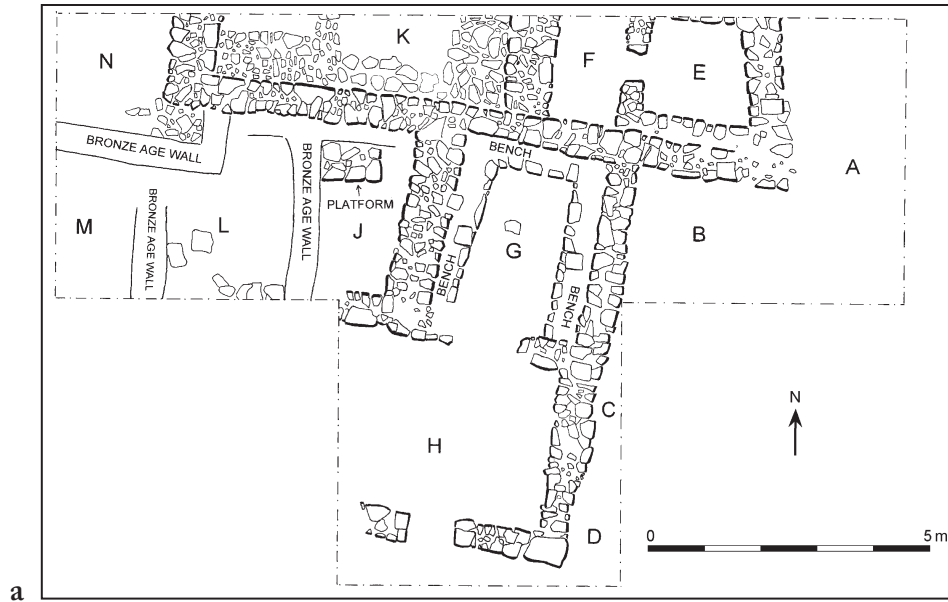
Figure 4 (opposite). Corridor or courtyard houses, 7th century B.C.: (a) Thorikos, Attica; (b) Corinth, House 1; (c) Vroulia, Rhodes.

(a) Drawing H. Mason © Cardiff University, after *Thorikos* III, plan II; courtesy the Belgian School at Athens; (b) drawing K. Harding © Cardiff University, after Williams and Fisher 1971, p. 4, fig. 2; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens; (c) drawing H. Mason © Cardiff University, after Lang 1996, fig. 64

linked by a shared anteroom (I.6 and I.7).

50. At Old Smyrna, in Sector H, the freestanding oval buildings of the Geometric period were succeeded by densely packed rectilinear rooms opening off courtyards, including one 7th-century complex (XII–XIV) that seems to resemble a “*prostas*-house”; see Lang 1996, pp. 237–243, figs. 97–102. Similarly, at Miletos, remains from different parts of the site show a development from single-room oval structures in the 8th century to multiroom houses in the 7th; see Lang 1996, pp. 201–213, figs. 71–88. At both sites, however, some Archaic houses still consisted of a single room.

51. Senff 2000, esp. p. 36.



Despite the problems of interpretation, it seems clear that houses with multiple rooms become more common from the late 8th century onward. This development would have made it easier to keep activities or people separate within the house if required, and there are some indications that this was the intention. In some houses there are differences in the features or assemblages in different rooms, which suggest that they may have been used for different ranges of activities, although there is no standard pattern and certainly no evidence for rigid functional specialization. In other cases, similar finds and features occur in different rooms, which might have served as semi-independent quarters for different members or subgroups of the household.⁵²

Kent's observations suggest that this increase in the segmentation of domestic space should be related to an increase in social complexity, and this does indeed seem to be the case. The reorganization of domestic space coincides with other changes in the archaeological record that have been related to the early development of states. In the second half of the 8th century, a sharp rise in the number of burials in some areas of central Greece has been interpreted as evidence for an increase in the proportion of the population that was considered worthy of formal burial; at the same time, variation in wealth between graves declines, which has been seen as evidence for the emergence of an ideology of equality and moderation.⁵³ The 8th century also sees an increase in the number and formality of sanctuaries, as well as the appearance of the first monumental temples, which are now clearly differentiated from houses. Investment in sanctuaries suggests a strengthening of corporate identity, which may also be reflected in an increase in votive offerings that roughly coincides with the decline in rich grave goods;⁵⁴ the development of sanctuaries in rural areas may have served to integrate town and country into a single political unit and to mark the territorial boundaries of this unit.⁵⁵ In general there seems to be a trend toward more formal division of space in this period, clarifying the boundaries between urban and nonurban, sacred and profane, the living and the dead.⁵⁶

The changes in domestic architecture should be understood in the context of these wider developments. Although it is possible to separate activities and people within a single space by using discrete activity areas, the construction of partitions suggests a need for greater definition in the division of space.⁵⁷ There are various possible reasons for this, both practical and ideological. One is an increased desire to separate or differentiate between people within the household. There are two key social distinctions that may have become more prominent at this time, although in both cases the evidence is slim, and relating it to the changes in houses is inevitably speculative. The first, as has often been recognized, is gender. Literary texts indicate that gender was an important principle in structuring the use of domestic space in the Classical period, and the increasing segmentation of houses from the 8th century onward has been linked to the emergence of this ideology.⁵⁸ This is difficult to verify, as the literary evidence for gender values in this period is fragmentary, and may not relate to the places where remains of housing are preserved.⁵⁹ Certainly it would be a mistake to project the ideal of strict female seclusion presented by Classical Athenian writers back to this period: the association

52. Luce 2002b, esp. pp. 86–87; Coucouzeli 2007, pp. 172–175.

53. Morris 1987.

54. Snodgrass 1980, pp. 49–54; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

55. De Polignac 1995.

56. Morris 1987, pp. 62–69, 189–193; Lang 2007.

57. Blanton 1994, p. 27; Izzet (2007, pp. 157–160) makes a similar point in relation to the evolution of multiroom houses in Etruria.

58. E.g., Fusaro 1982; Morris 1998a, pp. 27–29; 1999; 2000, pp. 280–286; Coucouzeli 2007. Nevett (1999, pp. 159–161; 2003, p. 18; 2010, pp. 41–42), on the other hand, prefers to see this as a later development, in the 5th century; she also points out that sites like Zagora and Vroulia, which did not survive beyond the Archaic period, may not be good evidence for pre-Classical housing in the later polis centers.

59. Foxhall 2009, esp. pp. 483, 505–506.

of women with the inner part of the house (*μυχός*, *muchos*) is hinted at by Hesiod (*Op.* 519–523) and Semonides (7.46), but the latter also mentions women interacting with guests in the house (7.19–20, 29). Nevertheless, we might expect to see some changes in gender values at this time: it is often observed that women's status and freedom tend to be diminished in state societies,⁶⁰ and it seems likely that the role and expected behavior of women were affected by the development of states and the concept of citizenship (however rudimentary these institutions may have been at this early date). Citizenship privileged men by giving them rights to participate in the community and raising them to the status of autonomous heads of households; women were excluded and thus reduced to a subordinate position.⁶¹ Moreover, the transmission of citizen status came to depend on legitimate birth, which is likely to have increased the emphasis placed on female chastity and purity.⁶² It is therefore possible, as Morris has argued, that the misogynistic tirades of Hesiod, Semonides, and other Archaic poets indicate a hardening of gender boundaries, which might be related to the changes in houses, though there is no written testimony from earlier periods to compare with these sources.⁶³

This is not to suggest that we should see the rooms in Late Geometric and Early Archaic houses as rigidly segregated by gender, which was probably not the case even in the Classical period. Rather, the subdivision of space would have made it easier to keep women apart from men when required: the provision in some houses of separate spaces that appear to have been used for dining suggests that occasions when male visitors were present might have been a particular concern,⁶⁴ and the multiplication of rooms would also have allowed segregation of the sexes at night.⁶⁵ Most households, of course, would still have had to achieve this within the confines of a single living space (if they entertained guests at all), but having multiple rooms would have made the propriety of the household explicit, and would thus have advertised the status and honor of its male head. Looking at it from the women's point of view, a multiroom house meant that they could be completely excluded from the rituals of commensality that defined the privileged male group, which is likely to have reinforced their sense of their subordinate status.

60. Silverblatt 1988; Gilchrist 1994, p. 167.

61. Just 1989, pp. 13–23; Schaps 1998, pp. 180–185; Morris 2000, pp. 145–150; Westgate 2007a; Langdon 2008, pp. 263–291.

62. Ogden 1996, pp. 136–150. Nevett (2010, p. 42) suggests that this only became a major issue in the 5th century, but concerns about the legitimacy of children were not the only factor encouraging the control of women's movements and contact with men: a man's honor was also deeply bound up with the sexual purity of his womenfolk; see Cohen 1991, pp. 133–170. Langdon (2008, pp. 126–196) detects an increased emphasis on the purity of

unmarried girls in the second half of the 8th century, which she links to male honor and status, but also (p. 287) to a concern with the transmission of property.

63. E.g., the Pandora myth (Hes. *Theog.* 570–612, *Op.* 53–105); also Hes. *Op.* 373–375; Semon. 7 (*IE*²); Phokylides, *PLG*, fr. 3. See Morris 2000, pp. 164–165, 170–171, 286.

64. Fusaro 1982, pp. 12–13. It would not be appropriate, however, to reconstruct specialized dining rooms in these early houses, as Hoepfner (1999, pp. 143–148) does. It is not certain when it became unacceptable for respectable women to be present at men's drinking parties. In the Homeric poems, married

women such as Penelope and Arete (but not unmarried girls like Nausikaa) are present at feasts, although they do not seem to share the food and drink (van Wees 1995, pp. 154–163), and as noted above, Semonides, in the 7th century, expects women to mix with guests. By the Classical period, however, respectable wives did not attend symposia; see p. 82, below.

65. As attested in the Classical period by Xenophon (*Oec.* 9.5). Compare the insistence of housing reformers in 19th-century Britain on the need for three independently accessed bedrooms for parents and male and female children; see Muthesius 1982, pp. 48, 99–100.

The second social distinction that is likely to have become more critical in this period is slavery, which must have been at least as important as gender but is much less frequently discussed in the literature on Greek houses. Slavery was not a new institution at this time, but it has been argued that attitudes toward slaves changed significantly during the Archaic period.⁶⁶ In the Homeric poems and in Hesiod (e.g., *Op.* 441), slaves are not always differentiated clearly from free servants, and they are depicted as capable of loyalty and honor, rather than as innately inferior to their masters. In Classical texts, however, the distinction between slave and free is more clearly articulated, and slaves are often characterized, in opposition to citizens, as foreigners who lack the capacity for rational or honorable behavior. It seems likely that this change in attitudes was connected with the development of states; it is often suggested that the advance of chattel slavery was a corollary of free men acquiring citizen rights.⁶⁷ Slaves, like women, were the “other” that defined the superior status of the citizen male; differentiating along a different axis, they also defined the free status of citizen women.⁶⁸ Accordingly, there are signs of concern with policing the boundary between freedom and slavery in the Archaic period, such as Solon’s abolition of loans on the security of the person,⁶⁹ and his laws prohibiting slaves from exercising in the gymnasium and engaging in sexual relationships with free boys.⁷⁰

The household must have been one of the primary settings in which this crucial distinction was articulated. Evidence from later periods suggests that negotiating the presence of slaves in the house might have been rather tricky—Aristotle’s moral contortions in the *Politics* (1253b–1255b) and the preference for slaves of non-Greek origin suggest a certain unease with the idea of a human possession, which must have been particularly acute in the intimacy of the home⁷¹—and distinctions in the use of space may have been one way of marking the difference in status. It would be inappropriate to assume that slaves were confined to specific rooms, which was not the case even in the larger and more complex houses of later periods,⁷² but, as in the case of women, it is possible that the multiplication of spaces made it possible to separate people of different statuses at key moments; physical exclusion from significant activities or rituals would have powerfully reinforced the slave’s inferior, almost subhuman status. The case of the domestic servant quoted at the beginning of this article shows how this could have worked: in a small apartment, she was unavoidably in constant contact with her employers and was not confined to the kitchen (in fact, her mistress did the cooking), but the existence of separate rooms made it possible to exclude her from the shared meal that defined the family group. However, given the lack of detailed evidence for slavery in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, we can only speculate about how such spatial differentiation might have operated; we cannot even be certain that there were slaves in any of the surviving houses. Having multiple rooms also increased the potential for masters or mistresses to demonstrate their power over their slaves by restricting their movements, even locking them up, and controlling their sexuality and social interaction.

It may be significant that the increase in the number of rooms is accompanied by another change in the organization of houses, from a linear circulation pattern, with the rooms one behind the other, to a radial or

66. E.g., Garlan 1988, pp. 29–40; Hunt 2011, pp. 25–28.

67. The classic expression of this idea is Finley 1959, p. 164; see also Finley 1980, pp. 88–90, in relation to Solon’s reforms at Athens, and, for further development of the idea, Morris 1987, pp. 173–179; 1997, pp. 98–100; Osborne 1995, pp. 37–39.

68. Joshel and Murnaghan 1998; Schaps 1998.

69. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 12.4; Plut. *Sol.* 15. Boundaries of all kinds seem to have been a particular concern in Solon’s reforms; see Manville 1990, pp. 124–156.

70. Aeschin. 1.138–139; Plut. *Sol.* 1.3. It is unlikely that all the laws attributed to Solon by later authors are in fact his, but there are good reasons for accepting these as genuine; see Fisher 2001, pp. 283–284.

71. Fitzgerald’s (2000, pp. 6–8) discussion of the contradictions and constant negotiation involved in living with slaves under the same roof is as relevant in the Greek context as in the Roman; see also Finley 1980, pp. 93–122; Garnsey 1997, pp. 107–127.

72. See pp. 82–84, 87–88, below; see also George 1997; Westgate 2013, pp. 258–260.

paratactic arrangement, where each room or suite of rooms is accessed independently from a circulation space.⁷³ There is a suggestive parallel in the shift observed by Ariès from the linear structure of medieval houses, in which people of all ages, classes, and statuses mingled together, to the more private layout of the modern house, which first appeared in the 18th century, with each room accessed separately by means of a corridor. He attributed this change partly to a desire to increase the distance between masters and servants, in contrast to the earlier period when service was not seen as demeaning;⁷⁴ the new type of house was taken up first by the middle classes, who had a more pressing need to mark their difference from their servants than the nobility, whose status was assured. We might very tentatively link the similar developments seen in Late Geometric and Archaic houses to a desire on the part of the newly empowered citizens to assert their difference from their inferiors.

The multiplication of rooms also made it possible to separate mundane or messy domestic activities from cleaner or more prestigious ones. This may be detectable in some Late Geometric and Early Archaic houses: at Zagora, for instance, the contents of the rooms on different sides of the courtyards suggest that visitors were entertained well away from the areas used for service functions; in the courtyard house at Thorikos it appears that food preparation took place in a different room from formal eating and drinking; and at Kalabaktepe there seem to have been separate spaces for cooking. This pattern could be related to the distinctions of gender or slavery, if menial tasks like cooking were the preserve of women or slaves, as is implied by Semonides' description of the *mare-woman*, who avoids "slavish work and misery, and would never touch a mill or lift a sieve, or throw the dung out of the house, or sit beside the oven, as she shuns the soot" (7.58–61; author's translation). But it could also relate to a different dimension of differentiation—namely, stratification between households—because it may reflect a desire to present a good impression to outsiders.

However, there were also practical considerations that may have been at least as important as gender and other social concerns in encouraging the segmentation of domestic space in this period. The Late Geometric and Archaic periods saw a significant increase in the size of some communities in central and western Greece,⁷⁵ and, as suggested above, this is likely to have intensified the need to partition space, both to moderate the stresses created by increased population density, and to cue appropriate patterns of behavior in situations where the size of the community and the increased complexity of social distinctions meant that personal knowledge was no longer sufficient to ensure that rules or conventions were followed. Fletcher identifies courtyard houses as a common feature of early urban communities, not simply because they are an economical solution to the problem of packing houses together while still providing them with light and air, but because they help with the need to reduce the flow of information and interaction, by insulating the household from the outside world.⁷⁶

It is difficult to tell whether the typical number of rooms in houses increased further during the 6th century, because very few houses survive from that period,⁷⁷ although the process of increasing segmentation and specialization of space did continue in the public sphere, with the

73. Lang 2002, pp. 18, 31, fig. 18; 2005, pp. 24–26, fig. 2:4; Nevett 2003, pp. 16–17.

74. Ariès 1996, pp. 383–386. Samson (1990, pp. 175–176) makes a similar point in relation to the development of the Romano-British corridor villa.

75. Morris (2006) accepts that in this period some Greek settlements went through one of the critical size transitions identified by Fletcher (1995, pp. 83–91), from villages to agrarian cities.

76. Fletcher 1995, p. 135. For the practical and technological factors that influenced the choice of house forms in early Greek cities, see Mazarakis Ainian 2001, pp. 153–157.

77. Nevett 2003, pp. 17–18, fig. 3; 2010, pp. 29, 39–41, figs. 2:3, 2:9. Nevett lists only about a dozen examples from the 6th century, far fewer than in the preceding or subsequent centuries.

demarcation of formal public spaces and the appearance of the first architecturally specialized public buildings.⁷⁸ Most 6th-century houses still consist of a single room, and few, if any, have more than three or four spaces on the ground floor, although it is possible that some had additional rooms upstairs; there is no conclusive evidence for or against upper stories. The multiroom houses are mostly of corridor or courtyard plan. In the West Quarter at Oropos, for example, the compound houses were succeeded in the 6th century by a house with two (later three) rooms opening onto a courtyard (Fig. 5:a);⁷⁹ on Aigina, east of the Temple of Apollo, two 6th-century houses each consisted of two rooms opening onto a broad space, which may have been either a corridor or an open court (Fig. 5:b);⁸⁰ and at Limenas on Thasos two houses with a court and two rooms were built in Insula II near the Hermes Gate in the 6th century (Fig. 6).⁸¹ There are a few larger structures, but their interpretation is problematic. Building F in the Athenian Agora, which is thought by some scholars to be a house, has seven rooms around a colonnaded courtyard, plus three more opening off a separate court; however, there are no parallels for a domestic peristyle at this early date, and other scholars have identified the complex as a public building or a potters' workshop.⁸² A Late Archaic house on the northeast slope of the Areopagus has been reconstructed with nine rooms, including the courtyard, but the remains are so fragmentary that the plan is largely conjectural.⁸³ Most of the other Archaic houses around the Agora are even less well preserved, but a late-6th-century house near the Stoa Poikile (Fig. 5:c) gives an impression of the kind of household that might have lived in a house of three or four rooms: the pottery that was dumped in its well after the Persian invasion included a set of red-figure kylikes and other fine-ware vessels for formal, symposium-style drinking, suggesting that the occupants were comfortably well-off, if not necessarily wealthy.⁸⁴

78. Defined spaces were set aside for communal activities from the 7th century onward, and in some cases their functions became more specialized toward the end of the 6th century: in Athens, for example, the Agora originally served for all sorts of public gatherings, but around 500 B.C. some activities were moved to purpose-built settings: the assembly to the Pnyx and dramatic performances to the Theater of Dionysos. Among the earliest specialized public buildings are the Old Bouleuterion in Athens, built after the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508/7 (Camp 1992, pp. 52–53), and perhaps the “Bouleuterion” on Delos, recently redated to the end of the 6th century (Étienne 2007).

79. Mazarakis Ainian 1996, pp. 28–33, fig. 5; 1998, pp. 189–192, figs. 9, 11, where the house is dated to the

7th century. It is now thought to date to the 6th century; see Mazarakis Ainian 2002a, p. 201; 2002b, p. 169.

80. Houses 2 and 3: Wolters 1925, pp. 3–5, 8–9, fig. 1; Lang 1996, pp. 163–164, fig. 23. House 2 had a small, incomplete room to the south of the circulation space, which may have been a court (if the circulation space was a corridor).

81. Grandjean 1988, pp. 287–288, 444–445, pl. X; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, pp. 99–101, fig. 54. The west end of Insula II was also built in the Archaic period, but its original plan is unknown because this area was not excavated below the Roman levels.

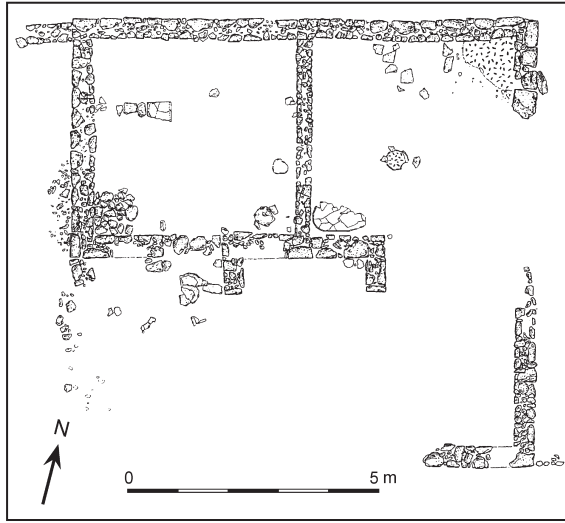
82. Thompson 1940, pp. 15–33, 40–44, fig. 13; Camp 1992, pp. 44–45; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 296, n. 142.

83. The house was built in the early

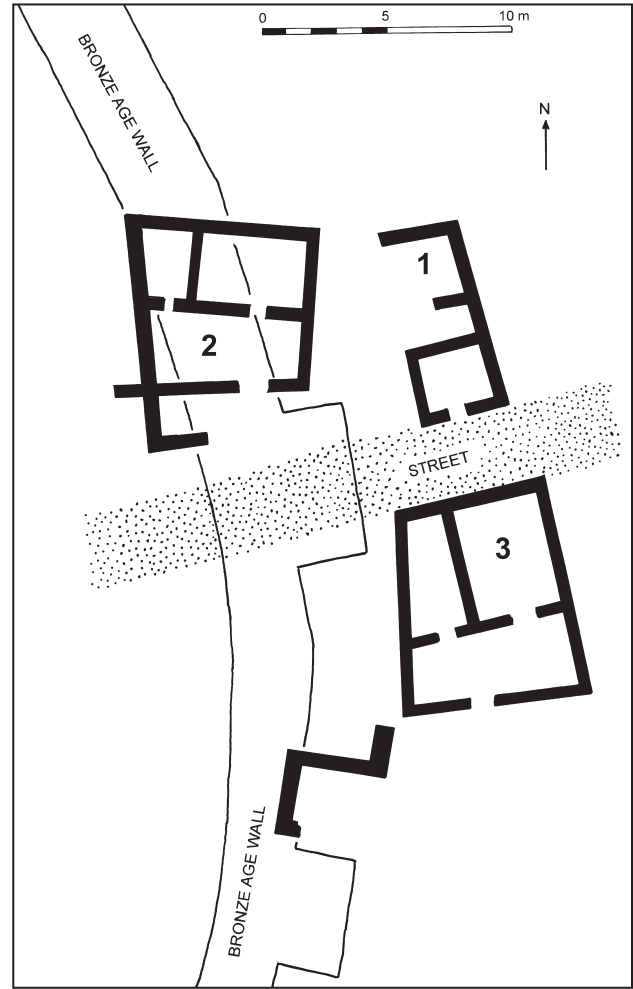
Figure 5 (opposite). Corridor or courtyard houses, 6th century B.C.: (a) Oropos, West Quarter; (b) Aigina; (c) Athens, north of the Agora. (a) Mazarakis Ainian 2001, p. 155, fig. 22; courtesy Archaeological Society of Athens; (b) drawing H. Mason © Cardiff University, after Lang 1996, fig. 23; (c) Lynch 2011, p. 30, fig. 9; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens

5th century, before the Persian invasion, and its original plan is assumed to be similar to that of the Classical house on the same site; see n. 93, below; see also Shear 1973, pp. 147–150; Tsakirgis 2009, p. 48, fig. 47.

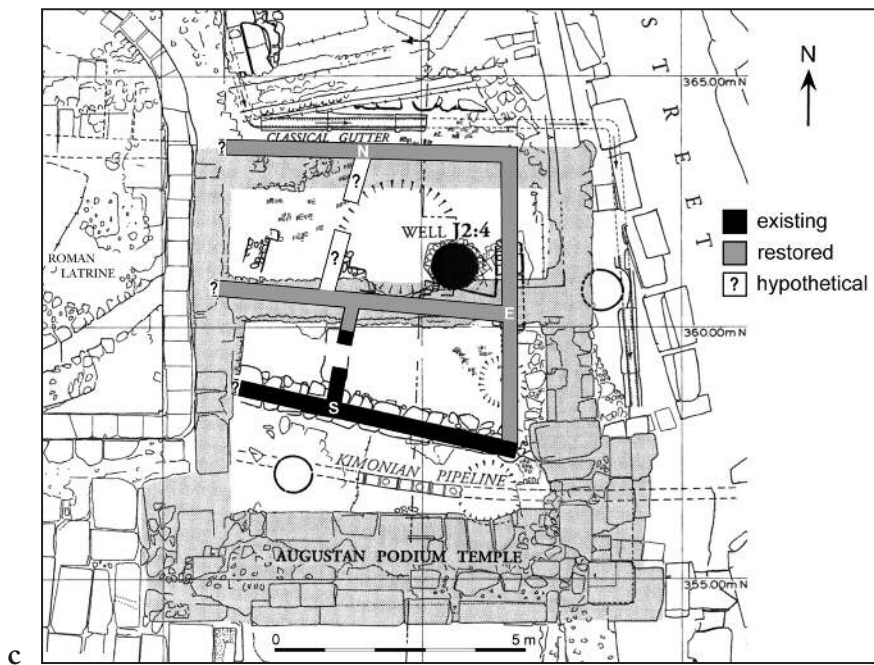
84. Lynch 2011, esp. pp. 167–175. More speculatively, Lynch (pp. 130–131, 170) suggests that the absence of a krater from the well deposit might indicate that the household could afford a metal krater, although she acknowledges other possible explanations. The house had at least three spaces, including a courtyard at the northeast corner; Lynch assumes that the court was divided by a now lost wall to form a fourth room or covered area to the west, and there may have been further rooms in the destroyed area beyond this (pp. 29–35).



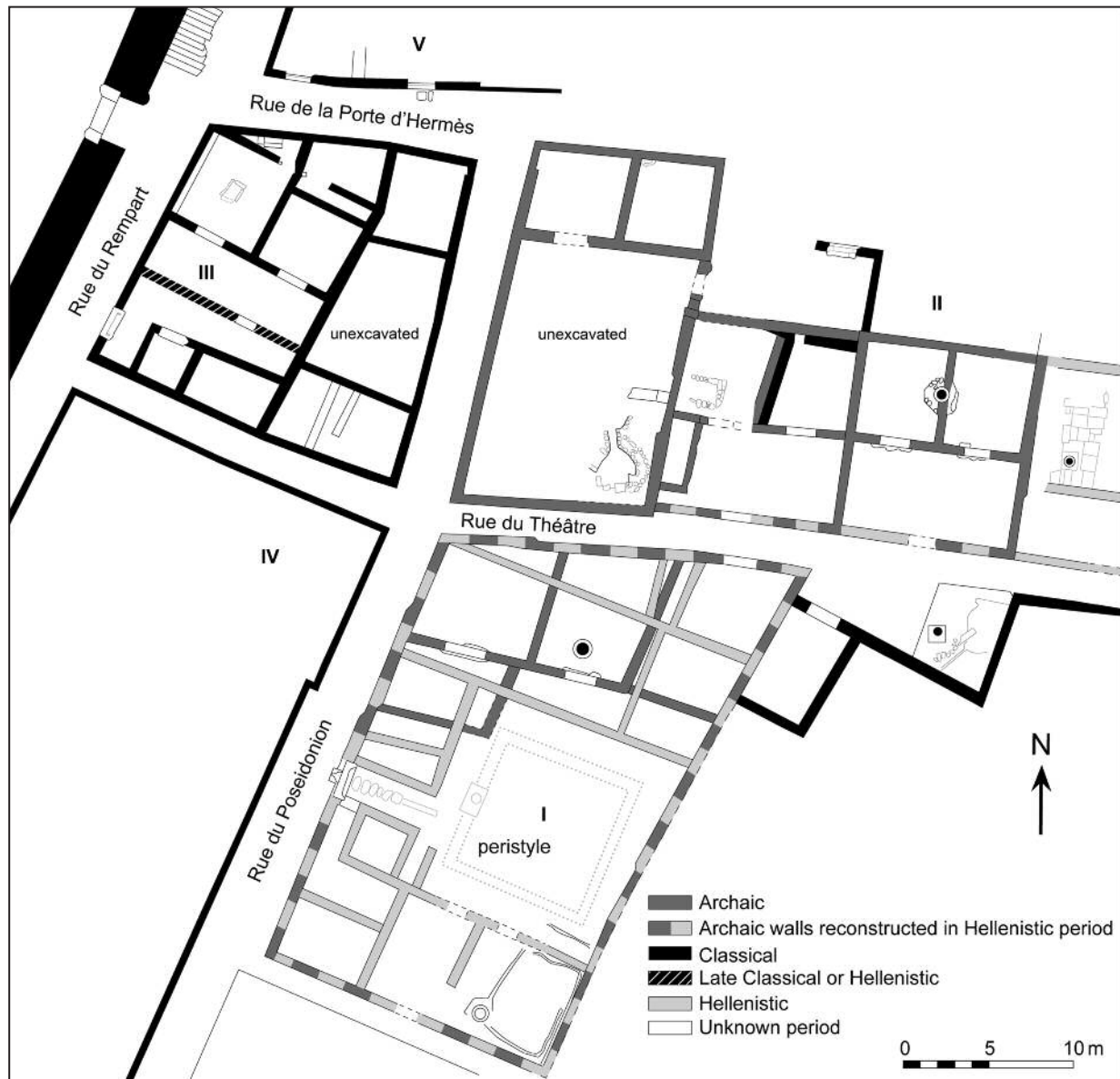
a



b



c



SEGMENTATION AND SPECIALIZATION IN CLASSICAL HOUSES

A much greater number of houses survive from the 5th and 4th centuries (Figs. 6–8, 11–13), including large areas of planned housing such as those at Olynthos, Piraeus, and Priene, which are likely to represent what was considered ideal (Figs. 11, 12:b, c).⁸⁵ By this time, the courtyard house is the standard type in central and western Greece. Classical houses tend to

85. Olynthos, extended after a synoecism in 432: *Olynthus* II, VIII, XII; Cahill 2002. Piraeus, probably planned in the mid-5th century: von Eickstedt 1991; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, pp. 22–50. Priene, refounded in the second half of the 4th century: Wiegand

and Schrader 1904, pp. 285–328; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, pp. 208–225. For wide-ranging reviews of Classical housing, see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; Nevett 1995b, 1999; Hoepfner 1999, pp. 201–240.

Figure 6. Thasos, Archaic–Hellenistic houses near the Hermes Gate, restored plan. Drawing K. Harding © Cardiff University, after Grandjean and Salviat 2000, fig. 54 (foldout); courtesy École française d’Athènes

have many more rooms on the ground floor than Archaic houses—typically 10 at Olynthos, seven to 10 at Piraeus, and perhaps the same at Priene, including courtyards⁸⁶—and by now most of them probably had further rooms upstairs, although we have no reliable way of estimating how many. The overall shape of the houses varies in different cities, depending on whether the house plots were square or rectangular,⁸⁷ but the underlying structure is always tree-like, with the rooms radiating from a central court that serves as the main circulation space; groups of rooms often form suites controlled by a single access point, and there are few connections between rooms, so that most are isolated at the end of a “branch.”

We can see the trend toward segmentation in action in unplanned cities where houses were constantly being rebuilt. At Thasos, for instance, in the first half of the 5th century, a courtyard house with six or seven rooms was built alongside the two small Late Archaic houses by the Hermes Gate (Fig. 6, west part of Insula III); in or after the 4th century the court was partitioned to create a large hall or *pastas* in front of the north range.⁸⁸ Around the end of the 4th century an even larger house, with a peristyle and 13 or 14 rooms, was built in Insula I to the southeast.⁸⁹ In Insula I near the Silenos Gate, the simple two- and four-roomed units of ca. 500 B.C. were extended and subdivided in the late 5th century to provide additional rooms; in the 340s, the block was completely remodeled into two courtyard houses with seven and nine rooms (Fig. 7).⁹⁰ Likewise, at Thorikos and Corinth, the simple courtyard houses of the Archaic period were succeeded by houses with many more rooms.⁹¹

86. Ten is the average (mean and modal) number of rooms in the houses on the North Hill at Olynthos. The original Classical house plans at Piraeus and Priene have been obscured by later occupation. The figure of seven to 10 rooms for Piraeus is derived from Hoepfner and Schwandner's reconstructions, which are based on a large enough sample to be about right in this respect, even if they assume an unrealistic degree of uniformity in the plans. House 32 at Priene, with nine spaces (Fig. 12:c), may preserve one of the original house plans, but recent soundings elsewhere on the site have shown that the internal layout of the house plots varied more than Hoepfner and Schwandner thought, and that the phasing proposed by the excavators is sometimes wrong. See Raeck 2003, pp. 322–325, 349–373.

87. The shape of the plot constitutes the basic difference between the so-called *pastas*-house (square) and *prosta*-house (rectangular). The modern distinction is based on a misreading of Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.7.1), who clearly says that *pastas* and *prosta* referred to the same type of space, and it has been

rightly criticized for masking the similarities in structure between houses of different shapes, e.g., by Nevett (1999, p. 103) and Reber (*Eretria* X, p. 160), who also points out that not all “*prosta*-houses” actually have a *prosta*. Sewell (2011, pp. 106–108) argues that the “*prosta*-house” was an invention of the Classical period, designed to fulfill the practical and economic needs of the residents in the new, grid-planned cities.

88. Grandjean 1988, pp. 288–289, 448–450, pl. X; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, pp. 99–102, figs. 54, 57. The irregular rooms on the north side of the house may originally have been a single large space. The house that occupied the eastern part of Insula III was also built in the Classical period, but its interior was not excavated down to the Classical levels.

89. Grandjean 1988, pp. 286–287, 450–451, pl. X; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, pp. 99–101, figs. 54–56. The external walls of Insula I were originally built in the Archaic period, but its internal layout in the Archaic and Classical periods is largely unknown, as most of its area was not excavated below the Hellenistic levels.

90. Grandjean 1988, pp. 67–197, pls. 46:3, 47, 64, 65, 84–86; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, pp. 123–128, figs. 76–84. Fig. 7:c shows the houses a few decades after they were built, by which time the east house had been divided into two units, with a new entrance to the northern unit via court 5.

91. At Corinth, the Classical housing has been devastated by later structures, but there are traces of 5th-century houses with multiple rooms around a central court in the Potters' Quarter (the first phase of the “Terracotta Factory,” and Building 2 under the “Erosa Shrine”: *Corinth* XV.1, pp. 34–49; Williams 1981, pp. 413–415, fig. 2) and southwest of the Forum (phase 1 of the “Punic Amphora Building,” which was probably a house: Williams 1979, pp. 107, 111). In its 4th-century state, the “Terracotta Factory” had at least eight rooms (*Corinth* XV.1, pl. 52). At Thorikos, the largest known house, House 1, had 15 ground-floor rooms in the 5th century, and more upstairs, although it was later divided into two smaller units (*Thorikos* I, pp. 88–97, plan V; Mussche 1998, pp. 46–50, 139, fig. 93). Insula 1 in the

Not everyone lived in a house with multiple rooms, however: the range between the largest and the smallest simply grew wider. At Thasos, the Late Archaic houses with two rooms and a courtyard in Insula II near the Hermes Gate remained in use throughout the Classical period, and a similar three-room house was constructed in the southern part of Insula II by the Silenos Gate in the 4th century, at the same time as the complex courtyard houses across the road in Insula I (Fig. 7:c).⁹² At Olynthos, there are numerous small units in the old town on the South Hill, which must have been houses. In Athens, despite the disruption caused by later buildings, we can get an impression of the increased range of house sizes in the 5th century, from two or three rooms in the smallest houses of a modest block on the north slope of the Areopagus, to as many as 12 in House C by the Great Drain (Fig. 8:a, b).⁹³ In the 4th century there is evidence for even larger houses in the areas near the city walls, which seem to have been more deliberately planned than the higgledy-piggledy old quarters around the Agora; none has survived complete, but the dining room and anteroom of a late-4th-century house on Odos Menandrou (Fig. 8:c) must have covered a larger area than the largest house in the Areopagus block.⁹⁴ We can get an idea of the possible scale of this house from two better-preserved 4th-century houses at Eretria, which are the largest known from the Classical period (see Fig. 13, below): they have two courtyards and twice as many rooms as the relatively well-appointed houses at Olynthos.⁹⁵

Classical houses thus take the facility to segregate and differentiate to a much higher level than Archaic houses. This may seem to run counter to the general opinion that the spaces in Classical houses were multifunctional and used flexibly, which was one of the reasons why Jameson felt that Kent's model did not apply to Greece,⁹⁶ but it need not do so. Most rooms had no fixed features or furnishings to determine their function, and most domestic equipment was designed to be portable,⁹⁷ suggesting that flexibility was important. But flexibility can operate over a variety of time-scales, which are very difficult to distinguish in the archaeological record.⁹⁸ Thus, for example, the use of a room may change at different stages in the

Industrial Quarter had 12 rooms after the installation of the ore washery in the late 5th century (*Thorikos* I, pp. 97–104, plan VI; *Thorikos* II, pp. 48–62, plan II; *Thorikos* III, pp. 57–60, plan IV; Mussche 1998, pp. 50–51). In Insula 3, built toward the middle of the 5th century, the Tower Compound had 13 or 14 rooms (*Thorikos* VII, pl. 8:A), and its smaller neighbors had 5–7 rooms (Houses 3 and 4: *Thorikos* IX, pp. 39–61, figs. 39, 40); House 5, to the south, originally had nine rooms (Mussche 1998, pp. 52–53, 149, fig. 111). House 2, west of the theater, had 11 rooms in its final, 4th-century phase (Mussche 1998, pp. 34–35, 124, fig. 63; the original plan cannot be reconstructed).

92. Grandjean 1988, pp. 219–226,

230–231, pls. 77, 84–86.

93. For houses in Athens generally, see *Agora* XIV, pp. 173–183; Graham 1974; Jones 1975; Tsakirgis 2005, 2009. For houses on the north slope of the Areopagus, behind the South Stoa, built in the second quarter of the 5th century, see Thompson 1959, pp. 98–103. Nearby, on the northeastern slope, two 5th-century houses had seven or eight rooms; Shear 1973, pp. 146–151, fig. 4, east and west houses. For Houses C and D, see Young 1951, pp. 202–228.

94. It must have been at least 170 m², assuming that the dining room was square; there may have been a second dining room opening off the south side of the anteroom, forming a three-room suite similar to those in the

houses at Pella and the Palace at Vergina. See Alexandri 1967, fig. 47, pls. 91, 92; 1975a, fig. 5, pl. 25:b; Jones 1975, pp. 93–96; Walter-Karydi 1994, pp. 24–26, figs. 17, 18.

95. *Eretria* VIII, X. There are 18 rooms in the House of the Mosaics (625 m²), and 24 in House II (1,225 m²), assuming that the proprietors owned all the rooms fronting the street to the east.

96. Jameson 1990a, pp. 98–105, 109.

97. Sparkes 1962, pp. 129, 132.

98. Foxhall 2000; Kent (1990b, pp. 3–4) also makes the point that what looks to archaeologists like a multipurpose area may have been used sequentially for different functions or by different people.

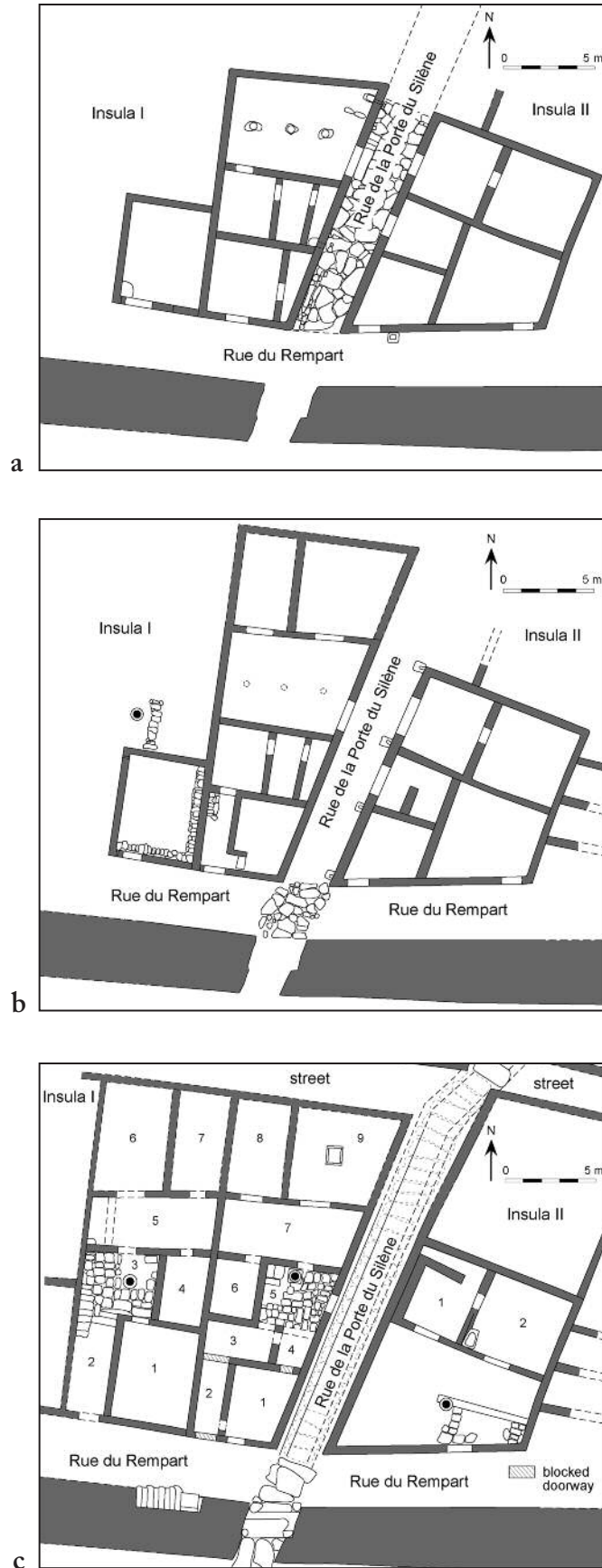
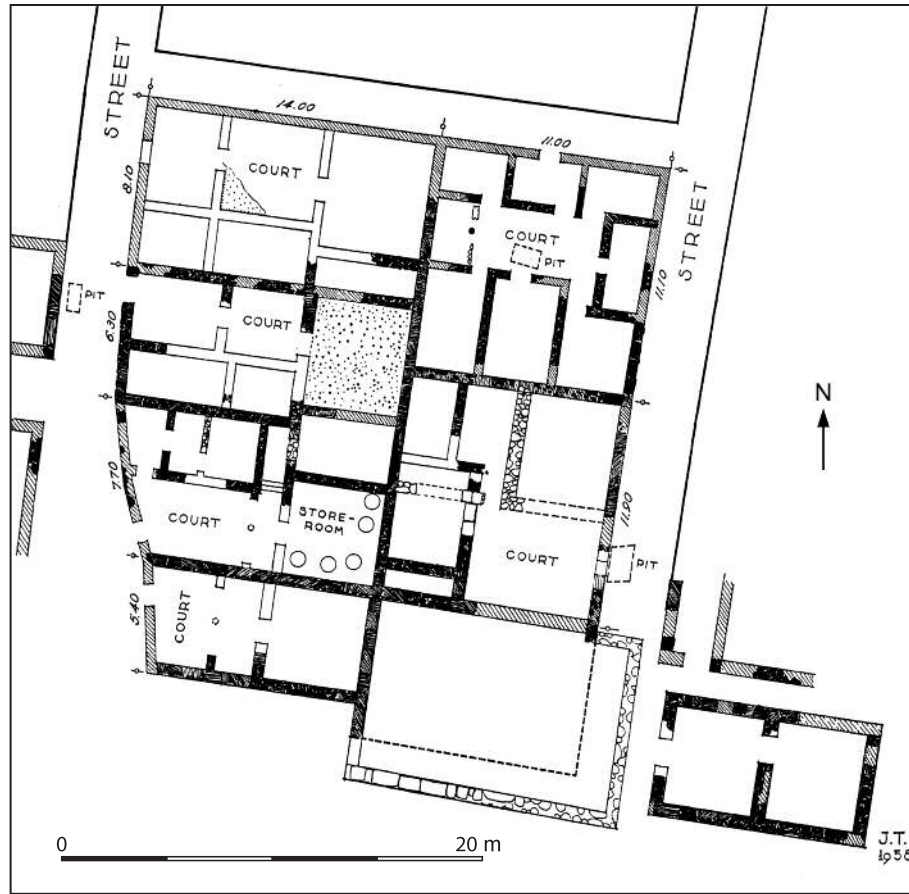
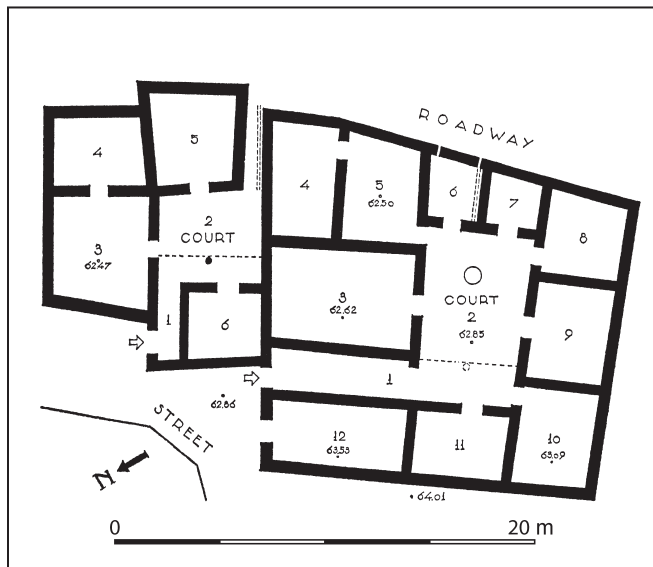


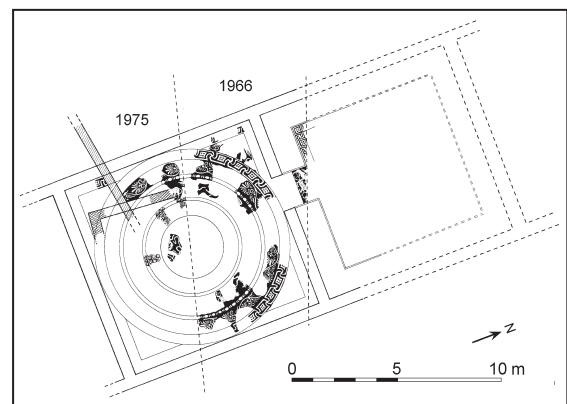
Figure 7. Thasos, development of houses near the Silenos Gate: (a) ca. 500 B.C.; (b) ca. 400 B.C.; (c) ca. 300 B.C. Drawings K. Harding © Cardiff University, after Grandjean and Salviat 2000, pp. 123, 125, 127, figs. 76, 78, 81; courtesy École française d'Athènes



a



b



c

life cycle of a family: the classic example is the household of the cuckolded Euphiletos, who switched quarters with his wife when their baby was born (Lys. 1.9), but there must have been many such adjustments as households expanded and contracted.⁹⁹ Room function may change at different times of the year, allowing activities to move with the seasons, as Cahill suggests

99. For reconstructions of typical household life cycles, see Gallant 1991, pp. 11–33.

Figure 8 (opposite). Athens, Classical houses: (a) block of houses on the north slope of the Areopagus, restored plan of 4th-century state; (b) Houses C and D by the Great Drain, first half of the 5th century B.C.; (c) anteroom and dining room of a 4th-century house on Odos Menandrou, reconstruction. (a) Thompson 1959, pl. 17; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens; (b) Young 1951, p. 204, fig. 11; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens; (c) drawing R. Westgate, after Alexandri 1967, pl. 92; 1975a, p. 26, fig. 5

was the case at Olynthos, or on a more ad hoc basis, like the storeroom in the house of Kallias that was converted into accommodation for his many guests.¹⁰⁰ The use of a room may even change at different times of the day; short-term changes in function may have been signaled by semifixed and nonfixed features such as furnishings, or even by people, through their behavior and dress.¹⁰¹ The point is that having multiple rooms facilitates the separation of people or activities when necessary.

Despite the general indications of flexibility, in the Classical period we start to see for the first time rooms with distinctive shapes and features, which suggest that they were intended for specific functions. The most recognizable and widespread example of such a room has a paved floor with a slightly raised border around the walls, an off-center door, and in some cases a decorated mosaic in the sunken central area—features that are clearly intended to accommodate dining couches; in addition, the rooms are often built in standard sizes corresponding to multiples of a couch-length (Fig. 9).¹⁰² Specialized dining rooms of this type are found in houses at many sites across mainland Greece and the Aegean from at least the late 5th century.¹⁰³ How strictly such rooms were reserved for dining is impossible to know. At Olynthos, Cahill noted that rooms of this type contained fewer finds than other rooms, and argued that their contents must have been valuable and were therefore removed either by the departing occupants or by looters;¹⁰⁴ this absence of normal domestic debris, along with the exceptional array of fixed features, suggests that the rooms might have been used solely for dining, like the traditional British parlor, which even in the smallest houses was used only on special occasions.¹⁰⁵ However, we cannot assume that this was always the case: in House IV at Kallipolis in Aitolia, the more elaborate of the two dining rooms appears to have been used for storage by the time the house burned down in the 2nd century B.C.¹⁰⁶

More clearly monofunctional are the specialized bathrooms that are found in some houses from the 5th century onward, which have waterproof flooring of mortar, mosaic, or tiles, a drain, and in some cases a fixed bathtub (Fig. 10).¹⁰⁷ These rooms are usually too small to be used for much other than bathing. Specialized bathrooms often open off a large room

100. Cahill 2002, p. 161; Pl. *Prt.* 315d.

101. Rapoport 1990b, p. 13. Thus, for example, in a modern house an ordinary living room may be transformed into a formal dining room by setting the table with a fine tablecloth, the best china, flowers, and candles, and by the participants dressing in special clothing and adopting formal, ritualized patterns of behavior. Morgan (2007) argues that such temporary means were used to demarcate sacred space in Classical houses.

102. E.g., Fig. 8:c; Fig. 11, Houses A vi 1, 3–6, 8; Fig. 13:a, room f; Fig. 13:b, rooms 7 and 9. *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 171–185.

103. Those at Olynthos, built in the late 5th or early 4th century, are among the earliest known, and there are several others, for example at Corinth and Sikyon, that could date to the late 5th century; one, in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, was cut through by the city wall built in the third quarter of the 5th century, although it is not certainly domestic; *Corinth* XV.1, pp. 31, 33, pl. 8:E.

104. Cahill 2002, pp. 186–187.

105. Muthesius 1982, pp. 46–48.

106. The debris on the floor included fine tableware, amphoras, and small pithoi, along with carbonized grains, pulses, and olive pits; see Themelis 1979, pp. 267–270, figs. 32,

33; 1999, pp. 436–437, fig. on p. 437.

107. E.g., at Olynthos (*Olynthus* VIII, table on p. 204; Fig. 11, Houses A vi 7, 9) and Halieis, where Ault (2005a, pp. 68–69) identifies a number of small rooms with plastered floors as bathrooms, although only one had a fixed installation for bathing, in this case a pedestaled basin rather than a tub (House E, room 6-17; Ault 2005a, pp. 49–50, fig. 19, pls. 63, 68). For the development of domestic bathing facilities, see Trümper (2010, esp. pp. 530–532, 546–547), who reveals intriguing regional patterns: for example, specialized bathrooms are fairly common at Olynthos, but almost entirely absent at Priene.



Figure 9. Eretria, House of the Mosaics, rooms 8, 9: dining room with anteroom. Courtesy Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece

that sometimes has a hearth.¹⁰⁸ At Olynthos, this pairing typically forms part of a three-room suite consisting of a large rectangular room entered via a door in a long side, with two small compartments adjacent to a short side (Fig. 11, shaded areas); the bathroom occupies the smaller of these compartments, while the larger one is often separated from the main room by a pillared partition, and was reconstructed by the excavators as an open flue.¹⁰⁹ The regular association of large rooms and bathrooms suggests that the large rooms might also have had a specific function, although it is not clear what this was. Their size suggests that they played a major part in the day-to-day life of the household, and excavators often assume that they were kitchens, which would also have been convenient for heating the bathwater. However, even where there is a hearth, there is generally little or no evidence for cooking in these rooms, and cooking equipment is often found elsewhere in the house.¹¹⁰ As cooking equipment was portable and could be used anywhere, the existence of fixed kitchens in Classical houses is sometimes doubted.¹¹¹

Nevertheless, there are indications that some Classical households did have a specialized space for cooking (which does not necessarily mean that it never took place anywhere else). At Olynthos, Mylonas concluded that

108. E.g., Halieis, House A, rooms 6-83, 6-84; House B, unnumbered rooms; probably House E, rooms 6-16, 6-17; House 7, rooms 7-11, 7-12 (Ault 2005a, figs. 3, 7, 10, 19); and the Early Hellenistic house at Maroneia in Thrace (rooms C and D: Karadedos 1990, pp. 270-272, 275-276, 286-287, 302-303, 305, figs. 4-6, pls. 4, 6, 10).

109. *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 185-204; *Olynthus* XII, pp. 369-398; Cahill 2002, pp. 80-81, 153-161. The form and purpose of the "flues" have been much debated; see Graham 1954, 1958; Svoronos-Hadjimichalis 1956. Some versions of the suite have only two rooms, the large room and the "flue."

110. Cahill 2002, pp. 156-157, 162.

At Halieis, Ault (2005a, pp. 28-30, 50, 54-55) identifies some of the large rooms as kitchens because there were cooking pots in them: e.g., House A, room 6-83; House E, room 6-16. Foxhall (2007, pp. 237-240), however, points out that many cooking pots were also found in the courtyards.

111. E.g., Foxhall 2007.



Figure 10. Olynthos, House A 2, room d: bathroom with tiled floor and bathtub (tub is a replica). Photo R. Westgate



Figure 11. Olynthos, block A vi, Classical houses, with three-room suites shaded. Drawing R. Westgate, after *Olynthos VIII*, pl. 94

the “flues” were used for cooking, as some of them—but by no means all—contained ash, traces of burning, bones, and cooking pots.¹¹² The evidence for a specialized kitchen is stronger in House II at Eretria (Fig. 13:a), where room a had a hearth built against a wall, and contained a fragment of a mill, a storage vessel, and a large quantity of domestic pottery; the adjacent

112. *Olynthos XII*, pp. 379–380, followed by Cahill 2002, pp. 155–157. The clearest evidence for cooking in a “flue” was in the House of Many Colors, which

had a grilling pit in this space containing many animal bones. See *Olynthos XII*, pp. 199–201; Cahill 2002, pp. 89–90. However, the quantity of bone

is unusual for a private house, and may indicate that the building was used as a tavern; see Foxhall 2007, pp. 237–239.

room a_1 was probably a bathroom.¹¹³ Similar kitchens, also with bathrooms opening off them, were found in some of the later houses at Eretria.¹¹⁴ There is also some textual evidence for specialized kitchens. The scene in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (136–151) where Philokleon attempts to escape from the *ipnos* (ἰπνός) through the smoke vent seems to imply the existence of a cooking area with provision for smoke evacuation in some houses as early as the 5th century. *Ipnos* could refer to an oven or a portable lantern as well as a kitchen, and it is possible that the joke is that Philokleon has squeezed into the oven in his desperation to escape, but elsewhere the *ipnos* is large enough for a dog to run into to steal a cheese (*Vesp.* 837), or for slaves to enter and hang up a panoply (*Av.* 437). Certainly by the 3rd century the term *optanion* (ὀπτάνιον, cooking place) could refer to a specific space, as in two fragments of New Comedy, in which chefs boast about the skills in geometry and architecture that they need to lay out the room to best advantage.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, the apparently impertinent question of the hired chef in Menander, *Samia* 291—"Is the *optanion* under cover?"—indicates that less well-to-do households made do with more ad hoc arrangements, perhaps like the hearth built against the east wall of the court in the eastern house of Insula I by the Silenos Gate at Thasos (Fig. 7:c, room 5; the hearth was covered by the paving installed in the late 4th century).¹¹⁶

Specialized spaces for agricultural processing and storage are also recognizable in some Classical houses. Some had rooms with areas of solid flooring and inset basins or channels for pressing olives or grapes (e.g., Olynthos A vi 8 and 10; Fig. 11; and several houses at Halieis¹¹⁷), although the pressing equipment could be dismantled, allowing the room to be used for other activities outside harvest periods. In some houses there were dedicated storerooms, with varying degrees of architectural specialization. Cahill argued that at Olynthos a number of exceptionally large spaces, often occupying the full depth of the house plot (e.g., House A vi 8; Fig. 11), were designed for bulk storage of agricultural produce, as most are attached to houses with facilities for processing crops, and one, in House A 4, contained 15 objects interpreted as pithos lids.¹¹⁸ He also identified several more normal-sized rooms in the larger houses as dedicated storerooms, because they contained fragments or lids from unusually large numbers of pithoi and little else.¹¹⁹ These rooms had no specialized features, apart from a tendency to be on the south side of the house, next to the street,

113. *Eretria X*, pp. 100–102. The hearth shown in Fig. 13:a belongs to phase 2 (late 4th/early 3rd century), but there was a hearth in the same position in phase 1; see *Eretria X*, pp. 23–24, fig. 13, hearth 4. Hearths against a wall or in a corner are likely to have been intended for cooking rather than heating; see Tsakirgis 2007, pp. 226–227. Room a_1 was equipped with a drain in phase 1, and was certainly a bathroom in phase 2, as it had a mosaic floor and bathtub.

114. *Eretria X*, pp. 137–139. In

House IV (ca. 300 B.C.), room 5 contained a hearth and coarse pottery, and gave access to the bathroom 5b; see *Eretria X*, pp. 73–76, figs. 104, 106, 107. In Houses IA and IB (mid-2nd century B.C.), the bathrooms (m and A, respectively) opened off a large room with a hearth and equipment for food preparation—a column drum that had been used for grinding in House IA, room l, and a finger-shaped pestle in House IB, room u, which also gave access to a pantry (B) used for storing crockery and foodstuffs; see *Eretria X*,

Figure 12 (opposite). Classical houses on rectangular plots: (a) Eretria, 5th-century house later incorporated into House IV, reconstructed plan; (b) Piraeus, Odos Salamachon and Odos Phlessa, north part of a house; (c) Priene, House 32.

(a) after *Eretria X*, p. 68, fig. 91; courtesy Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece; (b) drawing K. Harding © Cardiff University, after von Eickstedt 1991, p. 86, fig. 43; (c) drawing K. Harding © Cardiff University, after Wiegand and Schrader 1904, p. 325, fig. 365

pp. 43, 47–48, 55–57, figs. 51, 57–60, 74–77.

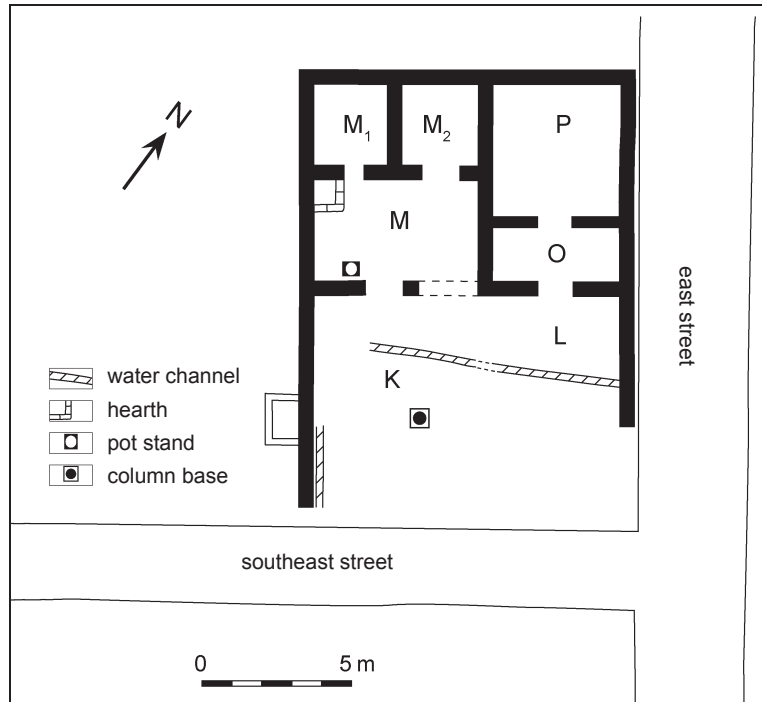
115. Nikomachos, *Eileithuia*, PCG, fr. 1, lines 24–28 (= Ath. 7.291b–c); Sosipater, *The Perjurer*, PCG, fr. 1, lines 36–43 (= Ath. 9.378d–e).

116. Grandjean 1988, pp. 173–174, pl. 60:6, 7.

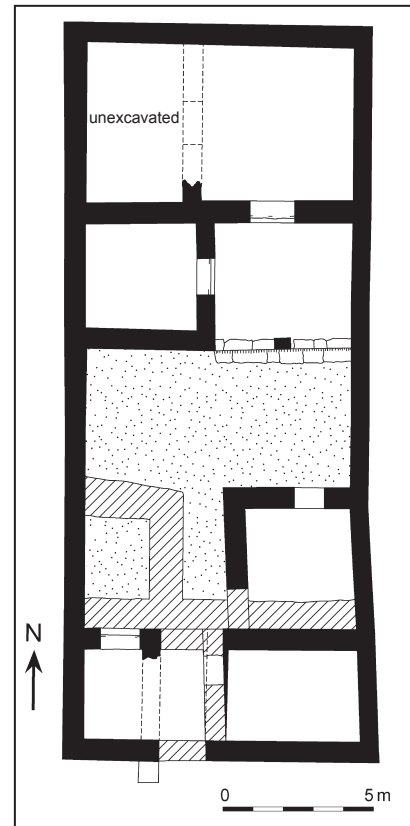
117. Listed by Ault (2005a, pp. 79–80). The best preserved is in House D; see Ault 2005a, p. 41, fig. 15, pl. 59.

118. Cahill 2002, pp. 246–248.

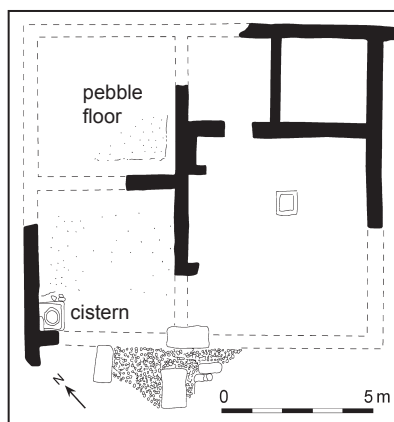
119. Cahill 2002, pp. 229–232, fig. 48.



a



c



b

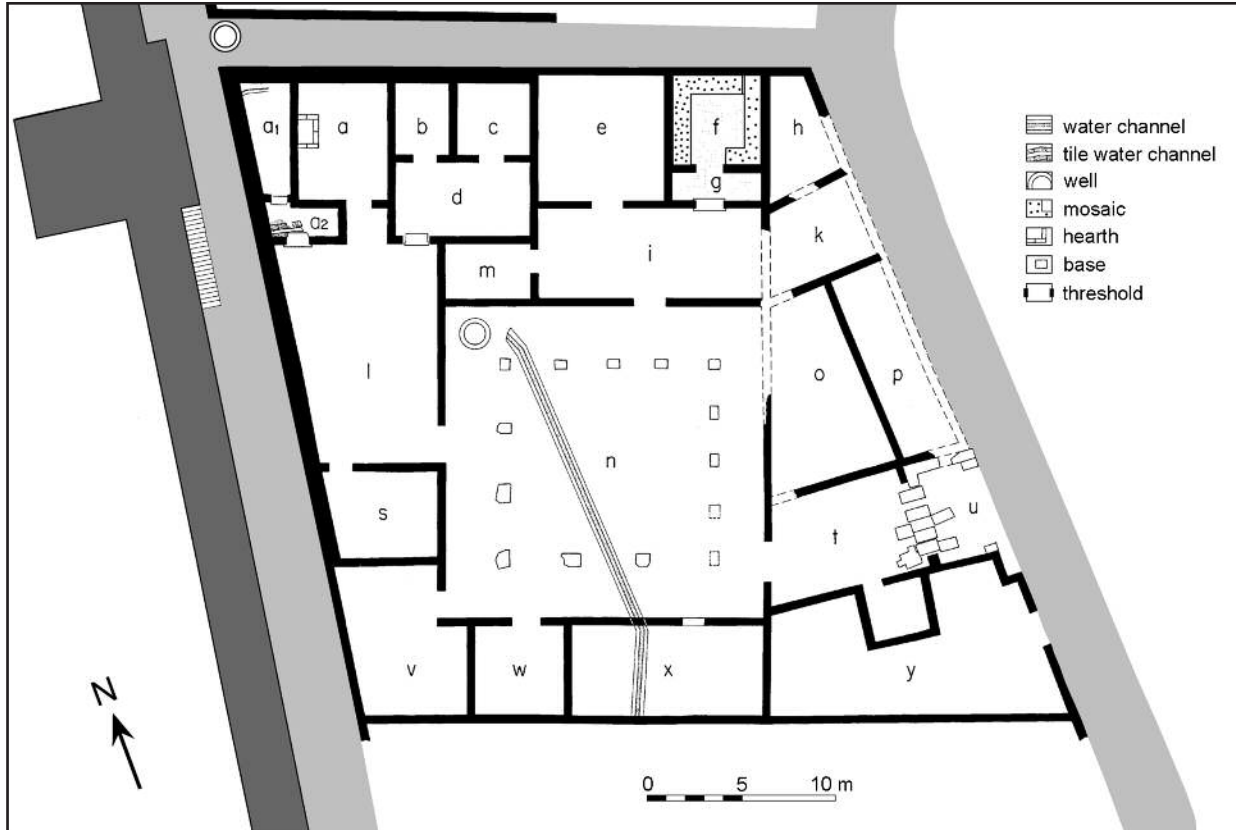
but two Classical houses at Corinth had rooms with pits cut in the floor for storage or for pithoi, as did one of the houses on the north slope of the Areopagus in Athens (Fig. 8:a).¹²⁰

As well as rooms with built-in features or fittings relating to particular activities, there are standardized suites of rooms in some Classical houses, whose regular layouts suggest that they were intended for specific functions, although it is difficult to pin down what these were. The three-room suite with “flue” and bathroom seems to be largely peculiar to Olynthos, where it occurs in about half of the houses,¹²¹ but the residents of some other cities built a different type of three-room suite, consisting of a large rectangular room, entered via a door in the long side, with two small rooms at the back. This suite is found in several Classical houses at Eretria (e.g., Fig. 12:a, rooms M-M₁-M₂; Fig. 13:a, rooms b-c-d; Fig. 13:b,

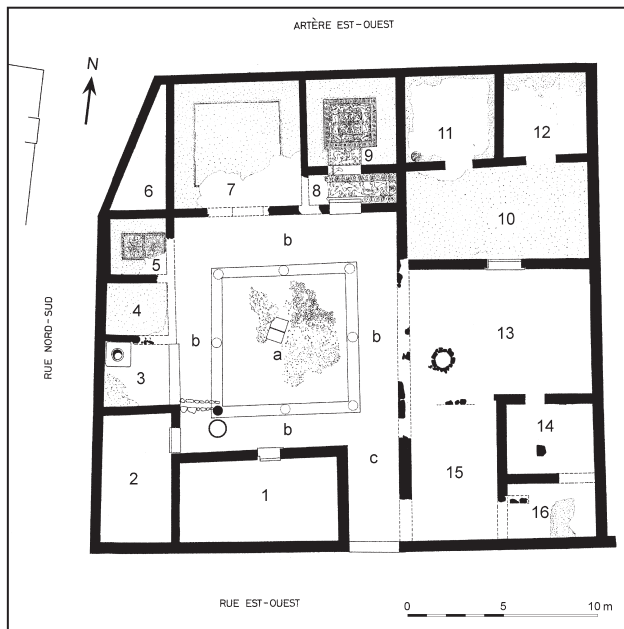
120. Corinth: Building 2 under the “Erosa Shrine”; see Williams 1981, pp. 413–414, fig. 2, pl. 89:a; phase 1 of the “Punic Amphora Building”; see Williams 1979, p. 107. Athens: Thompson 1959, p. 100.

121. Only one similar suite has been found outside Olynthos, in House IV

(late 4th century) at Kallipolis. The large room there had a central hearth, and there was a bathtub in situ in the rear side compartment; see Themelis 1979, pp. 255, 258, 273–276, figs. 10, 13, 14, 42–44; 1999, pp. 439–440, figs. on pp. 433, 439.



a



b

Figure 13. Eretria: 4th-century double-courtyard houses: (a) House II, phase 1; (b) House of the Mosaics. (a) *Eretria X*, p. 95, fig. 148; courtesy Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece; (b) *Eretria VIII*, p. 32, fig. 25; courtesy Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece

rooms 10-11-12),¹²² and may be detectable in some of the houses at Piraeus (e.g., Fig. 12:b).¹²³ There are rarely any fixed features to identify the function of the rooms, except in a house at Eretria (Fig. 12:a), where the large front room (M) had a stand for a jar by the door and a hearth in the corner, which suggest that the room might have been used for domestic tasks such as cooking.¹²⁴ A private function is also suggested by the lack of fancy decoration, and by the fact that in double-courtyard houses the three-room suite is often in a separate court from the dining rooms (Fig. 13); in smaller houses the north range is sometimes divided between a suite of this type and a room of appropriate size and shape to be a dining room (e.g., Figs. 12:a, b).

Yet another type of regular suite appears at Priene, where many of the houses have a group of four rooms on the north side of the court, consisting of a large, squarish room fronted by an open porch (the so-called *prostas*), with two smaller side rooms, one entered from the porch, and one accessed via the large room (Fig. 12:c). Once again, there is little evidence for the intended function of the rooms. The side room opening off the porch often had fine wall plaster and was identified as a dining room, although only one had a raised border, and the excavators noted evidence for food storage and preparation in some of the porches, including hearths, grinding equipment, and pithoi, but these reflect the use of space in the late 2nd century B.C., when the houses were destroyed.¹²⁵ Despite the repeated shapes of these suites, they may not have been used in the same way by every household: Cahill's analysis of the contents of the three-room suites at Olynthos suggests much variety in actual use.¹²⁶ However, this does not necessarily invalidate the idea that they were conceived as having a specific function: in any street of identical modern houses, with their standardized spaces labeled by function, there is wide variation in actual room use.

122. It also occurs in House I and probably in the 5th-century House S to the south (*Eretria X*, p. 26, fig. 15, rooms o-p-q and 1-2); in another earlier house on the site of House IV (*Eretria X*, p. 68, fig. 91, rooms 11-11_a-11_b); in a Classical house in sector 151/1 (Davaras 1965, p. 260, fig. 2; *Eretria X*, p. 160, fig. 218); and in a house attached to the Iseion, where the suite was created by dividing up an 11-couch dining room, probably in the 4th or 3rd century (rooms K-L-M: Papadakis 1915, pp. 118, 129, fig. 4; Schefold 1976, pp. 60-62, fig. 1; *Eretria X*, p. 161, fig. 219).

123. Alexandri (1975b, pl. 29:a) and von Eickstedt (1991, p. 186) identify the space southwest of the two small rooms as a courtyard, with a cistern in the middle, but Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, pp. 30, 40, fig. 20: House 9) and Reber (*Eretria X*, pp. 158-159) reconstruct it as a large room with a central hearth. A house

under the church of Ayia Triada may also have had a suite of this type; see von Eickstedt 1991, pp. 90, 157-158, fig. 46. Similar-looking configurations of spaces appear in many earlier and later houses, from Zagora in the late 8th century (Fig. 2:b, rooms H24-25-32 and H26-27) to Late Hellenistic Delos, but despite attempts to trace continuity (e.g., Krause 1977; *Eretria X*, pp. 157-163; Reber 2001; Coucouzeli 2007, p. 175), it seems unlikely that their purpose remained the same throughout this period; attempts to draw connections between them are problematic because they tend to blur important differences in form, e.g., between suites that consist of three closed rooms and those where the front space is a semi-open *pastas* or an open courtyard.

124. *Eretria X*, pp. 71-72, fig. 102.

125. Wiegand and Schrader 1904, pp. 291-292.

126. Cahill 2002, pp. 155-157.

SPACE AND SOCIAL COMPLEXITY IN CLASSICAL HOUSES

The increase in the number of rooms and the proportion of specialized spaces in Classical houses corresponds to a higher level of social complexity, as Kent's observations predict. It is clear from both textual and archaeological evidence that social, political, and economic complexity increased during the Late Archaic and Classical periods. In the political sphere, power gradually shifted away from the elite and their informal personal networks toward the increasingly centralized and formalized institutions of the state; in Athens, which is both the largest city and the one we know most about, this process was promoted by the division of the population into artificial segments (tribes and demes) at the end of the 6th century. From the Archaic period onward there was a proliferation of public bodies and officials with specialized functions (administrative, legal, religious, military, economic, even moral), and in the course of the Classical period politics became increasingly professionalized, requiring a certain level of experience and expertise, especially for posts concerned with financial matters.¹²⁷ Similarly, recent studies have suggested that military equipment and tactics became more specialized in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, a development that was fostered by more centralized state organization, although most cities never had standing armies of full-time soldiers;¹²⁸ the later Classical period did, however, see growth in the number of professional soldiers who hired themselves out as mercenaries.¹²⁹ In the economic sphere, there was a shift along the spectrum from a predominantly subsistence economy toward a more complex, market-based one, with increasingly large-scale and specialized production and exchange, which were facilitated by the introduction of coinage in the Late Archaic period.¹³⁰

The changes in domestic architecture can be understood in relation to several dimensions of social complexity, which are interrelated. Two factors can be dealt with relatively briefly. Firstly, the increased size and density of Classical cities are likely to have intensified the need for physical boundaries and architecturally specialized spaces to control interaction and cue appropriate behavior.¹³¹ Fletcher suggests that standardized architectural forms are particularly useful in rapidly growing communities, as they structure space in repetitive, predictable ways.¹³² This may be one reason why the new specialized room types appear so often in the houses of planned cities like Olynthos, where a sudden and drastic change in the scale of the settlement brought unfamiliar people from different communities

127. Davies 1981, pp. 114–122; Rhodes 1986.

128. Van Wees (2004, esp. pp. 47–54, 166–183, 232–239) attributes the emergence of the full hoplite panoply and classic phalanx tactics to ca. 500 B.C., rather than the Early Archaic period, as is traditionally believed.

129. Van Wees 2004, pp. 71–76.

130. How far along this spectrum Classical Greece should be placed is a matter of debate, but Harris's (2002, pp. 88–99) list of all the different types

of craftsmen and tradesmen attested in Athens gives a striking impression of the extent of specialization in manufacture and retail, and the archaeological evidence from Olynthos seems to indicate that many of the inhabitants bought their food from the proceeds of non-agricultural activities; see Cahill 2002, pp. 223–288. There is also evidence for extensive participation in the market on the part of the landed elite in Athens; see, e.g., Osborne 1991. For the effects of monetization, see Schaps 2004.

131. Fletcher 1995, pp. 126–135. Conversely, Nevett (2005) has observed that Classical houses in smaller rural settlements are less strongly insulated from the exterior and have fewer architectural measures to ensure privacy, such as offset doors, perhaps because in small communities proper behavior can be enforced by personal knowledge and the scrutiny of neighbors; the lower density of habitation might also have meant that stress levels were lower.

132. Fletcher 1995, pp. 126, 128.

into close proximity and may have generated unusually sharp social tensions. Both segmentation and architectural specialization can also be understood in the light of Rapoport's observation that an increase in the scale and heterogeneity of society demands an increase in the number of differentiated settings for activities, and in the strength and number of the cues that need to be encoded in the built environment to ensure that proper behavioral conventions are followed.¹³³ In Classical houses, the cues provided by architecture were increasingly complemented by decoration, in the form of mosaics and wall paintings, which first appear in the late 5th century.¹³⁴ This would have helped both inhabitants and visitors to navigate around the house, reinforcing distinctions of status between the inhabitants, and making it clear to visitors which areas were appropriate for them to enter.¹³⁵ Decoration also enables people to "navigate" socially—in other words, to place people on the social scale by making comparisons between houses.¹³⁶

A second factor driving the increase in the number and specialization of spaces in Classical houses was economic complexity. Much craft production was still on a small scale and could be accommodated in even the smallest of houses, with no need for specialized facilities, and often there was little or no attempt to insulate the household from messy or dirty activities.¹³⁷ But in this period we also start to hear of larger-scale manufacturing workshops staffed by slaves, which are likely to have required additional spaces.¹³⁸ Some of these workshops occupied purpose-built independent premises, which first appear in the Classical period,¹³⁹ but many were in houses,¹⁴⁰ and in some surviving houses it appears that an increase in the number of rooms, and in some cases the addition of a second courtyard, were motivated by the need to provide space for a workshop and the people who worked in it. For example, in House A viii 7/9 at Olynthos, one household seems to have acquired a neighboring house in order to use it for large-scale textile production, presumably for the market;¹⁴¹ and when Houses C and D in Athens were converted into a single dwelling in the 4th century, House D was used for metalworking and perhaps stonework.¹⁴² In House A v 9 at Olynthos, it looks as if additional workspace might have been created by partitioning the interior to form a number of small but well-lit compartments,

133. Rapoport 1990a, pp. 149–152; 1990b, esp. pp. 16–18.

134. Walter-Karydi 1994; Westgate 1998.

135. Westgate 1998, esp. pp. 100–102; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, pp. 30–44.

136. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, pp. 36–37.

137. Cahill 2002, pp. 236–265, esp. 264–265; Tsakirgis 2005. For example, hobnails and eyelets were found all over a cobbler's house near the Athenian Agora (the "House of Simon"); see Tsakirgis 2005, pp. 70–74. Two stonemasons at Olynthos seem to have worked in the courtyards of their houses (A 5 and A 10); see Cahill

2002, pp. 128–131, fig. 28; pp. 252–253.

138. The largest attested slave workshop is generally taken to consist of 120 shield makers owned by Lysias and his brother Polemarchos (Lys. 12.19), although, as Betalli (1985, p. 36) points out, Lysias does not say that all of the 120 slaves confiscated by the Thirty worked in the factory, and the figure probably includes the family's domestic slaves. Other examples include the 32 or 33 knife makers and 20 couch makers belonging to Demosthenes' father (Dem. 27.9), and the nine or 10 shoemakers, plus their foreman, inherited by Timarchos (Aeschin. 1.97).

139. Betalli 1985; Karvonis 2008.

Rotroff (2009, p. 41, fig. 39) maps surviving examples around the Athenian Agora.

140. Demosthenes describes the couch makers as being in the family home (27.24, 26), along with the stock of raw materials for both workshops (27.32); similarly, the sackcloth-weavers and pigment-grinders who formed part of the estate of Komon in [Dem.] 48.12–13 were apparently attached to two houses, one where Komon lived and another, smaller house (οικίσκη, *oikiskē*).

141. House A viii 7 contained 297 loomweights, enough for 6–12 looms; see Cahill 2002, pp. 250–252, 263, fig. 55.

142. Young 1951, p. 222.

each containing a loom.¹⁴³ Some houses at Thorikos and elsewhere in southern Attica had large numbers of spaces, and in some cases second courtyards, in order to accommodate both installations for processing silver ore and the slaves who operated them.¹⁴⁴

Increasingly market-oriented agricultural production may also have created a need for more spaces in some houses, and for more specialized ones, although the effect of this is difficult to gauge because some households may have had processing and storage facilities elsewhere, on their farmland.¹⁴⁵ Some households at Olynthos clearly needed extra space for processing foodstuffs on a commercial scale. For example, House A 6 contained at least 12 grindstones, a rotary olive crusher, and various installations that might have been part of a press; this quantity of equipment implies a large number of people working simultaneously, and the house had been extended into a neighboring plot to accommodate them.¹⁴⁶ House A vi 8 also had remains of a pressing installation, and about a third of its ground area was occupied by one of the large spaces mentioned above, which Cahill identified as a bulk storage facility (Fig. 11); he thought that the plot might have been acquired by the owners of the neighboring house (A vi 10) for use as a work and storage area.¹⁴⁷ At Halieis, Ault has suggested that the installation of press rooms in several houses was motivated by intensified production of olive oil for the market in the 4th century.¹⁴⁸ Large-scale production such as mining and farming of cash crops involved large slave workforces, and it has been suggested that the towers attached to Classical and later rural houses in some parts of the Aegean were built partly as secure accommodation for these slaves.¹⁴⁹ The development of a market economy also demanded spaces for retail: specialized shop buildings start to be identifiable in the Classical period, but many shops were incorporated in houses, in the form of rooms with independent access from the street, which enabled customers to be segregated from the inhabitants of the house (e.g., room 12 of House C in Athens, Fig. 8:b).¹⁵⁰ The taverns that we hear about in the literary sources may also have occupied space within houses.¹⁵¹

Thirdly, the greater number of rooms in Classical houses increased the potential for separating and differentiating between individuals within the household. I will explore this aspect in greater depth, using literary sources to get an impression of how such spatial differentiation might have worked. In addition to Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* and the works of the Attic orators,

143. Cahill 2002, pp. 114, 118–121, fig. 25; pp. 250–252. Rooms e, h, j, and m each contained a cluster of 18–24 loomweights. Reused material was built into the walls in this area, indicating that this part of the house had been rebuilt.

144. Jones 2007; see also n. 91, above. Compounds 2 and 3 at Soureza and Compound C at Agrileza had more than one courtyard; see Jones 2007, pp. 272, 274, figs. 29.3, 29.4. It is not clear whether mining compounds were “households” in any normal sense; a few had formal dining rooms: e.g.,

Thorikos, Mexa plot, and Compound 3 at Soureza; see Jones 2007, pp. 270, 272, figs. 29:2, 29:3, but there is only minimal evidence for the presence of women and children; see Jones 2007, pp. 275, 279.

145. Osborne 1985.

146. Cahill 2002, pp. 241–244, 263, figs. 51, 52.

147. Cahill 2002, pp. 244–246, fig. 53. There was relatively little domestic debris in A vi 8, and another installation of some kind was found in A vi 10 (room k).

148. Ault 2005a, pp. 79–81.

149. Thompson 2003, pp. 56–59; Morris and Papadopoulos 2005.

150. At Olynthos, such rooms were concentrated on the major thoroughfares; see Cahill 2002, pp. 273–274. They generally have no fixed installations, as we might expect from Aeschin. 1.123–124. For the development of specialized shops, see Karvoni 2008; also, for Athens, Rotroff 2009. Much retail trade will also have taken place in the open air, at temporary stalls or just on the ground.

151. Kelly-Blazeby 2006.

which always feature prominently in discussions of Classical houses, I will make use of two relatively underexploited sources—Theophrastos’s *Characters* and the comedies of Menander.¹⁵² Both were written in the early years of the Hellenistic period, but this is only a generation away from some of the houses discussed here, and their focus on domestic matters and manners means that they provide invaluable insights into social norms and expectations. This not to say that they can be taken literally as a picture of “real life,” but their humor depends on the audience’s shared understanding of social conventions.

By the Classical period, we have more literary evidence, from Athens at least, for the importance of the fundamental distinctions of gender and slavery, which had become sharper as the power and privileges associated with citizenship became more formalized. The ways in which Classical houses were shaped by gender have been extensively discussed, and need only be summarized here. Several Classical authors refer briefly or in passing to male and female spaces or areas,¹⁵³ but only a few Classical houses have a clear architectural division into two areas, and the consensus is that spatial distinctions must have operated flexibly and dynamically.¹⁵⁴ Thus, for example, male and female members of the household could be kept apart at night, like Ischomachos’s slaves (Xen. *Oec.* 9.5), and women could use the whole house but retreat to secluded rooms when unrelated male visitors were present, as shown by Demosthenes 47.55–56, where the speaker’s wife and children were caught out in the courtyard when the house was entered unexpectedly. The greater number of rooms in Classical houses would have made it much easier to observe such conventions effectively than in the simpler houses of the Archaic period.

Nevett has also argued that the segmented plans and radial access patterns of Classical courtyard houses facilitated observation and control of women’s movements and social interaction.¹⁵⁵ I would add that this potential for their activities to be scrutinized and controlled by their menfolk created an imbalance of power that women would surely have felt and may well have resented. This resentment is voiced by a female character in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae*, who complains that husbands “watch over us and shut us up in the women’s quarters with seals and bolts” (414–416). This might be a comic exaggeration of female attitudes from a male perspective, but the idea that it was normal for husbands to observe their wives’ behavior and that wives might resent it is also implicit in Euphiletos’s explanation of how he monitored his wife’s behavior during the early days of their marriage but was careful not to vex her or observe her “more than is reasonable”

152. Diggle’s text (2004) is used for Theophrastos, and Arnott’s Loeb edition (1979–2000) for Menander.

153. E.g., Ar. *Thesm.* 414–417; Lys. 1.9, 3.6; Xen. *Oec.* 9.5–6. However, the fullest and most explicit description of gender-specific areas in Greek houses is that of Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.7), which was written in the 1st century B.C. and is thus problematic as evidence for Classical houses; it does not correspond

closely to surviving Greek houses of any period.

154. Walker (1983) attempted to identify distinct gendered areas in Athenian houses, and others have assumed that the upstairs/downstairs gender division described in Lysias 1.9 was the norm (e.g., Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, p. 328), but the idea of permanent architectural distinctions has been widely rejected as too simplis-

tic; see Jameson 1990a, p. 104; 1990b, pp. 186–188, 192; Nevelt 1994; 1995a; 1999, pp. 68–74; Goldberg 1999; Antonaccio 2000. Cohen (1989) demonstrates that women were not as strictly confined as some texts imply.

155. Nevelt 1999, pp. 72–73; although Trümper (2011, pp. 38–39) questions whether she overstates the significance of these features and their effectiveness as control mechanisms.

(*Lys.* 1.6). It is possible that this potential for surveillance contributed to women's socialization, encouraging them to behave appropriately at all times; moreover, as Hunter points out, it was not only fathers and husbands who were able to observe women's behavior, but also slaves, who might relish the chance to spread details of any irregularities.¹⁵⁶

The availability of separate rooms for men's socializing further reinforced women's lack of power, by making it easier to exclude them not only symbolically, from the privileged group of male diners, but also practically, from potentially influential social networks and important information.¹⁵⁷ This was an extension of respectable women's exclusion from male-dominated spaces outside the house, such as political buildings, gymnasia, baths, taverns, and barbers' shops,¹⁵⁸ and something of their possible frustration at this comes across, again humorously exaggerated, in the efforts of Aristophanes' women to wheedle details of public business from their husbands (e.g., *Lys.* 507–520). The women's sense of their inferiority might also have been reinforced by the contrast in some houses between the fine decoration of the dining room and the plainness of the rooms intended for use by women.¹⁵⁹ But from a different point of view, a woman's exclusion from the dining room was a mark of her high status: in two legal speeches from Athens, the fact that a woman had been present at parties is cited as evidence that she was a hetaira rather than a legitimate wife (*Isae.* 3.13–14; [*Dem.*] 59.24–25, 28, 33, 48), and to bring a respectable woman into the room during a party was to degrade her, as Demosthenes accuses Aischines and his friends of doing to a freeborn captive woman from Olynthos (19.196–198); the men compound her humiliation by ordering her to recline and sing (which, as a decent woman, she did not know how to do), and then by having her stripped and whipped—in other words, by treating her first like a hetaira, then like a slave.¹⁶⁰

Unlike gender, the other fundamental social distinction, between free and slave, is not reflected in the language used to describe domestic space in Classical Greece, but given its prominence in Greek constructions of identity, it would be surprising if it did not affect the use and meaning of household space in some way. However, slavery has barely been mentioned in the recent spate of literature on Classical houses: Jameson raises the topic of slavery only to dismiss it as a significant factor in the disposition and use of domestic space, while Nevett and others doubt the possibility of locating slaves in the house.¹⁶¹ The obstacles are certainly formidable: it is generally

156. Hunter 1994, pp. 70–95; the threat of slave gossip presumably also applied to men to some extent. For slaves' pleasure in eavesdropping and gossiping about their masters, see *Ar. Ran.* 750–753, with Dover 1993, p. 285.

157. For anxieties about women's access to information, see Lewis 1996, pp. 21–23. This is not to say that women did not have their own social networks; see Cohen 1989, pp. 7–11; Burton 1998, pp. 150–154. It is also not the case that respectable women never dined in male company: we hear of

mixed family parties, such as that described in Menander, *PCG*, fr. 186 (= *Ath.* 2.71e–f), or the sacrificial meal in *Dyskolos* (871–873); the nature of the occasion and the women's relationship with the male participants made a difference (cf. *Nep. Lives*, preface 6–7). For women's commensality in general, see Burton 1998; Corner 2012.

158. For the role of barbers' shops and other informal public meeting places as venues for political debate and sharing information, see Lewis 1995.

159. Westgate 2010, p. 498. The

decoration that appears in houses from the late 5th century onward is focused on the new, specialized dining rooms; see Westgate 1998, pp. 94–104.

160. This passage is highly colored by Demosthenes' political stance; see Hobden 2009.

161. Jameson 1990b, pp. 191–192; Nevett 1999, pp. 40, 174, echoed by Cahill 2002, pp. 263–264; Ault 2005b, pp. 141–142. For further discussion of the problem, see George 1997; Morris 1998b; Thompson 2003. Klees (1998, pp. 74–80) reviews the literary evidence

impossible to be sure whether a particular room, installation, or artifact was used by a slave or a free person, and ancient authors do not explicitly discuss such matters, perhaps because they were too fundamental and unconscious to mention. As a result, any attempt to reconstruct the behavior of slaves is inevitably somewhat speculative. A discussion of all the ways in which slavery might have shaped the use of space in Classical houses is beyond the scope of this article;¹⁶² I will focus here on the implications of the increased number of rooms and the appearance of specialized spaces.

Even in the largest houses, slaves cannot have been confined to specific rooms or segregated entirely from the free residents; their duties would have taken them all over the house, and the difference in status must have been marked more by differences in behavior than by physical separation. However, this does not exclude the possibility that some spaces or areas were used more by slaves than by their masters. This kind of spatial differentiation is very difficult to detect from archaeological evidence alone, but in a few houses the provision of specialized spaces allows us to see how the free members of the household might have distanced themselves from slaves and servile tasks.

In House II at Eretria (Fig. 13:a), the kitchen (a) is separate from the three-room suite (b-c-d), in contrast to the earlier, smaller house on the site of House IV (Fig. 12:a), where, as noted above, it is likely that cooking took place on the hearth in the largest room (M) of the three-room suite. This pattern is repeated in other large houses at Eretria, possibly in the House of the Mosaics (Fig. 13:b), if the kitchen (14) is correctly identified,¹⁶³ and more clearly in the slightly later House IV, where the kitchen (5) is isolated from the main courtyard by a passage with a dogleg (7/9).¹⁶⁴ It seems unlikely that the free women of such wealthy households were expected to do the cooking, so the kitchens were probably used primarily by slaves. This is not to say that only slaves ever entered these rooms: the adjacent bathrooms were presumably intended for the free residents,¹⁶⁵ but the separation between the kitchen area and the living rooms would have enabled the higher-status members of the household to keep away from hot, dirty, smoky activities like cooking or heating bathwater, and to avoid getting dirty and smelly like a slave.¹⁶⁶

These grand houses are far from typical, but the fact that their owners chose to provide separate areas for some servile tasks may indicate that the occupants of other houses also behaved in ways that distanced them physically from slaves and the more unpleasant aspects of their work, but that have left no archaeological trace; even in less extensive houses, the multiplication of rooms would have increased the potential for different patterns in the use of space. Having multiple rooms also made it easier to

for slaves' accommodation, with some reference to surviving houses, but his reconstruction relies on the assumption that there were distinct men's and women's quarters, which has been challenged in more recent work (see n. 154, above).

162. See Westgate, in prep., for a fuller discussion.

163. Room 14 was identified as a

kitchen only on the strength of its position next to room 16, which had a mosaic floor and drain and was thus presumed to be a bathroom, although no tub was found; see *Eretria VIII*, pp. 48, 92, figs. 46–48, 105.

164. See n. 114, above.

165. The luxurious heated bathrooms that opened off the kitchens in

Houses IA and IB (see n. 114, above) were surely not for slaves.

166. Such an attitude is revealed by the cook in Damoxenos (3rd century B.C.), *Foster-Brothers, PCG*, fr. 2, lines 43–48 (= Ath. 3.102f), who does not enter the *optanon* because his intellectual skills place him above “washing casseroles and smelling of smoke.”

exclude slaves from significant activities, such as meals. That it was usual for slaves to eat separately from their masters is implied by festivals such as the Athenian Kronia, at which slaves and masters shared a meal to celebrate their shared labor in bringing in the harvest.¹⁶⁷ Excluding slaves from meals did not necessarily require additional rooms, and some slaves would need to be present to serve the diners, but in one case it is clear that slaves are physically excluded from a family meal: in Demosthenes' speech against Euergos (47.55–56), the speaker describes his wife, children, and ex-slave nurse eating together in the courtyard while “the other slave women . . . were in the tower where they live.” The reference to “the other slave women” suggests that the nurse was included as much because of her intimate relationship to the master as because she was no longer a slave; it seems likely that the degree to which slaves were permitted to share meals with their masters might have varied depending on their status within the household, and on the occasion.¹⁶⁸ The availability of separate rooms would also have meant that when slaves were allowed to eat, they could do so in a different and perhaps less pleasant place than their masters; the contrast between the finely decorated, comfortably furnished dining room and the rest of the house presumably helped to reinforce the subordinate position of slaves as well as that of the women and children of the household.

The partitioning of space would also have increased the potential for masters to exert their power over their slaves. As mentioned above, the availability of multiple rooms made it easier to control slaves by locking them up, as Ischomachos does (*Xen. Oec.* 9.5); in this case, the psychological effect of restricting their movements is intentionally sharpened by the fact that it also deprives them of their sexuality. This passage implies a need for multiple rooms to underline status differences within the household: Ischomachos and his wife cannot have spent every night on opposite sides of the bolted door that separated the male and female slaves, and whichever side of the door they slept on, it seems unlikely that they shared a room with all the slaves of the relevant sex. Ischomachos recommends rewarding the more obedient slaves by allowing them to have families, which might mean that there was somewhere else for them to sleep too, although some slave couples could have lived in separate houses, like the charcoal-burner Syros and his wife in Menander's *Epitrepontes*.

Given the severe limitations of the evidence, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct these patterns of behavior with any precision, or to map them onto the surviving houses, except the minority that have architecturally specialized spaces like kitchens and formal dining rooms. In any case, practices must have varied between households. Some were doubtless keener than others to keep their slaves at arm's length, or more successful in doing so; failure to observe the proper distance is a common theme in Theophrastus's satirical character sketches, which suggests that this was a source of persistent concern.¹⁶⁹ The need to mark the distinction must have been intensified by the increased size of the communities in the Classical period: in a large city it was impossible for everyone to know everyone else, and it was all too easy for people to slip between categories. Anxiety over this is reflected in several of the surviving legal speeches from 4th-century Athens, where the problem was especially pressing because of the exceptional size of the city and the mobility of its population.¹⁷⁰ The more compartmentalized plans of

167. Parker 2005, pp. 202–203; Macrobian *Sat.* 1.10.22, quoting Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F97); Lucius Accius, *Annales*, fr. 3, in Macrobian *Sat.*, 1.7.36–37.

168. Different conventions may have operated on different occasions, such as the family gathering in Menander's *Dyskolos*, to which Sostratos invites the slave Daos along with his master Gorgias (558–560, 617), although this meal takes place in a rustic sanctuary, not in a house.

169. Millett 2007, pp. 74–77.

170. See Cohen 2000, pp. 104–129. As well as the women whose status is at issue in Isae. 3 and [Dem.] 59, examples include Lys. 23, Isae. 6, and Dem. 57. [Xenophon] (*Ath. Pol.* 1.10–12) and Plato (*Resp.* 563b) complain about the difficulty of differentiating slaves from free persons. The problem was intensified by the practice of slaves living and working separately from their masters, who blurred the boundary between slave and free; see Fisher 2008.

Classical houses might be seen in part as a response to this anxiety, as they increased the potential for masters to distance themselves from their slaves.

Finally, the increased number and specialization of rooms in Classical houses can be related to a different dimension of social complexity—namely, stratification. The range of house sizes is much wider than in the Archaic period, as one would expect from Kent's observations, and it continues to increase throughout the period. Some Classical households still lived, like their Archaic predecessors, in two or three rooms, as in the small houses described above at Athens, Olynthos, and Thasos; no doubt some occupied even smaller units, which we may not recognize as houses, or lived in multiple dwellings or *synoikiai* (συνοικίαι), which are attested in texts but rarely identified in the archaeological record.¹⁷¹ At the top of the social scale there was a huge expansion in the number of rooms, up to 24 in the largest known house (Fig. 13:a).

The architecturally specialized dining rooms that appear in some houses in the Late Classical period are surely the product of a concern with social status. Not only did they provide a space in which social connections could be created and maintained, and an opportunity to display wealth through rich furnishings and decoration, but the contrast with the usually flexible use of space in houses may also have been intended to make an impression. As Lynch has pointed out, it was not necessary to have a specialized room for eating and drinking—most Classical houses do not—so this unusually *inflexible* use of space might have shown off the houseowner's ability to give up space for a room that was not used every day.¹⁷² The wealthiest houses had multiple dining rooms for parties of different sizes: the House of the Mosaics at Eretria had three (Fig. 13:b: rooms 5, 7, 9), and the nearby House II had two or three (Fig. 13:a: rooms e, f, and possibly m). Having so much space for entertaining was doubtless impressive in its own right, as is implied by the complaint of Theophrastos's "Boastful Man" (Αλαζών, *Alazōn*) that his house is too small for all the social occasions he hosts (*Char.* 23.9), but it might also have enabled the occupants to differentiate between guests by entertaining them in different rooms, either on different occasions or simultaneously—although one hopes they were not as rude as the "Arrogant Man" (Υπερήφανος, *Hyperēphanos*), who insults his guests by not dining in the same room as they do (*Char.* 24.9).¹⁷³

But it was not simply that a large house with many rooms indicated that the owner was wealthy and allowed him to entertain guests in style: it also enabled him to observe complex distinctions of propriety and status, such as keeping his female relatives out of the way when visitors were present, or maintaining a suitable distance between free and slave members of the household. The concern to mark such distinctions cannot be separated from the desire to display status: social differentiation is in itself a form of display.¹⁷⁴

171. Ault 2005b. Aischines (1.124) implies that such multiple dwellings need not have been architecturally specialized.

172. Lynch 2007. As discussed above, it is difficult to be sure that these rooms

were reserved exclusively for dining.

173. The decor of the dining rooms may have further underlined status distinctions between guests; see Westgate 2010, p. 498.

174. For example, in Islamic com-

munities, female seclusion may be an indication of the high status and honor of the household; see Blanton 1994, pp. 12, 95, 193; cf. also Wallace-Hadrill (1994, pp. 38–39), who makes a similar point with regard to Roman houses.

STATUS AND DIFFERENTIATION: A CASE STUDY

The increased potential for social differentiation and its interplay with status can best be illustrated by examining two of the largest, grandest houses known from the Classical period, House II and the House of the Mosaics at Eretria (Fig. 13), where the process of segmentation and specialization of space has been taken to its fullest extent.¹⁷⁵ Although these houses are not typical, either socially or geographically, they are informative because they reflect the choices made by households that were relatively unconstrained by lack of space or resources, and were therefore able to make architectural provision for social distinctions and practices that the occupants of more modest houses might have observed in less visible ways.

Both houses have two courtyards, which are differentiated by their architecture and decoration. The larger, outer courts, where the dining rooms are located, have grand peristyles and fine decoration, including sculpture, mosaics, colored wall plaster, gilded terracotta appliqués, and Panathenaic amphoras (see Fig. 9).¹⁷⁶ The inner courts are smaller and plainer, and produced evidence for utilitarian activities such as cooking and bathing.¹⁷⁷ Although there are also relatively plain rooms on the south side of the outer courtyards (Fig. 13:a, v–x; 13:b, 1–3), which may have been used for domestic activities, it seems clear that the outer courts were intended to be seen by guests, while the inner areas were more private.

This arrangement could have enabled the women of the household to stay entirely out of sight of male visitors, making their respectability very evident. It is tempting to link these houses to Vitruvius's description of the Greek house, with its two courts for men and women (*De arch.* 6.7.1–5),¹⁷⁸ but it is unlikely that women were confined to one court; rather, we might imagine that they withdrew to the inner court when male guests were being entertained, so that they could go about their business without the risk of being seen.¹⁷⁹ The appearance of second courtyards has been linked to a tightening of the gender ideology in the 4th century, which was also manifested in stricter attention to female veiling,¹⁸⁰ and it is possible that pressure to display status by strict observation of gender conventions has encouraged the division of these wealthy houses, making concrete a distinction that was only made verbally and observed by

175. Both were built from scratch in the first half of the 4th century, House II at the beginning of the century (*Eretria X*, pp. 111–112), and the House of the Mosaics in the second quarter (*Eretria VIII*, p. 96).

176. *Eretria VIII*, pp. 45–47, 55–63, 85–96, 104–106, 118–125, figs. 44, 45, 60–69, 95–102, 105–109, 135–137, 185–190, 200, 201; *Eretria X*, pp. 96–100, figs. 153–159; Westgate 2010, pp. 497–504.

177. For the kitchens and bath-rooms, see pp. 73–74, 83, above, and nn. 113, 163, above.

178. As Reber (1988) does; for the problems with using Vitruvius to understand Classical houses, see n. 153, above.

179. A similar arrangement, with the dining room in the outer court, is found in a Classical house in sector 1/151 at Eretria; see Davaras 1965; *Eretria X*, pp. 159–160, fig. 218. In the early-4th-century House I, the pattern is reversed, with the dining rooms in the inner court, but women could still have been isolated from male guests, as the three-room suite o–p–q is tucked well away from the entrance to the

house, which was probably from the north; see *Eretria X*, pp. 26, 30–37, fig. 15. Rooms a and b were identified as dining rooms from their shape, size, and off-center doors, although they lack raised borders.

180. Llewellyn-Jones 2003, pp. 56, 61–67, 200. Another possible indication of this is the proliferation of officials known as *gunaikonomoi* (γυναικονόμοι, regulators of women), who are first attested in the 4th century, although their functions seem to have been sumptuary as much as moral; see Ogden 1996, pp. 364–375.

convention in smaller houses; this would be in line with Kent's theory that conceptual divisions of space tend to be replaced by physical partitions in more complex societies.¹⁸¹

However, plausible as it seems, we have no way of knowing whether the occupants of these houses used gendered terminology to describe the two areas of their homes, and it is far from clear that gender was the sole factor or even a primary factor that led to the addition of a second courtyard. The handful of double-courtyard houses known from the Classical period are quite varied in plan, and the functional distinction between the courts rarely corresponds exactly to that in House II and the House of the Mosaics. In many of the other surviving examples, there is evidence for craft production or large-scale agricultural processing, which may have created the need for the additional courtyard, both to provide the necessary space, as argued above, and perhaps to insulate the household or their guests from the work.¹⁸² Although the distribution of activities between the two courts varies in different houses, in general the clearest advantage of the double-courtyard arrangement is the potential that it offered to "stage-manage" the household by screening unsightly service or industrial activities from the eyes of visitors.

The complex plans of House II and the House of the Mosaics may also have enabled their owners to maintain a greater distance from their slaves and to manage them more effectively. The large number of rooms, the second courtyard, and the specialized kitchen areas discussed above would have made it easier for the free members of the household to distance themselves from servile tasks. The multiplication of rooms may also have served the need to reinforce a hierarchy within the slave workforce through spatial distinctions such as different sleeping arrangements and different degrees of inclusion or exclusion. Differences in status and function between slaves could also have been reflected in differential access patterns, as in wealthy British households in the recent past, where the higher servants moved between upstairs and downstairs, while the more menial staff remained below stairs all the time. For example, a housekeeper's role involved distributing food and equipment from the stores, and Ischomachos's recommendation that she should be especially trustworthy and in control of her appetite for food and drink implies that she had access to areas of the house that other slaves did not (*Xen. Oec.* 9.10–13, 10.10).

Moreover, in substantial houses like these, there are likely to have been large numbers of slaves with specialized functions, and additional rooms may have been demanded both by the size of the household and by the

181. Reber (2001) sees a possible forerunner of this in the division of the north range in some smaller houses between a three-room suite and a dining room.

182. In House IV at Eretria, created around the end of the 4th century from parts of two earlier houses, the living and dining rooms were in the larger court, while the other court was prob-

ably used for agricultural processing; see *Eretria X*, pp. 73, 77–85, 92–93, fig. 104. The kiln mentioned by Nevett (1999, p. 113) was subsequently reinterpreted as part of a wine press. The house in sector 151/1 (n. 179, above) had a wine press and potter's workshop alongside the living rooms in the inner court in its final, Hellenistic phase. Other double-courtyard houses

with evidence for craft production include Houses C and D in Athens and A viii 7/9 at Olynthos, which were created by combining two existing houses (nn. 141, 142, above). The house of the sculptors Mikion and Menon in Athens may also have had a second courtyard to separate the working area from the living quarters; see Tsakirgis 2005, pp. 72, 75, fig. 5.3.

more complex division of labor. The provision of separate kitchens, for example, may reflect the increasing specialization and professionalization of cooking. The chef (μάγειρος, *mageiros*) is a new figure in the Classical period, and he becomes a stock character in comedy in the 4th century; in earlier comedies the protagonist tends to supervise the cooking himself, assisted by slaves.¹⁸³ This has been suspected of being a purely literary development, a product of the focus on domestic intrigue in later comedy,¹⁸⁴ but the separation between kitchens and living rooms suggests that there might have been a real shift in the division of labor, in the wealthiest households at least. Space might also have been required for the more specialized kitchen staff who are mentioned in some texts, such as the *sitopoios* (σιτοποιός, breadmaker),¹⁸⁵ the *opsopoios* (ὄσσοποιός, who prepared savory or fish dishes), and the *dēmiourgos* (δημιουργός, literally “artisan,” but in culinary terms a pastry cook).¹⁸⁶

The double-courtyard arrangement also made it easier for some slaves to be put on display to visitors, while the less presentable ones were kept “backstage.” For example, in some households there was a doorkeeper (θυρωρός, *thurōros*), who greeted guests: the super-rich Kallias had a eunuch doorkeeper, a touch of oriental-style luxury that was surely meant to impress (Pl. *Prt.* 314c). The small room opening off the entrance passage of House II may have been a lodge for such a doorkeeper.¹⁸⁷ Other “front-of-house” staff might have included waiters and wine pourers, and perhaps a *trapezopoios* (τραπεζοποιός, literally “tablemaker”), who was responsible for preparing the dining equipment and directing the serving staff; his work must have involved moving between the public and private areas of the house,¹⁸⁸ although a fragment of comedy has a *trapezopoios* being told, presumably by the cook, that his authority does not extend to the kitchen.¹⁸⁹ The kitchen staff, on the other hand, might have been less visible: the humor in the long-winded, pompous speeches given by chefs in Middle and New Comedy derives in part from the fact that they are intruding in the wrong sphere, talking to the audience rather than staying out of sight in the kitchen.¹⁹⁰ There seems

183. Wilkins 2000, pp. 369–382.

The *mageiros* could also serve as a sacrificial assistant, responsible for butchering the animal, or as a commercial butcher. He was not necessarily a slave; he was often hired for the occasion, although some households had their own, like the Disagreeable Man (Ἀηδής, *Aēdēs*: Theophr. *Char.* 20.9).

184. Wilkins 2000, pp. 370–371.

185. Xen. *Oec.* 10.10; Theophr. *Char.* 4.7.

186. Ath. 4.172a–d. For the specialization of cooking, see Wilkins 2000, pp. 363, 396–397. The functions of these individuals were not necessarily distinct: sometimes the *mageiros* and the *opsopoios* are differentiated (e.g., Pl. *Resp.* 2.373c; Dionysios, *Thesmo-*

phoros, *PCG*, fr. 2 = Ath. 9.404e–405d), but sometimes the two titles are used interchangeably (e.g., Alexis, *Milesians*, *PCG*, fr. 153, lines 6, 14 = Ath. 9.379a–c).

187. *Eretria* X, p. 96.

188. Athenaios (4.170d–f) and Pollux (*Onom.* 3.41, 6.13) list the duties of the *trapezopoios*: taking care of the tables and seeing that everything is in good order, washing the equipment, getting the lamps ready, preparing libations, and directing the serving staff. Like the *mageiros*, he could be hired for the occasion, although a wealthy household might own one: a *trapezopoios* is among the confiscated property recorded on the Attic Stelai (stele II, line 73, discussed by Pritchett and Pip-

pin 1956, p. 279). Wine pourers (οἰνοχόοι, *oinochōoi*) are mentioned by, e.g., Xen. *Symp.* 2.27; Theophr. *Char.* 19.10.

189. Philemon (4th or 3rd century B.C.), *The Man Who Tried to Sneak In*, *PCG*, fr. 64 (= Ath. 4.170e). The rivalry between the cook and the *trapezopoios* is a stock motif of comedy: e.g., Men. *Aspis* 231–233; *Dys.* 644–647.

190. Wilkins 2000, pp. 381–382. They are often interrupted by their frustrated customer telling them to get out of the way and mind their own business: e.g., Men. *The False Herakles*, *PCG*, fr. 409 (= Ath. 4.172a–c); Nikomachos, *Eileithuia*, *PCG*, fr. 1 (= Ath. 7.291d); Sosipater, *The Perjurer*, *PCG*, fr. 1 (= Ath. 9.379a).

to have been a marked increase in the conspicuous consumption of slave labor in the Classical period,¹⁹¹ and a large house with many rooms was needed both to accommodate these armies of specialized domestic slaves and to present them to best advantage. Many of these slave roles are related to hospitality, and thus the display and proper management of slaves, like the ostentatious observation of gender ideals and the “stage-managing” of the house, are indivisible from the desire to advertise the high status of the household.

CONCLUSIONS

House II and the House of the Mosaics at Eretria represent the highest degree of segmentation and specialization of domestic space that is attested in the Classical period, but the process of increasing spatial differentiation can be traced into the Hellenistic period, when political structures were closer to the conventional model of the state, with centralized authority, a highly complex bureaucracy, and standing armies. By this time many communities were larger, denser, and more anonymous than ever, and the certainties of earlier periods had been further undermined by increased social and geographical mobility. Accordingly, in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., larger houses with multiple courtyards became more common, and the top of the range was pushed higher still by the vast palaces of the Hellenistic kings, which were designed to accommodate the complex and rigid hierarchies of court society.¹⁹² Not only is the space in Hellenistic houses typically more segmented, as Kent’s observations predict, but there is also a greater variety of distinctive room types, a wider and more flexible range of decorative options to express status distinctions within and between households,¹⁹³ and a growing tendency to provide second entrances and alternative circulation routes around the house, which increased the potential for separating inhabitants of different statuses.¹⁹⁴

The broad scope of this article has inevitably entailed flattening out potentially significant local variation in order to focus on the deeper underlying patterns, but I hope that it offers a useful new perspective by bringing into consideration a wider range of factors beyond gender, which has dominated the study of Greek housing in recent years.¹⁹⁵ Slavery in particular must have had an influence on the configuration and use of domestic space, but the relative invisibility of slaves in the literary sources has led to their neglect in studies of Greek houses. That competition for status drove up the size of houses, especially in the Late Classical period, is not a new observation, but there has been little detailed exploration of the ways in which the increasing complexity of house plans facilitated the expression of a wider and subtler range of social distinctions. Likewise, although many scholars have identified the social anxieties that were created by the anonymity of the growing cities of Archaic and Classical Greece, few have recognized their potential to affect domestic architecture. It has only been possible to treat these topics briefly here, and there is surely much more to be explored.

191. Miller 1997, pp. 209–217.

192. Nielsen 1999.

193. Westgate 2000.

194. Westgate 2013, pp. 258–260.

195. It is not my intention to imply that social complexity was the only factor that encouraged the expansion of houses. For example, Morris (2005, esp. p. 115) has identified economic growth as an important factor, although, as he points out, this is likely to have facilitated the development as much as causing it.

REFERENCES

- Agora XIV* = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center (Agora XIV)*, Princeton 1972.
- Alexandri, O. 1967. "Μενάνδρου 9," *ArchDelt* 22, B'1, pp. 98–100.
- . 1975a. "Ὀδὸς Μενάνδρου 7," *ArchDelt* 30, B'1, pp. 24–27.
- . 1975b. "Ὀδὸς Σαλαμινομάχων καὶ Φλέσσα," *ArchDelt* 30, B'1, p. 33.
- Antonaccio, C. M. 2000. "Architecture and Behaviour: Building Gender into Greek Houses," *CW* 93, pp. 517–533.
- Ariès, P. 1996. *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. R. Baldick, London.
- Arnott, W. G., ed. and trans. 1979–2000. *Menander* (Loeb Classical Library), 3 vols., Cambridge, Mass.
- Ault, B. A. 2005a. *The Excavations at Ancient Halieis: Conducted by the University of Pennsylvania and Indiana University, Porto Kheli, Greece 2: The Houses: The Organization and Use of Domestic Space*, Bloomington.
- . 2005b. "Housing the Poor and the Homeless in Ancient Greece," in Ault and Nevett 2005, pp. 140–159.
- Ault, B. A., and L. C. Nevett, eds. 2005. *Ancient Greek Houses and Households: Chronological, Regional, and Social Diversity*, Philadelphia.
- Berent, M. 2000. "Anthropology and the Classics: War, Violence, and the Stateless Polis," *CQ* 50, pp. 257–289.
- Betalli, M. 1985. "Case, botteghe, ergasteria: Note sui luoghi di produzione e di vendita nell'Atene classica," *Opus* 4, pp. 29–42.
- Blanton, R. E. 1994. *Houses and Households: A Comparative Study* (Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology), New York.
- Boardman, J. 1967. *Excavations in Chios, 1952–1955: Greek Emporio* (BSA Suppl. 6), London.
- Bourdieu, P. 1970. "The Berber House or the World Reversed," *Social Science Information* 9, pp. 151–170.
- Burton, J. 1998. "Women's Commensality in the Ancient Greek World," *GaR* 45, pp. 143–165.
- Cahill, N. 2002. *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*, New Haven.
- Cambitoglou, A. 1972. "Ανασκαφή Ζαγοράς Άνδρου (1971)," *Prakt* 1972, pp. 251–273.
- Cambitoglou, A., A. Birchall, J. J. Coulton, and J. R. Green. 1988. *Zagora 2: Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros: Excavation Season 1969: Study Season 1969–1970* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 105), 2 vols., Athens.
- Cambitoglou, A., J. J. Coulton, J. Birmingham, and J. R. Green. [1971] 1992. *Zagora 1: Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros: Excavation Season 1967: Study Season 1968–1969* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 105), repr., Athens.
- Cambitoglou, A., S. Peirce, O. Segal, and J. Papadopoulos. 1981. *Archaeological Museum of Andros: Guide to the Finds from the Excavations of the Geometric Town at Zagora*, Athens.
- Camp, J. McK. 1992. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*, rev. ed., London.
- Cohen, D. J. 1989. "Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens," *GaR* 36, pp. 3–15.
- . 1991. *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens*, Cambridge.
- Cohen, E. E. 2000. *The Athenian Nation*, Princeton.
- Corinth XV.1* = A. N. Stillwell, *The Potters' Quarter (Corinth XV.1)*, Princeton 1948.
- Corner, S. 2012. "Did 'Respectable' Women Attend Symposia?" *GaR* 59, pp. 34–45.
- Coucouzeli, A. 1999. "Architecture, Power, and Ideology in Dark Age Greece: A New Interpretation of the Lefkandi Tomba Building," in *Classical Archaeology towards the Third Millennium: Reflections and Perspectives. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, July 12–17, 1998* (Allard Pierson Series 12), ed. R. F. Docter and E. M. Moormann, Amsterdam, pp. 126–129.
- . 2004. "From Tribe to State in the Greek Early Iron Age: The Archaeological Evidence from Lefkandi and Zagora," in *Το Αιγαίο στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου: Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Ρόδος 1–4 Νοεμβρίου 2002*, ed. N. C. Stampolides and A. Giannikouri, Athens, pp. 461–480.
- . 2007. "From Megaron to Oikos at Zagora," in Westgate, Fisher, and Whitley 2007, pp. 169–181.
- Davaras, K. 1965. "Ανασκαφή ιδιωτικής οικίας," *ArchDelt* 20, B'2, pp. 259–261.
- Davies, J. K. 1981. *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens*, New York.
- De Polignac, F. 1995. *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, trans. J. Lloyd, Chicago.
- Diggle, J. 2004. *Theophrastus: Characters* (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 43), Cambridge.
- Dover, K. 1993. *Aristophanes: Frogs*, Oxford.
- Eretria = Eretria: Fouilles et recherches*, Lausanne
- VIII = P. Ducrey, I. R. Metzger, and K. Reber, *Le quartier de la Maison aux mosaïques*, 1993.
- X = K. Reber, *Die klassischen und hellenistischen Wohnhäuser im Westquartier*, 1998.
- Étienne, R. 2007. "Histoire des espaces civiques déliens," in *Ἀμύμονα ἔργα: Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Βασίλη Κ. Λαμπρινουδάκη*, ed. E. Simantoni-Bournia, A. A. Laimou, L. G. Mendoni, and N. Kourou, Athens, pp. 319–335.
- Fagerström, K. 1988a. "Finds, Function, and Plan: A Contribution to the Interpretation of Iron Age Nichoria in Messenia," *OpAth* 17, pp. 33–50.
- . 1988b. *Greek Iron Age Architecture: Developments through Changing Times (SIMA 81)*, Göteborg.
- Ferguson, Y. H. 1991. "Chiefdoms to City-States: The Greek Experience," in *Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology*, ed. T. Earle, Cambridge, pp. 169–192.
- Finley, M. I. 1959. "Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labour?" *Historia* 8, pp. 145–164.

- . 1980. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, London.
- Fisher, N. R. E. 2001. *Aeschines: Against Timarchos*, Oxford.
- . 2008. "Independent' Slaves in Classical Athens and the Ideology of Slavery," in *From Captivity to Freedom: Themes in Ancient and Modern Slavery* (Leicester Archaeology Monographs 15), ed. C. Katsari and E. Dal Lago, Leicester, pp. 123–146.
- Fitzgerald, W. 2000. *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination*, Cambridge.
- Fletcher, R. 1995. *The Limits of Settlement Growth: A Theoretical Outline* (New Studies in Archaeology), Cambridge.
- Foley, W. 1974. *A Child in the Forest*, London.
- Foxhall, L. 2000. "The Running Sands of Time: Archaeology and the Short-Term," *WorldArch* 31, pp. 484–498.
- . 2007. "House Clearance: Unpacking the 'Kitchen' in Classical Greece," in Westgate, Fisher, and Whitley 2007, pp. 233–242.
- . 2009. "Gender," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. K. A. Raafaub and H. van Wees, Chichester, pp. 483–507.
- Fusaro, D. 1982. "Note di architettura domestica greca nel periodo tardo-geometrico e arcaico," *DialArch* n.s. 4, pp. 5–30.
- Gallant, T. W. 1991. *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy*, Stanford.
- Garlan, Y. 1988. *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd, rev. ed., Ithaca.
- Garnsey, P. 1997. *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine* (The W. B. Stanford Memorial Lectures), Cambridge.
- George, M. 1997. "Servus and Domus: The Slave in the Roman House," in *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (JRA Suppl. 22), ed. R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, Portsmouth, R.I., pp. 15–24.
- Gilchrist, R. 1994. *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women*, London.
- Goldberg, M. Y. 1999. "Spatial and Behavioural Negotiation in Classical Athenian City Houses," in *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. P. M. Allison, London, pp. 142–161.
- Graham, J. W. 1954. "Olynthiaka 5–6," *Hesperia* 23, pp. 320–346.
- . 1958. "Light Wells in Classical Greek Houses?," *Hesperia* 27, pp. 318–323.
- . 1974. "Houses of Classical Athens," *Phoenix* 28, pp. 45–54.
- Grandjean, Y. 1988. *Recherches sur l'habitat thasien à l'époque grecque* (Études thasiennes 12), 2 vols., Athens.
- Grandjean, Y., and F. Salviat. 2000. *Guide de Thasos* (Sites et monuments 3), 2nd ed., Paris.
- Green, J. R. 1990. "Zagora—Population Increase and Society in the Later Eighth Century B.C.," in *EYMOΣΙΑ: Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou* (MeditArch Suppl. 1), ed. J.-P. Descoedres, Sydney, pp. 41–46.
- Haggis, D. C., M. S. Mook, R. D. Fitzsimons, C. M. Scarry, and L. M. Snyder. 2011. "The Excavation of Archaic Houses at Azoria in 2005–2006," *Hesperia* 80, pp. 431–489.
- Harris, E. M. 2002. "Workshop, Marketplace, and Household: The Nature of Technical Specialization in Classical Athens and Its Influence on Economy and Society," in *Money, Labour, and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*, ed. P. A. Cartledge, E. E. Cohen, and L. Foxhall, London, pp. 67–99.
- Hillier, B., and J. Hanson. 1984. *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge.
- Hobden, F. 2009. "Symposion and the Rhetorics of Commensality in Demosthenes 19, *On the False Embassy*," in *Rollenbilder in der athenischen Demokratie: Medien, Gruppen, Räume im politischen und sozialen System. Beiträge zu einem interdisziplinären Kolloquium in Freiburg i.Br., 24.–25. November 2006*, ed. C. Mann, M. Haake, and R. von den Hoff, Wiesbaden, pp. 71–87.
- Hoepfner, W., ed. 1999. *Geschichte des Wohnens 1: 5000 v. Chr.–500 n. Chr.: Vorgeschichte, Frühgeschichte, Antike*, Stuttgart.
- Hoepfner, W., and E.-L. Schwandner. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland* (Wohnen in der klassischen Polis 1), 2nd ed., Munich.
- Hunt, P. 2011. "Slaves in Greek Literary Culture," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery 1: The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. K. Bradley and P. Cartledge, Cambridge, pp. 22–47.
- Hunter, V. J. 1994. *Policing Athens: Social Control in the Attic Lawsuits, 420–320 B.C.*, Princeton.
- IE² = M. L. West, ed., *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati 2*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1992.
- Izzet, V. 2007. *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, Cambridge.
- Jameson, M. H. 1990a. "Domestic Space in the Greek City-State," in Kent 1990a, pp. 92–113.
- . 1990b. "Private Space and the Greek City," in *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander*, ed. O. Murray and S. Price, Oxford, pp. 171–195.
- Jones, J. E. 1975. "Town and Country Houses of Attica in Classical Times," in *Thorikos and the Laurion in Archaic and Classical Times. Papers and Contributions of the Colloquium Held in March, 1973, at the State University of Ghent* (Miscellanea Graeca 1), ed. H. Mussche, P. Spitaels, and F. Goemaere-De Poerck, Ghent, pp. 63–140.
- . 2007. "Living above the Shop': Domestic Aspects of the Ancient Industrial Workshops of the Laurion Area of South-East Attica," in Westgate, Fisher, and Whitley 2007, pp. 267–280.
- Joshel, S. R., and S. Murnaghan. 1998. "Introduction: Differential Equations," in *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*, ed. S. R. Joshel and S. Murnaghan, London, pp. 1–21.
- Just, R. 1989. *Women in Athenian Law and Life*, London.
- Karadedos, G. 1990. "Υστεροκλασικό σπίτι στη Μαρόνεια Θράκης," *Egnatia* 2, pp. 265–314.
- Karvoni, P. 2008. "Typologie et évolution des installations commerciales dans les villes grecques du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. et de l'époque hellénistique," *REA* 110, pp. 57–81.
- Kelly-Blazeby, C. F. 2006. "Kapeleion: Casual and Commercial Wine

- Consumption in Classical Greece" (diss. Univ. of Leicester).
- Kent, S., ed. 1990a. *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study* (New Directions in Archaeology), Cambridge.
- . 1990b. "Activity Areas and Architecture: An Interdisciplinary View of the Relationship between Use of Space and Domestic Built Environments," in Kent 1990a, pp. 1–8.
- . 1990c. "A Cross-Cultural Study of Segmentation, Architecture, and the Use of Space," in Kent 1990a, pp. 127–152.
- . 1991. "Partitioning Space: Cross-Cultural Factors Influencing Domestic Spatial Segmentation," *Environment and Behavior* 23, pp. 438–473.
- Kinch, K. F. 1914. *Fouilles de Vroulia (Rhodes)*, Berlin.
- Klees, H. 1998. *Sklavenleben im klassischen Griechenland (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 30)*, Stuttgart.
- Krause, C. 1977. "Grundformen des griechischen Pastashauses," *AA* 1977, pp. 164–179.
- LaMotta, V. M., and M. B. Schiffer. 1999. "Formation Processes of House Floor Assemblages," in *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. P. M. Allison, London, pp. 19–29.
- Lang, F. 1996. *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland: Struktur und Entwicklung*, Berlin.
- . 2002. "Housing and Settlement in Archaic Greece," in Luce 2002a, pp. 13–32.
- . 2005. "Structural Change in Archaic Greek Housing," in Ault and Nevett 2005, pp. 12–35.
- . 2007. "House—Community—Settlement: The New Concept of Living in Archaic Greece," in Westgate, Fisher, and Whitley 2007, pp. 183–193.
- Langdon, S. 2008. *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece, 1100–700 B.C.E.*, Cambridge.
- Lawrence, R. J. 1996. "The Multi-dimensional Nature of Boundaries: An Integrative Historical Perspective," in *Setting Boundaries: The Anthropology of Spatial and Social Organisation*, ed. D. Pellow, Westport, Conn., pp. 9–36.
- Lewis, S. 1995. "Barbers' Shops and Perfume Shops: 'Symposia Without Wine,'" in *The Greek World*, ed. A. Powell, London, pp. 432–441.
- . 1996. *News and Society in the Greek Polis*, London.
- Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2003. *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*, Swansea.
- Luce, J.-M., ed. 2002a. *Habitat et urbanisme dans le monde grec de la fin des palais mycéniens à la prise de Milet (494 av. J.C.). Table Ronde Internationale du 9–10 mars 2001 à Toulouse* (Pallas 58), Toulouse.
- . 2002b. "À partir de l'exemple de Delphes: La question de la fonction des pièces," in Luce 2002a, pp. 49–97.
- Lynch, K. M. 2007. "More Thoughts on the Space of the Symposium," in Westgate, Fisher, and Whitley 2007, pp. 243–249.
- . 2011. *The Symposium in Context: Pottery from a Late Archaic House near the Athenian Agora (Hesperia Suppl. 46)*, Princeton.
- Mallen, L. 2011. "Gendering Space in Dark Age Nichoria," in *The "Dark Ages" Revisited. Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007*, ed. A. Mazarakis Ainian, Volos, pp. 383–397.
- Manville, P. B. 1990. *The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens*, Princeton.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. 1996. "Ἀνασκαφή Σκάλας Ὀρωποῦ (1985–87, 1996)," *Prakt* 1996, pp. 21–124.
- . 1997. *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion, and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100–700 B.C.) (SIMA 121)*, Jonsered.
- . 1998. "Oropos in the Early Iron Age," in *Euboica: L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Napoli, 13–16 novembre 1996* (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard 16; *AION*, Quaderno 12), ed. M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, Naples, pp. 179–215.
- . 2001. "From Huts to Houses in Early Iron Age Greece," in *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies. Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21–24 September 1997 (ActaRom 4° 56 = ActaAArtHist 4° 13)*, ed. J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson, Stockholm, pp. 139–161.
- . 2002a. "Les fouilles d'Oropos et la fonction des périboles dans les agglomérations du début de l'Âge du Fer," in Luce 2002a, pp. 183–227.
- . 2002b. "Recent Excavations at Oropos (Northern Attica)," in *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece (BAR-IS 1031)*, ed. M. Stamato-poulou and M. Yeroulanou, Oxford, pp. 149–178.
- . 2007. "Architecture and Social Structure in Early Iron Age Greece," in Westgate, Fisher, and Whitley 2007, pp. 157–168.
- McDonald, W. A., W. D. E. Coulson, and J. Rosser. 1983. *Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece 3: Dark Age and Byzantine Occupation*, Minneapolis.
- Miller, M. C. 1997. *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*, Cambridge.
- Millett, P. 2007. *Theophrastus and His World (PCPS Suppl. 33)*, Cambridge.
- Morgan, J. E. 2007. "Space and the Notion of a Final Frontier: Searching for Ritual Boundaries in the Classical Athenian Home," *Kernos* 20, pp. 113–129.
- Morris, I. 1987. *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State* (New Studies in Archaeology), Cambridge.
- . 1992. *Death—Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Key Themes in Ancient History), Cambridge.
- . 1997. "An Archaeology of Equalities? The Greek City-States," in *The Archaeology of City-States: Cross-Cultural Approaches* (Smithsonian Series in Archaeological Inquiry), ed. D. L. Nichols and T. H. Charlton, Washington, D.C., pp. 91–105.
- . 1998a. "Archaeology and Archaic Greek History," in *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, ed. N. Fisher and H. van Wees, London, pp. 1–91.

- . 1998b. "Remaining Invisible: The Archaeology of the Excluded in Classical Athens," in *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*, ed. S. R. Joshel and S. Murnaghan, London, pp. 193–220.
- . 1999. "Archaeology and Gender Ideologies in Early Archaic Greece," *TAPA* 129, pp. 305–317.
- . 2000. *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece*, Oxford.
- . 2005. "Archaeology, Standards of Living, and Greek Economic History," in *The Ancient Economy: Evidence and Models*, ed. J. G. Manning and I. Morris, Stanford, pp. 91–126.
- . 2006. "The Growth of Greek Cities in the First Millennium B.C.," in *Urbanism in the Preindustrial World: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, ed. G. R. Storey, Tuscaloosa, pp. 27–51.
- Morris, S. P., and J. K. Papadopoulos. 2005. "Greek Towers and Slaves: An Archaeology of Exploitation," *AJA* 109, pp. 155–225.
- Mussche, H. F. 1998. *Thorikos: A Mining Town in Ancient Attika (Fouilles de Thorikos 2)*, Ghent.
- Muthesius, S. 1982. *The English Terraced House*, New Haven.
- Netting, R. McC., R. R. Wilk, and E. J. Arnould. 1984. "Introduction," in *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*, ed. R. McC. Netting, R. R. Wilk, and E. J. Arnould, Berkeley, pp. xiii–xxviii.
- Nevett, L. C. 1994. "Separation or Seclusion? Towards an Archaeological Approach to Investigating Women in the Greek Household in the Fifth to Third Centuries B.C.," in *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space (Material Cultures)*, ed. M. Parker Pearson and C. Richards, London, pp. 89–101.
- . 1995a. "Gender Relations in the Classical Greek Household: The Archaeological Evidence," *BSA* 90, pp. 363–381.
- . 1995b. "The Organisation of Space in Classical and Hellenistic Houses from Mainland Greece and the Western Colonies," in *Time, Tradition, and Society in Greek Archaeology: Bridging the 'Great Divide'* (Theoretical Archaeology Group), ed. N. Spencer, London, pp. 89–108.
- . 1999. *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World (New Studies in Archaeology)*, Cambridge.
- . 2003. "Domestic Space as a Means of Exploring Social Change: Household Organisation and the Formation of the Classical Greek Polis," in *Wohnformen und Lebenswelten im interkulturellen Vergleich*, ed. M. Droste and A. Hoffmann, Frankfurt, pp. 11–20.
- . 2005. "Between Urban and Rural: House-Form and Social Relations in Attic Villages and Deme Centers," in Ault and Nevett 2005, pp. 83–98.
- . 2010. *Domestic Space in Classical Antiquity (Key Themes in Ancient History)*, Cambridge.
- Nielsen, I. 1999. *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 5)*, 2nd ed., Aarhus.
- Ogden, D. 1996. *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods (Oxford Classical Monographs)*, Oxford.
- Olynthus = Excavations at Olynthus*, Baltimore
 II = D. M. Robinson, *Architecture and Sculpture: Houses and Other Buildings*, 1930.
 VIII = D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *The Hellenic House*, 1938.
 XII = D. M. Robinson, *Domestic and Public Architecture*, 1946.
- Osborne, R. 1985. "Buildings and Residence on the Land in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: The Contribution of Epigraphy," *BSA* 80, pp. 119–128.
- . 1991. "Pride and Prejudice, Sense and Subsistence: Exchange and Society in the Greek City," in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, ed. J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill, London, pp. 119–145.
- . 1995. "The Economics and Politics of Slavery at Athens," in *The Greek World*, ed. A. Powell, London, pp. 27–43.
- Papadakis, N. 1915. "Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἱσείου ἐν Ἐπετρίῳ," *ArchDelt* 15, pp. 113–190.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. 2003. *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora (Hesperia Suppl. 31)*, Athens.
- Parisinou, E. 2007. "Lighting Dark Rooms: Some Thoughts about the Use of Space in Early Greek Domestic Architecture," in Westgate, Fisher, and Whitley 2007, pp. 213–223.
- Parker, R. 2005. *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford.
- PCG = R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds., *Poetae comici graeci*, 8 vols., Berlin 1983–.
- PLG = T. Bergk, ed., *Poetae lyriici graeci 2: Poetas elegiacos et iambographos continens*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1882.
- Popham, M. R., P. G. Calligas, and L. H. Sackett, eds. 1993. *Lefkandi 2: The Protogeometric Building at Toumba, Pt. 2: The Excavation, Architecture, and Finds (BSA Suppl. 23)*, London.
- Pritchett, W. K., and A. Pippin. 1956. "The Attic Stelai: Part II," *Hesperia* 25, pp. 178–328.
- Raeck, W. 2003. "Priene: Neue Forschungen an einem alten Grabungs-ort," *IstMitt* 53, pp. 313–423.
- Rapoport, A. 1990a. *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach*, rev. ed., Tucson.
- . 1990b. "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," in Kent 1990a, pp. 9–20.
- Reber, K. 1988. "Aedificia Graecorum: Zu Vitruvs Beschreibung des griechischen Hauses," *AA* 1988, pp. 653–666.
- . 2001. "Entwicklungsstufen in der Grundrissorganisation griechischer Wohnhäuser," in *From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies. Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21–24 September 1997 (ActaRom 4° 56 = ActaArtHist 4° 13)*, ed. J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson, Stockholm, pp. 63–69.
- Rhodes, P. J. 1986. "Political Activity in Classical Athens," *JHS* 106, pp. 132–144.
- Rotroff, S. I. 2009. "Commerce and Crafts around the Athenian Agora," in *The Athenian Agora:*

- New Perspectives on an Ancient Site (Antike Welt Sonderband)*, ed. J. McK. Camp and C. A. Mauzy, Mainz, pp. 39–46.
- Samson, R. 1990. "Comment on Eleanor Scott's 'Romano-British Villas and the Social Construction of Space,'" in *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, ed. R. Samson, Edinburgh, pp. 173–180.
- Sanders, D. 1990. "Behavioral Conventions and Archaeology: Methods for the Analysis of Ancient Architecture," in Kent 1990a, pp. 43–72.
- Schaps, D. M. 1998. "What Was Free about a Free Athenian Woman?" *TAPA* 128, pp. 161–188.
- . 2004. *The Invention of Coinage and the Monetization of Ancient Greece*, Ann Arbor.
- Schefold, K. 1976. "Das Iseion von Eretria," *AntK* 19, pp. 59–63.
- Senff, R. 2000. "Die archaische Wohnbebauung am Kalabaktepe in Milet," in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer: Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen, 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (DenkschrWien 288 = AF 4), ed. F. Krinzinger, Vienna, pp. 29–37.
- Sewell, J. 2011. *The Formation of Roman Urbanism, 338–200 B.C.: Between Contemporary Foreign Influence and Roman Tradition* (JRA Suppl. 79), Portsmouth, R.I.
- Shear, T. L., Jr. 1973. "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42, pp. 121–179.
- Silverblatt, I. 1988. "Women in States," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17, pp. 427–460.
- Snodgrass, A. M. 1980. *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment*, Berkeley.
- Sørensen, M. L. S. 2000. *Gender Archaeology*, Cambridge.
- Sparkes, B. 1962. "The Greek Kitchen," *JHS* 82, pp. 121–137.
- Svoronos-Hadjimichalis, V. 1956. "L'évacuation de la fumée dans les maisons grecques des V^e et IV^e siècles," *BCH* 80, pp. 483–506.
- Terrenato, N., and D. C. Haggis, eds. 2011. *State Formation in Italy and Greece: Questioning the Neoevolutionist Paradigm*, Oxford.
- Themelis, P. 1979. "Ausgrabungen in Kallipolis (Ost-Aetolien) 1977–1978," *AAA* 12, pp. 245–279.
- . 1999. "Ausgrabungen in Kallipolis (Ost-Aetolien)," in *Geschichte des Wohnens 1: 5000 v. Chr.–500 n. Chr.: Vorgeschichte, Frühgeschichte, Antike*, ed. W. Hoepfner, Stuttgart, pp. 427–440.
- Thompson, F. H. 2003. *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Slavery* (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 66), London.
- Thompson, H. A. 1940. *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors* (Hesperia Suppl. 4), Baltimore.
- . 1959. "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1958," *Hesperia* 28, pp. 91–108.
- Thorikos = Thorikos*
 I = H. F. Mussche, J. Bingen, J. Servais, R. Paepe, and T. Hackens, *Thorikos 1963: Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne de fouilles*, Brussels 1968.
 II = H. F. Mussche, J. Bingen, J. De Geyter, G. Donnay, and T. Hackens, *Thorikos 1964: Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne de fouilles*, Brussels 1967.
 III = H. F. Mussche, J. Bingen, J. Servais, J. De Geyter, T. Hackens, P. Spitaels, and A. Gautier, *Thorikos 1965: Rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouilles*, Brussels 1967.
 VII = P. Spitaels, J. Bingen, A. Uyttendaele, F. Blondé, K. van Gelder, A. Cheliotis, and A. Helsen, *Thorikos 1970/1971: Rapport préliminaire sur les septième et huitième campagnes de fouilles*, Ghent 1978.
 IX = H. F. Mussche, J. Bingen, J. E. Jones, and M. Waelkens, *Thorikos 1977/1982: Rapport préliminaire sur les 13^e, 14^e, 15^e, et 16^e campagnes de fouilles*, Ghent 1990.
- Trümper, M. 2010. "Bathing Culture in Hellenistic Domestic Architecture," in *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum, 4. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 24.–27. Oktober 2007 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (AF 18), ed. S. Ladstätter and V. Scheibelreiter, Vienna, pp. 529–567.
- . 2011. "Space and Social Relationships in the Greek *Oikos* of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods," in *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. B. Rawson, Oxford, pp. 32–52.
- Tsakirgis, B. 2005. "Living and Working around the Athenian Agora: A Preliminary Case Study of Three Houses," in Ault and Nevett 2005, pp. 67–82.
- . 2007. "Fire and Smoke: Hearths, Braziers, and Chimneys in the Greek House," in Westgate, Fisher, and Whitley 2007, pp. 225–231.
- . 2009. "Living near the Agora: Houses and Households in Central Athens," in *The Athenian Agora: New Perspectives on an Ancient Site (Antike Welt Sonderband)*, ed. J. McK. Camp and C. A. Mauzy, Mainz, pp. 47–54.
- Van Gelder, K. 2011. "Old Excavations near the Top of the Velatouri at Thorikos: A Revision," in *Thorikos X: Reports and Studies*, ed. R. F. Docter, Ghent, pp. 15–49.
- van Wees, H. 1995. "Princes at Dinner: Social Event and Social Structure in Homer," in *Homeric Questions: Essays in Philology, Ancient History, and Archaeology, Including the Papers of a Conference Organized by the Netherlands Institute at Athens, 15 May 1993* (Papers of the Netherlands Institute at Athens 2), ed. J. P. Crielaard, Amsterdam, pp. 147–182.
- . 2004. *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, London.
- von Eickstedt, K.-V. 1991. *Beiträge zur Topographie des antiken Piräus* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 118), Athens.
- Walker, S. 1983. "Women and Housing in Classical Greece: The Archaeological Evidence," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, London, pp. 81–91.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1994. *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton.
- Walter-Karydi, E. 1994. *Die Nobilitierung des Wohnhauses: Lebensform und Architektur im spätklassischen Griechenland* (Xenia 35), Konstanz.
- Westgate, R. C. 1998. "Greek Mosaics in Their Architectural and Social Context," *BICS* 42, pp. 93–115.

- . 2000. "Space and Decoration in Hellenistic Houses," *BSA* 95, pp. 391–426.
- . 2007a. "The Greek House and the Ideology of Citizenship," *WorldArch* 39, pp. 229–245.
- . 2007b. "House and Society in Classical and Hellenistic Crete: A Case Study in Regional Variation," *AJA* 111, pp. 423–457.
- . 2010. "Interior Decoration in Hellenistic Houses: Context, Function, and Meaning," in *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum, 4. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 24.–27. Oktober 2007 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (AF 18)*, ed. S. Ladstätter and V. Scheibelreiter, Vienna, pp. 497–528.
- . 2013. "Making Yourself at Home in the Hellenistic World," in *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World (Phoenix Suppl. 51)*, ed. S. L. Ager and R. A. Faber, Toronto, pp. 245–267.
- . In prep. "Slavery and the Use of Space in Classical Greek Houses."
- Westgate, R., N. Fisher, and J. Whitley, eds. 2007. *Building Communities: House, Settlement, and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a Conference Held at Cardiff University, 17–21 April 2001 (BSA Studies 15)*, London.
- Whitley, J. 1991. "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece," *BSA* 86, pp. 341–365.
- Wiegand, T., and H. Schrader. 1904. *Priene: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898*, Berlin.
- Wilkins, J. 2000. *The Boastful Chef: The Discourse of Food in Ancient Greek Comedy*, Oxford.
- Williams, C. K., II. 1979. "Corinth, 1978: Forum Southwest," *Hesperia* 48, pp. 105–144.
- . 1981. "The City of Corinth and Its Domestic Religion," *Hesperia* 50, pp. 408–421.
- Williams, C. K., II, and J. E. Fisher. 1971. "Corinth, 1970: Forum Area," *Hesperia* 40, pp. 1–51.
- . 1972. "Corinth, 1971: Forum Area," *Hesperia* 41, pp. 143–184.
- Wolters, P. 1925. "Forschungen auf Ägina," *AA* 1925, pp. 1–12.
- Yoffee, N. 1993. "Too Many Chiefs? (or, Safe Texts for the '90s)," in *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda? (New Directions in Archaeology)*, ed. N. Yoffee and A. Sherratt, Cambridge, pp. 60–78.
- . 2005. *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations*, Cambridge.
- Young, R. S. 1951. "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* 20, pp. 135–288.

Ruth Westgate

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND RELIGION

JOHN PERCIVAL BUILDING, COLUM DRIVE

CARDIFF CF10 3EU

UNITED KINGDOM

WestgateR@cardiff.ac.uk