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House — community — settlement: the new concept of living in Archaic Greece

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INTRODUCTION

The study of spatial arrangement and organisation within settlements gives some clues to their social conditions. Space is simultaneously both the medium and the outcome of human action (Saunders 1990, 183). 'The physical organization of household clusters of buildings and facilities and the layout of household clusters and other elements in the community plan are our clues to the ancient communities of individuals and families' (Mehrer 2000, 45). Settlement and houses therefore are the social and physical context of human behaviour. The settlements offer a regional and the houses a domestic perspective on the organisation of society, authority, economy and rituals. The architecture and its arrangement order and limit space, and create an inside and an outside. Architecture is also to be seen as a result of dialectical processes and as a reflection of political, socio-economic, symbolic, functional and ideological activities within a community.

From the Early Iron Age to the Archaic period multi-level changes of relationships between individual, community and society took place (Jeffery 1976; Snodgrass 1980; Starr 1986; Fisher and van Wees 1998). These changes also affected the arrangement and spatial organisation of the settlement as well as of the houses. The new concept of spatial arrangement in Archaic Greece is presented in this paper.

THE DATA

The patterns of spatial structuring in settlements are signified by several components: layout of the settlement; areas for special purposes; type and arrangement of buildings and road system (Lang 2002, 264–70).

Internal structure of settlements

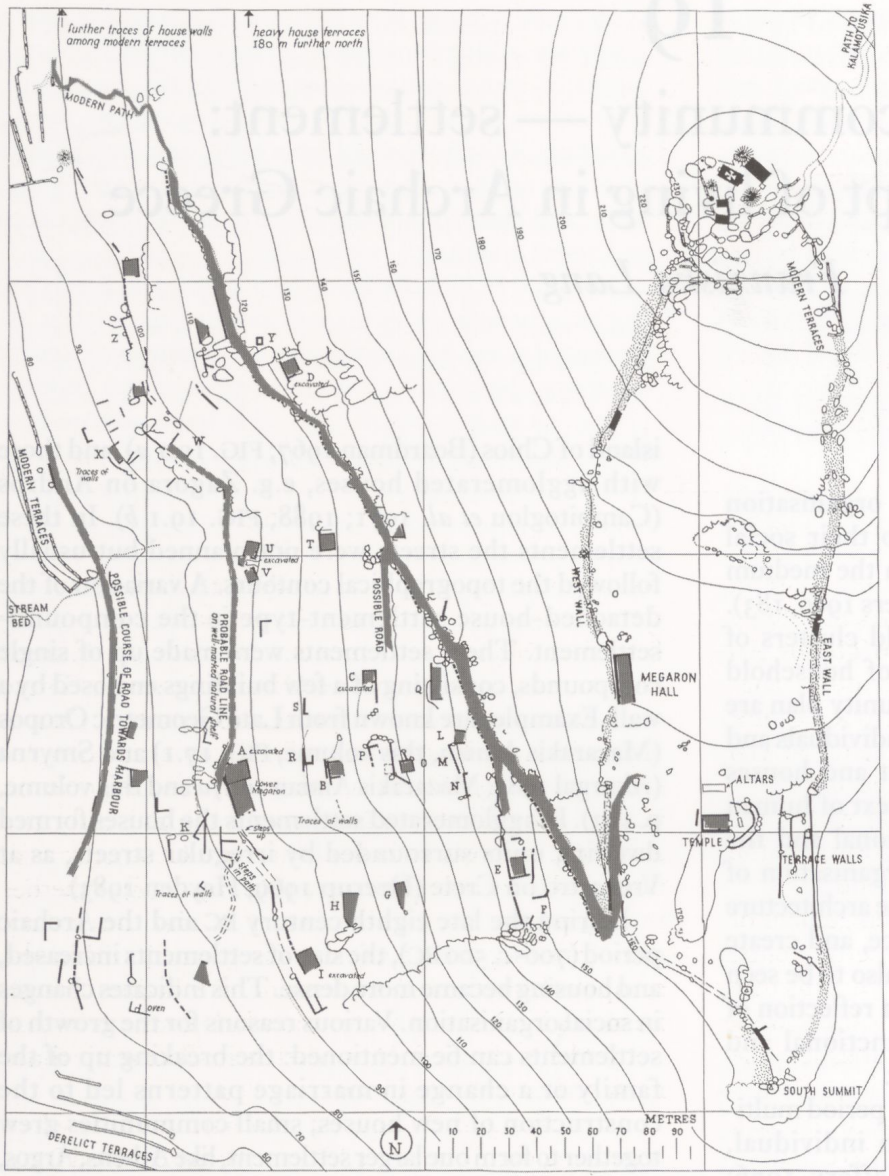
In the first three centuries of the first millennium BC, the so-called Early Iron Age, local communities with small family groups, ranked on a simple level, possibly governed by a local leader, were the common form of social organisation. Settlements were scattered without a political centre and the size of sites was small. Two principal types of house-arrangement are recognisable: settlements with detached houses, e.g. Emporio on the island of Chios (Boardman 1967; FIG. 19.1 *a*), and those with agglomerated houses, e.g. Zagora on Andros (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1971; 1988; FIG. 19.1 *b*). In these settlements the streets were not planned but usually followed the topographical contours. A variation of the detached-house settlement-type is the compound-settlement. These settlements were made up of single compounds, consisting of a few buildings enclosed by a wall. Examples are known from Late Geometric Oropos (Mazarakis Ainian, this volume, FIG. 17.1) and Smyrna (Akurgal 1983; Mazarakis Ainian 1997*a* and this volume, p. 163). In agglomerated settlements the houses formed dwelling units surrounded by irregular streets, as at Vrokastro on Crete (Drerup 1969; Hayden 1983).

During the late eighth century BC and the Archaic period (700–*c.* 500 BC), the size of settlements increased, and housing became more dense. This indicates changes in social organisation. Various reasons for the growth of settlements can be mentioned: the breaking up of the family or a change in marriage patterns led to the construction of new houses; small communities grew together to form one larger settlement, like Athens, Argos, Eretria and Corinth, where at the same time grave-plots — formerly situated between these small communities — were placed outside the enlarged settlement (Lang 1996, 73–4; Schmid 2000–2001, 103–4).[1]

In the seventh century the settlement type with detached houses became less common and disappeared almost entirely until the Classical period, whereas the agglomerated type was still detectable. At the same time a new settlement type arose in Greece: planned and regular. Vroulia on Rhodes was one of the first examples to show this new feature (Kinch 1914; FIG. 19.2). Two parallel rows of houses were excavated, which were divided by a street. The back of the northern row formed the fortification wall. In the western part of the settlement, in an enclosed area, altars and a couple of rooms, perhaps workshops, were found. This area presumably had a public function.

At Halieis in the Argolid the Classical houses were constructed in a grid system and they followed the same orientation as the Archaic houses (Rudolph 1984).

1 The same phenomena were ascertained, for example, in Taras.



(*a*)

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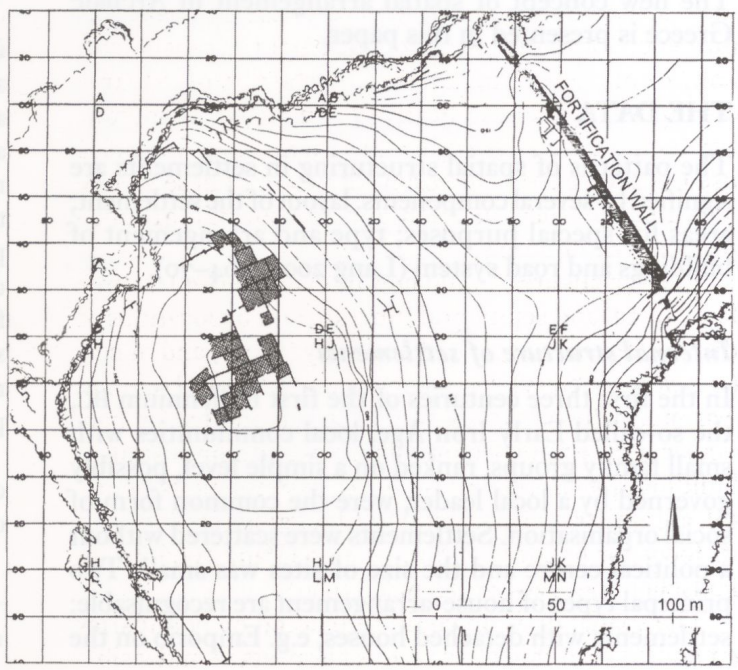

Fig. 19.1. Settlements with detached and agglomerated houses: (a) Emporio, Chios (after Boardman 1967, fig. 4; reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens); (b) Zagora, Andros (after Cambitoglou et al. 1988, pl. 1).

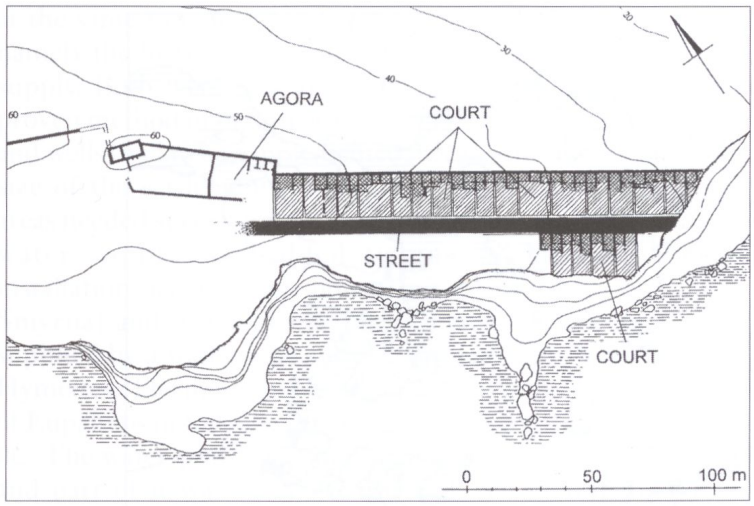

Fig. 19.2. Vroulia, Rhodes (after Lang 1998, 147, fig. 8).

Similar settings with rows of houses along a street network are known from other places like Miletos (Lang 1996, 208–12; Senff 2000) and Limenas on Thasos. An obvious tendency for the Archaic period is that whenever parts of an existing settlement had to be built up they followed a new planned settlement pattern within a regular street system. Even the tendency towards a standardised house arrangement within the settlement appears clearly to be a first step towards the 'Hippodamian' system of the Classical period.

This new plan affected not only the arrangement of houses, but also the spatial division of settlements, owing to changes in social organisation during the Archaic period. Political institutions and offices were formalised; laws were written down and published; the communal body was now more ranked in different classes (based on economic wealth, at least in Attica), leading to a stronger economic and social differentiation (Mitchell and Rhodes 1997). Rights in the new political institutions were no longer tied to aristocratic lineage, but to the membership of a certain class (Funke 1999, 9). Leadership, by tyrants or communal councils with far-reaching power, was accepted. These new concepts influenced architecture and settlement arrangement: communal and domestic areas are now clearly distinguishable and indicative of the legal, economic, symbolic, cultural and political spheres; they were also used to create the impression of power. These can be identified by their location and the specific ground-plans of the buildings.

The various areas could now be characterised by profane, sacral and sepulchral function and by locations of display (*temenos*, agora), of economy (agora) and of cult (*temenos*, cemetery). The agora attained a central role and was originally an empty site, later surrounded by particular architectural features like stoas and administrative buildings (*bouleuterion*, lawcourt), expressing its political, administrative, economic and religious aspects, and its focus for lines of communication (Lang 1996, 63–8; Hölscher 1998, 29–45; Kenzler 1999).

The spatial division could be marked by boundaries embodied by architecture. A most impressive and visible boundary of an urban territory was formed by the fortification wall. After the destruction of the strong fortified Mycenaean palaces, simple settlement enclosures appeared in late Geometric times. These were a simple kind of protection rather than a sophisticated defence system. The Geometric examples show markedly different functions. At Emporio on Chios, the eighth-century wall enclosed only the acropolis, whereas at Zagora the Late Geometric wall protected the whole settlement (FIG. 19.1 *a*, *b*). Whether in Emporio the wall was a social boundary distinguishing the people (leader group?) within the acropolis from those living outside, or whether the wall formed a kind of shelter for the whole community, has not yet been clarified. Nevertheless in Geometric times most settlements remained unwalled.

This changed during the Archaic period, when increasing numbers of settlements became walled (FIG. 19.3). The early walls were unsophisticated circuits with simply constructed gates, and sometimes a tower. This design was strong enough to withstand light assaults and prevent the escape of cattle and other herded animals. From the late sixth century onwards, city walls developed rapidly. The layout of the walls changed: they received towers, and the gates and walls became more sophisticated (Lang 1996, 38, fig. 6). A proper defensive architecture developed.

From the Archaic period onwards, fortification walls are also related to socio-economic and displays of power. The erection of a city wall required a large amount of manpower, a big financial effort and enough available space for construction. Therefore, such a huge building project could not be realised without the acceptance of the community.[2] This acceptance was given not only in

2 There is a dialectical mutually influencing relationship between the construction of a city wall and political structure — compare, for example, the situation in Greece to that in Near Eastern or Roman towns.

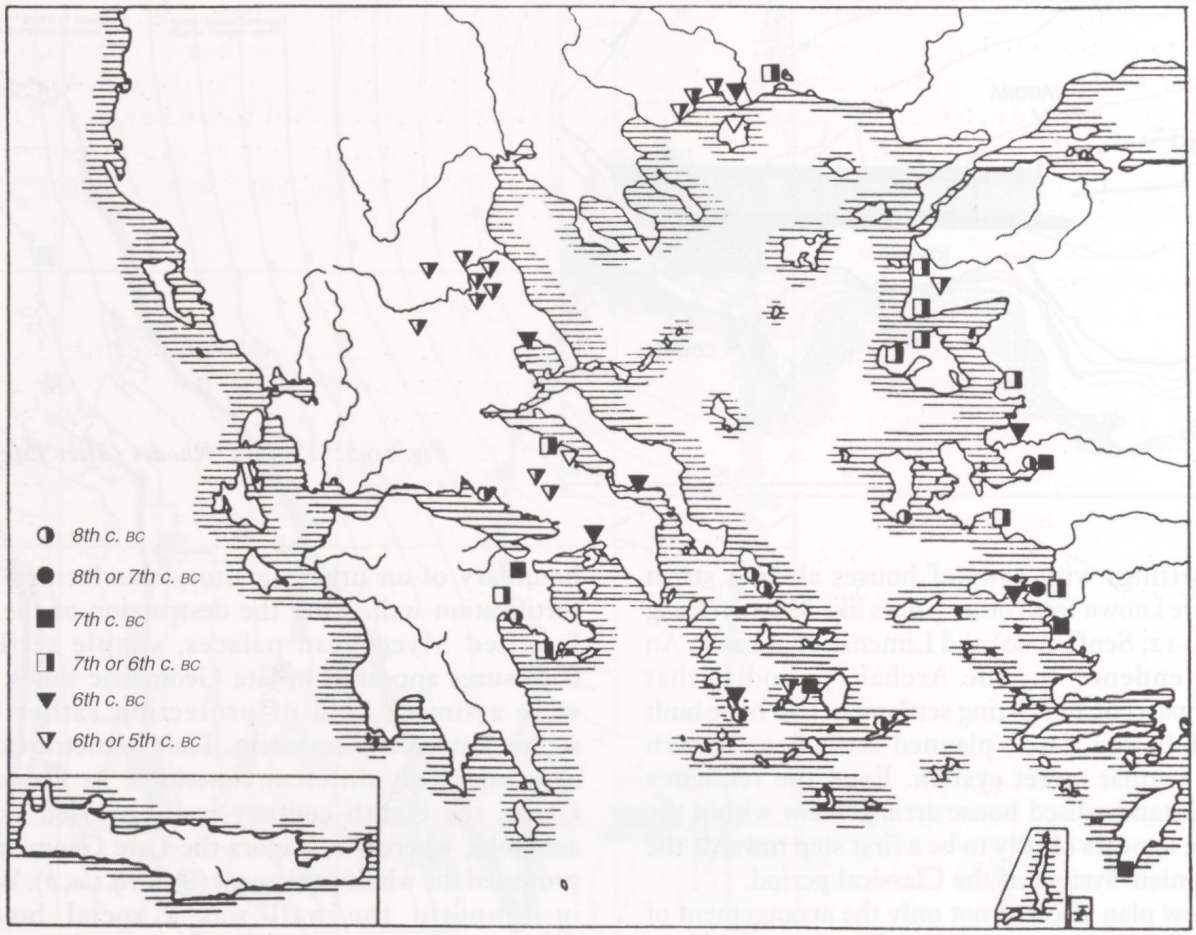

Fig. 19.3. Chronological distribution of city walls (after Lang 1996, 51, fig. 8).

view of poliorcetic necessity, but also with respect to the prestigious expression of the wall as a symbol of city status in opposition to the surrounding countryside and to other cities. This 'boundary idiosyncrasy' was expressed by the design of the gates — later sculptured with reliefs — and the use of different coloured material for the walls, e.g. at Larisa on the Hermos (Lang 1996, 21–54).

Another aspect of spatial ordering in Archaic settlements are *horoi*. These were boundary stones defining plots as well as public areas like temples or the agora, such as the examples from the Athenian Agora (Lalonde 1991).

A dimension of social boundaries may be indicated by walled house-complexes in Geometric compound settlements, as in the settlements of Oropos or Smyrna mentioned above. It is not yet verified whether people living in the houses within the *peribolos* belonged to the same family. In the Archaic period this kind of walled house-complex disappeared in favour of the courtyard house (see below). The *peribolos* survived in religious contexts: in sacral contexts the *temenos*, where the temple was erected, was often marked by a *peribolos*, as a ritual and legal (*asylum*) boundary; in sepulchral contexts grave-plots could be walled by a *peribolos*.

Building types — public

The organisation of Early Iron Age society did not entail public buildings, but social development during the Archaic period led to new requirements. From the seventh century there are sources which indicate that political organisation was based on a broader communal engagement and that new offices were installed. According to the functions of these new offices, new building types emerged and communal works were carried out in specific areas of different function in the settlement (see above). The responsibility for the community as one unit was expressed in this way. The communal work was now divided into various functions and each of them acquired a particular architectural form: (a) in the political domain e.g. the *bouleuterion, prytaneion*; (b) in the economic domain, the agora; (c) in the ritual domain, separated cult places and the temple, which was no longer adapted from the current types of domestic dwellings, but received its own particular plan, the principles of which remained common for the succeeding centuries (Lang 1996; Morris 1998*a*).

Further communal installations referred to the engagement of individuals in the collective work, and

at the same time to the collective care for individuals, namely the fortification wall (see above) and the water supply. Both were new architectural inventions. The proven method of private water supply (cisterns, pithoi and wells) had to be supplemented, because of the larger size of the settlements. The more densely inhabited areas needed special water supply management. Private water supply was added to new architectural installations like fountain-houses (e.g. Athens, Megara, Smyrna) and water-pipes. The Athenian Agora was supplied by a water-pipe system running from Mount Hymettos. The most famous water system is the Tunnel of Eupalinos in Samos, constructed in the sixth century BC. The water-pipe was more than one kilometre long, and part of it was tunnelled through the mountains (Kastenbein 1960; Lang 1996, 221–2). Drains were as important as pipes for fresh water. Different kinds of drainage evolved. Sewage drainage can be found in Athens, Larisa on the Hermos, Ephesos and Limenas on Thasos. Drains between houses (*peristasis*), which became a common feature in the Classical period, have been detected in Miletos and Smyrna. Drainage systems were constructed in swampy locations, as for example in Eretria (Lang 1996, 118–25; Schmid 2000–2001, 109–11).

Building types — private

These changes affected not only the public, but also the private domain. Fundamental changes in the way people lived together can be traced from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic period (Lang 2005). In the Early Iron Age, houses — often quite small — commonly have rectangular but also oval or apsidal ground-plans (FIG. 19.4 *a–c*). They were built in agglomeration or as single buildings at a distance from their neighbours

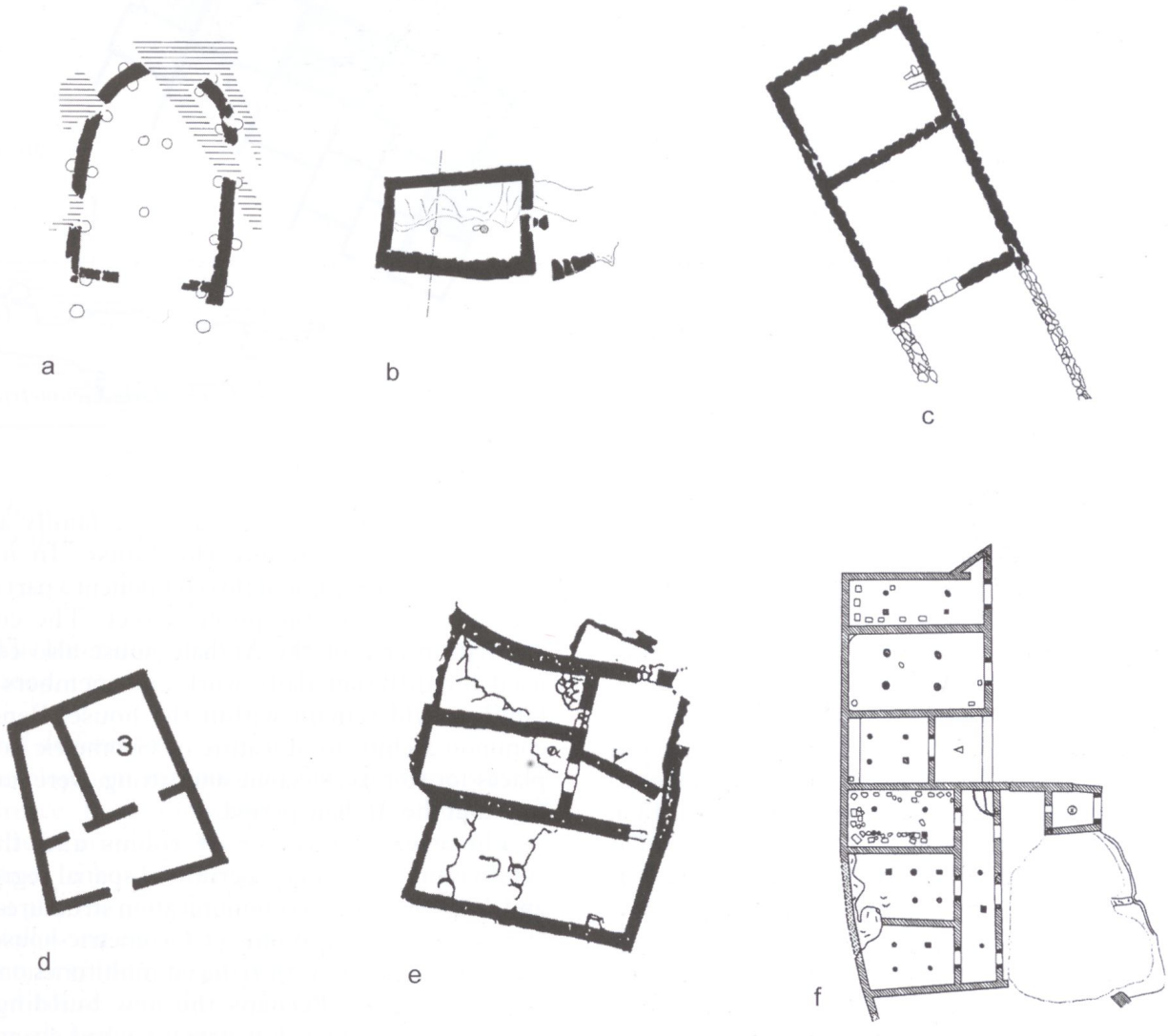

Fig. 19.4. House-types in the Geometric (a–c) and Archaic (d–f) periods: (a) Eretria (after Fagerström 1988a, fig. 40); (b) Emporio, Chios (after Boardman 1967, fig. 22; reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens); (c) Agios Andreas, Siphnos (after Fagerström 1988a, fig. 85); (d) Aigina, House 3 (after Wolters 1925, 47); (e) Dreros, Crete (© Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, H. Drerup: Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit, Göttingen 1969, fig. 50); (f) Onythe, Crete (after Platon 1956a, 227, fig. 1).

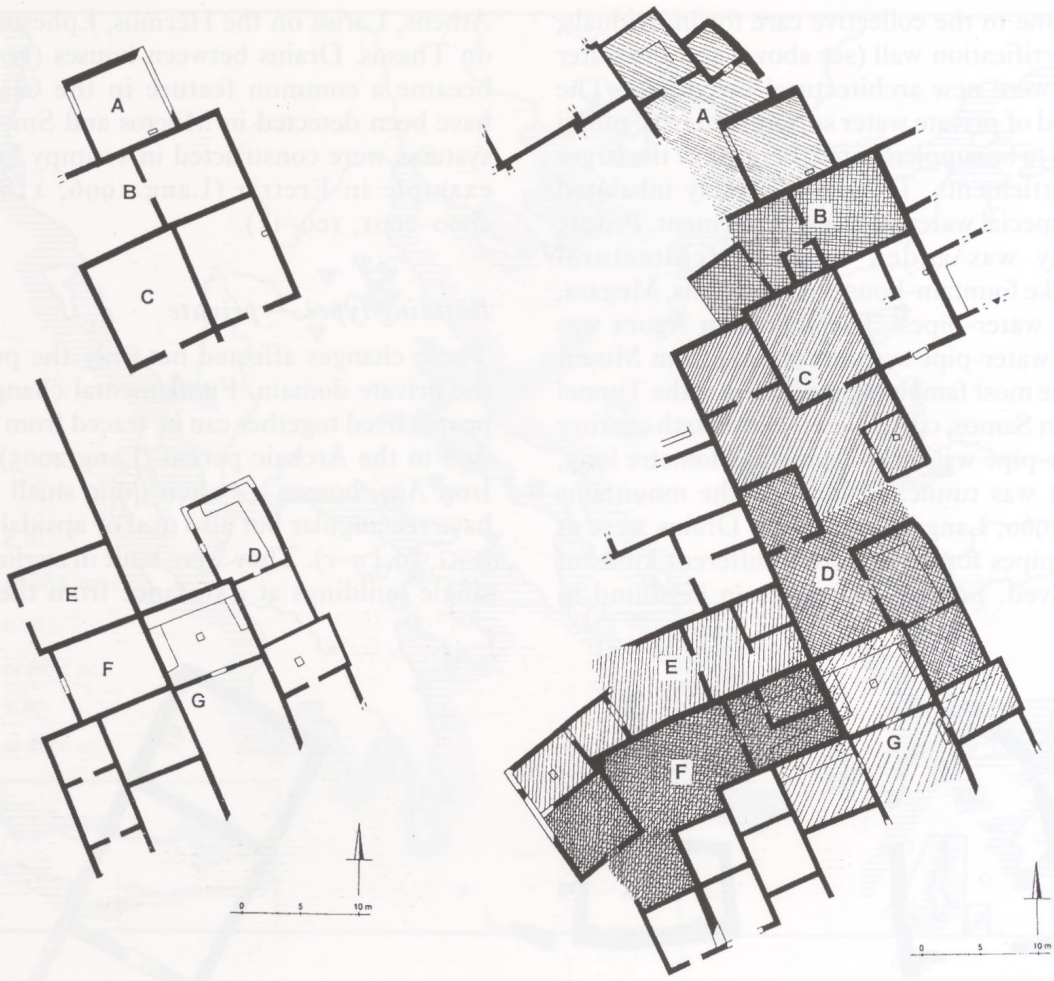

Fig. 19.5. Building phases at Zagora (after Lang 1998, figs 12, 13): (a) Late Geometric I; (b) Late Geometric II.

(detached-house settlement). In the house one or two rooms lay one behind the other. This design dominated the whole Early Iron Age, and only at the end of the eighth century can changes be recognised, which can be seen best at Zagora (FIG. 19.5). The one- or two-room houses of the Early Iron Age were replaced by multi-room houses with a new element, the courtyard (Lang 1996; Mazarakis Ainian 1997*a*; Morris 1998*a*; Coucouzeli, this volume). However the rooms remained in a linear gradation, that is one room behind the other.

An alteration of this kind of room arrangement is first seen in Archaic settlements (FIG. 19.4 *d–f*). The houses had more than two rooms, radially arranged with one room beside the other in a paratactic manner. The rooms had independent access so that a common circulation space, like a courtyard, corridor or hall, became essential. This had effects on the internal organisation of the house. With the 'introduction' of this transitional area (courtyard) the entry to the house became reorganised. In the Early Iron Age, houses had no transitional space so that people entered the first room directly. In Archaic houses the circulation space could function as a 'neutral' area as well as a transitional zone between the stranger and the family and the area outside and inside the house. In one- or two-room houses without this component a part of daily life took place on the public street. The common circulation area of the Archaic house also could be used for different daily work and members of the family could remain within the house. Benches, a common architectural feature of Geometric houses as places for storage, sleeping and sitting, were no longer found in the Archaic period.

The greater number of rooms and the new subdivision of the house permitted spatial segregation and different internal communication structures so that the multifunctional rooms of Geometric houses were replaced by rooms with reduced multifunctionality in Archaic houses. Perhaps the new building types appeared because kinship structures had changed and spatial segregation made functional and social differentiation possible.

Not only were there alterations and new buildings in Archaic times, but also some Geometric house-types disappeared entirely, including the square and *antae* house, as well as the oval and apsidal houses (FIG.

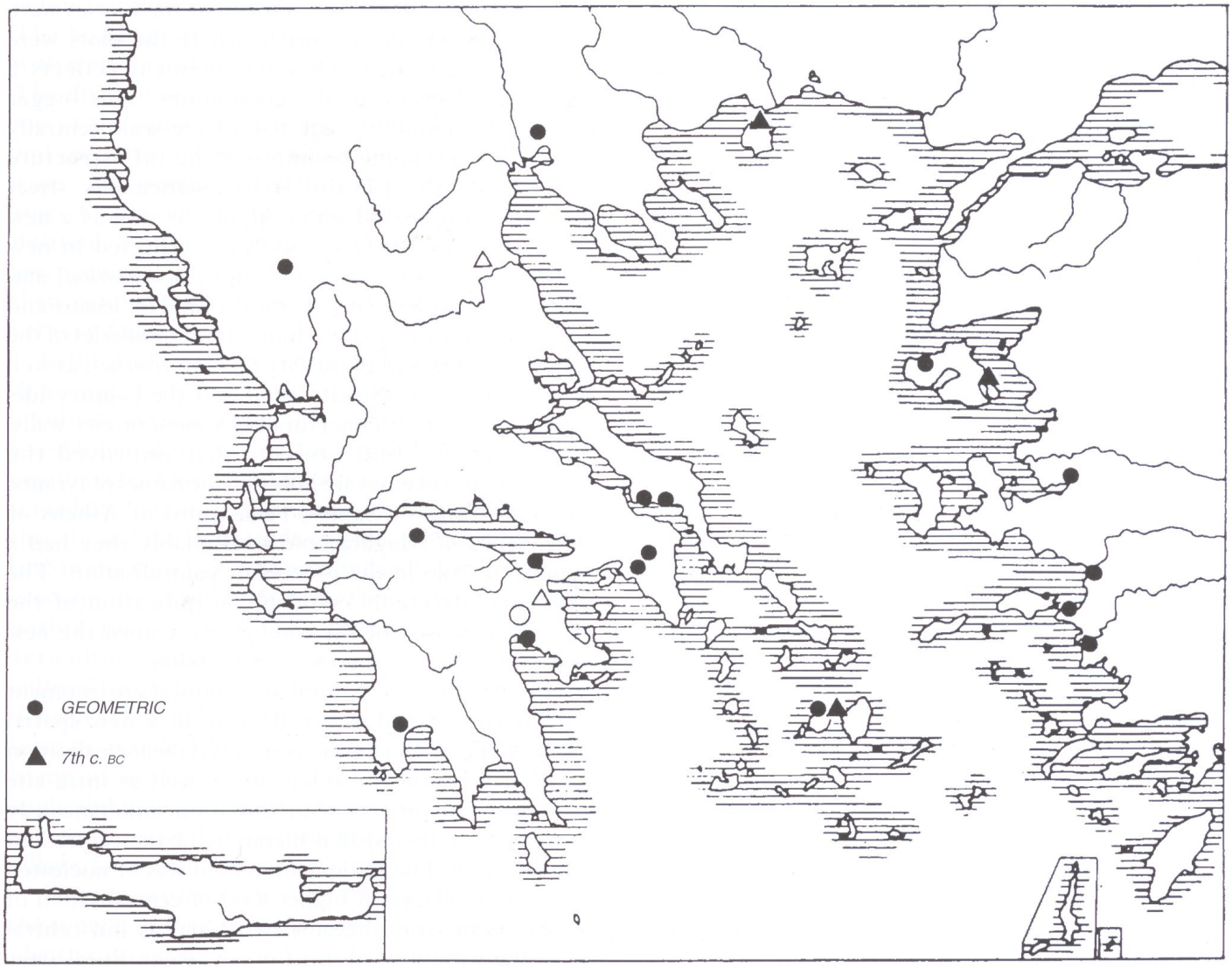

Fig. 19.6. Distribution of apsidal and oval houses (after Lang 1996, 86, fig. 19). An open symbol indicates an uncertain date.

19.6). The latter still survived in the sacral environment (Lang 2005, 17).

Regional differences

This development did not occur in the same way all over Greece. Local topography as well as communal needs determined preferences and the speed of innovation in house arrangement. That topography does not play the most important role can be illustrated by the following examples. The topography of Zagora on a plateau could have permitted the construction of detached houses, but the inhabitants decided to build them in an agglomerated way. The topography of Emporio (FIG. 19.1 *a*) and of Tilos near Rhodes proves this point too. They resemble each other, but the settlement plan was realised in a different manner at each site. At Emporio the houses are widely spread, but the topographical situation would have allowed them to be erected on terraces on the slope of the hill, as they were on the island of Tilos (Boardman 1967; Hoepfner 1999, 170–89), therefore showing that again the actual layout of the settlement depended on the will of the inhabitants.

In addition, house-plans and settlement arrangements could differ regionally, expressing cultural, political and economic differences. In Crete oval or apsidal ground-plans never existed and in the Archaic period no settlement with row-houses in paratactic order has been found. In northern Greece the opposite development to southern Greece occurred. For the Early Iron Age onwards, large house-complexes with several rooms have been excavated (for example at Assiros and Kastanas: Wardle 1987; Hänsel 1989), of which some rooms formed a individual living-unit. These rooms could be used monofunctionally. Further rooms in the complex containing a hearth could have been used as one-room living-units indicating a multifunctional purpose. In the Archaic period these

house-complexes were replaced by one- or two-room houses with multifunctional rooms (Lang 1996, 107–8, 269–70).

Building technology

Changes in building technology, improvements in craftsmanship and technological developments influenced the realisation of new architecture in Archaic times. The techniques of quarrying and dressing stones admitted a new masonry technique. The wattle and daub technique was replaced by a transverse timber framework laid horizontally in the wall, the rubble wall was replaced by stone foundation walls in header and stretcher technique, and the walls were erected in ashlar masonry or well-dressed polygonal stones. These had important effects on house construction. The new technique allowed thicker walls as a precondition for a second storey and construction of the roof without supporting posts. Therefore, in the Archaic period the use of posts disappeared almost entirely (Fagerström 1988*a*, 122–4; Lang 1996, 108–11), with the exception of northern Greece where mud-brick walls were still erected in wattle and daub technique. Clay roof tiles, which first appeared on temples at the end of the eighth century (Schwandner 1990), became a new type of roofing material in public as well as domestic architecture. They could be painted in extraordinary designs, like those of the treasuries in Olympia. Furthermore, the clay roof tile could be mass-produced and standardisation in size and shape was possible.

INTERPRETATION

The new types of architecture and arrangement of houses and settlements reflected socio-spatial settings which displayed a new settlement configuration, system and concepts.

The unplanned settlement layouts of the Early Iron Age were replaced by a new settlement configuration in the Archaic period. This was characterised by a well-ordered plan with a tendency towards a rectilinear layout and a more formal internal organisation, dividing the settlement into different functionally defined areas. On a general level there was a movement from dispersed and small settlements to more stable and nucleated settlements in the Archaic period. The process of nucleation in a territory, generated by an increasing population or by assembling people from several villages in one settlement (known as synoecism), resulted in a centralised settlement system. The process of new spatial configuration yielded new settlement types. Beside the rural localities throughout the countryside, cities emerged. The village exploited the resources of its site, whereas the city was dependent on resources produced in the countryside or imported from elsewhere. The city was a place not only for exchanging products and ideas, but also for the flow of people and information.

In the planned Archaic settlement the houses were arranged in an additive order, where the plots were defined in advance. This arrangement reflects a conscious decision of the community. This bigger nucleated community required a large-scale centrally planned programme to improve the infrastructure which was realised in the Archaic settlements: street system, drainage and water supply, as well as a new organisation of the civic body, are reflected in new building types for religion (temple, *hestiatorion*) and administration (*bouleuterion*, theatre) and for leisure and education (theatre, gymnasium). The boundaries of the different zones within the city (agoras, *temene*), as well as those between the city itself and the countryside, could be defined architecturally by *horoi* or city walls. Many big building projects that improved the infrastructure of cities are linked to the names of tyrants, like Polykrates of Samos, Peisistratos of Athens or Theagenes of Megara, and presumably they had a significant role in the process of centralisation. The existence of tyrants could be an indication of the resistance of part of the community against the new 'structuration' and increasing repression.

An interaction of natural and cultural environment was newly defined as a reflection of a new spatial concept. This new concept concerned the formalisation of the landscape and inter-site as well as intra-site relations. The process of urbanisation simultaneously generated another spatial hierarchy of the centre and its periphery. The settlement system was of nucleated towns and villages. A higher level of centralisation of social organisation became necessary, as did central planning with clear ideas of organisation. Rural areas and towns entered into an interdependent system and new social interactions. At the same time they were incorporated within a wider dynamic system of cities and formed the lower level of a multi-tiered settlement system. The elementary level was the individual — as urban or rural resident — with his household, and on a higher level the settlements interacted with other systems of cities. The emergence of the city led automatically to a contrast with the countryside, despite — and because of — the economic and political dependence on it. The urban internal spatial configuration was centralised, planned and required other needs for its way of life and architecture, since the rural internal spatial configuration was organised differently, with more orientation towards local concerns, particularly topography, waterways and fields. Although not many rural centres with a legible settlement plan are known from this period, the use of similar construction technology and the adoption of urban dwelling types in the countryside support the assumption that the rural settlements were members of the society and participants in the urban social order (Mehrer 2000, 49).

The intra-site relation of the new spatial concept (in cities, towns and villages) was the clear spatial partition

of functionally determined areas (domestic, communal). The buildings reflected a dynamic complex process with more formal dwellings and architecture in the city. The division of communal and domestic architecture was at the same moment a division into open access and centrality in communal buildings, and constricted access and periphery for the private sector (Samson 1990, 8). An obvious centre of public life was clearly defined by the communal buildings and their arrangement. The city dwellings were less sensitive than rural dwellings to the interpersonal relations between families and visitors.

In the Archaic period Greek cities received an '*espace de passage*', the city wall, which functioned not only as a fortification wall and access control, but also created a visible boundary between the city and the surrounding countryside. This boundary was not impenetrable, and it mediated between: the habitat of compounds within the city and the farmsteads outside; different lifestyles (urban and rural); living-space and cultivated space; the economy of exchange (trade, market) and craftsmanship within the city and the primary sector, i.e. the agriculture outside. But these were symbolic and cultural distinctions, which did not affect the political domain. Then, in ancient Greece, the city wall did not separate people either politically or legally into those living inside and those living outside. The area of applicability of political rights and laws was the whole *polis* territory, so that the place of residence, whether in village, farmstead, city or town, was irrelevant.

The new settlement system and the city emerged in the context of the rise of the *polis*.[3] The *polis* as a group identity given institution was a political concept in which the city fitted as spatial-cultural concept within a greater social complexity of cities, villages, cemeteries, public monuments and ritual centres. The *polis* territory, as we know best from Attica, was divided into administrative districts, the demes (Mersch 1997; Schallin 1997; Vink 1997). From Archaic times onwards space was politically regulated. These changes were accompanied by alterations in economic conditions. The construction of public monuments (city walls, temples, water management) required a significant increase in work hours, labour force, and raw materials for craft production and architecture. Craft production in a segmentary society like the Geometric, based at household level, was insufficient to fulfil the new socio-economic requirements (Nijboer 1997). In Archaic times new craft specialisation and mass production evolved by necessity because of the introduction of new products like clay roof tiles and terracotta figurines and the demand to exchange goods as craft production expanded. Furthermore the level of division of labour determined the scale of urbanisation. The agora became a formalised place in which contact for exchange (political as well as economic) and trade was formal and direct. All of these elements testified to economic intensification and the transition from a segmentary society to a more centralised socio-political organisation. Nevertheless, the economy was still based on *oikos* production, so that the *polis* — collective — remained dependent on the *oikos* — individual.

The increased territory of the *polis* and the size of settlements provided new forms of interaction and communication. The ideology of the *polis* created a social identity which meant integration and distinction and new forms of plurality and complexity were developed. A stronger division between collective and individuals, in community and household, determined a new kind of living together. The urban environment supported the integration of heterogeneous social groups.

The community was now characterised by residential proximity, joining in a common goal and sharing common social institutions and decision-making structures (e.g. *boule*), at least for those persons who had full rights as citizens, i.e. men; women, slaves, the elderly and children were mostly excluded from the official administration. The community included many households and had a highly complex social organisation. Indications of changes in the Archaic period are collective activities such as the consolidation of the hoplites, the establishment of laws, the *symposion* as communal dining and drinking in the *andreion* for political purposes and leisure (Gehrke 1997; Raaflaub 1997; Whitley 1998, 321; van Wees 1998, 363–6), mass production, and exchange of products and ideas on a broader base in the whole Mediterranean — almost none of these activities involved women.

The spatial division of the settlement and the architecture offer further indication of collective efforts: communal space with non-residential buildings and urban building projects were created and became symbols of the collective identity of the community. Families were now involved in various labour and ritual activities of the community. At the same time the cosmos of the individual, incorporated into the household as the elementary level of the community, became more separated from the public. This was most visible in the clear spatial division in the settlement configuration of public and domestic quarters. This was an expression of the new ideology of the enclosed family and a public society only open to a minority.

A different kind of social relations was concerned with this new ideology: the inside world of the houses and the outside world of the community. The *oikos* became a social and civic unit (Jameson 1990*a*). The houses in Archaic settlements — wherever possible —

3 It is not possible to discuss the concept of *polis* in this article. In Greece there were regional differences in the formation of the *polis*. The term *polis* is used here in a very general sense of a group of people joining common goals and territory. For further discussion see Hall 1997; Hansen 1997*a*; Mitchell and Rhodes 1997.

were built up additively in a regular system of streets, and the new house-type, the courtyard house, was closed to the outside and could support the control of the family's domestic environment: the woman in the house ran the household, since the man was engaged in civic life outside the house. The family was more structured and was spatially separated from similar social units.

Inside the house the architecture itself, with several rooms in paratactic order, facilitated a functional division, and the courtyard served as a multi-purpose work area where essential activities took place as well as being a central area where a relative power balance of men and women existed (Leach 1999, 195).

At first glance there was in Archaic Greece an obvious division between community and individual, the outside and the inside, public and domestic, urban and rural. The *temenos* circumscribed an area which was defined by specific rights and duties. It is also noticeable from the Archaic period onwards that temples were individualised by the dedication of each temple to a certain deity. So the religious sphere was divided from the profane sphere, the world of the god from the world of the human being.

Nevertheless, the community was rarely stable or monolithic, but changed, dependent on the situation. The individual had manifold identities in different situations with different rules: the *oikos* as part of the settlement, the individual living behind the wall of his house whilst at the same time being an active part of the collective, incorporated within the *polis* network. As a part of the social identity, by political and ritual practices, the politician was a citizen and the citizen a politician. There was a link between individual identity, ritual practices and the well-being of the community. The agora functioned on one hand as the political and commercial centre, and on the other as a communal place where the citizen could dedicate a personal votive.

There was a heterarchy of social relations (Crumley 1987), in which people were involved on different levels within their community: as member of a family, as neighbour, as member of the community linked to the rules of the centrally planned collective whilst simultaneously being a full participant in the regional society (Mehrer 2000, 49). The community on the other hand was part of the wider range of other communities.

CONCLUSIONS

The changes in the Archaic period, well known from the socio-political conditions and developments in art, were also reflected in the physical expression of the community. There is an obvious trend towards a more complex community, revealing a sense of orderliness required for co-operation and for complex arrangements including a residential and communal space.

The rise of the *polis* as a new model of community obtained a clearly defined territory which was spatially organised in a different way from that of the Early Iron Age. The size of settlements increased through synoecism (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Argos) and more people were accumulated. Living space was limited so that the settlement types of the Early Iron Age — especially those with detached houses — were increasingly replaced by settlements with a tendency to ordered compounds with a rectilinear layout and street system.

The new political and social organisation required new forms of physical expression (TABLE 19.1). The settlement was densely built up and special-purpose areas can be identified. In larger settlements, public spaces distinguished from those for domestic activities can be discerned by their ground-plans and location. A variety of different architecture and building types according to the communal demands of the new offices (*boule*, archon), infrastructure, like water management (water-pipe, fountain-house), and statements related to the status of the cities (city wall, temples) became significant for Greek settlements from the Archaic period onwards. In addition, a strict division of the public, private, religious and sepulchral spheres, with different mortuary practices, can be perceived.

The Archaic period in Greece was the period of city evolution and new settlement types and pattern. At this time the city was defined as a conglomeration and nucleation of houses, of public works and buildings, offering more than the inhabitants needed, more complex arrangements, multiple compounds, different building types and large-scale constructions.

Cities and villages formed a new settlement hierarchy in the *polis* territory: the centre and the periphery offered distinct lifestyles, urban and rural. Symbolic forms which depend on culture and time (temples, castles, skyscrapers) were the appropriate means of collective and individual identity and self-representation. Only the urban framework offered a stage for the self-representation of the city to other cities, as well as that of the individual to other inhabitants. For example, the design of the different building types became a manifest sign of power and status (temples, city wall, grave monuments).

The new house and settlement types indicated a new organisation of labour and a wider range of craft products that modified the economy in Archaic Greece. New building projects and political organisation required greater specialisation. The city was the location of the exchange of products and the market-place. The exchange and accumulation of wealth from several distant areas became possible because of the various kinds of flow (material, people, information) to and from other cities. The economy was no longer based purely on a self-sufficient household economy but demanded a greater exchange of products and a surplus to finance the new building projects. The economy, however, was never centralised.

Archaic domestic architecture was altered too. Simple rectangular compounds and houses and oval houses became insufficient as a scheme of spatial organisation

TABLE 19.1: **Changed collective and individual activities in the Archaic period.**

	collective	individual
spatial organisation	settlement arrangement	house arrangement
building types	administrative, city wall, water supply, temple	multi-room houses with court or hall
boundary	city wall, *temenos*, *horoi*	wall enclosing house
special-purpose areas	profane, sacral, sepulchral, commercial	different functions (cooking, working, sleeping, storage etc.)

to accommodate the larger population and the more complex political order it required. Domestic dwellings were densely nucleated and oriented in a rectilinear line (row-houses). The courtyard house allowed new interaction between the residents because of its increased number of rooms and the 'invention' of paratactic or radial room-arrangement and of transitional areas facilitating independent access to the back rooms and supporting a differing use of single rooms (age, status, gender, function). This house-type represented a more enclosed structure and changed the variety of interaction and communication inside and outside the house.

This is very different from Geometric living. During this period individual families seem to have had more influence on house design and construction, whereas during Archaic times the row-house layout did not leave much room for an expression of individual spatial organisation. One- or two-room houses without a courtyard called for relatively close co-operation within the neighbourhood, since the lack of individual space forced people to use collective space around the house to carry out their work and lives. The complex spatial partitioning in courtyard houses probably limited this older form of co-operation. Therefore, one could expect that family members with fewer (political) rights, for example women, were more likely to stay within the compound, whereas men were free to take part in civic life.

These changes in the physical expression of the Archaic community can be characterised as an all-embracing tendency towards structuring, ordering and standardising which was also expressed by the codification of law and architecture. On the other hand, differentiation, individualisation and separation were further features. The new social interaction was transformed into new spatial organisation: household, community, region. The (male) individual and his *oikos* remained the basis of the communal well-being, but the collective — the *polis* — gave him a form of identity-giving relationship. He was an individual part in the micro-cosmos of his independent household, but at the same time he was part of the collective, and as a member of the collective he was involved in regional interactions. The individual played multiple roles at different times and places with different principles or a combination of principles. All this shows the dialectical relationship between social structure and building arrangements and the many dimensions of agency within the Archaic community.