

Öz

Klasik Dönem Yunan konutunun ve kentinin mekan organizasyonu çoğu araştırmacı tarafından demokrasi ve eşitlik ilkeleri ile bağlantılı olarak açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışmalarda çoğunlukla Ege'nin iki yakası bir arada ele alınıp değerlendirilse de aslında politik ve toplumsal yapı ve bununla ilişkili olarak kent ve konut mekanının organizasyonu Anadolu'da ve Yunanistan'da değişkenlik göstermektedir. Helenistik Döneme kadar bütüncül bir Yunan kültüründen söz edilemediği gibi 546-334 yılları arasında (aralıklarla da olsa) Pers egemenliği altında olan Batı Anadolu'da, Atina'daki gibi bir demokrasiden söz etmek de mümkün olmamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, çalışmada Klasik Dönem boyunca çoğunlukla satraplık ile yönetilen Batı Anadolu kentlerindeki Antik Yunan konut mekanının demokrasi ve eşitlik ilkeleri ile ilişkisine odaklanılmıştır. Bu ilişki, eşitlik ilkesinin konut organizasyonundaki tezahürü olarak düşünülen grid plan, eş konut parselleri (*insulae*) ve tip-evler, Miken saraylarındaki mekan geleneğini devam ettirdiği iddia edilen *oikos* ve siyasi erkin vatandaşlar arasında paylaşıldığının bir göstergesi olduğu düşünülen *andron* mekanları üzerinden incelenecektir.

Abstract

The domestic architecture and urban planning in the Classical Era are discussed in relation to the notions of democracy and equality in most studies. In these researches, usually both sides of the Aegean are considered without any distinction despite the fact that the political and social structure and thus the organization of domestic layout differed in Anatolia and Greece. Just as it is not possible to identify a single, homogenous Greek culture until the Hellenistic Era, it is also not sensible to claim that there was a consistent democratic governance in West Anatolia which remained under the Persian rule between 546-334.² The Greek houses of West Anatolia are discussed in terms of how the political ideas of democracy and equality might have been influential in their architectural layout within this background. The grid plan, equal house plots (*insulae*) and identical type-houses are considered as aspects of the principle of equality while the *oikos* is considered as a space pursuing the spatial tradition of the Mycenaean palaces and the *andron* as a sign of shared political power among citizens.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Antik Yunan Konutu, Andron, Oikos, Grid Plan, Demokrasi

Keywords: Ancient Greek House, Andron, Oikos, Grid Plan, Democracy

1 A brief, early draft of this paper has been presented in the "ARCHHIST 2012 Conference" and is published in the Proceedings with the title "The Relation of Classical Domestic Space and Political Thought in Ancient Cities of West Anatolia" in 2012.

2 All dates are BC.

3 "Classical Era" is generally defined as the time span between 510-323 or 480-323. In this study, the focused eras are the 5th and 4th centuries, that is, the period before the conquest of Anatolia by Alexander the Great in 334.

Politics of the Ancient House: Classical Greek Houses of West Anatolia¹

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Introduction

In contemporary studies on Ancient Greek architecture, the domestic space and urban organization are considered to be related to political ideas, especially to the concepts of "equality" and "democracy". Aristotle (*Pol. 1253b*) writes in Politics that "every state is composed of households", so one can expect the domestic spatial organization to reflect the political and social organization of the state. Regarding this, scholars often explain the ancient domestic layout in relation to the political ideas prevalent in the *polis*. Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994) and Hoepfner (1989, 9-13) discuss that the "equal housing plots" in a grid-planned city has to be evaluated as part of the concept of *isonomia* (*equal rights*) while Neveit (1999, 167-8) links the courtyard house to the citizenship notion.

Most authors regard a certain "evolution" theory that the house organization and state go through and assume that democracy "develops" with its own space, which is the "ideal city". For instance, Westgate (2007, 229) writes that "...the characteristic form of the Greek courtyard house has often been linked to the **development** of the state and its ideals of citizenship and equality..." or talks about the "**developed**, Classical

form of the courtyard house" (Westgate, 2007, 230). She links this "development" to the emergence of independent households for which the existence of a court provides increased control within the house. Although this is true in terms of spatial control, it should also be taken into consideration that organizing a house around a courtyard is also related to other issues such as urban planning, climate, and economic activities. Regarding the urban density of the Classical *poleis*, an enclosed court also acted as a separator and isolated the house from the crowded urban life and strangers. On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that the Classical house organization, especially the courtyard pattern was never specific to the Greek cities. Similar domestic layouts are seen in Anatolia and Mesopotamia in the former centuries.

In most studies, this topic is evaluated regardless of the geographical boundaries and all the Greek cities are approached within the same perspective. The political and social characteristics of the Anatolian states however, were different from Greece, or Italy and this paper, in this regard, will focus on the West Anatolian cities. Studies that discuss equality and domestic organization, usually concentrate on the Classical Era³,

mostly because the domestic spaces in the Classical Period houses⁴ are more easily identified than the Archaic houses and the space organization in this period shows a more uniform character through regions⁵ (Nevett, 2005, 4; Nevett, 2010, 103). This paper, likewise, dwells on the houses in West Anatolia that date to the Classical Period, which is also contemporaneous with the emerging ideals of ‘equality’, ‘democracy’ and ‘a democratic state’ in ancient Greece. Whether we see the emergence of such ideals in the context of West Anatolia is among the topics discussed.

The scarcity of archaeological data, especially regarding the Archaic Period in Anatolia, is one of the obstacles in the study. Therefore, examples of houses from Greece that are included in the discussion provided a more comprehensive and comparative approach. Ancient texts are also not much helpful, as there is not a single writer who mentions the relationship between domestic space and equality. Lastly, the presence of a democratic reign in Anatolia in the Classical Period is also a controversial issue that needs to be considered in a critical approach.

Political Milieu in West Anatolia

The political milieu in West Anatolia was different from Athens, which is credited as the cradle of democracy. While the political developments in ancient Athens can be documented and traced well, the case for West Anatolian cities is not as easy. After the conquest of the Lydian capital Sardis by Cyrus (546), Anatolia became organized in terms of local administrations governed by a *satrap*; some cities in West Anatolia were governed by a *tyrannos* supported by a *satrap*⁶. However, the 200 years of Persian rule witnessed different types of administration. After the 494 Ionian Revolt, it is assumed that the Persians acted permissively to the democracy demands of some Anatolian cities. In the 5th century, Ionian cities were supposedly ruled by an oligarchic administration in which both the *tyrannos* and local governors, called *epimenioi*, were in control (Gorman, 2001, 93). The administrative

system of West Anatolia following the Persian retreat after the Battle of Mycale in 479 is not clear, but it, likely, was based on oligarchy (Gorman, 2001, 12). It is assumed that the administrative system relied on a democratic one in Miletus in 445 and in Samos in 440, yet both are not certain (Gorman, 2001, 221 and 236). Anatolian cities became deprived of the support of Athens with the beginning of the Peloponnesian War in 431 and once more became subject to Persian reign upon agreement. The political administration of Anatolian cities between 546-334, in this sense, is not clear and there is not confirmative evidence that the *poleis* of West Anatolia were ruled by democracy in the Classical Period.

This ambiguous political situation should not be taken as an indicator to assume that the citizens of West Anatolia were unaware of the concept of equality; while governance and social ideals are not analogous and the space organization is linked to both. The citizens of West Anatolia must have been aware of and influenced by the social, political and intellectual milieu of Athens⁷. This could be true especially for the Ionian cities such as Miletus, Bayraklı (old Smyrna), Priene or Colophon; it is known that the Ionians had sustained their relationship with Athens, which is considered as the most prominent Ionian city (Sacks, 2005, 167) and which claimed herself to be the warden of all Ionian cities through the 5th and 4th centuries (Sacks, 2005, 168; Crielaard, 2009, 73-74).

The confrontation with a mutual enemy, the Persians, is considered to have led to the development of a consciousness towards a ‘Greek identity’ (Perlman, 1976, 19); that is, the Greek citizens must have realized the common traditions and values that distinguished them from others they considered as barbarians (Kallet, 2000, 173). This idea of a common Greek identity is referred as *Panhellenism* in modern studies (Perlman, 1976, 4). Two important aspects of this ideal, political freedom (*eleutheria*) and respect to laws (*nomos*) (Kallet, 2000, 173) could have played a significant role in the adoption of freedom ideals in West

⁴ For a detailed analysis of all excavated Classical houses in West Anatolia, refer to (Gönül, 2008). Although it is very hard to generalize the domestic space, a general description of the Classical house can be: a single-entrance enclosed court, a colonnaded porch (*prostas* or *pastas*) giving access to the living spaces (*oikos*) to the north of the court, a decorated dining room (*andron*), also accessed from the court (fig 1). The distinguishing feature is the court which provides the circulation to all spaces; that's why it is sometimes referred as the “courtyard house” in studies.

⁵ Analyzing the Early Iron Age (c. 1100-700) data, Nevett (2010, 39-40) concludes regional preferences are dominant in the organization of domestic space.

⁶ For a detailed political history of Ancient Anatolia, see: (Bury and Meiggs, 1975) and (Kallet, 2000); for Ionia: (Gorman 2001).

⁷ There is an opposite view that democracy is in fact rooted in the concept of *isonomia* (equality), which is an Ionian concept (Karatani, 2017, 17). Karatani (2017, 171-172) claims *isonomia* was born in Ionia due to the colonization processes and then spread to Athens.

Fig: 1
Two *insulae* from Piraeus (left) (5th century) and Priene (right) (4th century) showing *prosta* houses (redrawn from Hoepfner and Schwander, 1994, 33 and 214). The drawings showing Piraeus and Priene with equal sized houses do not reflect the exact excavation finds, they are hypothetical reconstructions made by synthesizing partial remains of two or more houses (Hoepfner, 1989, 11).



Anatolia. But neither the *Panhellenism* idea nor the Ionian identity should be considered as uniting political thoughts; as the city-states always remained autonomous and free (Perlman, 1976, 30 and 6).

It is, however, a strong possibility that the consciousness of Greek identity influenced the way of building, although there is no written source to prove such an architectural unity. In the researches on domestic architecture of the period, the Classical Era houses of Greece and West Anatolia are identified in a common frame, while the Archaic houses of West Anatolia differ from their contemporaries in Greece in terms of space organization, and are considered as developed according to local traditions⁸. This is especially true for the Classical houses of Ionia and Attica, as the houses of Priene and Piraeus are very similar (fig 1) and the layout of Piraeus was indeed planned by a Milesian⁹. By the Classical Era, one can speak of a more uniform domestic architecture which can be related to an idea of common identity along with other undetermined cultural circumstances; it is therefore not unlikely to state that equality and democracy ideas could have been under consideration despite the lack of a certain democratic reign in West Anatolia.

Housing Districts and Democracy

In studies, there is an emphasis on the urban organization of Classical Period, especially the grid plan and type-houses¹⁰

designed in equal *insulae* (house plots), which are seen mostly in the 5th and 4th century cities and after (Abbasoğlu, 1996, 396-98; Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994, 312). The formation of the Classical house is also discussed in this context. Nevett (1999, 161) argues that the emergence of the Classical house took place in the 5th century in the context of a *polis* and links it to the “development of a notion of private life which was distinct from the life of the community”. Westgate (2007, 234) similarly links it to the “private sphere” and the independence of the citizen as she claims that political power was shared equally by all in the *polis* (Westgate, 2007, 229). Whereas Morris (1998, 26-28) discusses that the emergence of the courtyard house was much earlier, seen in the 8th century Zagora, and that the development of the house was contemporaneous with the emergence of the *polis* and the formation of equality, or “middling ideology” as he calls it, and claims that it became more prominent in the early 5th century.

The type of governance of a *polis* is strongly related to its layout. The political and religious center of the city in the Geometric and Archaic Periods, was the *acropolis* which also housed the monarch or the *tyrannos* (Wycheley, 1962, 5) (fig 2). In this reign, the political authority was represented with the residence of the governor. The political center shifted to the *agora* through Classical Era, while the *acropolis* remained to be the religious

⁸ For a more detailed view of houses: (Akurgal, 1996); (Kolb, 1996); (Hoepfner, 1996); (Gönül, 2008).

⁹ see page 37 for details.

¹⁰ The concept “type-house” is introduced for the first time by Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 31) for the houses found in Piraeus.

center and the citadel. This shift is usually linked to the transformation of the reign from an aristocracy into democracy (Wycherley, 1962, 7) while the public buildings in the *agora* began to symbolize the political authority after the 5th century (Kolb, 1996, 152). This meant, also, the fortification of not only the acropolis, but also the whole settlement; presumably leading to the interpretation that regarded the “separate fortification” of the *acropolis* as “anti-democratic and a symbol of tyranny” in democratic *poleis* and therefore not favored (Wycherley, 1962, 37). This theory is also confirmed in ancient writing. Aristotle writes in *Politics* (*Pol vii 10.4*) that “an acropolis is suitable for oligarchy and monarchy, level ground for democracy”. The importance given to the public buildings was also observed in the percentage of land use; in the newly established cities of the Classical Period, vast areas were spared for public buildings and the land reserved for the houses was delimited¹¹. For instance, in Priene, established around 350, about %30-40 of the land was spared for public buildings (Kolb, 1996, 152) (fig 3).

Insulae and Type-houses

The *poleis* of 8th-6th centuries reflect a hierarchical land organization as the political power is located in the *acropolis* surrounded by walls and the rest of the city scatters on the descending skirts (Morris, 1998; Wycherley, 1962, 5). Considering the unstable political situation of the era, this organization, most likely, was also a

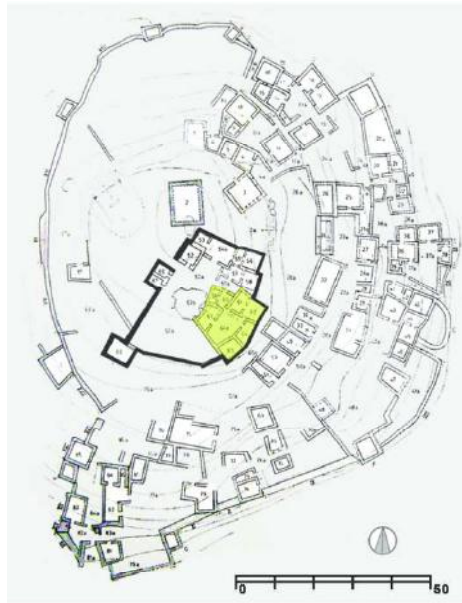


Fig: 2
Alazeytin Castle in Caria (7th century) (Radt, 1970, suppl. 1) reflects a hierarchy in the arrangement of housing plots (Kolb, 1996, 151) as well as the size and layout of the houses. The 'House of the Governor' (painted in yellow) is situated at the summit of the hill and separated by an inner wall (marked black) from the rest of the settlement. The bigger courtyard houses located on the eastern slope are estimated to have belonged to the wealthy families, while the smaller ones on the southern slope were most probably the houses of craftsmen (Radt, 1970, 31).

defensive necessity as much as an administrative one. The archeological evidence from the Classical Era, on the other hand, shows that this hierarchical organization was disrupted by the emphasis given to *agora* as well as the emergence of equal *insulae* (house plots) which Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 256-257) think are an aspiration for *isonomia*.

Phaleas of Chalcedon was the first ancient writer who mentioned equal *kteseis* (estate, property)¹². He claims that property should be equally distributed among the citizens, and this can be achieved easily in a newly established city, while it is more difficult to establish it in older ones. While Phaleas of Chalcedon speaks of equal property, Plato (*Laws VI*) speaks about “uniform and

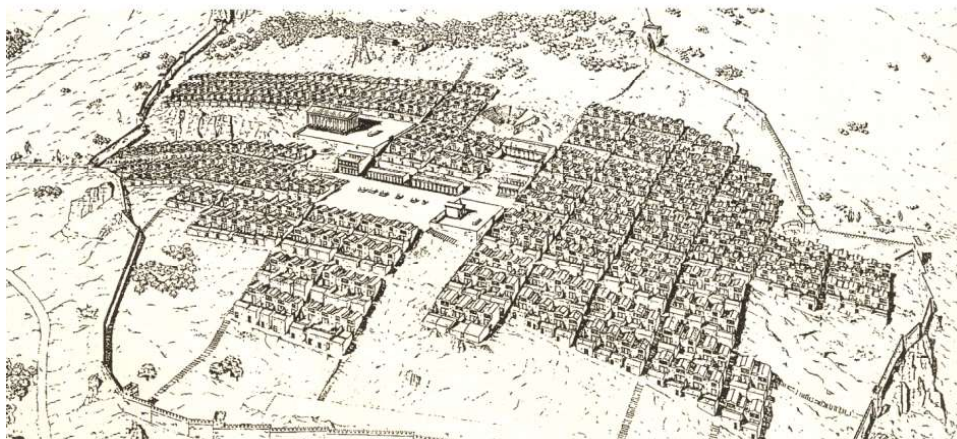


Fig: 3
Hypothetical reconstruction of Priene (Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994) showing public buildings and *insulae* in the grid plan.

¹¹ Fleck and Hanssen (2013, 411-412) list selected cities of Ancient Greece, showing their type of governance in comparison to their number of public buildings. A comparison between Athens and Sparta, run by democracy and oligarchy respectively, shows that Athens has four times more public buildings than Sparta (20 and 5 respectively).

¹² Cited in Aristoteles (*Pol.* 1266a-b).

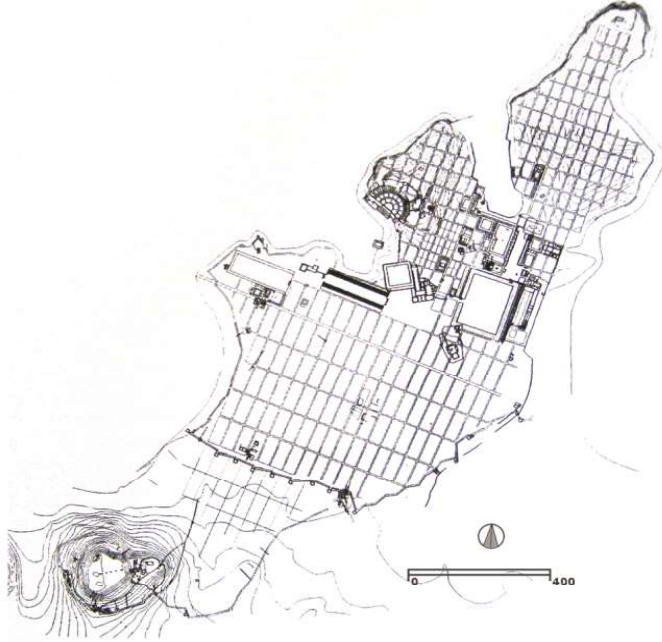


Fig: 4
Miletus site plan (Gräve, 2006).

equal houses”. In “Laws”, he suggests that a city should not have walls;

*“But if men must have walls, the private houses ought to be so arranged from the first that the whole city may be one wall, having all the houses capable of defense by reason of their **uniformity and equality towards the streets**. The form of the city being that of a single dwelling will have an agreeable aspect, and being easily guarded will be infinitely better for security”¹³ (Plato, Laws VI).*

His suggestion of having uniform houses facing the same direction, however, seems to relate more to concerns of defense and not to social or political equality.

Phaleas of Chalcedon also suggests that, the *insulae*, fields, gardens and graves in the *necropolis* need to be shared equally among the citizens in a new city, which is called *isomoiria* (equal share) (Hoepfner, 1989, 9; Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994, 256). It is probable that just like the political duties, this share was determined by lot (Jameson, 1990b, 175)¹⁴.

The first grid-planned city¹⁵ (and probably

the first equal housing plots) known is Miletus (Gräve, 2006; Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994). The grid plan (fig 4) was set in 479, when people of Miletus turned back to their city to reconstruct it, which was damaged during the Ionian Revolt in 494. The *agora*; administrative, commercial and religious center of the city, is situated at the center and the rest of the land is divided into housing plots spreading to the north and south of this nucleus (Greaves 2002, 105). The northern housing plots differ in size from the southern ones; for which the reason is unknown, but maybe the habitants of northern and southern quarters were different in rank, which can be a sign of hierarchy, yet there is no such evidence to clarify. The grid plan was strictly adhered by people in later times; every new building was constructed according to the layout.

There is, however, no evidence of type-houses in Miletus. Piraeus, a contemporaneous *polis* with Miletus, on the other hand, is considered as the first grid planned city with equal *insulae* and type-houses (Gürler, 1999, 235). The city was planned about 475–450 by Hippodamus, who is also credited for the planning of Miletus. The fact that Piraeus (the coast of Athens) is laid out by a Milesian and that the houses of this coastal town are similar to those in Priene (fig 1) can be seen as an indication of an ideological connection with Athens, despite the obscure political situation in both Miletus and Priene. This may also provide an explanation to why the houses in Ionia are similar to those in Athens while there are no similar houses, for instance, in Crete¹⁶.

Following the 5th century, many Anatolian cities have adopted the grid plan with equal housing plots. Archeologically, the most significant one is Priene (fig. 3), founded in 350, a century later than Piraeus, and is known for its well preserved houses (figs. 1 and 5). Excavations demonstrated the presence of equal housing plots, yet there is not sufficient evidence to claim that all the houses were identical. The archeological finds in nei-

¹³ Emphasis: author.

¹⁴ Cahill (2000, 502), however, points out that, in Olynthus, houses in the same row are more similar to each other than the ones on others, so it is probable that the builders acted together during construction; which can indicate kinship, or at least social ties among builders. These plots, then, were most probably not distributed by lot.

¹⁵ First grid planned city in the “ancient Greek world”; as there are earlier examples in other civilizations (for example Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, 14. century); see page 39 for details.

¹⁶ Morris (1998, 65) argues that “the rapid evolution of central Greek house forms in the 8th and 7th centuries have no parallel on Crete” and links this situation to the political system of Crete where aristocracy had a clear impact distancing itself from the lower classes.

ther Priene nor Piraeus provide adequate data to clarify whether the houses were identical at the time of their construction. The best preserved houses among dwellings planned similarly in a grid plan is in Olynthus, founded in 432 and has several *pastas* houses arranged in equal plots (Cahill, 2002; Robinson and Graham, 1938, 143) (figs. 6 and 14). More than fifty houses were excavated in Olynthus. Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 82) claim that building identical houses in Olynthus was a result of *isonomia*. Cahill (2000, 500), however, points out that most of the houses in the site were excavated to their earliest state and thus illustrate that in the beginning they were not identical as Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 82) suggested (fig 14).

As the evidence in Olynthus shows, equal *insulae* do not prove that all the houses were identical, even if that does not still verify a similar situation was present in Priene. The city was inhabited also after the Classical Period; therefore, even though one can assume that all the houses were same initially, it is clear that in time, alterations were made. Some houses received additional rooms, *peristyle* courts and even double courtyards while others got smaller (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998, 145-146). An example is ‘House no: 33’, which was transformed into a *peristyle*-double courtyard house probably in the 2nd century (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998, 145-146) (fig. 7). Such alterations of houses in later peri-

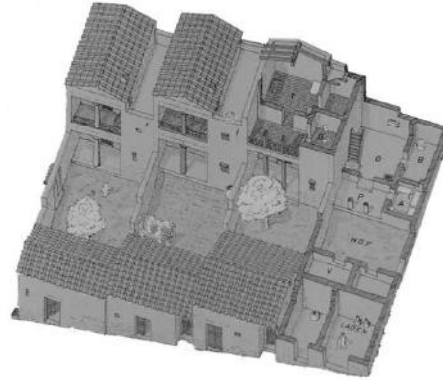


Fig: 5
Hypothetical reconstruction of an *insulae* in Priene (Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994, 200). The houses are assumed to have two floors. At the north, there is the *prostas*, giving access to the *oikos* and the *andron*. There is a side room accessed from the *oikos*, which is considered to have functioned as a bath. It is probable that the *thalamos* (bedroom) was at upstairs. At the south of the court, there are workshops, storage spaces or in some cases shops opening directly to the street. This drawing, however, should be evaluated as a schema rather than a realistic reconstruction as there is not enough evidence to claim that the houses were identical as shown in the image.

ods, in fact, are usually interpreted as the disruption of the equality idea, based on the assumption that the equal house pattern was an indicator of *isonomia* (Nevett, 1999, 171; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 225). Among the other examples are the houses in the Villa Section at Olynthus. Located to the east of the city and built around late 5th, early 4th century, these houses were larger and more lavishly decorated (Cahill,

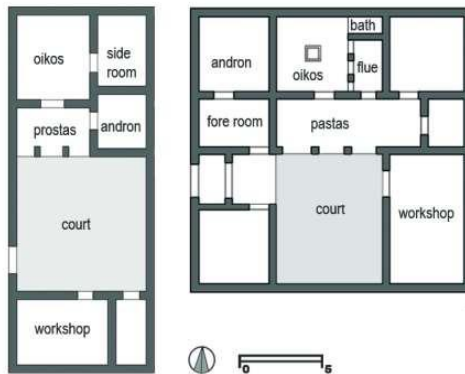


Fig: 6
Left: A *prostas* house in Priene (4th century) right: a *pastas* house in Olynthus (5th century) (redrawn from Hoepfner and Schwander, 1994, 62 and 214).

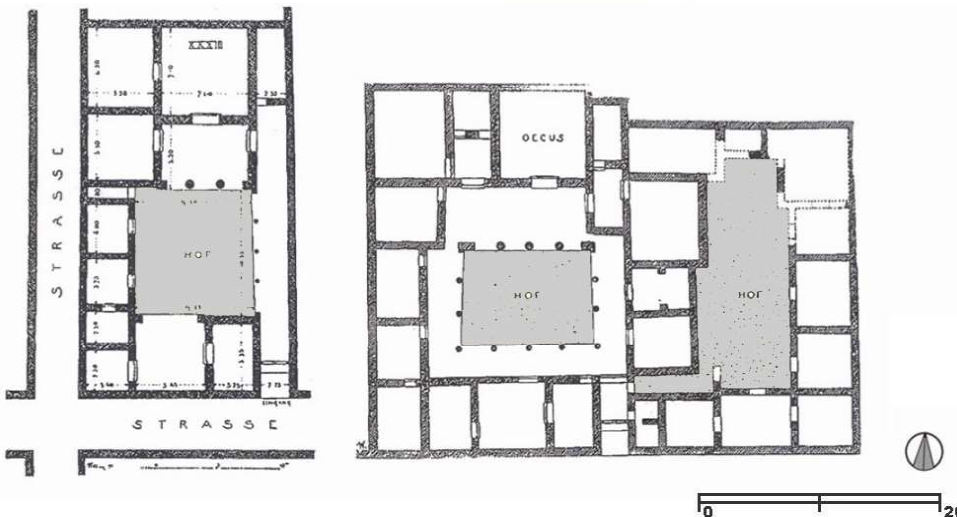
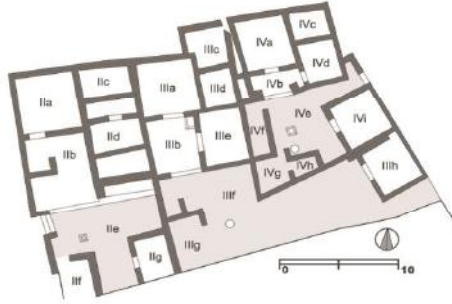


Fig: 7
‘House No: 33’ in Priene showing Phase 1 (*Prostas* plan) and Phase 2 (*Peristyle* and double courtyard) (Rumscheid and Koenigs, 1998, 146).

Fig: 8
Re-organized houses of Colophon according to the *prostas* type (4th century) (redrawn from Holland, 1944, Plate XI).



2000, 498). Beyond their size and luxury, they don't bear any traces of non-domestic production, although most of the houses in Olynthus have traces of non-domestic manufacture (Cahill, 2000, 505; Cahill, 2002, 224-225 and Plate 4; Cahill, 2005, 59). Does this mean that the owners of these houses were higher in status than the craftsmen or merchants? Similar to 'House No: 33' in Priene, these houses are interpreted to demonstrate clearly a class-distinction in Olynthus (Wycheley, 1951, 120)¹⁷.

The eagerness of the *poleis* of West Anatolia for adopting the grid plan and similar housing blocks in the 5th and 4th centuries can be taken as another evidence for embracing equality. Especially, the reorganization of Colophon in 4th century is an interesting case which exhibits the interest in this type of urban scheme with orthogonal streets and equal (or more likely, similar) housing plots (fig. 8) since the city was not found from scratch but was altered to receive a grid plan. Colophon went through a large reconstruction activity in 4th century (Holland, 1944, 169) and it is observed that the houses were also re-organized to adopt to the *prostas* plan while keeping the Archaic city plots, and that the streets were re-organized as orthogonal axes (Holland 1944, 126).

In the 5th and 4th centuries, there are settlements in Anatolia where the new city is established just in the vicinity of the old settlement; Kyton (*Clazomenai*)¹⁸ in 5th century, Latmos (*Herakleia*)¹⁹ and Knidos (*Burgaz*)²⁰ in the 4th century. In these, the new cities were established according to the grid plan. The evidence for *prostas* houses built in equal *insulae* are found in Kyton (URL 1), but there is no evidence for

type houses in Latmos (Peschow, 1985) or Knidos (Brunns-Özgan, 2013) yet. It is seen that the colonies of these cities are also laid out according to the grid plan; like Abdera in Thrace, a colony of Clazomenai, which was re-established in 4th century according to the grid plan and included type-houses (Graham, 1972, 299).

As Athens is credited for democracy, Ionia is credited for being the cradle of Ancient Greek city planning; the grid plan with equal plots was first encountered in Miletus. Wycheley (1962, 15) argues that many Ionian colonies experienced the practice of establishing a new city several times and hence invented the "grid plan". In a newly established city there are many other options than using the grid plan but it seems that most of the Greek cities in Classical Era had seized upon this relatively effortless and practical arrangement. Aristotle (*Pol. II- 1267b*) writes about Hippodamus as 'a Milesian who invented the division of cities into blocks and cut up Piraeus'; though, it is known that he did not "invent" it. Examples of orthogonal streets from Mesopotamia (*Babel*) or type-houses with orthogonal streets from Egypt (*Kahun and Workmen's Village in Amarna*) are known long before the ancient Greek cities. In the ancient Greek colonies, the grid plan was adopted in cities of South Italy and Sicily before Miletus (Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994, 2-9). Despite their orthogonal street plans, however, there is not any evidence of equal plots until the 5th century when it has been used in Miletus (Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994, 2-9). Another recent suggestion is that the grid plan has evolved naturally following the orientation of the *oikoi* to south as a common practice (fig. 1); therefore houses organized in this manner (*prostas plan*) emerged within an organized city plan, seen in Piraeus for the first time (Gürler, 1999, 235). There were other cities with a proper urban order in West Anatolia before Miletus and Piraeus. In Archaic Bayraklı, for example, the houses were laid in the direction of north-south and the streets were arranged perpendicular to the main street laid on east-west direction (Akurgal, 1993, 40). In

¹⁷ Another example is from Eretria, where the demolition and alteration of 3 exceptionally large double courtyard upper-class houses in the early 3rd century is explained by the exile of oligarchy and the restoration of democracy (Reber, 2007, 288).

¹⁸ URL 1.

¹⁹ Peschow-Bindokat, 2014.

²⁰ Brunns-Özgan, 2013.

Archaic Clazomenai, both the houses and the identified streets were planned in the same direction (*northeast-southwest or northwest-southeast*) which led to the assumption that the city might have been designed, though not mandatorily, in a grid system (*URL 1*). There is archaeological evidence to estimate that Burgaz also had an orthogonal street system in the 6th century (*Tuna, 1998, 430*).

It is most likely that the use of equal plots were preferred to provide equal circumstances in the beginning during the colonization process (*Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994, 257*). This, on the other hand, should not be taken to suggest that all houses were identical in the beginning too. If one agrees that all the plots were planned equal in a new city, the idea of equality may still not be the only motive; equal plots could have been preferred just because it is faster and easier to allocate and built. It is not unlikely that the Milesian people in need of a new city or the people of Athens in need of a new coastal town (*Piraeus*) for the upcoming war, would have aimed to accelerate the construction process. The fact that this plan had been adopted by many Anatolian cities (*Priene, Herakleia, Knidos, Magnesia*) in the following centuries accentuates the idea that the political and social ideas could have played a role in its internalization.

Domestic Space Organization in Archaic Aristocratic Residences and Classical Houses

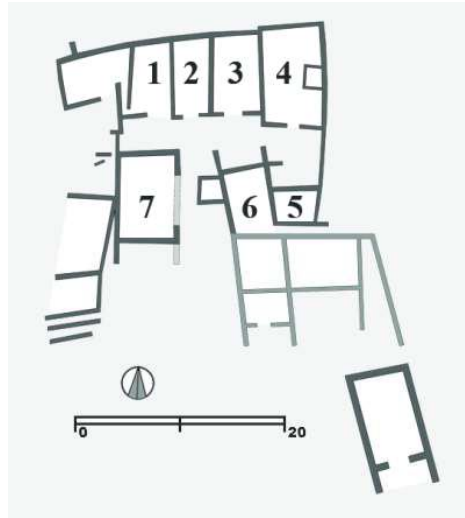
The Classical house organization bears significant similarities to the ancient palaces and aristocratic residences of the Archaic Period. The space layout in the Classical house emulating the elite residences and especially the existence of an *andron* (*guest room*) as a political symbol are seen as a consequence of the equality idea and the equal sharing of political power among all citizens in the 5th and 4th centuries (*Coucuzeli, 2007, Jameson, 1990a; Jameson, 1990b*). Jameson (*1990a, 108*) writes that the aristocratic household depicted in the Homeric poems could have served as an ideal model for the development of

the Classical Greek house. Accordingly, he considers the house as “the democratization of aristocratic values” (*Jameson, 1990b, 195*). Coucuzeli (*2007, 179*), similarly, suggests that the courtyard house was introduced first by the aristocrats and then was adopted by middle classes as early as the 8th century. Showing evidence from Zagora, she argues this was an act of the middle class who wanted to gain power and status by imitating the domestic space of the aristocrats (*Coucuzeli, 2007, 180*).

The most distinguishing feature of a Classical house is that it has a living quarter and an *andron* planned around a single-entry, enclosed court (*figs. 1, 6 and 8*). Limited archeological finds show that the Archaic West Anatolian aristocratic houses could have a similar space organization. The most significant evidence comes from Bayraklı, where a big complex of 750 m², consisting of spaces around a courtyard, has been excavated (*Akurgal, 1996, 127*) (*fig. 9, spaces 1-7*). The vastness of the structure and the elaborate *oinochoe* found in the *megaron* (*space 7*) of this complex, dated to around 630, led Akurgal to identify it as the house of the *tyrannos* (*Akurgal, 1996, 128*). The spaces 1-6 are interpreted as the living quarter due to the artefacts found (*Akurgal, 1996, 128*). These rooms face an enclosed court on south, and access to each room was via the court, just like in Priene or Piraeus. The *megaron* was a possible meeting hall or an early *andron* (*Akurgal, 1996, 128*); although there are no artefacts to prove this other than the *oinochoe*. The south of the *megaron* shows no traces of a building, and hence it is interpreted as a court (*Akurgal, 1993, 36*); whether it was enclosed or not is unknown. This house, which could have belonged to the *tyrannos* (*Akurgal, 1996, 138*), has domestic spaces and a meeting hall organized around a court within a single layout and as such resemble the houses of the Classical Era.

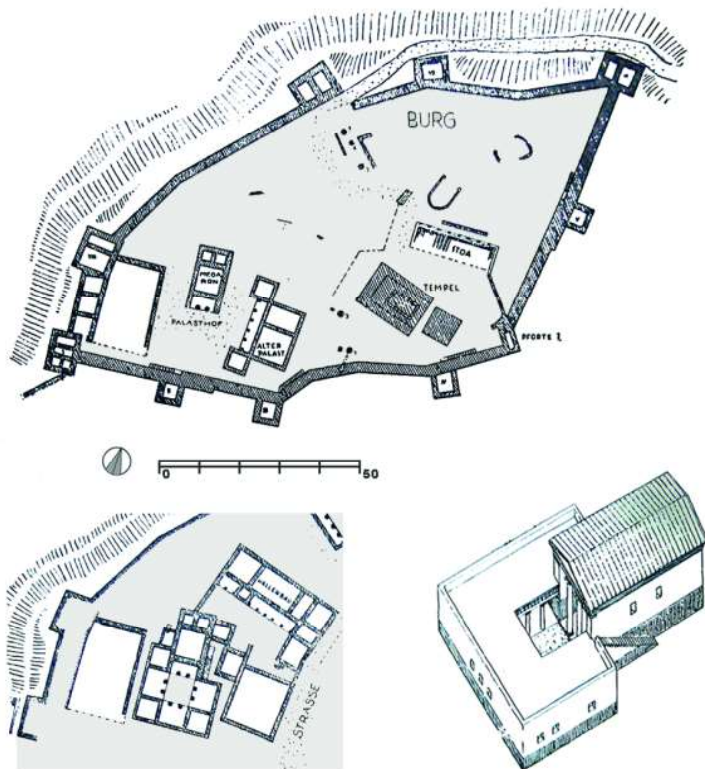
The former palace complex on the Larissa *acropolis* (*fig 10*) was also a significant elite residence. The detached *megaron* that was built at the end of the 6th century is

Fig: 9
Bayraklı houses (650-600) (Akurgal, 1996, 129).



believed to have functioned as the reception hall, or the *andron*. In the 5th century new spaces were built to the east, west and south sides of the court that laid in front of the *megaron*, and turned it into an enclosed one. Furthermore a series of columns were added in front of these new spaces to form a *peristyle* (Fig. 10). These

Fig: 10
Larissa acropolis in the 6th and 5th centuries; upper left: 500, below left: 430-20, lower right: reconstruction of the *peristyle* house (Scheffold, 1940, 27, 35 and 163).



additional rooms were most probably domestic in function (Akurgal, 1996, 131). In the 5th century, therefore, the domestic spaces and *andron* were gathered in one building by the help of an enclosed court in Larissa; an arrangement seen also in the Classical houses.

The integration of these two functions in a single unit around a court is not the only feature that is comparable. The idea that links the origins of the Classical houses to the earlier aristocratic residences focuses, in general, on two spaces; the *oikos* that is thought to have developed from the Mycenaean *megaron* and the *andron*.

Megaron and Oikos

Most scholars (Abbasoğlu, 1996, 395; Akurgal, 1983, 41; Akurgal, 1996; Drerup, 1967, 6; Graham, 1966, 6; Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994, 269; Jameson, 1990a, 108) agree that the Classical Period Greek house (especially the *prostas* type) has developed from the Mycenaean *megaron* and that the *oikos-prostas* unit of the house is the appropriation of the *megaron*-foreroom unit emphasizing their orientation and arrangement within the structure (Graham, 1966, 6).

Figure 11 shows a house from 4th century at Priene and a Mycenaean palace from 13th century at Pylos which are similar in terms of the *oikos-prostas*-court scheme (*prostas* house) and *megaron*-foreroom-court layout (*palace*). In the Mycenaean palace, the *megaron* faced an enclosed court that laid on its south. In Priene, the *oikos* of the house was in a similar layout, facing a south court and having adjacent rooms. Functionwise on the other hand, they were different. The room behind the *prostas* was the *oikos*, the living room in Priene, while the *megaron* was used as the reception hall in the Mycenaean palace. The fact that there is a period difference between the construction of the two structures are compensated by the evidence from Bayraklı and Zagora that date to the 6th and 8th centuries respectively.

Akurgal defines a 6th century Bayraklı house that he names “double *megaron*” as the prototype of the *prostas* houses (fig 12). Since he defines another house (fig 9)

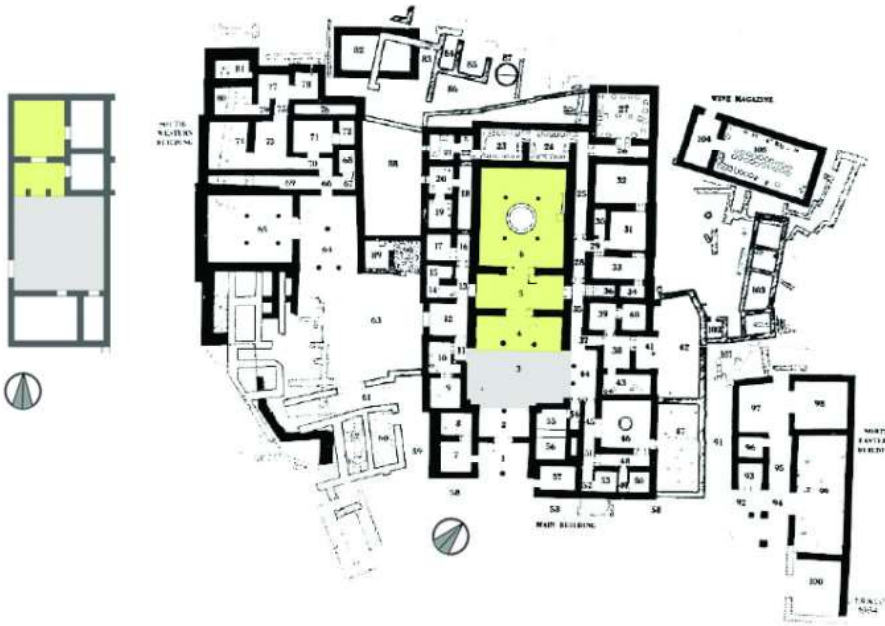


Fig: 11
Priene house (4th century) (redrawn from Hoepfner and Schwander, 1994, 176) and the Mycenaean palace at Pylos (13th century) (Jameson, 1990a, 100) showing the similarity of the *oikos-prostas* unit of the Priene house and the *megaron-forerom* unit of the Mycenaean palace.

in the same settlement as the residence of the *tyrannos*, the double *megaron* is not taken as a governor's residence; it must have, however, belonged to an aristocratic household as it is also believed that only the aristocratic families lived within the walls in Bayraklı (Akurgal, 1996, 138). This house, as the name suggests, consists of two *megara* placed side by side according to Akurgal (1983, 41 and 1996, 130-31). It is understood that the east wall of the room XIV is added later to the whole structure (Akurgal, 1983, 35), which makes this house consisting of a *megaron* and an adjacent room rather than two *megara*. Akurgal defines the west *megaron* (XIIa and XIIb) as the *andron* and its fore-room, and the east room (XIII) as the living quarter, as it was altered to become a wider room

(Akurgal, 1993, s. 41). He mentions a hearth found in the *megaron* (1993, s. 35) but does not tell whether it is in the west or east *megaron*. He also informs about the presence of kitchen arrangements in every room of the house (Akurgal, 1993, s. 35) but does not indicate their location either. The archeological evidence, therefore, is not helpful to define the function of rooms in this domestic structure. Nevertheless, the finds in the 5th and 4th century houses in general, indicate a rather flexible space organization, in which rooms could be used for a range of different activities (Nevett 1999, 36-39; Nevett, 2010, 18-19 and 61)²¹, and one can assume that this was the case also in the Bayraklı house. Considering its architecture, this house can be considered as an early example of the *prostas* houses;

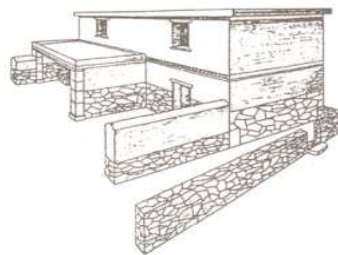
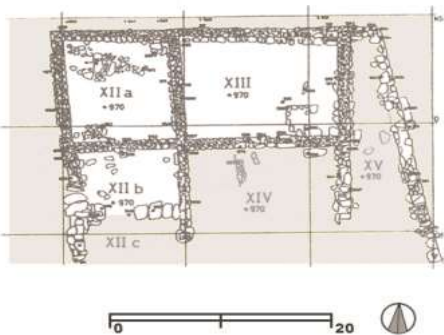
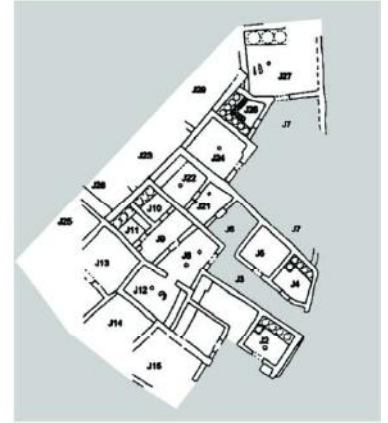
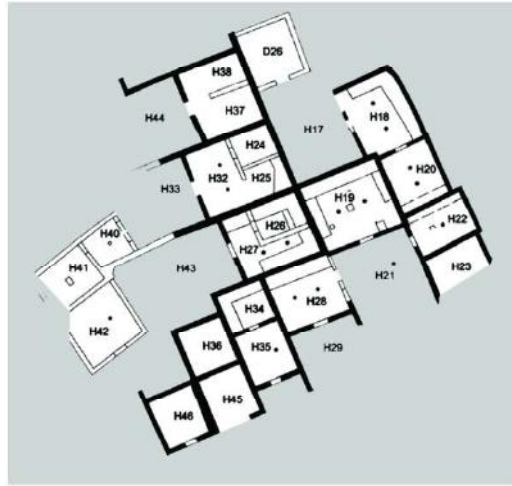


Fig: 12
The 'Double Megaron House' in Bayraklı and its hypothetical reconstruction (6th century) (Akurgal, 1996, 132).

²¹ The best preserved houses of Olynthus provide archeological data for flexible use, where the finds of artefacts prove that spaces, even with similar construction, have been used for different functions (Cahill, 2000, 500; Cahill, 2002, Plate 1).

Fig: 13

Zagora houses (8th century) (Coucouzeli, 2007, 170-171); left: aristocratic houses at Zagora; black hatched walls show Phase 1 (760-750), un-hatched walls show the additional spaces in Phase 2 (735-700). Whether the courtyards (H44, H33, H43, H29, H21, H17) are enclosed or not, is unknown; right: middle-class houses at the south of the settlement, all constructed in Phase 2; J3 and J6 mark an enclosed courtyard; living spaces lay at the north-west of the courts.



it unites the domestic functions and the (possible) *andron* in one structure by the help of an enclosed court. The double *megaron* house, still, is not sufficient to prove the *megaron-oikos* relationship; even if the functions identified by Akurgal is taken as accurate, then it shows that the *megaron* was used as an *andron* (as was the case in most tyrannos residences and Mycenaean palaces), and not as an *oikos* as it would be in the *prostas* house type.

Another example comes from Zagora. Coucouzeli (2007, 171) claims that the late 8th century houses in Zagora are the forerunners of the Classical house and that these houses were evolved from the mid 8th century *megara*. Accordingly, around 735-700 further rooms were added to existing *megaron*-type houses for functional reasons and in the resulting scheme spaces became organized around a court (fig. 13). Archeological finds such as cooking devices, spindle-whorls and alike indicate that most of the *megara* were used as “kitchens/stores/living rooms” (Coucouzeli, 2007, 172) in this second phase while the newer rooms were reserved usually for cooking and eating (Nevett, 2010, 37-38)²². Coucouzeli thinks that the houses that are converted from *megara* belonged to the aristocratic households while also in the newly constructed sections in Zagora there were houses that belonged to the middle-class families in the same period (fig 13). In

this new section, Coucouzeli (2007, 175-176) identifies houses which have an *oikos*, storage spaces, and (a possible) *andron*, laid out similar to the houses in Priene (fig. 1). She concludes that the middle class households imitated the houses of the aristocratic families and the Classical house has evolved from the *megaron* type as demonstrated by the evidence from Zagora.

Megaron, on the other hand, is not an architectural type unique to Anatolia or to Classical Age²³, just like the courtyard house²⁴. It is not even unique to the Greek world, as there are earlier *megara* found in Russia and Mesopotamia (Müller, 1944, 342). Both the Bayraklı house (the ‘Double Megaron House’) and the Zagora houses do not provide enough archeological data to identify the spaces found in them exactly as *andron* or *oikos*, and therefore do not constitute sufficient evidence to suggest the survival of a Mycenaean tradition. The orientation, general plan layout, the presence of *oikos* characteristic in terms of its location and architecture in the *prostas* type houses and the *megaron* of Mycenaean palace has striking resemblance even though they are functionally different. Does the adoption of the *megaron*, a space associated with palace architecture, as the basic unit of domestic space, has a symbolic and/or political meaning? It is difficult to validate this sug-

²² For further analysis: (Nevett, 2010, 37-38).

²³ The Early Bronze Age domestic spaces in Lemnos are courtyard houses with *megara* (Cultraro, 2007).

²⁴ For a brief history of the *megaron* as an architectural type: (Müller, 1944), (Işık, 1998) and (Smith, 1942).

gestion without the aid of ancient sources which, unfortunately, are silent.

Andron as a Space of Political Power

One of the main characteristics of a Classical house that shows a similarity to the aristocratic residences is the presence of an *andron* as a symbol of political participation (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 327; Lynch, 2007, 248-249). *Andron*, as the most elaborately decorated room of the house, was used as a reception hall in the houses of the citizens, similar to its role in an aristocratic residence or palace. Considering this symbolic function, a Classical house having an *andron* is interpreted to reflect the sharing of political power and political decision making by citizens; therefore its presence is taken as the projection of *isonomia* on the design of domestic space (Hoepfner, 1989, 10; Kiegeland, 1993, 49; Lynch, 2007, 247-248). Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 271) links the emergence of *andrones* in the 5th century houses to the rise of democracy while Nevett (2005, 5 and 2010, 62) links them to the symbolic value of the house; both the house and the *andron* were symbols of the ‘citizenship values’.

Literally, the word *andron* means “men’s quarter” (Boardman, 1986, 224). An *andron* was either a detached structure or part of a complex and could have various functions from being a dining or a reception hall to being a place where *symposion* was held and the governors met with aristocratic peers to discuss administrative matters. In fact, the *symposion* was initially considered as a ritual of aristocrats, who were united around a leader (Murray, 1990b, 150). Participating in a *symposion* held in the *andron* meant participating also in the political decisions, therefore the administration of the state. It is even argued that the *symposion* was the only political activity and that there was no other practice of governmental meeting in the Archaic Period (Nevett, 2010, 45).

The first depiction of *andrones* are seen in vase paintings that date to 7th century, a period in which it is assumed that the *andrones* existed only in the houses of the aristocrats (Hoepfner, 1996, 157; Hoepfner

and Schwandner, 1994, 271). The archeological evidence, however, is scarce and remain inadequate for identifying precisely the existence of *andrones* in the domestic architecture of the Archaic Period²⁵. The practice of *symposion* is considered to have developed from the Homeric feasts (Murray, 1983, 198). In Odysseus’ house, which was centered around an enclosed court, there were “many people banqueting within” and there was “a smell of roast meat” and one could “hear a sound of music, which the gods have made to go along with feasting” (*Odyssey xvii 264-71*). Feasting indeed, can well be considered as one domestic ritual that distinguished an aristocratic household from the rest of the community (Murray, 1983, 197) and thus an intrinsic aspect of elite living (Murray, 1983, 196).

In the 5th century, *symposion* must have become widespread as one encounters *andrones* also in the houses of the common populace, like in Priene, Olynthus, Piraeus or Athens²⁶ (Lynch, 2007, 249; Graham, 1966, 47) (figs. 1, 6, 8 and 14). An *andron* was always reached via the enclosed court in the houses of the Classical Period (Nevett, 1999, 70-72) and it seems that it could be located in any part of the house (Fig. 14). The distinguishing spatial feature of an *andron* was a plastered or a mosaic floor, a raised platform or a marked floor area along the walls that signified the position the *klines*, an usually off-centered door, wall stuccos and a generally regular square shape (Bergquist, 1990, 37). Sometimes, an *andron* was also paired with an ante-room (fig. 1 and 14). It is difficult to track the *andrones* in the domestic architecture before the 5th century, when they became widespread, since archeological features associated with the design of *andrones* like mosaic floors or raised platforms were then lacking. In this respect, it is necessary to approach the identified *andrones* in the Archaic houses with a degree of uncertainty²⁷.

The above mentioned *megaron* in the big courtyard house complex in Bayraklı, was identified as an *andron*²⁸ facing outside (or

²⁵ See (Nevett, 2010, 50-57).

²⁶ In Colophon, the lower rooms in the two-storey structures at the south of the courts (Fig 8, rooms VI, IIIh, IIg) are identified as *andrones* (Holland, 1944, 130) due to their slightly off-centered doors, square plans, the workmanship and red stucco finish on their walls, as well as the red cement-like pavements (Holland, 1944, 126) despite the lack of raised floor borders along the walls and artefacts such as *kylix* or *krater*.

²⁷ An early *andron* of a 8th century house was defined in Thorikos (in Attica). Krause (1977, 167) identifies the eastern room as the *andron* due to its raised border. However, this border is both irregular and 30 cm wide, not enough to have a couch or a reclining man (Nevett, 2010, 51). Also, the room is not square as in later *andrones*, so Nevett (2010, 52) suggests that maybe it is just a storage room just like the similar rooms in Zagora (fig. 13).

²⁸ At the south of this complex, there is a detached *megaron* of the same date (630), and due to the high quality of materials and the vastness of space, this single roomed structure is also evaluated as *andron* by Akurgal (1996, 130). However, the archeological finds to prove the function of a meeting room, or whether these two so-called *andrones* hosted different events or had different meanings remain to be obscure.

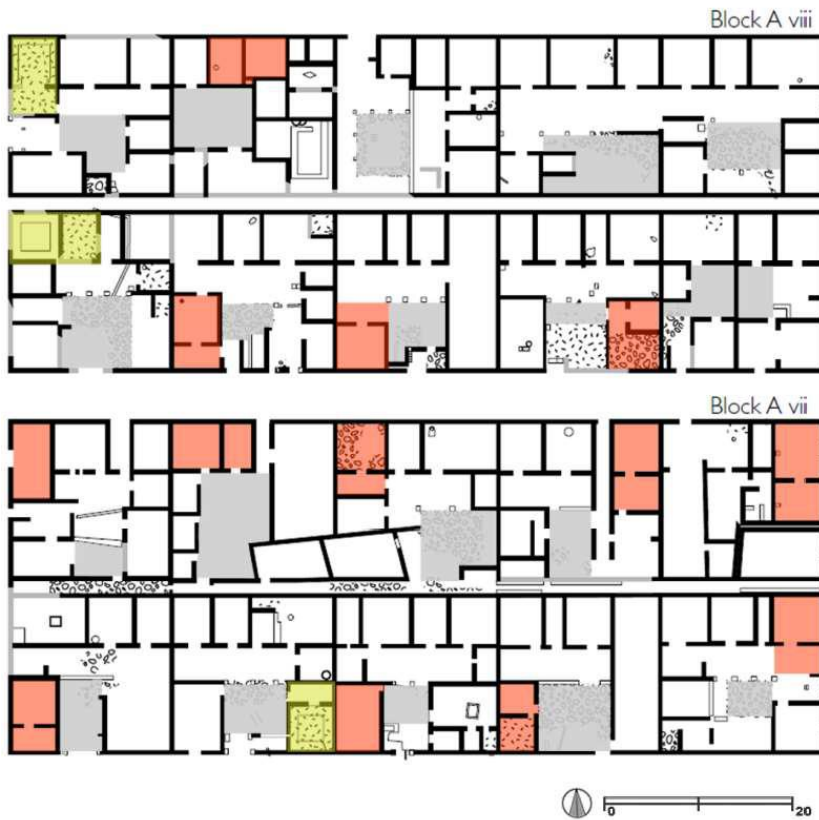


Fig: 14
Two housing *insulae* from Olynthus (Cahill, 2002, Plate I). The yellow printed rooms are identified as *andrones* by Cahill due to their raised border. However, Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 43) identify the additional rooms as *andrones* (printed orange) due to craftsmanship, archaeological finds and architectural features like an ante-room or paved floor.

an outer courtyard?) (fig. 9) after the elaborate *oinochoe* and the fine workmanship of its walls (Akurgal, 1996, 126-127). Although the confirmative archeological evidence is limited, it is likely that the *tyrannos* had used a meeting hall and this space seems like the most appropriate room for this function: it was part of a bigger house complex, its entrance was separate from the inner court and it was planned as a *megaron* facing south. With these features the space resembles the typical *megara* used as meeting halls in the Mycenaean palace complexes (fig. 11). Like the *symposion* held in an *andron* confirmed the political authority of the governor (Kiegeland, 1993, 49), the governor's house having the *andron* symbolized the ruler identifying himself with the state. Similarly, the existence of *andrones* in the houses of the common populace may imply that every citizen identified himself with the *polis* and acted as a political authority.

The archeological finds are not enough to prove that the Classical houses had

adopted the aristocratic tradition of incorporating meeting spaces into the domestic sphere. Besides, not all of the Classical houses had such a room. For example, in Olynthus, only 1/3 of the houses had an *andron* (Robinson and Graham, 1938). If the reception room had such a symbolic meaning, its lack in some houses then deserves attention for which the flexible spaces theory can provide a possible interpretation. The *symposion* could take place in any room in the house with proper adaptations and did not necessarily require an *andron* (Nevett, 2010, 61; Lynch, 2007, 244 and Tsakirgis, 2005, 77). The identification of *andron* as a male space is also problematic as female related objects were found in the *andrones* as well (Nevett, 1999, 71).

Even if every household had some place to hold a *symposion*, the political meaning of this ritual remains uncertain (Murray, 1990b, 150-151). Nevett (1999, 163) argues that meeting in the *andron* had gained a political context during the 3th century, before that similar meetings were held mainly for entertainment purposes. Murray (1983, 198; Murray, 1990a, 6) claims that throughout the Archaic Era, this aristocratic ritual had turned into an entertainment meeting that had a luxurious aspect. Entertaining guests in a *symposion* represented power and required wealth as the expenses like food, wine and elaborate drinking vessels could be afforded by the wealthy, also in the Classical Period (Vickers, 1990, 106). The nature of *symposion* in the 5th century is still a debated topic. While some scholars consider it as an elite and therefore anti-democratic ritual, others claim that it was an encompassing and therefore democratic activity where all citizens could participate (Nevett, 2010, 45 and 62).

Nonetheless, it can be seen as a sign of a more egalitarian society where the common populace could have *andrones* in their homes, as before the Classical Period this space was featured only in the houses of the aristocracy.

Concluding Remarks

The architectural development of the Classical Greek house is evaluated in

relation to the idea of democracy and the notion of equal citizenship. A number of issues emerge as influential factors. Accordingly, the grid-plan, equal housing plots, existence of an *andron*, and the layout of houses that show similarities with the Archaic palaces are discussed in the context of houses in West Anatolia.

The history of architecture cannot be studied regardless of the dominant political and social environment and a difficult task, in this sense, is to frame the political situation in Anatolia before the Hellenistic Period. One cannot speak of democracy under the rule of *satraps*, yet the Persian encounter gave way to the perception of a common Greek identity that made the citizens of ancient Greek *poleis* embrace certain cultural and social values as common references. This unity can also be traced in the layout of houses, like in the *prostas* houses of Priene and Piraeus, or in the grid plan, which turns out to be similar in other Greek cities in the Classical Era. For West Anatolia, one can think of democracy and equality as “ideas” (*isonomia*), rather than operative principles of governance.

In West Anatolia, archeological evidence confirm grid planned cities and equal *insulae*, but these are not enough to justify the use of equal type-houses. Such type of planning can well be the result of a prevalent democracy. Among the likely reasons for its adaption are the ease of implementation in a relatively shorter period of time and providing identical conditions in especially colonial cities, as the development of the city plan is not bound to only one parameter and equality can be included among the possible reasons.

The similarity of the *oikos*-forerroom-court relationship of the Classical house to the Mycenaean palaces is an interesting one. The addition of an *andron* in the domestic context, on the other hand, is a significant development in regards to the sharing of political power. One, however, should not think of the *andron* as purely a political stage in the house; *andrones* of Classical Era are commonly used for feasting and

entertainment. The existence of similar features in the modest houses can still be taken, at least symbolically, as a sign of sharing the political power among citizens.

The adoption of a grid-plan, designing equal *insulae*, planning identical houses, the use of *andron* as a symbol of shared political power, and the house emulating the organization of ancient elite residences and Mycenaean palace tradition in terms of adopting a *megaron* space to be used as an *oikos*, are all interpreted as traces of equality and democracy ideas reflecting in the layout of the Classical domestic architecture in West Anatolia●

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