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## The Idea of the Houses

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ALMA MATER STUDIORUM - UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA

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Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione  
in Beni Archeologici

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# THE IDEA OF THE HOUSE: HOUSE LAYOUT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE TO LATE HELLADIC PELOPONNESE

*Massimiliano Carbonari, Francesco Iacono*

*Within mainland Greek societies, the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age is characterised as having seen considerable social, political, economic and cultural transformations leading to the emergence of palaces. Yet, being the locus of elites, palaces are unlikely to inform us on the way these changes affected the full spectrum of Mainland societies. To achieve this, we turn here to non-palatial dwellings that are increasingly considered a fruitful domain of investigation for exploring broad societal change.*

*In this paper we analyse a sample of 149 domestic buildings, to assess whether social change happening in the Peloponnese at the transition between MH and LH influenced the layout of houses. The investigation reveals macro-trends related to the gradual disappearance of apsidal buildings and the growth of complexity in domestic buildings. This latter aspect seems to be geographically inflected and potentially connected to the unfolding of the trajectory of the Mycenaean palaces.*

## *Introduction*

It has long been held that at the transition between the Middle and Late Helladic, considerable social, political, economic and cultural changes occurred within mainland Greek societies (Dickinson 1977; Voutsaki, Wiersma 2017), changes ultimately leading to the formation of early Mycenaean polities and later palatial states (Voutsaki 2010: 99). Houses are increasingly being considered a fruitful domain of enquiry in order to explore such changes, as they can directly express the values, images, perceptions and ways of life of a human group (Rapoport 1969: 12; Wiersma 2017: 91).

The present paper investigates whether social change happening in the Peloponnese at the transition between MH and LH affected the formal and functional solutions adopted in the domestic architecture. To that end, we will analyse a sample of 149 domestic buildings (see Appendix below), seeking to identify main trends visible through time and whether these are geographically inflected and/or connected to the unfolding of the trajectory of the Mycenaean palaces.

## *Framing the architectural problem: The domestic and the palatial*

Mycenaean architecture (with a specific focus on monumental palaces) has been the focus of scholarly attention since the discovery of the first palatial complex on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns by Wilhelm Dörpfeld and Heinrich Schliemann in 1884<sup>1</sup>.

The reason for this interest lies not only in the inherent monumentality and richness of the architectural record, but also in the symbolic significance of the palace whose vicissitudes have, since the most embryonic beginnings of Aegean archaeology, represented the very backbone of any historical narrative related to second millennium BC mainland Greece. Yet, albeit undoubtedly crucial, palaces as spaces were arguably dedicated only to a tiny portion of the population (i.e. the palatial elites, and those working for them or engaging with them in some sort of economic or ritual activity), while houses served the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Bronze Age Greece. We can accordingly wonder whether houses are likely to bear traces of the general processes and

<sup>1</sup> Barber 1992; Küpper 1996; Galaty, Parkinson 2007; Maran 2009; Fitzsimons 2011; Farmer, Lane 2016.

narratives identified primarily through the examination of palaces. Going beyond a merely descriptive approach to architecture and following the path outlined by recent methodologies (e.g. Cutting 2003; 2006; Letesson 2009), the aim of this paper is to provide some preliminary considerations on how this complementary perspective can be achieved, analysing a sample of published domestic buildings from mainland Greece dated between the Middle and Late Helladic up until the end of Mycenaean Palaces.

Although in the past Mycenaean domestic architecture received far less attention than other fields, such as the funerary or the monumental architecture, in recent years it has aroused renewed interest, both for the MH period<sup>2</sup> and the LH period alike<sup>3</sup>.

For the MH period, Wiersma (Wiersma 2014: 221) has reconsidered the possible trend of change throughout the different sub-phases suggested, for instance, by Wright (Wright 2008; 233-238). She highlighted single elements of variation both inside the settlements and the regions within a general trend of continuity and homogeneity. Regarding the shape, it is widely recognized that the “apsidal” form of the buildings (the variant with axial rooms and a curvilinear short side) plays a prominent role during the MH and tends to disappear during the LH, during which the “quadrangular” form predominates and diversifies<sup>4</sup>.

For the LH period, Darcque’s study of Mycenaean settlements (Darcque 2005) has considered many aspects of the domestic buildings, from basements to roofing, highlighting two different ways of construction, defined as “*simple*” and “*complexe*” (Darcque 2005: 137): the first one might have its antecedents in the Neolithic and EH architectures and possibly served small familiar groups; the second might have its model in the Minoan architecture and implies refined building materials and techniques, and a great deal of labour.

As the focus of the analysis is domestic architecture, so the concept of “house” seems pivotal, both as a social unit «dynamic, flexible, and subject to constant change» (Hatzaki 2011: 248), and as a built environment, in which such a social unit lives, works, and interacts daily (Glowacki, Vo-

geikoff-Brogan 2011: 4). Houses however include a palimpsest of different human activities and – as remarked by Darcque (Darcque 2005: 36) – they are «*la construction où l’homme trouve abri pour dormir tout d’abord, éventuellement pour consommer et produire*». In this perspective, the real objects of such research are the remains of those buildings which witness, for various reasons, activities generally referred to by the aforementioned definitions of “house”.

The selected geographical framework is the Peloponnese, because of its boundaries which define a macro-region separated from the rest of the mainland, and its recognised status as the «heartland of Mycenaean civilization» (Cavanagh 2010: 631), with the presence of important administrative centres, such as Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos. The sites considered in this research are: Korakou, Tsoungiza, Zygouries (Corinthia); Aigeria, Aigion, Drakotrypa, Haghios Athanasios (Achaea); Kavkania, Olympia (Elis); Asea (Arcadia); Argos, Asine, Berbati, Chania, Iria, Lerna, Mycenae, Prosymna, Tiryns (the Argolid); Haghios Stephanos, Sparta (specifically the remains at the so-called Menelaion and on the top of Aetos hill) (Laconia); Iklaina, Kakovatos, Koukounara, Malthi, Mouriatada, Nichoria, Peristeria (Messenia).

#### *The data*

The analysed material combines the evidence reported in a number of published surveys (primarily Darcque 2005; Wiersma 2014, with some subsequent additions, see Appendix), comprising some 149 domestic buildings ranging in chronology from MH to LH IIIB. Palatial buildings and buildings located inside the citadel walls of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea are not considered. Concerning these, Iakovidis states that «the palace complex occupied the whole of the available space within the enceinte» of Mycenaean citadels (Iakovidis 1983: 1) and Platon seems to share the same vision of the fortified citadels when he states that «*sur les acropoles, il n’y avait pas de place pour les maisons privées*» (Platon 1981: 288). Darcque clearly defines the palace as an «*entité architecturale dépassant le cadre et les limites d’un seul édifice et pouvant s’étendre sur une très grande surface, et même sur un site tout entier*» (Darcque 2005: 380) and observes that they are embodied in a dense network of buildings, witnessing strong relationships among themselves. For the same reasons, the buildings clustering around the so-called Main Building at Pylos (Southwestern Building, Northeastern Building, Wine Magazine)

<sup>2</sup> Lambropoulou 1991; Gorogianni 2002; Worsham 2010; Philippa-Touchais *et alii* 2010; Wiersma 2014; 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Mylonas Shear 1968; Sinos 1971; Hiesel 1990; Tournavitou 1995; Darcque 2005; Burns 2007; Tournavitou, Schallin 2015.

<sup>4</sup> See Hiesel 1990: 6; Darcque 2005: 342; Wright 2008: 237; Wiersma 2014: 221.

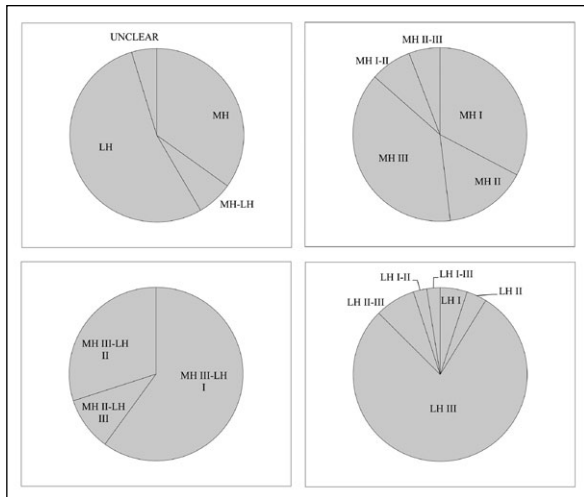


Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of the evidence analysed a) within the overall period studied; b) within MH; c) between MH and LH; d) within LH.

are not considered, even if a clear wall enceinte is (still) unrevealed<sup>5</sup>.

Unlike the former, the houses located outside the citadel walls of Mycenae and in which Darcque seems to recognize some “*marqueurs palatiaux*” (the West House Complex, the Petsas House, the House II of the Panagia Group, *op.cit.*, 380-381) are included. The reasons for such a choice are both the absence of spatial contiguity with the recognized palatial building and the lack of agreement among scholars on the possible cooperation between the inhabitants of such buildings and the

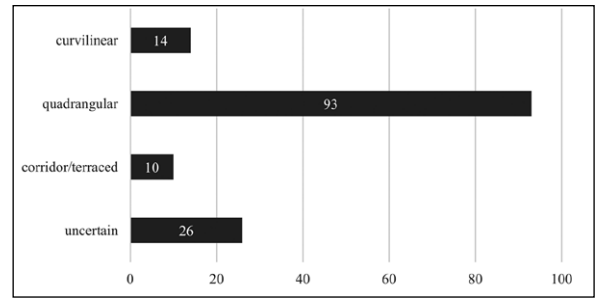


Fig. 2. Shape types within the analysed set of domestic buildings.

palatial administration (see Burns 2007 for the West House Complex).

With the exception of seven buildings of uncertain chronology, 52 buildings are dated to MH, 10 to the period between MH and LH<sup>6</sup> and 80 to LH. The following charts (fig. 1a-d) describes the chronological distribution of evidence in detail:

*General shape of the house and axiality*

Four different kinds of general shape types have been identified in the set of domestic buildings analysed: *curvilinear*, *quadrangular*, *corridor/terraced* and *uncertain*. The terminology is the one adopted by Darcque in his formal description of houses (Darcque 2005: 341-352). For the *quadrangular* buildings, the word *angular* would perhaps be more accurate, not only because it marks off their difference from the *curvilinear* shapes, but also better reflects the real shape of certain houses, which are not properly *quadrangular*, such as the irregular MH house at Olympia (Rambach 2002: 187, Abb. 14) and the House F at Asea (Holmberg 1944: 12-17, fig. 15). Although Darcque separates them (Darcque 2005: 352), *corridor* and *terraced* buildings are here combined because the layouts are not necessarily mutually exclusive (e.g. the Oil’s Merchant House at Mycenae). The chart (fig. 2) shows the situation in detail, while the maps (fig. 3a-c) show the geographical distribution of the shapes over time.

Eleven of the fourteen curvilinear buildings are dated to the MH period and the other three to the LH. Twenty-seven of the ninety-three quad-

<sup>5</sup> The excavators recognized six different building blocks on the top of Ano Englianos, all embodied under the denomination the “Palace of Nestor”: Main Building (Blegen, Rawson 1966: 43-235), Southwestern Building (Blegen, Rawson: 236-288), Northwestern Building (Blegen, Rawson: 289-298), Northeastern Building (Blegen, Rawson: 299-325), Area between Northeastern Building and Wine Magazine (Blegen, Rawson: 326-341) and Wine Magazine (Blegen, Rawson: 342-349). Cultraro speaks in terms of «*aggregazione di quattro differenti nuclei*» (Cultraro 2006: 98), and Davis considers the Palace consisting of four blocks, without considering the Northwestern Building and the Area between the Northeastern Building and the Wine Magazine (Davis 2010: 684). For these scholars, all the blocks are part of a unique structure. Darcque, instead, following Wright’s consideration (Wright 1984: 19-29) based on the diverse building phases, disagrees on the functional unity of the blocks and classifies the Main Building as a palace, the Southwestern and Northeastern Buildings as *édifices intermédiaires* and the Wine Magazine as a simple house (Darcque 2005: 382-384).

<sup>6</sup> In some cases, such a dating refers to the fact that the structure could be dated both to the MH and the LH periods.

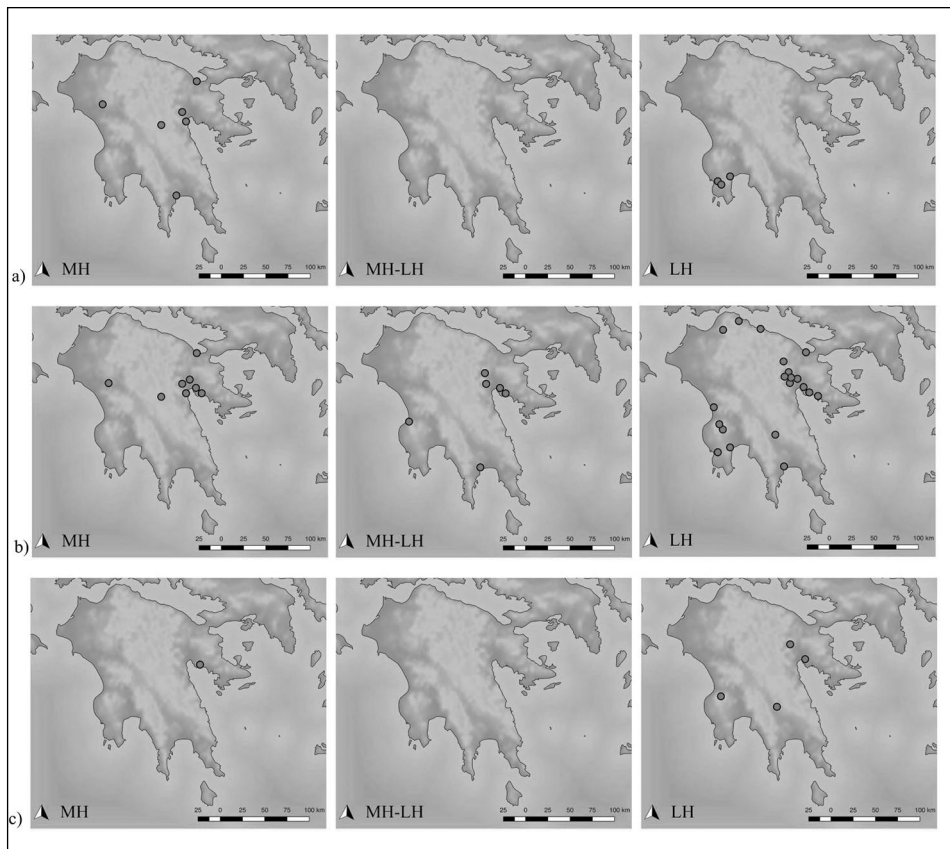


Fig. 3. Geographical distribution over time of the curvilinear (a), the quadrangular (b) and the corridor/terraced (c) shapes.

quadrangular buildings are dated to MH, seven are dated to the transitional phase between MH and LH and the other fifty-eight to LH. Just one of the ten corridor or terraced buildings, the House B at Asine (Nordquist 1987: 76-79, fig. 76), dates to the MH period and the remaining nine date to the LH. As to the curvilinear layout, only the house at Koukounara (Lolos 1987: 29, fig. 27) has a curious ellipsoidal shape. The others show the typical apsidal layout.

Drawing on our sample, it is possible to state that the quadrangular shape is the most adopted layout in all the periods, but the disposition of the rooms seems to change in the transition from MH to LH. Darcque highlights that quadrangular buildings can arrange their rooms either on a single axis or multiple axes (Darcque 2005: 346 ff.). If a building arranges the rooms orthogonally on a straight line, it is defined as *monoaxial*. Otherwise, it is defined as *multiaxial*. The *multiaxiality* can be expressed in various ways: rooms can be arranged along two parallel lines, two perpendicular axes, three or more lines and around a central *core-room* (fig. 4a-d).

During the MH, such dispositions are only attested in two cases: the House Pre-D at Asine (Nordquist 1987: 76, pl. 75), whose rooms are apparently arranged on two parallel lines (but the state of preservation is rather poor) and the House D at Asine (Nordquist 1987: 79-83, pl. 78), whose eleven rooms are arranged on three axes, two parallel and one perpendicular to both, covering an area of 117 m<sup>2</sup> (fig. 5).

The trend to dispose rooms in a multiaxial way seems to increase over time. Four buildings dated to the transition between the MH and the LH arrange their rooms in this way: House C at Asine (Nordquist 1987: 83, pl. 82), whose rooms are arranged irregularly but multiaxially; House E at Asine (Nordquist 1987: 83-85, pl. 84); House East Trench F at Tiryns (Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 7-8, Beilage 4)<sup>7</sup>; House Lambda 2 at Haghios Steph-

<sup>7</sup> Its axial arrangement is hard to work out, but according to Wiersma (Wiersma 2014: 149) its plan is similar to that of House R at Eleusis (cf. Mylonas 1932: pl.1), whose rooms are arranged along multiple axes.





Fig. 4. Examples of multi-axiality: a) two parallel lines (Unit IV-9, Nichoria); b) two perpendicular axes (House of the Shields, Mycenae); c) three or more parallel lines (House G, Asine); d) arrangement around a central core-room (House P, Korakou). (After Darcque 2005, modified).

anos (Taylour, Janko 2008: 105-107, pl. 1.61), whose shape is unclear but has the rooms clearly arranged along a number of axes.

During LH, such a trend definitely took off: twenty-three buildings arrange their rooms multi-axially<sup>8</sup>. The Southwestern Building at Tsoungiza (Wright 1990: 347-351, fig. 1), House H at Asine (Westholm 1938: 76-77, pl. 43), House III of the Panagia group at Mycenae (Mylonas Shear 1987:

52-63), Building M at Kakovatos (Dörpfeld 1907: XI; Kilian 1987: fig. 9), Unit IV-4C (Aschenbrenner 1992: 441-443, pl. 7-62), Unit IV-9 (McDonald, Coulson 1992: 445-447, pl. 7-63), Unit IV-3 (Coulson 1992: 408-415, pl. 7-37), and Unit IV-6 (Wilkie 1992: 425-429, pl. 7-51) at Nichoria, the second phase of the LH I House at Aigion (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010: 134-135, fig. 7) and the House at Drakotrypa (Zapheiroopoulos 1958: 168, fig. 1) dispose their rooms along two parallel axes. The House A at the Afrodision of Argos (Croissant 1969: 991-992, fig. 1) and the House of Shields at Mycenae (Tournavitou 1995: 16-28, pl. 2) have two perpendicular axes. The House G at Asine (Westholm 1938: 74-76, pl. 43) and Unit III-2 at Nichoria (Hope Simpson 1992b: 380-386, pl. 7-15) are arranged along three axes, while the Plakes House at Mycenae (Mylonas 1975: 158-161, fig. 2) has multiple axes (the exact number is

<sup>8</sup> We might also consider in this number five more cases, at present uncertain because of their unclear plans, but plausible: Houses D2 (Gercke, Gercke, Heisel 1975: 18-26, Beilage 4) and Northwest (Kilian 1978: 449-452, Abb.2) at Tiryns, the North Building at the Menclaion (Catling 2009 (I): 36, 57-64; (II), fig. 25) and Buildings A (Cosmopoulos 2018: 50-57, fig. 22) and on the South Terrace (Cosmopoulos 2018: 66-70, fig. 30) at Iklaina.

unclear), as does House II of the Panagia group at Mycenae (Mylonas Shear 1987: 27-47), House B33-38 B45 at Malthi (Valmin 1938: 183-184, pl. IV) and the House at Haghios Athanasios (Zapheiroopoulos 1958: 171, fig. 2). The House P at Korakou (Blegen 1921: 83-89, fig. 114), House I at Asine (Westholm 1938: 78-80, fig. 43), and the House of the Superior Level at Berbati (Darcque 1980: 23-24) have rooms disposed around a central core-room; conversely, in the House B52-57

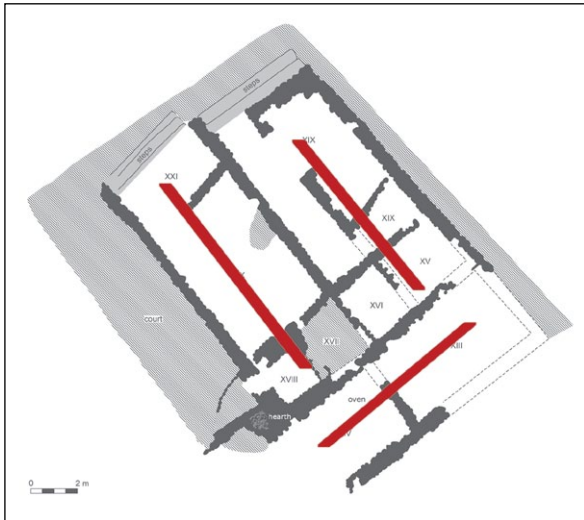


Fig. 5. House D, Asine (after Wiersma 2014, modified).



Fig. 6. House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae. The building is arranged both onto two sloping terraces (as shown by the arrows) and in relation to a central corridor, which is the central axis of the entire structure (after Darcque 2005, modified).

at Malthi (Valmin 1938: 180-182, pl. IV), it is difficult to understand whether the rooms are arranged on multiple axes or around a central core-room (specifically the space B53, a possible central courtyard). Finally, the Levendis House at Asine (Hägg, Hägg 1975: 151-153) has an irregular layout, but its rooms are not organised axially.

In addition, the *corridor* and the *terraced* shapes can be considered as a conceptual development from the multiaxial layout<sup>9</sup> (in the first case, the corridor would coincide with the axis alongside which the two or more groups of rooms are arranged; in the second case, the multiplication of the axes would go hand in hand with the differentiation in the level at which the rooms lie, (see fig. 6). The chronological trend detected repeats itself: only one MH building, House B at Asine (Nordquist 1987: 76-79, pl. 76), has a terraced layout, whereas five LH buildings have a corridor layout, namely House I of the Panagia Group (Mylonas Shear 1987: 15-26), the West House at Mycenae (Tournavitou 1995: 1-16, pl. 2), House 49 at Tiryns (Podzuweit, Salzmann 1977: 123-134), Mansion 1 at the Menelaion (Catling 2009(I): 23-32; (II), fig. 10), and the Megaron A at Mouriata (Marinatos 1960: 202-203, fig. 1). Four LH buildings have a terraced layout, the House of the Oil Merchant (Tournavitou 1995: 28-41, pl. 2), the House of the Sphinxes (Tournavitou 1995: 41-65, pl. 2) and the Petsas House (Papadimitriou, Petsas 1950: 203-233; 1951, pin. III) at Mycenae, with Mansion 2 at the Menelaion (Catling 2009(I): 32-54; (II), fig. 20)<sup>10</sup>.

### Rooms

Let us now consider the number of the rooms. The following tables and charts (fig. 7a-c) respectively show the number of rooms in a domestic building during MH, in the transitional phase between MH and LH and finally during LH. A caveat to these data must be added. Since remains

<sup>9</sup> Hiesel (Hiesel 1990: 111) qualifies his *Korridorhaus* as “*mehrachsig*”, «with more axes, multiaxial», and Darcque (Darcque 2005: 352) describes the terraced houses as «constructions built upon more levels, which extend onto two parallel axes alongside the borders of the construction land».

<sup>10</sup> Terraces usually are artificial. The terraces onto which Mansion 2 is built are natural. Also, the House B at Zygouries (Blegen 1928: 30-38, 143-167, pl. II) might be considered as a terraced house but remains are too scanty. Its terraces would be artificial.

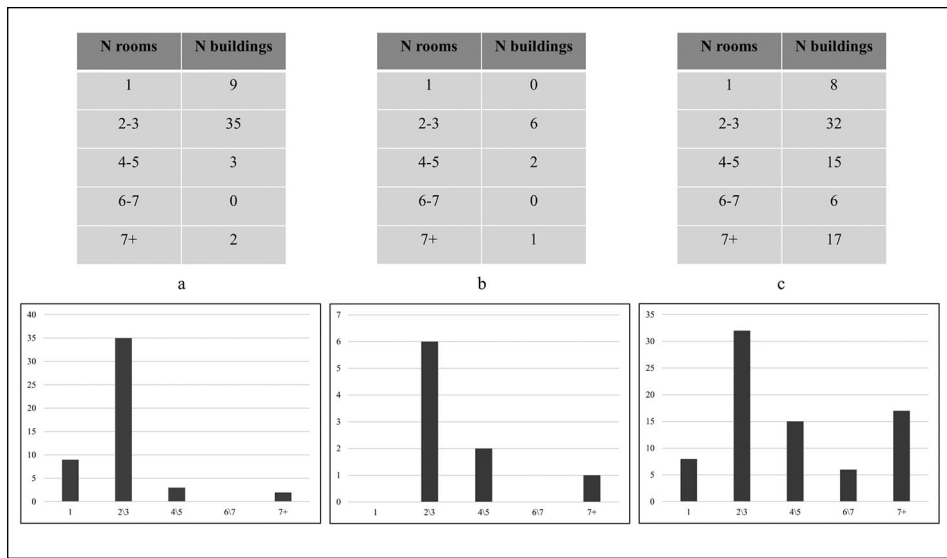


Fig. 7. Number of the rooms of the domestic building a) within MH; b) between MH and LH; c) within LH.

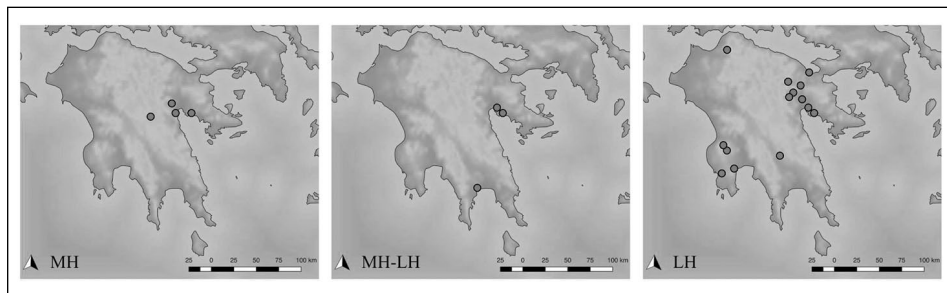


Fig. 8. Geographical distribution over time of the domestic buildings with more than three rooms.

are often too ill-preserved to have a clear picture of the original building, for some of those here considered, the reconstructed number of the rooms is only indicative. Nevertheless, in the following discussion, the focus is on the *likely* (rather than the exact) number of rooms, and so even the uncertain cases will be considered.

Two trends seem to emerge clearly:

- The number of the buildings with two or three rooms is constantly high over time;
- In the transition between the MH and the LH the number of the buildings with more than three rooms radically increases.

During MH, only five buildings have more than three rooms (ca. 11%); in the transitional phase between MH and LH, 33% of the considered buildings (three out of nine) have more than three rooms; during LH, thirty-eight buildings (ca. 49% of the total) have at least four rooms (fig. 8).

So, despite the disparity of sample size obviously demands caution, it is possible to hypothesize that in the passage from Middle to Late Helladic there was a trend towards an increase of the number of the rooms.

Let us now examine the axial arrangement and the number of the rooms. The following graphs (fig. 9) show the number of the rooms of both the *monoaxial* and the *multi-axial* buildings, without any chronological or formal (that is, curvilinear or quadrangular) distinction.

The charts outline a fairly clear situation. With the exception of the single-room structures, almost all the monoaxial buildings have no more than three rooms, except for Building B on the top of the Aetos hill and the Building at Chania. In the first case, the building seems to have four different occupational phases, during which eleven rooms are

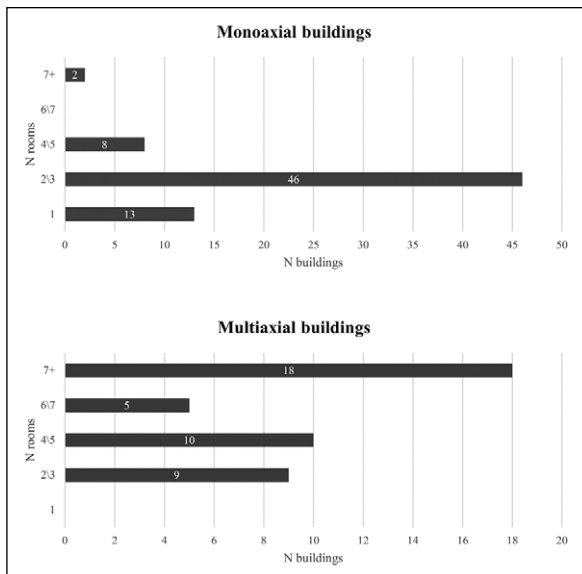


Fig. 9. Number of the rooms of monoaxial and multi-axial buildings.

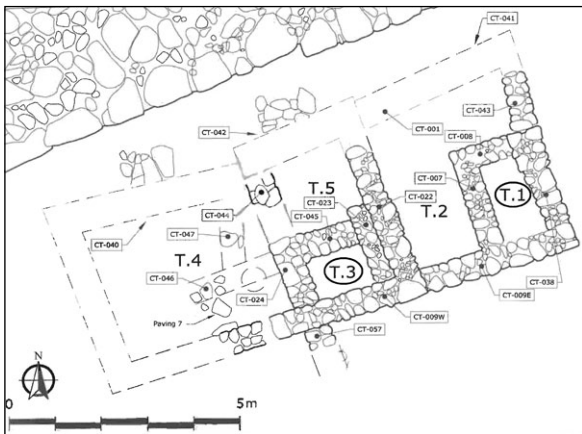


Fig. 10. Building T from Iklaina (after Cosmopoulos 2018 modified). The red circles indicate the rooms discussed.

built (Catling 2009: (I) 198-212; (II), figs. 62, 65). But the building undergoes numerous reconstructions and restructuring works, and these eleven rooms seem to have never been used all at the same time. In the second case, all the eight rooms are in use at the same time, but the monoaxial layout is preserved, using an external corridor, which both connects the different rooms of the building and allows to keep different functional areas separated (Palaiologou 2015: 53-78, fig. 3). Moreover, only one structure has five rooms, Building T at Iklaina (Cosmopoulos 2018: 29-41, figs. 9, 13), where – however – two rooms (T.1 and T.3) seem to have been gained by internally dividing off parts of two larger rooms (respectively T.2 and T.5): so, there

were originally three axial rooms rather than five from the outset (fig. 10).

In addition, Buildings M and H at Korakou (Blegen 1921: 89-93, figs. 119, 121) have been considered as two separate quadrangular structures of, respectively, two and four axial rooms. Nevertheless, Blegen does not exclude the possibility that the two buildings are actually parts of a single structure (Blegen 1921: 91). In that case, the latter should be considered a quadrangular building with six rooms arranged along two perpendicular axes.

All of the buildings with six or more rooms (except for the aforementioned exceptions) have them arranged along multiple axes, a corridor or on sloping terraces. The House B at Zygouries (Blegen 1928: 30-38, 143-167, pl. II) is not considered, because only a small portion of the original building is conserved. Nevertheless, Blegen describes the built space as derived from the preliminary excavation of the hill's slope and from the creation of two different terraces, the one set into the excavated slope, the other made from the spoil of the first (Blegen 1928, 30-31). So, the so-called *Potter's Shop*, taken as a whole, should be considered as a terraced building with “only” seven preserved rooms.

On this basis, it can be surmised that in the passage from Middle to Late Helladic a general increase in the number of rooms in a domestic building may be observed. This was paired with a widespread tendency to arrange them on multiple axes. Such new dispositions can vary from straight forward arrangements – such as with the rooms in two parallel lines – to more original and elaborate ones – i.e. the arrangement of the rooms around a central core-room, along a corridor, or onto different levels by creating sloping terraces. The analysis does not suggest that the *monoaxial* layout was peculiar only to the MH, but it was definitely supplanted by *multi-axial* layouts during the LH. The two arrangements are both attested during the Late Bronze Age: twenty-one curvilinear or quadrangular buildings dated to the LH arrange their rooms along a single axis (omitting naturally the single-room houses).

In addition, *multi-axiality* does not seem to be connected only with buildings with several rooms: here, a significant example is the House of the Shields at Mycenae (Tournavitu 1995: 16-28, fig. 2): leaving out the fact that the building possibly had further northern rooms (later remains of the Hellenistic period and erosion heavily compromised the northern sector and hindered a clear comprehension of the original plan), it is articulated by “just” three huge rooms, arranged not axially, but along two

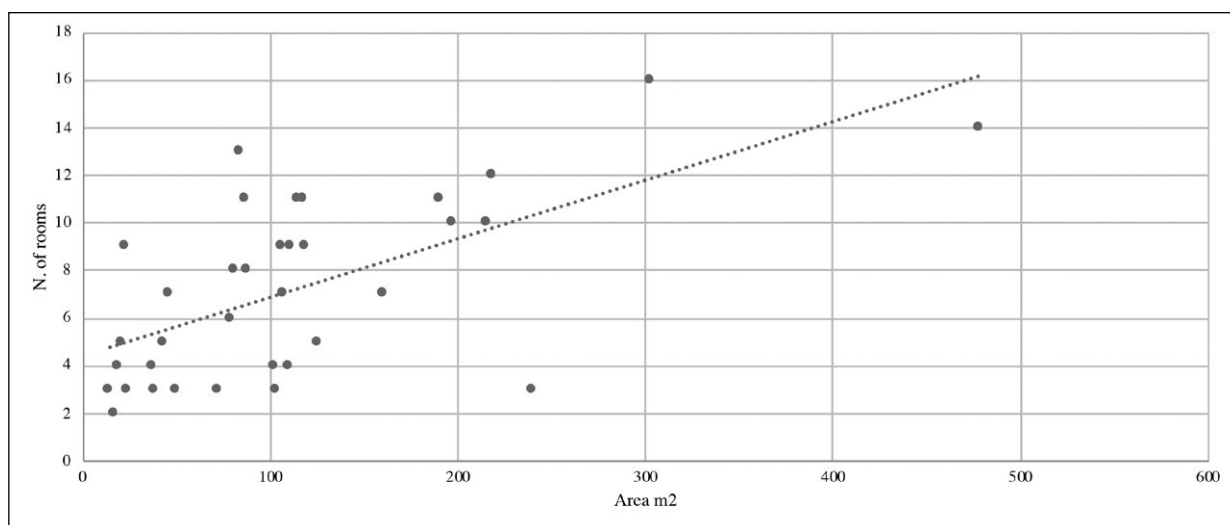


Fig. 11. Number of the rooms and size of the multi-axial buildings.

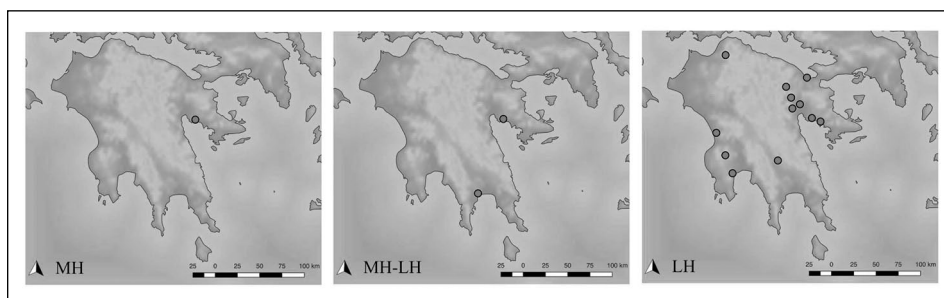


Fig. 12. Geographical distribution over time of the multi-axial domestic buildings.

perpendicular axes. One can wonder whether the sheer size of the rooms might have influenced their arrangement, as shown below (*infra*).

The example of the House of the Shield brings us to another crucial aspect, that is, the size of the buildings. For buildings of a curvilinear shape, and for whom the total size is clearly measurable, eleven out of a total of twelve (nine dated to the MH period, two dated to the LH) do not exceed 45 m<sup>2</sup>, whereas only House N at Asea (Holmberg 1944: 12-20, fig. 21) attains at least 87 m<sup>2</sup>. If we compare such data with that relating to the MH quadrangular buildings, whose rooms are arranged along a single axis, there are no substantial differences: eleven buildings do not exceed 45 m<sup>2</sup>, and though the other six are larger, they do not reach the size of House N at Asea (the biggest one is House N at Argos, whose area slightly exceeds 72 m<sup>2</sup>, see Vollgraff 1907: 141, pl. V).

In the transition between Middle and Late Helladic, and during LH, the situation does not seem to change. The three buildings dated to the

transitional phase between MH and LH, whose rooms are disposed monoaxially, do not exceed 25 m<sup>2</sup>. These are the House of the Tzafa plot at Argos (23.45 m<sup>2</sup>, see Divari-Valakou 1998: 86-88, fig. 1), the Southwest House at Mycenae (21.20 m<sup>2</sup>, Verdelis 1961: 161-164, fig. 2) and House Nu2 at Hagios Stephanos (6.72 m<sup>2</sup> Tylour, Janko 2008: 105-107, fig. 1.61). None of the twenty-two similar buildings dated to LH exceeds the size of the House M at Korakou (68 m<sup>2</sup>), except for the already cited Building at Chania (142.75 m<sup>2</sup>) and the great Megaron W at Tiryns (128.80 m<sup>2</sup>) (Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 11-15).

In order to analyse the multi-axial buildings, the scatter plot (fig. 11) presents the thirty-four buildings, whose size and axial development are clearly recognizable, according to size, while the maps (fig. 12) show their geographical distribution:

Most of the structures considered are substantially larger than the monoaxial buildings. Nevertheless, this tendency is not universally valid as eleven buildings do not exceed 50 m<sup>2</sup>, and another

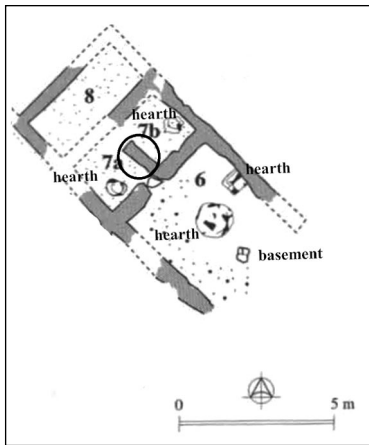


Fig. 13. Northeastern Building, Tsoungiza (after Darcque 2005, modified).

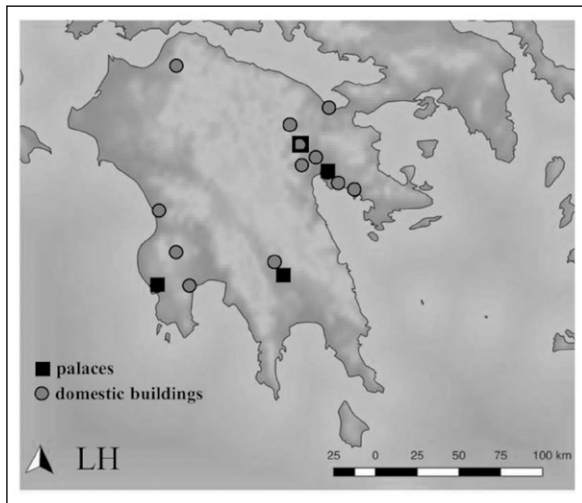


Fig. 14. Geographical distribution of the multiaxial domestic buildings and the palatial centres.

five do not exceed the size of House N at Asea (87 m<sup>2</sup>). So, the multiplication of the axes, on which the domestic buildings can arrange their rooms, does not seem to necessarily involve an increase in the building's overall size.

Where an increase of the building size occurs, it seems to be associated more to the increase of the number of the rooms. If all the buildings with a surface area of more than 80 m<sup>2</sup> are considered, no structure, except two cases (Building M at Kakovatos and the House of the Shields at Mycenae) has less than four rooms.

However, even this relationship has to be considered with caution: asserting that the increase in the number of the rooms will involve an increase in the building's size does not necessarily mean ei-

ther that *all* the buildings with multiple rooms have huge dimensions (the example of House Lambda 2 at Haghios Stephanos is striking in this sense), nor that *all* the buildings of a considerable size have numerous rooms (cf. the House of Shields at Mycenae or House E at Asine).

As warned by Darcque (Darcque 2005, 277-278), the attempt to explain the possible reasons for such changes runs up against several difficulties, both on a theoretical and practical level: on the one hand, there is a risk of projecting, in the interpretation of the ancient built space, modern ways of thinking and acting; on the other, the limited available data for reconstructing such a distant past is always a difficult hurdle to overcome.

Despite such limitations, it is possible to conclude, following Kent (Kent 1990: 127; 1991: 439-445) and Steadman (Steadman 2000: in particular 171), that spatial specialization is related to the number and the complexity of the activities carried out within a building (or, more generally, a space) and that *social complexity* produces an increase in the "segmentation" and "partition" of the built environment. In addition, Darcque (Darcque 2005: 305-310), in his analysis of the possible functions of the rooms in LH buildings, identifies the categories of "versatility" (*polyvalence*) and "specialization" (*spécialisation*) and highlights the paucity of rooms that are clearly multifunctional, in favour of several specialized rooms. So, it might be inferred that the tendency to having more rooms in a structure has little or nothing to do with an increase or a development of the number and scale of the activities carried out within the domestic walls, but rather with the wish to have such activities carried out in separate areas of the house.

As for the arrangement of the rooms, it has been already observed that buildings with several rooms (at least six) tend to dispose them on multiple axes (*supra*). Given this, it might be inferred that, from the point of view of the builders/owners, single axis buildings were not considered particularly functional, both as regards the best use of the built space and for internal circulation. The disposition of multiple rooms along a single axis may encounter several difficulties linked to – for instance – their accessibility (though the use of multiple levels could help here) or internal circulation. A possible solution could be provided by the partition of a room originally conceived as single unit. Such a response is well highlighted in the Northeastern Building at Tsoungiza (Wright 1990: 347-351, fig. 1): this originally consisted of three rooms, but the need for another room led the owners to subsequently split the central room with

a partition wall (fig. 13). In this way, additional flexibility within the same space is obtained, without any consequent change in internal circulation.

However, such a solution cannot be always adopted without creating an extreme fragmentation of the built space (i.e. too many small rooms). So, in order to have many rooms without affecting, internal circulation and size of rooms, a possible solution may be an alternative spatial organization that takes advantage – for instance – of rooms along multiple axes.

Finally, as regards the rooms disposed around a central core-room (see fig. 4d), Hillier and Hanson's remarks concerning this arrangement of rooms and entrances (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 14 and *passim*) argue that such a layout might be adopted both to limit direct admission from the outside to the most important or nodal room of the building and/or to “oversee” circulation between rooms, through a constant visibility.

The progressive emergence of the multiaxial layouts (for the reasons stated above) may also provide an explanation for the apparent loss of relevance of the apsidal layout during the LH period. If the curvilinear wall of such structures is considered as the very back end of a series of axial rooms, the choice to arrange such rooms in different ways makes the original architectural layout both unnecessary and in fact a hindrance. In the multiaxial arrangements, each wall may serve as an “axis”, along which new rooms may be aligned, and a curvilinear wall would have been an obstacle to so doing. The possibility of adding further rooms in such a fashion obviously poses intriguing questions vis-à-vis the changing structure of the household, as well as the demographic weight of the co-residential social units inhabiting houses: these are matters that deserve specific attention and that will be addressed in other articles.

### Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to explore large-scale trends visible in the development of the concept of houses over a relatively long period of time during which the Peloponnese experienced some remarkable social changes, eventually leading to the emergence and consolidation of palatial polities. Throughout this period, it is possible to notice from the very beginning (i.e. in MH) the gradual disappearance of apsidal houses that had characterised the onset of the Middle Bronze Age in continental Greece and on the significance of which much ink has been spilt (see Wiersma 2014

for a survey of positions). Later, at the transition between Middle and Late Helladic, a tendency for the number of the rooms to increase is recorded, and this goes hand in hand with the adoption of new formal arrangements for such rooms, including the multiplication of the axes, the disposition of rooms on a corridor, the excavation of sloping terraces and the arrangement around a central core-room. Such a development seems to correspond to a growth in the building's size, usually due to the increase of the number of the rooms.

In this sense, an interesting term of comparison might be seen in the monumental architecture, in particular in the palatial buildings. The possible relationships between monumental and domestic architectures and the notion of *emulation* applied to architecture are topics that have been frequently investigated by scholars (Van Dyke 1999; Bradley 2013; Fricker 2019). Fricker – in particular – applies the theoretical model of *emulation in architecture* and *peer-polity interactions* (Renfrew, Cherry 1986) to the mainland Greek LH context, investigating «to what extent the architecture, constructions and features at the Mycenaean palaces are emulated at non-palatial sites», that is a possible “Versailles effect”, quoting Wiener (1984). A direct correlation between the emergence of the palatial complexes and the adoption of multiaxial layouts within the domestic architecture seems hard to prove and would need a deeper analysis. Even so, the disposition of the rooms of the domestic buildings along multiple axes increases during the period of the emergence and consolidation of palatial complexes, that is the Late Helladic, and the geographical distribution of the multiaxial domestic buildings seems to testify some kind of relationship between the adoption of the mentioned layouts and the major Peloponnesian palatial centres (fig. 14).

This analysis does not suggest that, during the LH period, the multiaxial disposition of the rooms *supplanted* the monoaxial layout. The two arrangements are both attested during the Late Bronze Age and the single axis approach continues to play a key-role within the domestic architecture of the period. Such a layout seems to remain pivotal in the monumental architecture as well, since the core-unit of the palatial complexes, the so-called tripartite unit (porch-anteroom-main room with the monumental hearth, or megaron), is always arranged along a single axis, although the proportions and size of the rooms are different from those observed in the domestic examples considered.

The generative relationship between some of the buildings examined and the core of the pal-

ace, the Great Megaron, has been frequently analysed (also critically) in the past (Preziosi 1983; Jung 2000; Catling 2009; Pantou 2014; Farmer, Lane 2016). And yet beyond this, it is the reverse influence, the one from the palace to the house, the one that we have tried to highlight here. Such influence as is detectable does not imply any relationships of filiation and/or chronological derivation, but only of an emulative appropriation of certain features (e.g. the use of multiple rooms and of multi-axial arrangements). The appropriation of these architectural features might be in some way related to the emergence of intermediate sub-elite groups whose importance could have increased over time, particularly in later palatial horizon (half of the terraced/corridor houses are dated from LH IIIB onward). Obviously, further research is needed to better define this trend, exploring regional and chronological differences, but this analysis of a large sample of buildings and over a considerable time frame has laid down some first building blocks for such future investigations.

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*Appendix*

ID.	REGION	SITE	BUILDING	DATING	ENTRANCE	SHAPE	N. ROOMS	BUILDING/ S I N G L E ROOM SIZE	B I B L I O - G R A P H I - C A L R E F E R - E N C E
1	Corinthia	Korakou	MH House	MH (unclear)	/	curvilinear with more rooms (axis unclear)	at least 2	N.D.	Blegen 1921: 79, pl. VIII
2	Corinthia	Korakou	House under House F	MH I (-II)	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	perhaps 3	N.D.	Blegen 1921: 78-79, fig. 110
3	Corinthia	Korakou	House F	MH I-II	S	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	3	37.83 m <sup>2</sup>	Blegen 1921: 76-78, fig. 110
4	Corinthia	Korakou	House B	MH I-II	SE	quadrangular with a single room	1	5.85 m <sup>2</sup>	Blegen 1921: 78, fig. 110
5	Corinthia	Korakou	House P	LH IIIB-C	S	quadrangular with more rooms arranged around a central core	7	160.09 m <sup>2</sup>	Blegen 1921: 83-89, fig. 114
6	Corinthia	Korakou	House O	LH IIIC early	W	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3	35.50 m <sup>2</sup> (N and S spaces included)	Blegen 1921: 93-94, fig. 123
7	Corinthia	Korakou	House L	LH IIIC early	S	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	4	65.85 m <sup>2</sup>	Blegen 1921: 80-83, fig. 112
8	Corinthia	Korakou	House M	LH IIIB-C	NW; SW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis (?)	2	67.88 m <sup>2</sup>	Blegen 1921: 89-91, fig. 119
9	Corinthia	Korakou	House H	LH IIIB-C	W	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	4	57 m <sup>2</sup>	Blegen 1921: 91-93, fig. 121
10	Corinthia	Tsougiza	South-western Building	LH I	SE (not detected)	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	5	43.14 m <sup>2</sup>	Wright 1990: 347-351, fig. 1
11	Corinthia	Tsougiza	North-eastern Building	LH I	SE (not detected)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	4	27.80 m <sup>2</sup>	Wright 1991: 347-351, fig. 1
12	Corinthia	Zygouries	House B (Potter's Shop)	LH IIIB1	/	terraced (?)	7	at least 66.11 m <sup>2</sup>	Blegen 1928: 30-38, 143-167, pl. II
13	Argolid	Argos	House MA	MH IIIA	SW (not detected)	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	42.35 m <sup>2</sup>	Tou chais, Philippa-Tou chais 1997: 752-753, fig. 1

14	Argolid	Argos	House MB	MH IIIA	/	unclear	at least 1	at least 4.25 m <sup>2</sup>	Touchais, Philippa-Touchais 1997: 752-753, fig 1
15	Argolid	Argos	House MC	MH IIIA	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis (?)	at least 3	N.D.	Touchais, Philippa-Touchais 1997: 752-753, fig 1
16	Argolid	Argos	House MD	MH IIIB	NW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3	51.60 m <sup>2</sup>	Philippa-Touchais 2010: 793-794, fig 10
17	Argolid	Argos	House ME	MH IIIB	NW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3	56.70 m <sup>2</sup>	Philippa-Touchais 2010: 793-794, fig 10
18	Argolid	Argos	House MI	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 47.28 m <sup>2</sup>	Philippa-Touchais 2010, fig. 10
19	Argolid	Argos	House MJ	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular	at least 1	at least 29.10 m <sup>2</sup>	Philippa-Touchais 2010, fig. 10
20	Argolid	Argos	House B	MH IIIB	NW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 42.60 m <sup>2</sup>	Vollgraff 1907: 140, pl. V
21	Argolid	Argos	House CD	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	building C: 1; building D: at least 2	at least 44.16 m <sup>2</sup>	Vollgraff 1907: 140-141, pl. V
22	Argolid	Argos	House E	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	4	at least 31.83 m <sup>2</sup>	Vollgraff 1907: 141, pl. V
23	Argolid	Argos	House F	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 3	N.D.	Vollgraff 1907: 141, pl. V
24	Argolid	Argos	House H	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	2 or 3	N.D.	Vollgraff 1907: 141, pl. V
25	Argolid	Argos	House N	MH IIIB	2 on the W side	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3	72.19 m <sup>2</sup>	Vollgraff 1907: 141, pl. V
26	Argolid	Argos	House O	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 53.15 m <sup>2</sup>	Vollgraff 1907: 141, pl. V
27	Argolid	Argos	House P	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	4	44.65 m <sup>2</sup>	Vollgraff 1907: 141, pl. V

28	Argolid	Argos	House Q	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	2 or 3	at least 26.97 m <sup>2</sup>	Vollgraff 1907: 141, pl. V
29	Argolid	Argos	House e	MH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3	60 m <sup>2</sup>	Philippa-Touchais 2010, fig. 10
30	Argolid	Argos	House of the Tzafaplot	MH III-LH I	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	2 or 3	23.45 m <sup>2</sup> ca.	Divari-Valakou 1998: 86-88, fig. 1
31	Argolid	Argos	House of the Vlachos plot	LH IIIA2	W side (?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 33.60 m <sup>2</sup>	Deilaki 1973: 100-102, fig. 11
32	Argolid	Argos	House A of the Afrodision	LH IIIB-C	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two perpendicular axes	at least 3	at least 37.59 m <sup>2</sup>	Croissant, Bommelaer 1968: 1032, 1036; Croissant 1969: 991-992, fig. 1
33	Argolid	Asine	House T	MH I	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	2 (one of them split into two parts)	30.60 m <sup>2</sup>	Nordquist 1987: 72-74, fig. 72
34	Argolid	Asine	House U	MH I-II	/	quadrangular (?)	?	N.D.	Nordquist 1987: 74, fig. 73
35	Argolid	Asine	Room 1 and 2	MH II	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis (?)	at least 2	N.D.	Nordquist 1987: 69-71, fig. 68
36	Argolid	Asine	House A	MH II	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis (irregular)	at least 2	at least 31.50 m <sup>2</sup>	Nordquist 1987: 75-76, fig. 74
37	Argolid	Asine	House pre-D	MH II	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 2	N.D.	Nordquist 1987: 76, fig. 75
38	Argolid	Asine	House B	MH II-III	NW; SW; SE (?)	terraced	11	86.76 m <sup>2</sup>	Nordquist 1987: 76-79, fig. 76
39	Argolid	Asine	House D	MH II-III	NW(2); SW	quadrangular with more rooms along more axes, two parallel and one perpendicular to both	11	117.08 m <sup>2</sup>	Nordquist 1987: 79-83, fig. 78
40	Argolid	Asine	Building I	MH III	/	quadrangular (?)	?	N.D.	Nordquist 1987: 85, fig. 85
41	Argolid	Asine	Building II	MH III	/	unclear	at least 2	N.D.	Nordquist 1987: 85-86, fig. 86

42	Argolid	Asine	House C	MH III-TH I	/	quadrangular irregular	at least 5	N.D.	Nordquist 1987: 83, fig. 82
43	Argolid	Asine	House E	MH III-LH I	NE	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 4	109.65 m <sup>2</sup>	Nordquist 1987: 83-85, fig. 84
44	Argolid	Asine	Levendis House	LH IIB-III A1	/	quadrangular	at least 6	at least 52.33 m <sup>2</sup>	Hägg, Hägg 1975: 151-153; Darcque 2005, pl. 9
45	Argolid	Asine	House G	LH IIIC recent	S (?)	quadrangular with more rooms along at least three axes	9	at least 106.10 m <sup>2</sup>	Westholm 1938: 74-76, fig. 43
46	Argolid	Asine	House I	TH IIIC recent	/	quadrangular with more rooms arranged around a central core	9	at least 111.01 m <sup>2</sup>	Westholm 1938: 78-80, fig. 43
47	Argolid	Asine	House K	TH IIIC	/	unclear	at least 2	N.D.	Westholm 1938: 80, fig. 43
48	Argolid	Asine	House H	TH IIIC (final)	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 3	at least 71.99 m <sup>2</sup>	Westholm 1938: 76-77, fig. 43
49	Argolid	Berbati	House FG	MH I	NW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 41.80 m <sup>2</sup>	Säflund 1965, plan 1
50	Argolid	Berbati	House of the superior level	TH IIIB	SW	quadrangular with more rooms arranged around a central core	at least 5	at least 124.93 m <sup>2</sup>	Darcque 1980: 23-24 with plan
51	Argolid	Chania	Building	TH IIIB	S; NE	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	8	at least 142.75 m <sup>2</sup>	Palaiologou 2015: 53-78, fig. 3
52	Argolid	Iria	House	TH IIIB(?)	S; W (?)	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 2	at least 17.07 m <sup>2</sup>	Döhl 1973: 136-140, fig. 4b
53	Argolid	Lerna	House 98L Area B	MH I	S/SE (?)	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	N.D.	Zerner 1978: 35-36, fig. VII
54	Argolid	Lerna	House D Area A	MH I	/	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 19.18 m <sup>2</sup>	Caskey 1955: 30-32, fig. 2
55	Argolid	Lerna	House Q Area A	MH I	S (?)	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 14.40 m <sup>2</sup>	Caskey 1954: 16-17
56	Argolid	Lerna	Postholes House Area D	MH I	/	quadrangular (?)	?	at least 19.90 m <sup>2</sup>	Zerner 1978: 12-14, 58-63, fig. II

57	Argolid	Lerna	House 98A Area B	MH I	SE	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	3	at least 19.10 m <sup>2</sup>	Zerner 1978: 36-38, 112-119, fig. VII
58	Argolid	Lerna	Rooms 44 and 45 Area BE	MH I-II	SW; SE	quadrangular	2	/	Zerner 1978: 42-45, 128-132, fig. VII
59	Argolid	Lerna	House BS Area D	MH I	/	quadrangular (?)	at least 1	at least 10,8 m <sup>2</sup>	Zerner 1978: 15-19, 69-74, 75-76, fig. III
60	Argolid	Lerna	House 18	MH I	/	unclear	at least 2	/	Zerner 1978: 30, fig. V
61	Argolid	Lerna	House M Area A	MH II	E(?); S(?)	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	3	at least 42.15 m <sup>2</sup>	Caskey 1954: 13-16, fig. 2
62	Argolid	Lerna	House 100 Area BE	MH II-III	E	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 3. other possibly to SE	N.D.	Caskey 1957: 148; Milka 2010, fig. 5
63	Argolid	Mycenae	South-West House	MH III-LH I	S(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3	21.20 m <sup>2</sup>	Verdelis 1961: 161-164, fig. 2
64	Argolid	Mycenae	House I Panagia group	LH IIIB	S/SW	corridor	at least 7	at least 107 m <sup>2</sup>	Mylonas Shear 1987: 15-26, plan outside the text
65	Argolid	Mycenae	House II Panagia group	LH IIIB	NE W SE(?)	quadrangular with more rooms along more axes	phase I: at least 11; phase II: at least 8	phase I: at least 114.68 m <sup>2</sup> ; phase II: at least 87.89 m <sup>2</sup>	Mylonas Shear 1987: 27-47, plan outside the text
66	Argolid	Mycenae	House III Panagia group	LH IIIB	S	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 13	at least 83.41 m <sup>2</sup>	Mylonas Shear 1987: 52-63, plan outside the text
67	Argolid	Mycenae	West House	LH IIIB1	E; S	corridor	11	at least 190.42 m <sup>2</sup>	Tournavitou 1995: 1-16, fig. 2
68	Argolid	Mycenae	House of the Shields	LH IIIB1	W(?)	quadrangular with more rooms along two perpendicular axes	3	240.14 m <sup>2</sup>	Tournavitou 1995: 16-28, fig. 2
69	Argolid	Mycenae	House of the Oil's Merchant	LH IIIB1	E; W(?)	terraced	at least 10	at least 215 m <sup>2</sup> (portion on the terrace included)	Tournavitou 1995: 28-41, fig. 2
70	Argolid	Mycenae	House of the Sphinxes	LH IIIB1	W; S(?)	terraced	at least 10	at least 197.43 m <sup>2</sup>	Tournavitou 1995: 41-65, fig. 2
71	Argolid	Mycenae	Petsas House	LH IIIA2	/	terraced	at least 12 (new rooms uncounted)	N.D.	Papadimitriou, Petsas 1950: 203-233; 1951, pin. III



72	Argolid	Mycenae	Cyclopean Terrace Building	LH IIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 55.90 m <sup>2</sup>	Wace 1979: 268-274, fig. 11
73	Argolid	Mycenae	Onasoglou House (House of the Tripods)	LH II-IB2-C	E(?)	unclear	at least 11 in phase 1-2; at least 18 in phase 2-3	at least 58.53 m <sup>2</sup> (phase 1-2); at least 68.88 m <sup>2</sup> (phase 2-3)	Onasoglou 1995, plan outside the text
74	Argolid	Mycenae	Plakes House	LH IIB	S	quadrangular with more rooms along more parallel axes	at least 12	at least 218.64 m <sup>2</sup>	Mylonas 1975: 158-161, fig. 2
75	Argolid	Prosymna	Acropolis House	LH IIB (?)	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	N.D.	Blegen 1937: 15-16; Darque 2005, pl. 55
76	Argolid	Tiryns	House 44	MH	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	2+court	at least 20.01 m <sup>2</sup> (court excluded)	Müller 1930: 98-99, Tafel 6A
77	Argolid	Tiryns	House East Trench F	MH III-LH I	SW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms; unclear axis	3 (or 4)	at least 31.39 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 7-8, Beilage 4
78	Argolid	Tiryns	House West Trench F/ House F3	LH I (-II)	SW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3 or 4	at least 50.83 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 7-8, Beilage 4
79	Argolid	Tiryns	House D2	LH I	S	quadrangular with more rooms. Perhaps several axes	at least 2	at least 20.64 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Gercke 1975: 18-26, Beilage 4
80	Argolid	Tiryns	House F2	LH I-III A	NW	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 18.43 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 6, Beilage 3
81	Argolid	Tiryns	House F1	LH IIIA2	SE	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 3	at least 27.46 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 4-5, Beilage 2
82	Argolid	Tiryns	House D1	LH IIB	S; W	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2. Remains of a third room	at least 30.49 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Hiesel 1975: 18-19, Beilage 3
83	Argolid	Tiryns	House M	LH IIB	SE	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 3	at least 41.40 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 15-17; Gercke, Hiesel 1975: 17-18, Beilage 3
84	Argolid	Tiryns	Megaron W	LH IIIC	N(?); S(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3	128.80 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 11-15; Gercke, Hiesel 1975: 8-10, Beilage 3

85	Argolid	Tiryns	House O	LH IIIC	E	quadrangular with a single room	1	15.60 m <sup>2</sup>	Gercke, Hiesel 1971: 18, Beilage 7
86	Argolid	Tiryns	House North-West	LH IIIC early	/	quadrangular with more rooms arranged around a central core (?)	at least 8	N.D.	Kilian 1978: 449-452, Abb. 2
87	Argolid	Tiryns	House 49	LH IIIA	/	corridor	at least 9	36.12 m <sup>2</sup> (only the eastern part); western part N.D.	Podzuweit, Salzmann 1977: 123-134; Darque 2005, pl. 64
88	Laconia	Haghios Stephanos	House Alfa IV	MH I	SE(?)	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 31.50 m <sup>2</sup>	Taylor 1972: 239-243, fig. 3
89	Laconia	Haghios Stephanos	House Nu 1	MH I	/	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 20.81 m <sup>2</sup>	Taylor, Janko 2008: 113-119, fig. 1.66
90	Laconia	Haghios Stephanos	Structure Delta III (House Delta Sector, see infra)	MH II-LH IIIB (final)	/	unclear	?	N.D.	Taylor 1972: 244, fig. 13
91	Laconia	Haghios Stephanos	House Lambda I	MH III-LH IIA	/	with more rooms on a single axis. Unclear shape	at least 3	N.D.	Taylor, Janko 2008: 86-91, fig. 1.49
92	Laconia	Haghios Stephanos	House Lambda II	MH III-LH IIA	/	quadrangular with more rooms along three parallel axes (?)	at least 9	at least 22.63 m <sup>2</sup>	Taylor, Janko 2008: 75-80, fig. 1.43
93	Laconia	Haghios Stephanos	House Nu 2	MH III-LH I	S(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	6.72 m <sup>2</sup>	Taylor, Janko 2008: 105-107, fig. 1.61
94	Laconia	Haghios Stephanos	House Delta Sector	LH IIIB (final)	N(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 6.20 m <sup>2</sup>	Taylor 1972: 244, fig. 13
95	Laconia	Spartea (Menelaion)	Mansion 1	LH IIB-LH IIIA1	NW; SE(?)	corridor	at least 16	at least 302.28 m <sup>2</sup>	Catling 2009: vol. I, 23-32; vol. II, fig. 10
96	Laconia	Spartea (Menelaion)	Mansion 2	LH IIA1-B2	SW(?)	terraced	at least 14	at least 477.72 m <sup>2</sup>	Catling 2009: vol. I, 32-54; vol. II, fig. 20
97	Laconia	Spartea (Menelaion)	North Building	TH I-TH IIIA1(?)	/	unclear. quadrangular with more rooms along more parallel axes paralleli or corridor	at least 8	at least 80.49 m <sup>2</sup>	Catling 2009: vol. I, 36, 57-64; vol. II, fig. 25
98	Laconia	Spartea (Aetos)	Building A	TH IIIB	NE	quadrangular	at least 1	at least 61.87 m <sup>2</sup>	Catling 2009: vol. I, 227-230; vol. II, fig. 56-57

99	Laconia	Sparte (Actos)	Building B	LH IIB-LH IIIB	E(?)	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 11 (in all the phases. See BUILDING / OCCUPATION PHASES)	at least 55.08 m <sup>2</sup>	Cadling 2009: vol. I, 198-212; vol. II, figg. 62, 65
100	Messenia	Iklaina (Traghane)	Building Ω	LH II-IA2-B	/	quadrangular with a single room	1	29.25 m <sup>2</sup>	Cosmopoulos 2018: 15-19, fig. 6
101	Messenia	Iklaina (Traghane)	Building T	LH IIIA-B	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	5	at least 21.25 m <sup>2</sup>	Cosmopoulos 2018: 29-41, figg. 9, 13
102	Messenia	Iklaina (Traghane)	Room CT	LH II-IA2-B	/	quadrangular with a single room	1	2.99 m <sup>2</sup>	Cosmopoulos 2018: 41-44, fig. 18
103	Messenia	Iklaina (Traghane)	Building A	LH IIA-III	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes (?)	at least 2	at least 37.08 m <sup>2</sup>	Cosmopoulos 2018: 50-57, fig. 22
104	Messenia	Iklaina (Traghane)	Building B2	LH IIB-LH IIIA1	/	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 22.54 m <sup>2</sup>	Cosmopoulos 2018: 58-63, fig. 26
105	Messenia	Iklaina (Traghane)	South Terrace Building	LH IIIA1	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes (?)	at least 4	at least 43.26 m <sup>2</sup>	Cosmopoulos 2018: 66-70, fig. 30
106	Messenia	Iklaina (Traghane)	Buildings Z1 and Z2	LH IIIA-B2	/	quadrangular	at least 2	N.D.	Cosmopoulos 2018: 71-73, fig. 33
107	Messenia	Iklaina (Traghane)	Building X	LH II-IA2-B2	/	quadrangular	at least 1	at least 89.90 m <sup>2</sup>	Cosmopoulos 2018: 90-93, fig. 45
108	Messenia	Kakovatos	Building M	LH II	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 3	at least 103.37 m <sup>2</sup>	Dörpfeld 1907: p. XI. Kilian 1987a, fig. 9
109	Messenia	Koukounara (Katarrachaki)	House	LH I-II	/	curvilinear with more rooms (ellipsoidal)	2	43.66 m <sup>2</sup>	Lolos 1987: 29, fig. 27
110	Messenia	Malthi	House B85	LH III	S	quadrangular with a single room	1 (+court B 80, B 73, B79)	67.74 m <sup>2</sup> (court included)	Valmin 1938: 173-175, pl. IV
111	Messenia	Malthi	House B62	LH III	N; NE	quadrangular with a single room	1+1	40.95 m <sup>2</sup>	Valmin 1938: 175-177, pl. IV
112	Messenia	Malthi	House B69	LH III	NW	quadrangular with a single room	1(+B72, B 81, B 84, B82)	86.76 m <sup>2</sup>	Valmin 1938: 178-180, pl. IV

113	Messenia	Malthi	House B52-B57	LH III	SW	quadrangular with more rooms along three parallel axes (or arranged around a central core)	6	79.08 m <sup>2</sup>	Valmin 1938: 180-182, pl. IV
114	Messenia	Malthi	House B33-38 and B45	LH III	W	quadrangular with more rooms along irregular axes	7	at least 46.02 m <sup>2</sup>	Valmin 1938: 183-184, pl. IV
115	Messenia	Malthi	House B5	LH III	SE	quadrangular with a single room	1	27 m <sup>2</sup>	Valmin 1938: 185, pl. IV
116	Messenia	Mouriatada	Megaron A	LH IIIB-C	/	corridor	at least 5	at least 99 m <sup>2</sup> (corridor and N rooms excluded)	Marinatos 1960: 202-203, fig. 1
117	Messenia	Mouriatada	Building of the Columns	LH IIIB (?)	NW	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3	78.50 m <sup>2</sup>	Marinatos 1960: 204-205, fig. 1
118	Messenia	Nichoria	Building 1 (Unity V-1)	MH I	/	curvilinear according to the excavators (no traces of apse). Quadrangular according to Wiersma	at least 1	at least 28.50 m <sup>2</sup>	Howell 1992: 20-26, fig. 2-1
119	Messenia	Nichoria	Building 2 (Unity V-2)	MH I	/	quadrangular (?)	at least 1	at least 7.60 m <sup>2</sup>	Howell 1992: 26-28, fig. 2-1
120	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity IV-4C	LH II	SW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms	at least 2	at least 46.26 m <sup>2</sup>	Aschenbrenner 1992: 441-443, fig. 7-62
121	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity IV-4A	LH IIIA1	SW	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	4	101.96 m <sup>2</sup>	Aschenbrenner 1992: 433-439, fig. 7-58
122	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity IV-9	LH II-IA2-B	SW(?)	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 3	49.27 m <sup>2</sup>	McDonald, Coulson 1992: 445-447, fig. 7-63
123	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity IV-3	LH III A2-B	W(?)	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 3 in the first phase; at least 4 in the second phase	at least 13.96 m <sup>2</sup> in the first phase; at least 18.82 in the second phase	Coulson 1992: 408-415, fig. 7-37
124	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity IV-6	LH II-IA2-B	N	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	4	36.63 m <sup>2</sup>	Wilkie 1992: 425-429, fig. 7-51

125	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity IV-7	LH II-IA2-B	NW	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 4	at least 14.51 m <sup>2</sup>	C o u l s o n 1992: 417-423, fig. 7-44
126	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity IV-8	LH II-IA2-B	/	quadrangular with more rooms along at least two parallel axes	at least 5	at least 20.66 m <sup>2</sup>	D o n o v a n 1992: 429-432, fig. 7-56
127	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity II-7	LH IIIA	/	quadrangular with more rooms	at least 2	at least 6.10 m <sup>2</sup>	Hope Simpson 1992a: 364-366, fig. 7-4
128	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity II-3	LH IIIB	SW	quadrangular with a single room	at least 1	13.26 m <sup>2</sup>	Hope Simpson 1992a: 367-369, fig. 7-5
129	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity II-6	LH IIIB	SE	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	3 (or perhaps 4+court)	at least 51.54 m <sup>2</sup>	Hope Simpson 1992a: 369-371, fig. 7-5
130	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity II-4	LH IIIB	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis (?)	at least 2	N.D.	Hope Simpson 1992a: 371-372, fig. 7-5
131	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity III-2	LH IIIB1	NE	quadrangular with more rooms along three axes	3	23.87 m <sup>2</sup>	Hope Simpson 1992b: 380-386, fig. 7-15
132	Messenia	Nichoria	Unity III-3	LH IIIB	NE	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 27.41 m <sup>2</sup>	Hope Simpson 1992b: 398-408, fig. 7-28
133	Messenia	Peristeria	House East	MH III-LH IIA	S	quadrangular irregular	at least 3	at least 30.08 m <sup>2</sup>	Lolos 1987: 42-48, fig. 55
134	Messenia	Peristeria	H o u s e North	LH I	/	quadrangular(?)	/	/	Lolos 1987: 42
135	Messenia	Peristeria	H o u s e South-East	LH IIB-III A2	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes(?)	at least 3	at least 45.12 m <sup>2</sup>	M a r i n a t o s 1965: 84, fig. 99
136	Elis	Kavkania	Building	MH III	NE	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	N.D.	A r a p o j a n n i, R a m b a c h, G o d a r t 2002, fig. 5
137	Elis	Olympia	House MH	MH I	/	quadrangular irregular	1	at least 15.30 m <sup>2</sup>	R a m b a c h 2002: 187, Abb. 14
138	Arcadia	Asca	House B	MH I	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 3	at least 20.15 m <sup>2</sup>	H o l m b e r g 1944: 12-17, fig. 13
139	Arcadia	Asca	House L	MH I	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	4	at least 42.88 m <sup>2</sup>	H o l m b e r g 1944: 12-17, fig. 17

140	Arcadia	Asea	House O	MH I	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	2	39.28 m <sup>2</sup>	Holmberg 1944: 12-18, fig. 18
141	Arcadia	Asea	House F	MH II	E(?)	quadrangular irregular	at least 2	at least 29.75 m <sup>2</sup>	Holmberg 1944: 12-17, fig. 15
142	Arcadia	Asea	House N	MH II	/	curvilinear with more rooms on a single axis	at least 3	at least 87 m <sup>2</sup>	Holmberg 1944: 12-20, fig. 21
143	Arcadia	Asea	House P	MH II	/	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis(?)	at least 3	at least 90.55 m <sup>2</sup>	Holmberg 1944: 12-20, fig. 22
144	Achaea	Aigeria	Building North (House 5)	LH IIIC middle	/	quadrangular with more rooms	at least 1	N.D.	Deger-Jalkotzy, Alram-Stern 1985: 405-407, Abb. 12
145	Achaea	Aigeria	Building South (House 6)	LH IIIC middle	NW	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis	at least 2	at least 16.65 m <sup>2</sup>	Deger-Jalkotzy, Alram-Stern 1985: 406, Abb. 12
146	Achaea	Aigion	House MH	MH II	/	quadrangular(?)	at least 1	at least 25.84 m <sup>2</sup>	Vordos 1996: 236
147	Achaea	Aigion	House TH I	LH I-IIA	SW	quadrangular with more rooms on a single axis (phase I); quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes (phase II)	2 (phase I); at least 3 (phase II)	phase I: at least 51.75 m <sup>2</sup>	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010: 134-135, fig. 7
148	Achaea	Drakotrypa	House	LH IIIB-C	/	quadrangular with more rooms along two parallel axes	at least 9	at least 118.76 m <sup>2</sup>	Zapheirooulos 1958: 168, fig. 1
149	Achaea	Haghios Athanasios	House	LH III	/	quadrangular with more rooms	at least 2	at least 41.62 m <sup>2</sup>	Zapheirooulos 1958: 171, fig. 2