

Neighbours: Negotiating space in a prehistoric village

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This paper shows the remarkable level of social history that can be drawn from the high quality excavation and analysis of a well-preserved stratigraphic sequence. A Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus could be defined as a series of households, comprising dwellings, outbuildings and courtyards that were established, extended, replaced or abandoned over some 500 years. The authors' interpretation offers intimate access to the private lives of the inhabitants over a period in which their settlement grew from a village to a town and then reverted to a deserted ruin.

Keywords: household archaeology, social archaeology, spatial archaeology, Bronze Age, Cyprus, prehistory

Introduction

The site of Marki in Cyprus was occupied for 500 to 600 years from the beginning of the Bronze Age (about 2400 BC) through to Middle Cypriot II (about 1800 BC) (Frankel & Webb 1996, 2000) (Figure 1). During this time the village grew in size from a small community of a few households to a larger settlement with streets, before declining in size and finally being abandoned. This expansion, and an analysis based on the associated cemeteries, suggests a founding population of a few dozen people, expanding to reach a maximum of about 400 inhabitants (Figure 2; Frankel & Webb 2001; Webb & Frankel 2004). The excavated area covers about 2000m² of the 6 hectare site and includes evidence of all periods from the earliest occupation to final phases, by which time the focus of settlement had shifted some hundreds of metres to the south-east. Site economy was linked to nearby copper ore deposits in the northern foothills of the Troodos Mountains. From the beginning, however, the community was fully self-sustaining, with a focus on cereal agriculture, animal husbandry and the local production of ceramics, textiles and ground and chipped stone tools.

Excavations at Marki have allowed us to follow the inhabitants' changing use of space at this settlement in unusual detail. In particular, we can observe how the space available to each family unit was enlarged, contracted, modified or abandoned in each successive phase of occupation. This has produced a detailed picture of an evolving community over a period of some five hundred years. Against a background of demographic growth and increasing economic stability, families can be seen successfully negotiating with their neighbours in

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Figure 1. Marki-Alonia: looking east across the excavated area with Compound 7 in the foreground.

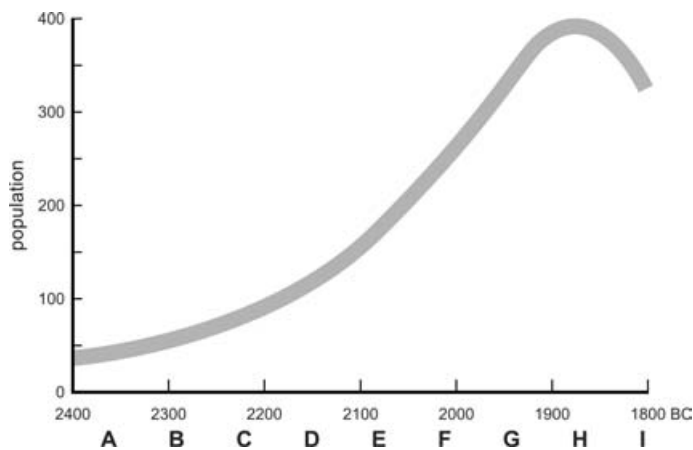


Figure 2. Estimate of the changing population size at Marki.

response to both particular circumstances and broader processes of economic and social change within a long-lasting tradition.

Defining the households and their sequence

Within the excavated area a total of 33 discrete architectural households (here referred to as compounds) have been identified. Some of these were in use for hundreds of years, others for

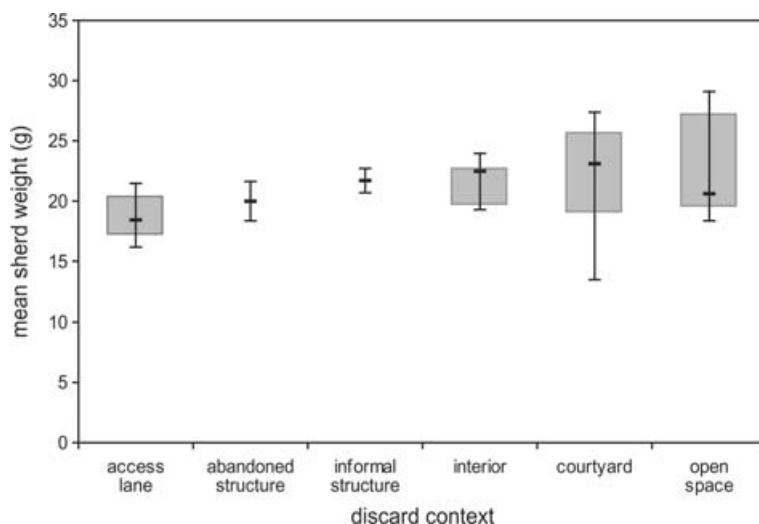


Figure 3. Boxplot showing distribution of mean sherd weights in different depositional contexts.

considerably shorter periods. Many, but not all, of the compounds consist of a walled rectangular courtyard with small enclosed rooms built of mud-brick on stone foundations located toward the rear. Interior rooms were typically furnished with plaster wall benches, hearths, clay ovens, central posts and/or solidly built pot emplacements which were set deeply into the floor alongside walls. These installations are for the most part absent in courtyard areas, with the exception of pot emplacements, which, in the latter context, are set away from walls and appear in clusters (perhaps not all in simultaneous use). At times, lanes and passageways provided access through the settlement. In addition, parts of the excavated area were left as undifferentiated or peripheral open space. In the earliest episodes, at least, these contained informal structures represented by post-holes. Finally, buildings sometimes remained as partially standing ruins after they were abandoned. Some confidence in our identification of these various spatial units is provided by differences in pottery fragmentation, as measured by the average weight of individual sherds in each depositional context (Figure 3).

The history of the site is complex (Webb 1995, 1998), with most compounds undergoing internal processes of restructuring, renovation and rebuilding. To some extent these can be seen as prompted by the natural decay of mud-brick buildings, which in more recent times in Cyprus rarely lasted as long as a century (Christodoulou 1959: 65). While some walls remained in use through successive episodes, others were entirely or almost entirely removed, leaving only the lowest courses of stone and occasionally one or two courses of mud-brick. New walls were normally built directly on surviving wall-stumps or offset a half-wall width to one side (Figure 4). This structural continuity was no doubt imposed by the practical constraints of still-standing adjacent buildings but may also be taken to imply continuity of ownership and control of space. Often construction involved the removal of 20 to 30cm of floor and sub-floor fill within buildings. On other occasions, earlier floors remained intact, especially during the latest episodes of occupation. More substantial rebuilding also took place when new walls were cut through existing structures and rubble was deposited between wall foundations to create solid, relatively high platforms.

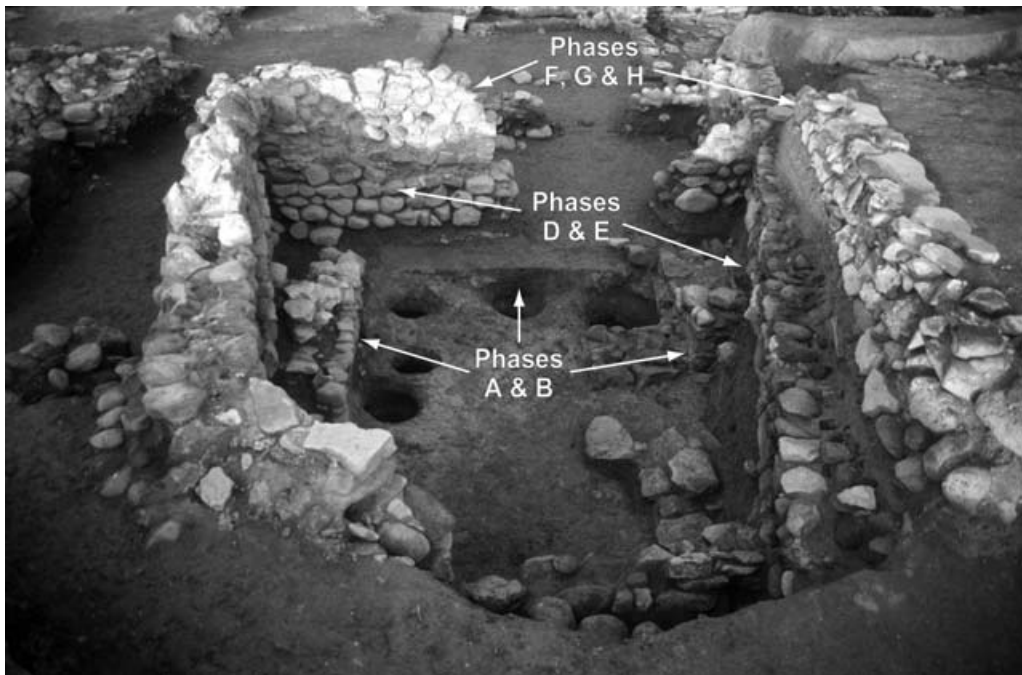


Figure 4. An architectural sequence at Marki showing replacement and rebuilding of walls. Phases A and B, Compound 1; Phases D and E, Compound 9; Phases F and G, Compound 23.

The developmental sequence at Marki can be divided on stratigraphic, architectural and ceramic grounds into a series of nine phases (A–I; Figure 5). Each of these phases is a palimpsest of perhaps three generations of activity, but they allow us to construct a relatively fine-scale series of changes in the structure of individual buildings and the excavated area as a whole. The building compounds allocated to each phase are presented in Figures 6–13, showing the roofed interiors and their associated courtyards. We recognise the methodological problems inherent in the formal identification of these compounds as behavioural units but will here assume that each architectural household may be associated with a social household (i.e. a co-residential group) and talk in terms of the occupants as ‘families’. This allows us to tell the story of our settlement as a social history of relationships within and between neighbouring families and successive generations. The 33 defined compounds are numbered and colour-coded on a sequence diagram (Figure 5) and on the eight phase plans (Figures 6–13). The principal developments are presented below.

Phase A (Figure 6)

The settlement at Marki was established about 2400 BC, perhaps by a few dozen people moving away from a more substantial agro-pastoral village to establish a base closer to the copper sources of the northern Troodos. The main area of housing at this time was probably located immediately to the south-west of the excavated area. The two earliest building complexes, Compounds 1 and 2, which are very poorly preserved, appear to have been on the fringe of the settlement. A complex array of post-holes in open space to the north-east suggests the presence of informal structures, probably including animal pens and work-areas, beyond the built-up area.

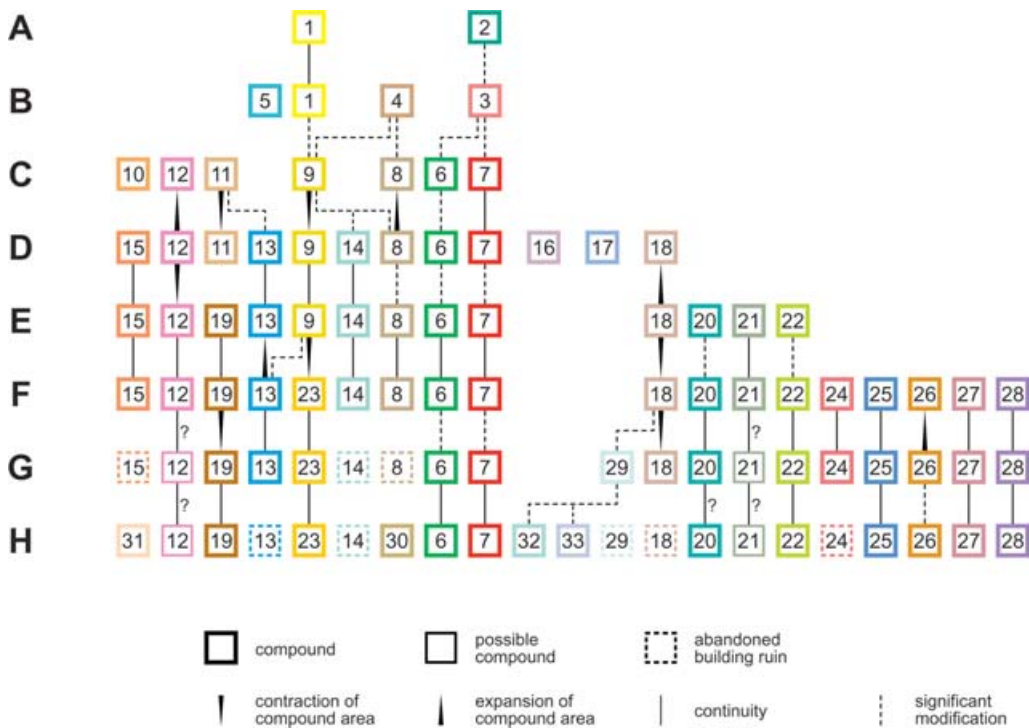


Figure 5. A schematic outline of the history of establishment, change and decline of each compound through successive phases.

Phase B (Figure 7)

Our second snapshot, a generation or two later, shows an expansion of the settlement with more compounds located within the excavated area. Two new adjacent compounds 3 and 4 each have interior rooms and contiguous yards. The absence of a physical barrier between them suggests a close association between the occupants of these households, which together form a larger physical unit surrounded by open space and informal access ways. The area between them was utilised for a wide range of domestic and industrial activities. A substantial bread oven suggests baking on a relatively large scale. Other finds are indicative of flint-knapping, antler processing and shell-working. Four sets of post-holes suggest the presence of small pens, sheds and a light fence to the south-east, and a sub-floor pithos containing an infant burial marks the southern boundary. A freestanding room in the south-east corner produced fragmentary pithoi and vat-like vessels with perforated bases, used for an unknown industrial purpose. Compounds 3 and 4 may therefore be viewed as two households with separate private (i.e. inner, covered) space but shared courtyard resources, forming a closely allied residential and economic production unit. These two compounds take a form characteristic of later compounds, with several enclosed rooms with hearths located at the back of partially enclosed courtyards.

Further north-east is Compound 5, of which only fragments of walls survive. The single excavated unit of Compound 1 may have maintained its form, but Compound 2 was replaced by an out-building associated with the establishment of Compounds 3 and 4.

Phase C (Figure 8)

Compound 3 and part of Compound 4 were now replaced by two large discrete compounds, 6 and 7. These retained their spatial boundaries through to Phase H and are the longest-lived compounds on the site. The remainder of the space previously used by Compound 4 was subdivided. The western part became Compound 8 and the eastern area was taken over as courtyard space by Compound 9 that replaced the earlier Compound 1.

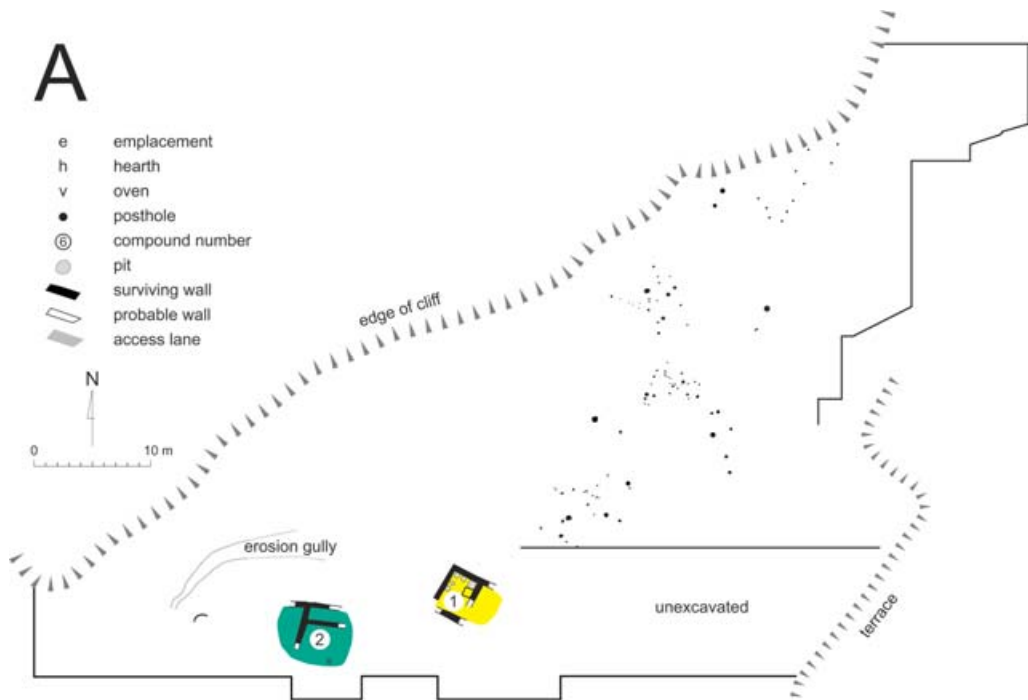


Figure 6. Plan of Marki during Phase A (*Philia* facies of the Early Cypriot Bronze Age).

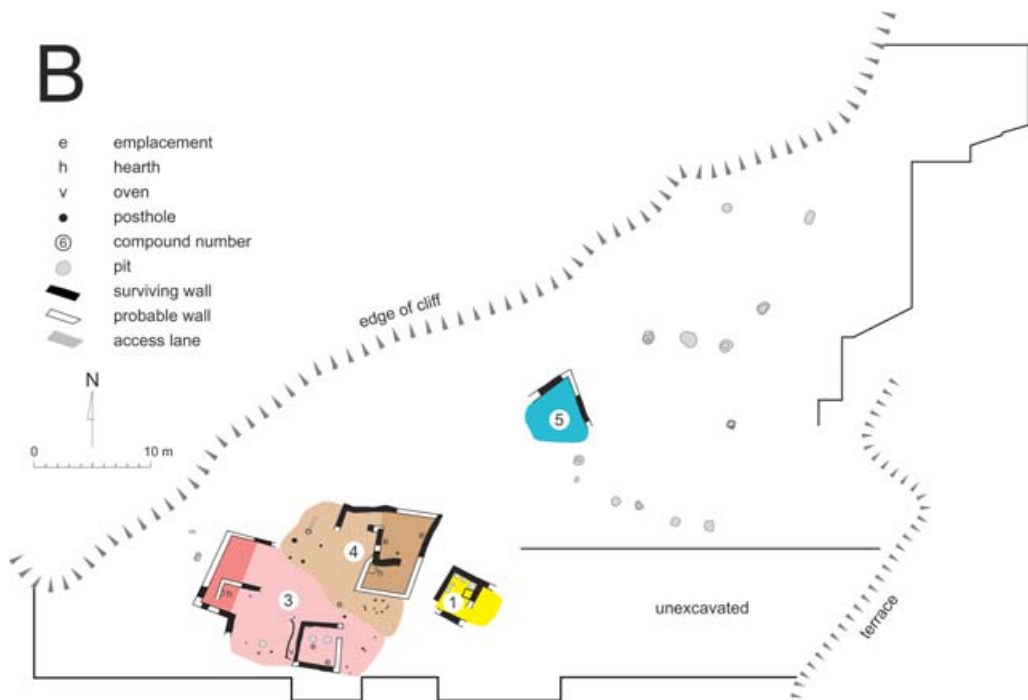


Figure 7. Plan of Marki during Phase B (*Philia* facies of the Early Cypriot Bronze Age).

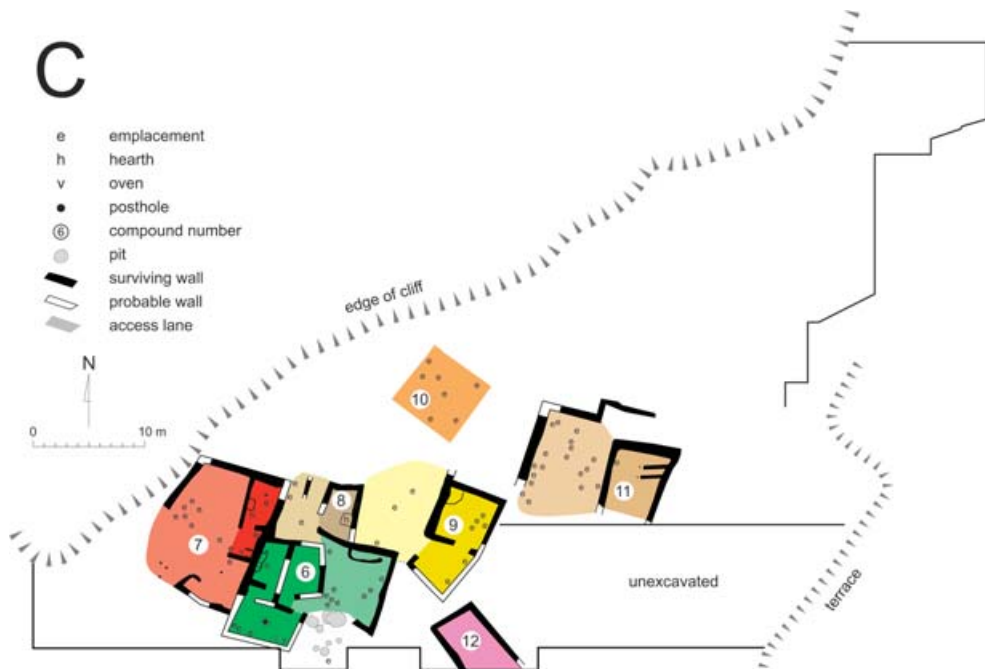


Figure 8. Plan of Marki during Phase C (Early Cypriot I–II).

Compounds 6 and 7 are of roughly equal size and share a substantial common wall. There was, however, no direct access between them, suggesting a significant change in the earlier relationship supposed for Compounds 3 and 4. Compound 6 and the smaller Compound 8 to the north communicated through an opening which led directly from the large courtyard of Compound 6 to the smaller courtyard of Compound 8. This suggests a particular relationship between these households, perhaps involving an extended family. In any case it is possible to argue that the two equally-sized households with communal courtyard space which existed here in Phase B (Compounds 3 and 4) were replaced in Phase C by two equally-sized, non-communicating households 6 and 7 and a smaller household, Compound 8, which appears to be an off-shoot of the parent Compound 6.

This suggests a continuity of ownership of built space from Phases B to C with a restructuring of the earlier compound/household 3 to Compound 7 and compound/household 4 to Compound 6 and Compound 8. If so, the social relationship between these households had clearly changed significantly. This may reflect an increasing capacity of individual households to survive as economic units concomitant with a growth in population and production and perhaps a desire to establish and maintain private space and ownership of resources. The association between Compounds 6 and 8 shows, however, that inter-household relationships continued to exist in Phase C. In this case the relationship is one of dependent entry only, with a smaller but fully established household with its own inner room and courtyard opening off a larger one. This situation is substantively different to that of the Phase B Compounds 3 and 4, where two equally-sized households maintained independent private space but shared unrestricted access to a common courtyard and related production resources.

Other fully independent households constructed in Phase C include Compounds 9 and 11, both of which incorporate inner rooms and large associated courtyards. The interior space of Compound 9 enclosed a room of the earlier Compound 1 and may indicate continuity of ownership from Phase B to C, similar to that noted for the compounds to the west. Compounds 6 to 9 form a large and consolidated block which incorporates earlier undifferentiated and access space. On the outskirts of this block a number of new, probably free-standing compounds were established. Compound 11 to the east is relatively well preserved. Compound 12 to the south extends beyond the excavated area. To the north a cluster of pot emplacements suggests the presence of another



Figure 9. Plan of Marki during Phase D (Early Cypriot I–II).

large compound (10), the walls of which were removed by later construction. Compounds 6, 7, 9 and 11 are remarkably similar in size, each with a total area of about 100 square metres.

Phase D (Figure 9)

The agglomeration of building apparent in the preceding phase was carried further in Phase D, considerably expanding the built-up area and requiring the establishment of a formal north/south laneway to provide access through this part of the settlement. This must have involved considerable re-negotiation of spatial boundaries and, presumably, of property rights.

Compound 9 was substantially restructured, losing its western courtyard, and re-oriented to become a three-roomed house entered directly from the laneway to the south. It does not appear to have had an associated courtyard, although it is possible that the (unexcavated) space east of Compound 6 served this purpose. Compound 8 was enlarged to the north and east, taking in some of the area previously held by Compound 9.

Compound 6 retained its overall size and position with some modification. There were, however, considerable changes within this space. The older eastern courtyard was now fully enclosed and roofed over to form two rooms, taking in previously open space on the south, and the north-western area, which had previously been roofed inner space, was opened up to become the courtyard. This reorganisation resulted in a significant increase in the overall area occupied by interior rooms with a consequent reduction in courtyard space. Compounds 6 and 8 were both now entered via a short passage leading in from the main laneway. This shared passage and continued direct access from the new courtyard of 6 to that of 8 again suggest close co-operation between these two families. With the expansion of Compound 8 to much the same size as Compound 6, however, the earlier dependent relationship has altered to one of at least spatial equality.

A number of new compounds were constructed on either side of the laneway. Two two-room compounds without associated courtyards on the west (14 and 15) and a larger, more traditional compound comprised of two inner rooms and a courtyard on the east (13) were entered directly from the lane. Another three newly

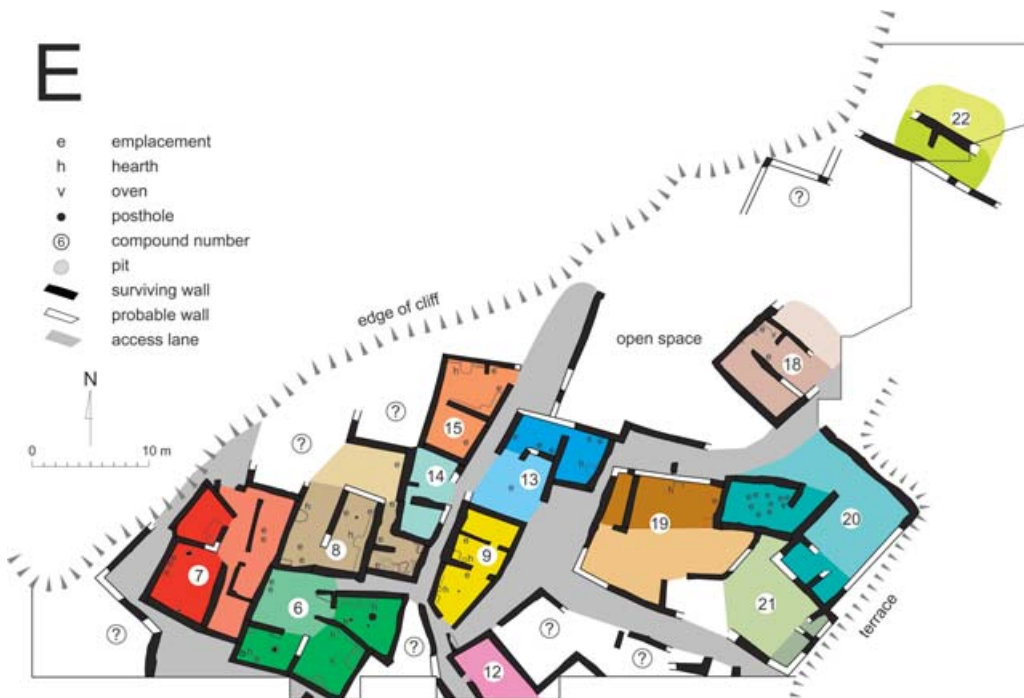


Figure 10. Plan of Marki during Phase E (Early Cypriot III).

established compounds to the north-east (16, 17 and 18) had a different orientation. These open to the east and were part of a new series of large compounds constructed in previously uncontrolled space.

Compound 7, which was not directly affected by the construction of the laneway, remained unchanged from Phase C to D. The western half of the courtyard of the earlier Compound 11, however, now became the inner hearth room of the new Compound 13. This transference of property and the open access which existed between the courtyards of Compounds 11 and 13 in Phase D suggest a similar inter-household relationship to that of Compounds 6 and 8. They are likely in both cases to reflect the periodic sharing of built space over time between closely related families or/and within expanding or fragmenting family units.

Phase E (Figure 10)

The three south-western compounds (6, 7 and 8) retained their boundaries over the next few generations. Within these spaces, however, there was some renovation and reconstruction, perhaps occasioned by physical decay or changing family structure. Phase E renovations to Compound 7 significantly restructured this household, converting courtyard to interior space and vice versa, and reoriented it to the north. As in the case of Compound 6, which underwent a similar internal reorganisation in the previous phase, this resulted in a substantial increase in the area of covered space and a decrease in courtyard size.

Most of the walls of Compound 6 remained in place, but the eastern room was remodelled, so that it was now entered from the west instead of the south. The floor level was lowered and a new suite of built-in furnishings constructed. All three interior rooms were now provided with hearths. Immediately to the north, Compound 8 underwent a major phase of internal restructuring. The two existing inner rooms were enlarged and a third room added to the west. This process, as elsewhere, reduced the size of the courtyard, which now occupied less than half the total compound area. Related to these changes, the old opening between Compounds 6 and 8 was closed off. Entry to Compound 6 continued via the passage leading from the main laneway. Access to Compound 8, however, was now possible only from the north-west. Clearly the relationship between these households had changed in some way, reducing the desire or need for close interaction.



Figure 11. Plan of Marki during Phase F (Early Cypriot III).

To the east, Compounds 16 and 17, erected in Phase D, went out of use and this part of the site appears to have reverted to open space, possibly in association with the construction of new, poorly preserved buildings to the north. Compound 18 to the east continued in use with the addition of a second interior room constructed over the southern end of the earlier courtyard. Compound 11 went out of use. Its space was partly taken over by a new, broad access route and partly by Compound 19, which, together with Compounds 20 and 21 to the south-east, was established at this time. Compounds 19, 20 and 21 form an insula and, in the case of 19 and 21, appear to have had common access from a new laneway to the south. Unfortunately these compounds, located down slope in eroded terrain, were not well preserved.

Phase E also saw the establishment of a more complex set of laneways, reducing reliance on the main north/south access route and arranging compounds into new configurations. Notably, Compound 13, which had previously communicated directly and possibly shared some courtyard resources with Compound 11, was now isolated from its replacement, Compound 19. The foundation of new laneways in the eastern part of the site coincided with major rebuilding in this area, perhaps made possible by the breakdown of earlier inter-household relationships. This may have prompted or been prompted by a reconfiguration of alliances, perhaps reflected in Compounds 19, 20 and 21, which form an imposing and clearly related set of units on the edge of the settlement.

Phase F (Figure 11)

A variety of aspects differentiate Phase F from E. Compounds 6-8, 14-15 and 19-21 remained unchanged in size, structure and orientation, with some minor renovation of internal facilities. New compounds (25, 26 and 27) were constructed to the north on what may have been open ground. Smaller areas of open space were also enclosed, as in the case of the single room Compound 24. Major changes also occurred in the centre of the excavated area, with the construction of a substantial raised platform forming Compound 28. This partly took in what was at this time open space on the north, but on the southern side it necessitated the partial demolition of the two interior rooms of Compound 13, constructed originally in Phase D. These remained in place as abandoned ruins, while Compound 13 expanded to the south and east, taking over two rooms of the

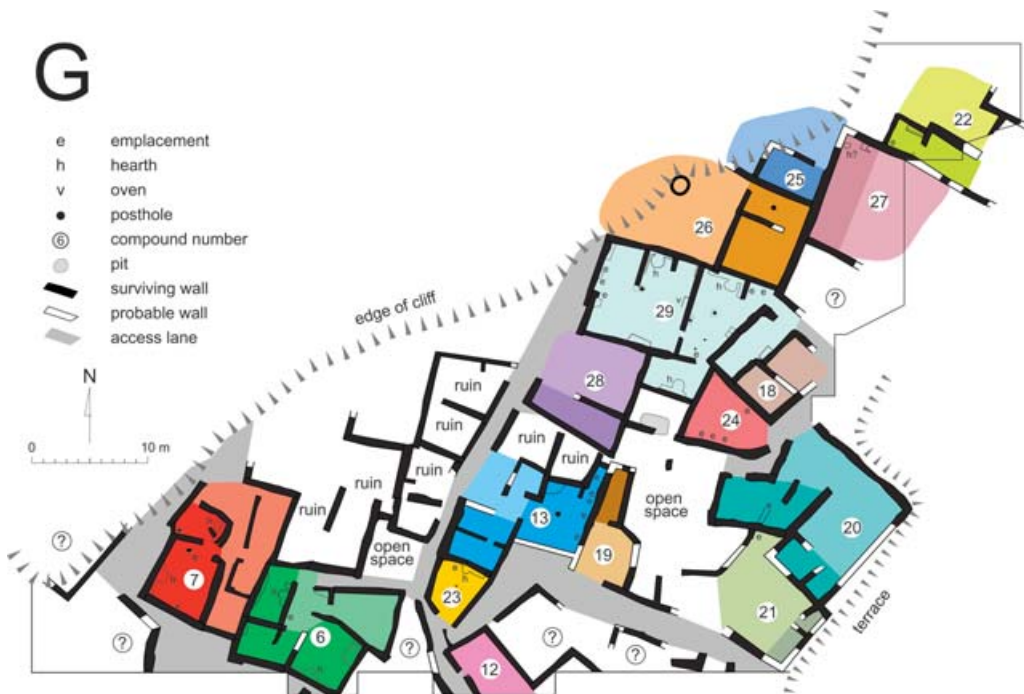


Figure 12. Plan of Marki during Phase G (Middle Cypriot I-II).

old Compound 9 (leaving a single residual room, Compound 23, to the south) and the access way between Compounds 13 and 19. The incorporation of the latter suggests that Compound 13 may have retained 'rights' to the use of this space, which it shared with Compound 11 in Phase D.

The restructuring of Compound 13 led to an overall increase in size and a substantial increase in the ratio of roofed to courtyard space. The loss of the two original inner rooms, effectively forced by the builders of Compound 28, was amply compensated for by the appropriation of two rooms belonging previously to Compound 9 as well as open space to the east. Thus Compound 13, which had been a two-roomed household in Phases D and E, became a three or even four-roomed unit in Phase F. The losers, if there were any, in this process appear to have been the owners of Compound 9, which was now sub-divided to produce a new phenomenon: that of the single room household, evident in the case of both Compounds 23 and 24.

This re-organisation had a substantial impact and must have involved considerable negotiation of rights of ownership and access. The appropriation of what had earlier been open space between Compounds 13 and 19 cut off direct communication between the south-eastern and north-eastern sectors of the site and created a cul de sac to the north of Compound 19. The construction of Compound 28 rendered the two rooms to the south uninhabitable and created the first standing ruins in the excavated area.

Phase G (Figure 12)

At this time the centre of the village appears to have begun to shift southward and a process of slow decline set in as some compounds fell out of use and were not replaced (marked as 'ruin' on Figure 12). The oldest compounds (6 and 7) continued to be occupied within their original boundaries. Minor structural changes took place in Compound 7. In Compound 6 the courtyard of Phases D to F reverted once more to interior space and some existing rooms may have gone out of use. Compounds 8, 14 and 15 on the west of the north/south lane were fully abandoned and left as standing ruins or open space. Compound 19 also contracted significantly at this time, creating new open space to the east. In contrast, a large new household, Compound 29, was established between



Figure 13. Plan of Marki during Phase H (Middle Cypriot I-II).

existing Compounds 28 and 26. Here the builders took advantage of pre-existing walls to fully enclose a large rectangular area to form a five-room house entered from the east via a narrow passage. Compound 18 was also restructured at this time, losing its western end to the newly established 29. Further to the north, Compound 26 expanded to take advantage of space now closed to the south by Compound 29. Other compounds in this area probably remained unchanged.

Phase H (Figure 13)

The overall density of occupation was now significantly lower. The long-lasting Compounds 6 and 7 continued in use with some minor internal restructuring in Compound 7. The remainder of the excavated space to the west of the north/south laneway, which had been abandoned in Phase G, saw some re-use in the poorly preserved Compounds 30 and 31. To the east of the laneway, Compounds 13, 18, 24 and the recently built Compound 29 were abandoned. Two rooms of Compound 29, however, continued in use in new configurations: one as part of a two-roomed Compound 32 to the south and one as an isolated hearth room, Compound 33, to the east. Further to the north, the south-western area of the courtyard of Compound 26 was enclosed to create a third interior room. At this time only Compounds 6, 7, 22, 23, 25, 26, 32 and 33 show evidence of substantial use and only Compounds 26 and 32 show significant structural development.

Phase I (not illustrated)

At this time only one or two rooms show evidence of minimal occupation and there was little other activity in the excavated area. This represents the final phase in an on-going process of localised abandonment associated with a gradual shift in the main focus of occupation toward the south of the overall site area. Surface and sub-surface surveys, together with trial excavations 200 metres to the south of the main exposure, suggest that occupation continued at Marki for another generation before final abandonment.

Discussion

It is clear that rectangular house compounds comprising two or more inner, covered rooms set at the rear of a larger courtyard were the norm at Marki from the first settlement until final abandonment. While some new compound types, notably single room units and larger compounds with no courtyard space, did develop or evolve through time, the majority of newly established compounds through to Phase H, particularly those founded in open areas not constrained by existing structures, took the traditional form. This suggests that an idealised concept of a physical household remained in place throughout the life of the settlement, despite changes in social and economic organisation that led to the introduction of new household types and a reconfiguration of spatial arrangements within existing compounds through time. The latter can be seen as a specific response to particular needs at an individual household level rather than a result of broader-scale changes in the concept of a physical household.

All households were entered through the courtyard, either directly from open space or a public access route or, in the case of Compounds 6 and 29, via a private passageway. Interior rooms in most cases led one from another, achieving increased privacy with access depth. Hearths, wall benches and bins were exclusively located in inner rooms. Ovens, built in the courtyard in the earliest phases, regularly appear in interior rooms from Phase C onward. Small sheds and animal pens, also located in courtyards in Phases B and C, are not obviously present from Phase D onward. The dense clusters of pot emplacements, which are one of the most characteristic features of courtyards, also decrease in number through time and, in Compounds 13 and 20 in Phases E and F, were relocated to inner rooms.

This reduction in the number and variety of tasks carried out in courtyards is matched by a decrease in courtyard size through time. In the earliest phases the majority of compound space was given over to the courtyard. From Phase D onward, however, courtyard space was increasingly compromised by the enlargement of existing inner rooms or/and the addition of new ones. In Phase D, also, three compounds were established (9, 14 and 15) with no associated courtyards. This decrease in the importance of courtyards and the changing nature of courtyard activities suggest that some tasks performed there in initial phases were either no longer carried out or moved to other locations. It appears that by Phase D not all households were engaged in the same set of production and maintenance tasks. This implies an increasing degree of economic specialisation and a greater diversity of behavioural household types.

Other structural changes through time include the development of fully enclosed compounds, a rise in the number and size of interior rooms, an increased reliance on defined access routes and internal passages and, possibly, the emergence in Phase E of compound blocks separated one from another by laneways and open space. These may be seen as reflecting an increasing need or desire for inter-household privacy, perhaps linked with an increased emphasis on private property, intergenerational inheritance and the control and manipulation of space.

The general similarity in overall compound size through time is striking. Some increase of area is visible in the compounds built in previously unoccupied space in the east and north-east but the difference is not great and the new compounds are themselves of similar

size. While there is some variation in the number and size of features and rooms, there is nothing in the nature of these internal fittings or in systemic discard residues to suggest significant differentials in wealth and status. With the exception of the two single unit compounds, households were typically furnished with one (Phase B), two or three hearth rooms at various times. This changing internal organisation of compounds is likely to be related to relatively straightforward developments in the size and structure of residential units.

On a broader level, there is little suggestion of large-scale planning. Structural development in the excavated exposure appears to be the result of gradual demographic growth and an on-going process of inter-household negotiation between the owners of existing structures and the builders of new ones. Natural processes of physical decay within existing compounds led to a regular cycle of renovation, internal restructuring and/or more major rebuilding. This is most clearly seen in the long-lived Compounds 6 and 7, both of which were established in Phase C and continued in use to Phase H. The major event in this area was the construction of the north/south laneway in Phase D. This was made necessary by the increasing density and complexity of occupation and the establishment of new compounds to the east, which impeded earlier less formal avenues of access.

Over the longer term, it is possible to see the physical structure of this part of the village change from freestanding household compounds or sets of compounds surrounded by open space to a densely built-up area with relatively little associated open space and limited access to individual compounds. In the latest phase there was a marked regression in inhabited space as older compounds fell out of use and those which continued to be inhabited were divided from one another by standing ruins as well as by open spaces.

Locating people, both at the individual and household level, within this physical landscape is, of course, more difficult (Webb 2002). The continuities and associations embedded in our historical narrative, however, prompt some suggestions regarding the construction of social space at Marki. Overriding the cyclical pattern of internal restructuring and renovation and occasionally more substantial rebuilding, there is a long-term continuity of spatial order, alignment and structure. Where buildings and features remained in use over many generations, it seems reasonable to argue for continuity of ownership as well as of social attitudes and relationships. These long-lasting associations can be understood as implying inherited rights to both space and built property.

Longevity of use is most evident in the case of Compounds 6 and 7, which maintained their physical boundaries for three or four centuries while other, newer compounds went in and out of use. If we can assume intergenerational ownership of property then these households would appear to have remained in the hands of well-established families, perhaps descended from the pioneer occupants of Compounds 3 and 4 in the preceding Phase B. These families are likely to have exercised some social dominance. This may be expressed physically in the presence of a private access passage to Compound 6 (otherwise found only in the case of Compound 29) and in the capacity of Compound 6 to establish and maintain an off-shoot household (Compound 8), as well as in their resistance to sub-division and retraction.

In some cases a developmental cycle can be traced in the outgrowth and subsequent separation of offshoot from parent households. This is evident in the case of Compounds 6 and 8 and Compounds 11 and 13. Although the scale of observation – at intervals of

perhaps three generations – makes it difficult to see the evolution of a domestic cycle at an individual or anthropological timescale, some processes can be identified. The disparate size of the interconnected Compounds 6 and 8 in Phase C, followed by the growth of Compound 8 in Phase D and its physical separation from Compound 6 in Phase E, may be seen as involving the initial establishment of a subsidiary family, its expansion over several generations and ultimately its establishment as a fully independent entity. A similar though less lengthy process is visible in the case of Compounds 11 and 13 in Phase D.

In other instances, restructuring involved a more drastic sub-division and retraction or enlargement of space between previously independent households. This must have involved more complex individual negotiations between neighbours working toward private settlements, or may in other cases, as with the establishment of the north/south laneway in Phase D, have involved more communal decision-making. While these processes will never be visible archaeologically, the periodic re-organisation of space at least provides a basis for thinking about the ways in which rights and ownership might have been assessed and negotiated within this community.

Some broader-scale observations may be argued with greater confidence. There is, for example, a clear increase, over time, of inter- and intra-household privacy. This is expressed in the full enclosure and decreasing size and importance of courtyards, the establishment of controlled access routes and, in some cases, private entry passages and the development of the single-entry non-courtyard house (e.g. Compounds 9, 14 and 15 in Phase D and 29 in Phase G), in which multiple rooms led progressively one from the other. It may be further reflected or manifested in the establishment of sets of compounds or *insulae* in Phase E and their increasing visual and spatial separation from each other by access routes, open space and standing ruins.

Of greatest interest, however, are the changes in social structure and relationships implied by structural developments from the earliest Phases A and B to Phases C and D. In Phase B (and probably also during the poorly preserved Phase A) the inner rooms of Compounds 3 and 4 faced onto a minimally enclosed communal courtyard in which a wide range of maintenance and production activities were carried out. This high level of social and economic cooperation between households may be viewed as a survival mechanism appropriate to a newly established pioneer community, perhaps numbering only 40 people dispersed among a handful of households in relatively inhospitable terrain. In Phase C this co-operative system was replaced by two new, non-communicating compounds (6 and 7) of roughly equal size with almost fully enclosed courtyards and opposing orientations.

The establishment of self-contained households within a hundred years or so of first settlement shows that individual residential units were now secure enough to meet their own physical needs and survive as independent economic entities. This is likely to reflect an overall increase in population and perhaps in family size, as well as the establishment of efficient and reliable production systems and inter-site relationships. It is also likely to have resulted in an increasing desire by individual households to establish and maintain private ownership of buildings, land and other resources. The establishment of Compound 8 as an offshoot of Compound 6 at this time further suggests that the breakdown of inter-household co-operative systems coincided with an increased emphasis on extended family relationships and the establishment of a new generation of independent households.

At a community-wide scale the nature of inter-personal relationships would have changed considerably through time as the population expanded and access between compounds became more restricted or more difficult because of increased distances resulting from the expansion of the settlement as a whole. In the early phases, with a population of a few dozen dispersed among only four or five households, individuals would have had face-to-face interaction with fellow-villagers on a regular basis. Later generations, living in a larger, more diffuse and more densely inhabited settlement, are likely to have had significantly fewer occasions for interaction beyond their immediate neighbourhood. This increase in inter-personal distance coincided with the development of more enclosed household and access systems and may have been accompanied by the establishment of new mechanisms of social cohesion and control. These presumably operated beyond the level of the individual household and are not visible in the excavated exposure at Marki.

Conclusion

This analysis of household development at Marki has allowed a number of general and specific observations. The detailed history of the changing use of physical space provides a basis for a recognition of architectural households and an understanding of the construction of social space and interpersonal relationships.

The study shows the rewards of extending analysis beyond architecture, with its focus primarily on design and structural principles, to a consideration of how space is used by and defines households. This in turn leads to the identification of numerous small scale relationships through time, opening a door on the intimate history of a prehistoric village.

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