

# THE ATHENIAN AGORA AND THE ROMAN FORUM AS MARKETPLACES

A comparative and spatial study of the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum as marketplaces in the period, c. 600-150 BCE.



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## Samandrag

Det klassiske agora i Athen og det romerske forumet i Roma var sentrale samlingspunkt i dei antikke byane, sentrum for både politisk, religiøs og økonomisk aktivitetar.

Denne oppgåva tek føre seg det athenske agora og det romerske forum i perioden ca. 600-150 f.VT. Fokuset for oppgåva er funksjonen deira som marknadsplassar og korleis dei endra seg i løpet av den valte perioden. Desse endringane på agora og forum vert sett opp mot kvarandre i ein komparativ studie.

Det finst fleire ulike typar for handel og økonomisk aktivitet, ikkje alle etterlet seg eit arkeologisk materiale som kunne tolkast åleine men som må supplerast med verk frå dei antikke forfattarane. Oppgåva er avgrensa til å hovudsakleg omhandle dei aktivitetane som gjekk føre seg i permanente strukturar. På det athenske agora var stoaene frå klassisk og hellenistisk tid sentrale samlingsstadar for dei økonomiske aktivitetane medan det på det romerske forumet var tabernaene og basilikaene som var knytt til dei økonomiske aktivitetane. Roma hadde i tillegg også macellum, bygningar som var bygd spesifikt for å husa marknadar og handel.

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## List of illustrations

Cover photo, View of the Athenian Agora, Southeast from the Hephaesteion (by author)	
Figure 1, The Athenian Agora and the northwest of Athens, by J.Travlos, 1974 (Agora Excavations).....	25
Figure 2, Schematics from the Athenian Agora in the 2nd Century CE (Camp II, 2003:2)....	26
Figure 3, Pausanias's route across the Athenian Agora by J.Travlos (Vanderpool, 1949:130). .....	27
Figure 4, The Athenian Agora c. 500 BCE, by J.Travlos and W.B.Dinsmoor Jr. (Camp II, 1986:155) .....	29
Figure 5, The Athenian Agora after the Hellenistic remodelling, by J.Travlos and W.B.Dinsmoor Jr. (Camp, 1986:169) .....	30
Figure 6, Reconstructed plan of South Stoa I, by W.B.Dinsmoor Jr (Camp II, 1986:124). ....	31
Figure 7, Room V during excavtion, note the raised cement border for benches (Agora Excavations).....	32
Figure 8, I 7030, published by the Metronomoi of 222/1 BCE (from Vanderpool, 1968). ....	33
Figure 9, South Stoa II, view from the south. Rooms from the South Stoa I can be seen in the lower right corner (by author). ....	34
Figure 10, The South Square, 2nd century BCE, by J.Travlos (Camp II, 1986:176). ....	35
Figure 11, The Middle Stoa and the South Square, view from south (by author) .....	36
Figure 12, Reconstructed Stoa of Attalos (by author).....	38
Figure 13, Reconstructed plan of the Mint, 5th century BCE by W.B.Dinsmoor Jr. (Camp II, 2003:23). ....	40
Figure 14, Reconstructed plan of the East Building, by J.Travlos (Agora Excavations).....	41
Figure 15, The Remains of the western parts of the East Building can be seen at the right, view from south (by author).....	41
Figure 16, Present day location and remains of the House of Simon the Cobbler, view from northwest (by author) .....	42
Figure 17, Map over ancient Rome, the Forum Romanum is located slightly above the middle centre (Lanciani, 1901). ....	45
Figure 18, The Roman Forum during the early Republic, c. 509-390 BCE (Atlante Di Roma Antica, Tav. 11).....	46
Figure 19, The Roman Forum during the classical Republic, c. 213-117 BCE (Atlante Di Roma Antica, Tav. 19). ....	47

Figure 20, The tabenae which was incorporated into the Basilica Aemilia (by author) ..... 50  
Figure 21, Temple of Castor and Pollux in its present-day condition, west side (by author).. 51  
Figure 22, Temple of Castor and Pollux, east side (by author)..... 52  
Figure 23, Reconstruction of Room V in South Stoa I, by W.B.Dinsmoor Jr. (Thompson,  
1968:51) ..... 56

## Table of content

Samandrag .....	1
Acknowledgements .....	2
List of illustrations .....	3
1. Introduction.....	8
2. Research history.....	11
2.1 The Ancient Economy, Trade and City .....	11
2.2 The Agora in Athens.....	13
2.3 The Forum Romanum in Rome .....	15
3. Theoretical and methodical approaches.....	17
3.1 Theory.....	17
3.1.1 Markets and centrality .....	17
3.1.2 Dignitas .....	18
3.2 Methods .....	19
4. Materials .....	19
4.1 The Archaeological Material .....	20
4.1.1 Archaeological material from trade and economic activities?.....	21
4.2 Textual Sources .....	23
5. The Agora in Athens .....	24
5.1 Stoa .....	28
5.1.1 South Stoa I.....	30
5.1.2 South Stoa II.....	33
5.1.3 Middle Stoa .....	34
5.1.4 Stoa of Attalos .....	37
5.2 Other buildings .....	39
5.2.1 The Mint.....	39
5.2.2 The East Building.....	40
5.2.3 The southwest corner of the Agora .....	42
5.2.4 The northside of the Agora.....	43

6.	The Forum in Rome .....	44
6.1	Tabernae .....	48
6.1.1	Tabernae Lanienae and Tabernae Argentariae .....	49
6.1.2	Tabernae Novae.....	50
6.1.3	Tabernae Veteres .....	50
6.1.4	Other Tabernae .....	51
6.2	Basilica .....	53
6.2.2	Basilica Sempronia.....	53
6.2.1	Basilica Fulvia and succeeding basilica .....	54
6.3	Portico.....	54
6.4	Macellum.....	55
7.	Analysis and discussion .....	55
7.1	The Athenian Agora .....	55
7.1.1	The South Stoa I.....	55
7.1.4	The South Stoa II.....	56
7.1.3	The Middle Stoa .....	57
7.1.2	The Stoa of Attalos.....	57
7.1.5	Other buildings .....	58
7.1.6	The Agora as a whole.....	59
7.2	The Forum Romanum.....	60
7.2.1	The tabernae .....	60
7.2.2	The Basilicas .....	60
7.2.3	Portico .....	60
7.2.4	Macellum.....	61
7.2.6	Forum as a whole .....	62
7.3	The Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum as marketplaces .....	62
7.3.1	Activities at the Athenian Agora and the Roman Forum, local or foreign goods?	

7.3.2	Forensis Dignitas .....	64
7.3.3	Structures .....	67
8.	Conclusion .....	68
8.1	The Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum .....	68
8.2	As a whole .....	69
9.	Bibliography .....	71
9.1	Modern literature .....	71
9.2	Classical texts .....	75
	Appendix 1. Glossary .....	77
	Appendix 2. Archaeological finds and material .....	79
	A2.1 Athens .....	79
	A2.2 Rome, Pompeii & Herculaneum .....	83
	A2.3 Forma Urbis Romae .....	84

## 1. Introduction

What lays in a name? The meaning of, and usage of names and terms change and gradually evolves over time. The modern definition of terms and names might be quite different from the ancient one, yet they can also be similar at times as the modern definition usually have some basis in the ancient definition. “Agora” literally translates to “the gathering place” (Thompson, 1954a:9), a name which is fitting when one takes a look at what purposes it has had through the years. It served as a religious, civic and administrative centre, as well as a marketplace and centre for economic activities. The “Forum”, the Roman equivalent to the Greek agora, served much of the same functions as their Greek counterpart, at least in the earlier times. The forum was a place for religious, civic, political and economic activities. Although the fora have had multiple functions, in the later period the fora tended to have one or more specialized purposes, such as the fora dedicated to various types of trade, and the imperial fora (Purcell, 1995:325-342). Even the Forum Romanum, which will be one of the sites focused on in this paper, were subject to this gradual change.

The primary research questions for this study is:

*How did the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum function as marketplaces in the period c. 600-150 BCE?*

In order to shed light on this question, some additional questions have to be asked: What buildings at the sites were connected to the economic activities? How were these buildings used? Did the usage change over time? Were there differences between the Athenian Agora and Forum Romanum? If yes, what were these differences?

The timeframe for this study is set to c. 600 – 150 BCE. This timeframe was chosen as it is a period of significance in both Rome and Athens. This period is of significance due to the many events that occurred during this time, and which shaped the cities for the following generations. The agora was established at the current site during the early 6<sup>th</sup>, late 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, having been moved from another location in the city. The forum started taking on its monumentalized design with building of several important buildings, both religious and civic, in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, both the agora and the forum went through extensive changes as part of the Hellenistic building projects at each of the sites. While the projects at the agora was financed by eastern kings, the projects at the forum was largely financed by the aristocracy in Rome.

By the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Athens and the surrounding cities that they governed in the Attica suffered from a social unrest that had become more and more widespread as the century progressed. In 594 BCE Solon was appointed to make a new constitution. This resulted in an economic and political reform that laid the foundation for the later Athenian democracy. Rome experienced a great expansion in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The foundations for the Forum Romanum with the building of the Cloaca Maxima as it was built to drain the marsh that occupied the area between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills was built during this period. In the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, Rome started their expansion into the east after their victory in the Second Punic War in 201 BCE. The Greek peninsula fell under Roman rule after the battle of Corinth in 146 BCE, where the Romans defeated the Macedonians, although some few poleis retained a partly independence from Rome. It was due to the changes and the reforms at the start of the period and the incorporation of the Greek territories at the end, that this period was chosen as the frameset for this study.

The focus in this paper will be on the material remains from more permanent structures that was used as part of the trades on the Forum Romanum, henceforth mentioned as the Roman Forum, and the Athenian Agora. The trade based out of permanent structures have left behind traces through the buildings themselves, but there were also other forms of trade that left little or no physical evidence for its presence in the city. These trades were based out of temporary stalls and street vendors. Even though these types of trade are more or less invisible in the archaeological material due to their nature, can there sometimes be found some evidence of them. These other forms of trade will only be briefly mentioned later on in the paper, without going into detail as they are not the primary focus of this study, when they are related to the discussion of the actual buildings and the economic activities that took place there. The primary material for this study has been limited to the physical structures that might have contained a function in the Athenian Agora and the Roman Forum's role as a marketplace due to the limited space of this paper, and the fact that the material remains, and artefacts excavated are too vast to study properly in order for them to be used in this study. It is due to this that the choice was made to primarily focus on the buildings that housed commercial activities at the Athenian Agora and the Roman Forum. As of 2006, although the current numbers are higher, there have been found more than 70.000 coins, 35.000 pieces of pottery, 15.000 stamped amphora handles, 7.600 inscriptions, 6.000 lamps, 5.000 architectural fragments, and 3.500 pieces of sculptures, just on the Agora itself (Mauzy & Camp II, 2006:72-73). It is a too vast amount to study in detail, and the examples of these excavated

finds will thus only be discussed if they are pertinent to the determine the purpose and function of the buildings at the Agora.

In addition to the remains from the structures, literary sources will be used to discuss the usage of the structures and buildings in question, and the sites themselves. A number of ancient authors and historians and some of their views and works will be mentioned further in the discussions later on. Amongst them are Pausanias, Varro, Cicero, Vitruvius, Homer, Lysias, and Livy.

The chapter about the research history for the Agora and Forum is divided into three parts; the Athenian Agora, Forum Romanum, and the ancient economy. The sub-chapters about the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum, will include both earlier excavations and research conducted at and surrounding the sites themselves.

In this study, there are a number of terms used to describe not only the various building and structures, but also the various forms for markets and trade. It is differentiated between different forms of markets and types of trade. Some of the less important types of trade for this study will be described alongside the markets in chapter 7, where the primary discussion takes place. The main form of trade and which is the most important in this study, is retail.

Retail is the practice of selling wares and goods directly to the public consumer, rather than to another business. The term is primarily used on sale and economic activities taking place in a shop. This was a common practice at both the Athenian Agora and the Roman Forum, something that will be discussed later on in this study. The Roman retail is an aspect of the Roman history that have been overlooked and neglected by both the ancient and the more modern historians. It is only during the last century that the economic activities of the past have been studied in detail (Holleran, 2012:12). These tendencies to overlook parts of the history by the ancient historians can also be seen in the texts written by the Greek historians as they also skip past trade and economic activities in their works.

The definitions and debates surrounding the terms *tabernae*, *basilica*, *macella*, *stoa*, *portico*, *forum* and *agora*, and other terms if needed, will be made at the relevant chapters where those terms are first used in more detailed discussions. The difference between permanent and temporary markets, and the various forms of these markets will also be discussed later on as they pertain to the functions of the various buildings.

Due to the nature of Rome as a city and the excavations of the Forum Romanum, some of the examples for the usage of, and how to identify some of the buildings will look towards Pompeii and Herculaneum on a few points, as the same buildings there have been more fully excavated and researched. Examples from these two cities will be used to explain and describe features from buildings which would have been quite similar, in not almost identical, to those in Rome. The primary difference is the state of preservation, and Pompeii and Herculaneum are younger than the buildings discussed from Rome. Despite of this, they can still be used as examples on the buildings from the forum as long as one makes sure to keep in mind that there might be some differences between the buildings when discussing the material.

## 2. Research history

### 2.1 The Ancient Economy, Trade and City

Trade and retail have been neglected as a topic by the ancient historians and authors. Up until around the 1900s, the modern historians had little to no focus on the retail and trade of the ancient classical world. The historians working on retail had more focus on the early modern period and upwards up until the last century (Holleran, 2012:12).

The studies of the classical economies were dominated by the dispute between those who argued that the ancient economies were “primitive” and mainly was agrarian, and those who argued that trade and industry had a wider role in the economy than what the other side argued (Holleran, 2012:23).

The ancient historians barely mentioned trade and retail in their texts. This was due to the view that was reflected through all of the ancient historians. Trade and retail were viewed with distaste and contempt by the ancient authors, although it was a necessity, it was not something one should write in detail about. This view was also shared by the modern upper classes, whom the historians up to and including the first part of the 20th century belonged to.

Two historical authors who Holleran (2012) discussed in her work, Plato and Cicero. Plato stated that while retail was necessary for the functioning of the city, it should be limited and controlled. Similarly, Cicero, in his work *De Officiis*, stated that while trade was acceptable as a profession, the merchants were dishonest due to having falsely inflated the value of the merchandise in order to make a profit (Holleran, 2012:5-6).

This view of disdain and dislike of trade continued up until the last centuries. It is just fairly recently in a historical perspective, that the historians and researchers have focused on the ancient classical economies. This dislike and disdain from the earliest historians affected and influenced the work of the later ones, and thus also the research into trade and retail (Holleran, 2012:5-12).

In 1926 Michael Rostovtzeff tried to do a study on the Roman Economy by publishing a book called *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. Rostovtzeff's theories were fairly quickly debunked and rejected by the academic communities. Rostovtzeff's later work, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, published in 1941, had a more balanced view than that of his earlier work. While his book from 1926 was highly criticised, it still prompted others to research and debate the subject which Rostovtzeff discussed (Bowersock, 1974:15-23).

In 1973, Moses I. Finley published a book called «The Ancient Economy», where he discussed the classical economies in the period from 1000 BCE to 500 CE. Finley proposed the argument that the ancient economies of Rome and Greece were completely different from the modern economies. The ancient economies were according to his arguments based on a more primitive system and the result and by-product of status. Finley's studies of the ancient economies was influenced by the works of Max Weber and Karl Polanyi. This book is a follow-up and continuation of his studies of the ancient economy that started with *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C.*, published in 1951, and *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, published in 1953 (Finley, 1973; Scheidel & von Reden, 2002:1-6).

Rostovtzeff had a conservative and primitive view on the ancient economies. While Finley still was a supporter of the primitivistic point of view on the ancient economies, he was not as conservative in his arguments as that which Rostovtzeff had been.

While Finley was not the first to research the ancient economies, it was he who kicked off the large debate about them. The debate sparked by Finley's studies, tended to be rallied by views where one was either for or against Finley. Since Finley's time, a lot of research, models and studies have been ongoing in the field of the classical economies, and today a more modern view of how the ancient economies functioned are generally accepted. The economies are viewed as regulated and governed by law and by the principle of supply and demand. They are viewed to a lot more complex than what Finley argued for (Bang, 2003:151-153).

In the last few decades there have been conducted research into many of the various aspects of the ancient economies. Most notable here are Claire Holleran (2012; 2017) with her studies on retail and shopping in ancient Rome.

The Oxford University Press have been publishing a series called the *Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy* since 2009 as a part of their Oxford Roman Economy Project. So far 14 titles have been published, covering topics such as; settlement and urbanization, the economy of Pompeii, stone trade, the use of the sea, mining, and craftsmen and traders.

Studies at the buildings connected to the ancient economies in general have been conducted. Notably here is Mac Mahon and Cristilli. Mac Mahon (2005) did conduct a study on the tabernae of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Focusing on the counters of the buildings and their use. He has later moved on to studying the Roman tabernae of Britain. A study of the macella and the relation between the building of these markets and the Roman State was published in 2015. It discusses the transition of the macella from just markets during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE to part of the identity of the cities and thus also a propaganda tool for the later Roman Empire (Cristilli, 2015).

## 2.2 The Agora in Athens

The Athenian Agora have been the subject of various studies by different societies and institutes throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These excavations were of a smaller scale than those that would follow 1931. The Stoa of Attalos was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in the periods, 1859-1862 and 1898-1902. The German Archaeological Institute explored the west side of the square in 1896-1897 in addition to conducting smaller explorations in the southern and southwest parts of the Agora. When the Athens – Piraeus Railway in 1890-1891 excavated the parts of the northern square where it would cut across the site, the Greek and German archaeologists documented and recorded the archaeological remains that was found during the excavations (Thompson, 1954b:25-26).

In 1931, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens were given the main responsibility over the research and excavations of the Athenian Agora. The American School have conducted yearly, large scale excavations, with the exception of a brief pause from 1940 to 1946 due to WWII, at the Agora. The excavations are still ongoing today. When the

American School started their excavations, most of the area that were the ancient Agora were covered with houses. These modern houses were expropriated over the course of a ten year and all of the house was the demolished as the excavations of the site progressed (Thompson, 1954b:25-27; Mauzy & Camp II, 2006:6-17).

In 1947 work began on the plans for an onsite museum at the Agora, but the site proved to contain too much archaeological remains and it was not possible to construct a new building without disturbing material, so in 1948 the suggestion of reconstructing one of the ancient buildings was made. The Stoa of Attalos was chosen both due to its size and because there were enough architectural elements left, which made it possible to reconstruct to a fairly accurate estimate. The work began in 1953 and the Stoa stood finished for its dedication on 3rd of September 1956. It houses the museum, collections and archives as well as functioning as the administrative centre for the research and excavations of the Agora (Young, 1951:288; Mauzy & Camp II, 2006:32-73).

The present-day excavations on the Agora, focus primarily at the north side of the site. At the area that is north of the Athens – Piraeus Railway. During the 2002-2007 seasons, work on further excavations and studies of the northside and the Stoa Poikile continued up again. In the excavation of the agora in the period 2008-2012, the area just west of the Stoa Poikile have been excavated and one, possibly more to be identified later, buildings identified as to have served commercial purposes have been uncovered. So far at least six rooms or shops have been found in this building (Camp II, 2007:627-663; Camp II, 2015:467-513).

As part of long-term project in the research from the Athenian Agora, the first volume in the Athenian Agora series were published in 1953. This series contain the publication of the excavations and research conducted at the Agora. As more research is completed, new volumes are published. As of 2017, 38 volumes have been published. The topics range from sculptures, coins, and pottery, to inscriptions, specific buildings and periods, and much more.

Most of the research published is available in English, some is also available in German. Summaries of all of the excavations from 1931 and until 2012 have been published, 2013 and onwards have yet to be published.

In 1995, Lawall published a study on the transport amphoras and import to Athens in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. He studied the composition of locally produced and imported pottery and

amphoras. He makes note of the cities in which the amphoras were imported from. Out of the 36 deposits studied, a large quantity of the material was from imported wares.

In 2006, the American School received funding to start the digitalization project of large amounts of their collection and archive. The notebooks from the early excavations, with photographs of the excavations and of artefacts are amongst the digitalized material. Large amounts of the excavated material have been digitalized and artefacts, structures and context layers are searchable in the database. Today day database consists of almost 900.000 individual entries (The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007).

In 2014 a study comparing the later periods of the agora during the roman period, with those of other Greek cities. The study looks at the changes and the functions of the agoras during this period (Evangelidis, 2014).

### 2.3 The Forum Romanum in Rome

The excavations and studies of the Roman Forum began at a small scale in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, no real systematic or extensive explorations had taken place before that. These early excavations mainly consisted of the study of a series of holes that were dug separately from each other and on various places on the Forum. In 1803, spots around the Arch of Septimius Severus were excavated. A few years later, in 1811-16, parts of the area around the Column of Phocas were studied. It was not until after 1870 that the excavation of the Forum took off. During a six-year period, the Basilica and the central Forum square, as far up as the Temple of Julius, were excavated. There was then a pause on the excavations on the Forum while parts of the Via Sacra and the House of the Vestals were examined. In 1898, work on the Forum started up again and continued until 1910. During this period, areas around the Basilica Aemilia were excavated. A major program of study and conservation on the Forum, in which areas from old excavations were reopened and re-examined, took place in the period, 1980-88. In 1996, the area where the Argiletum leads out from the Forum were excavated for the first time. More recently, in the period 1999-2007, holes have been dug on both sides of the Via dei Fori Imperiali, which have exposed parts of the Temple of Peace and parts of the underlying macellum and piscaetorium which the primary excavations of the temple by Tocco in the 1860's did not. Much of this material have never been published (Claridge, 2010, p. 67; Tucci, 2018:929-968).

One noticeable thing about the Roman Forum, is that there were made a choice to stop the large-scale excavations at the Augustan layer. There have only been conducted small scale test pits into the underlying, republican layers. This means that the archaeological material from the early republic and also the regal period of Rome, lays unavailable to the researcher and we have limited knowledge of those parts of Rome's history. The primary sources for those early periods are thus the ancient texts, which were all written at a much later time, and by people biased by their own time. The choice to stop the excavations at the Augustan layer were made at a time when Italy was characterized by a more nationalistic view, and in which the Augustan period was viewed as the glory days of Italy's great past.

During the early excavations of the Roman Forum, a large number of research teams from different nations participated. None of the nations had any long-term and systematic research project going, and the excavations were thus carried out in a rather fragmented and scattered manner.

The material from the early excavations at the Roman Forum is mainly located at the Antiquarium Forense, which at the present date have been closed for years due to renovations, with not estimate for when it will open. The research from the Roman Forum have been published primarily by the various research institutions that conducted the research.

The research from the Roman Forum have been conducted by different institutions and have been published in their languages. As result, much host been published in Italian, but also French, German, and English. Summaries of the early excavations was published by Rodolfo Lanciani in 1897, and Gianfilippo Carettoni published a summary of the last fifty years in 1960.

In 2016, The Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome undertook a project, and which is still ongoing, aimed at the architectural and spatial development of the Forum during the Republican era. As part of the project, they examined and documented the remains at the sites of the Basilica Sempronia and Basilica Fulvia at the Roman Forum, later the sites of the Basilicas Julia and Aemilia respectably, as these buildings played an important role in defining the form and function of the forum. The study looks at how these buildings were related to each other and how they interacted and affected their immediate surroundings. They are using digital documentation to create a georeferenced 3D-model, in order to analyse the hydrological situation, an important aspect of the urban layout, of the Roman Forum (Gerding & Dell'Unto, n.d.).

### 3. Theoretical and methodical approaches

#### 3.1 Theory

##### 3.1.1 Markets and centrality

Livy (5.52.2) stated that Rome was a city in which there was no place not filled with religious significance or gods. Space and location on the ancient city were tightly intertwined with the religious practise of the city. The forum housed a number of temples and buildings dedicated to the gods, as well as shrines and altars. A practise which were widely common also at the Athenian Agora. The agora housed not only several buildings dedicated to the gods, but also shrines and alters to the deities and heroes of legends. These were not the activities taking place at the central locations of these two cities, they also had a purpose as markets.

*“The question of centrality in general, and of urban centrality in particular, is not a very simple one”* (Lefebvre, 1991:331).

Centrality have been often been seen as synonymous with the point in which the monumental and civic architectures converged. Lefebvre viewed the geocentrically sphere of the Greek and Roman worlds with the notion that the settlements was not only the physical but also the metaphorical centres for their worlds (Newsome, 2008:25-26). This can be seen up against the saying that “all roads lead to Rome” which was based on that Rome was not only the physical centrum from which the empire was governed but also the spiritual and philosophical centre. Rome was the heart of the empire in both senses.

Lefevre separated the general centrality from the urban centrality of the city. He stated that centrality was not locked in place, centrality was movable. A view that was argued for with the Greek city in which the central point, the meeting place of importance switched between places of civic and religious importance. A city was not bound to have only one central point. Something Rome shows. Here the central place was not limited to one point, but to the many important meeting places spread around in the various and many districts of the city (Newsome, 2008:27-29).

Retail trade was a large widespread for of economic activities which took place at the open markets at the central areas of the city and in the streets surrounding it. Local products and crafts would have been sold there alongside the imported, more luxury and expansive wares. The imported wares would have been exchanged between from merchants transporting them

to the traders selling them locally, outside the city walls, at the point of entry or in the designated warehouse and storage areas that emerged as the cities and the trade networks grew (Kostof, 1999:92-94).

The relationship between the civic and the economic activities were grounded in the political and social environments and climate in the cities. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Aristotle voiced the view that there should be a more separated barrier between the civic activities and the markets. This gradual separation could be seen at both the forum in Rome and the agora in Athens (Kostof, 1999:95-96).

### 3.1.2 Dignitas

*Dignitas* is a Roman social and cultural concept in the ancient Roman world. There is no modern translation that fits the definition of what the Roman concept of *dignitas* was, but the closest description of the term is that it was a mixture of dignity, prestige and honour. It was a highly regarded virtue which were held in high regard. Two ancient authors that made use of *dignitas* in their works, were Cicero and Livy.

The term *dignitas* have not only been used on connection with the individuals, but also as in connection with public places. *Forensis dignitas*, the dignity of the forum, have been used by ancient authors talking about the significance of the forum. The Forum Romanum in particular is ascribed to this. In the first century BCE, Varro wrote about the *forensis dignitas* of the Roman Forum, which took place around 310 BCE (Varro ap. Non 532). Nonius Marcellus referred to Varro's works in his texts in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Though both Livy and Marcellus both wrote about periods removed from their time, while it is still reasonable to assume that at least some of the activities they wrote about took place, they should both be complemented with archaeological material.

*Forensis dignitas* as a concept can also be viewed as the processes which took place in order to forum its dignity. This dignity was achieved by removing the undignified activities from the area. Which meant common, and dirty, activities like the butchers and fishmongers. The process can be seen in the changes of the usage of the site.

I will in this paper use *forensis dignitas* as a tool in the analysis of the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum. It will be used when comparing not only the changes over times on each site, but also when comparing the changes of the sites against each other.

### 3.2 Methods

There are a number of methods that are used in this study. This study looks at the changes on the Athenian Agora and the Roman Forum and compares them, which makes it a comparative study, as well as diachronic study as it also looks at the changes over time.

This study makes use of a comparative analysis in order to look at how the changes at the Athenian Agora compares to those at the Forum Romanum. As it looks at the changes over time, the study also falls in under being a diachronic study. The changes in the building at the sites will be compared both to each other, as well as themselves. Where there a continuity in the usage of the sites of the buildings in regards to their functions as marketplaces? The comparative method was chosen in order to look at the differences at two sites and the changes they experienced over time.

In addition to being a comparative and diachronic study, it is also a spatial study. It uses spatial analysis in order to discuss the buildings, their layout and how the sites were used at commercial centres. An architectural functional analysis will be used in connection with the spatial study in order to discuss the possible usage of the buildings. The size and layout of the buildings played a part in determining what activities the building was suited for. In order to compare the usage Athenian Agora and the Roman Forum as marketplaces, a study of the actual sites themselves were needed. The spatial analysis was chosen in order to answer the questions in regard to the usage of the buildings.

This study not only makes use of the archaeological material from the excavations of the sites but is also uses textual sources to help determine the function of the structures from the Agora and the Forum. It combines both the archaeological material and the historical texts in the discussion of what purpose the buildings served and how these functions changed over time. This method was chosen to provide a way to determine the usage of the buildings where there are limited physical material left or where there no finds to indicate the function of the buildings.

### 4. Materials

There are two main categories of material that will be the bases for the discussion and comparison in this paper, it is the historical texts and archaeological remains. Both which can

be divided into sub-categories as for example structures and building remains, and inscriptions as sub-categories of archaeological material.

The main material for this study will primarily be the remains from structures and buildings from the Athenian Agora and the Roman Forum. From the Athenian Agora, we have primarily stoas, while there have been several stoas on the site, not all of them fits the requirements for this study completely. Some were used in connection with civic, administrative and religious activities, rather than in economic ones. Others again, were built in the mid to late second century BCE. The stoas and their functions will be discussed later on. From the Roman Forum we have the tabernae, the porticoes, and the basilicas. In addition, we also have the macellum, which while not located directly on the Roman forum, it was situated directly next to it. All of which, will be discussed further on. Shops situated on the adjoining roads directly next to the forum and agora will be mentioned briefly when they are directly related to the discussions on hand.

Due to the previously mentioned vast amount of finds from the sites, the archaeological material that consists of artefacts and fragmented finds, will only be mentioned and discussed when they are used to help determine the purpose and functions of the buildings and structures.

To supplement the physical material, texts from ancient historians and authors will be used in the discussion about the function of the buildings. While commerce was in general viewed with distaste, it is mentioned by many of the ancient authors, although, often just in passing.

#### 4.1 The Archaeological Material

When it comes to analysing and interpreting archaeological remains, there is a number of factors that can influence the results. Some are caused by the researchers and conservators, and others lay beyond the reach of the archaeologist. Some factors are caused by human activities, while others are the result from environmental cause.

Archaeology is by nature a destructive discipline. When we excavate our sites, we also destroy context. This is the very foundation of archaeology and it is due to this fact, that documentation is such an essential and integrated part of the work. Because of the destructive nature of archaeology, one often has to judge whether or not if one should excavate the site. What is the best choice regarding both the archaeological material and the research and knowledge about the human past? Choosing to not excavate at the present time, brings along

another series of factors that will influence the archaeological remains. At the Roman Forum, they choose to stop at the Augustan layer, because they wanted to preserve that specific level of the forum. Thus, the layer that is currently viewable at the Roman Forum, is this layer. Only smaller, area-specific explorations have been conducted on the lower layers.

The nature of the material has much influence on whether or not it may survive throughout time, and also how much of the material. Organic materials have in most cases a much lower survival rate than those more sturdier materials like stone or metal. The environmental conditions are a crucial factor that may limit the survival of the archaeological remains.

Both Rome and Athens are cities with an ancient past and which still exists as living, modern cities today. The results of this, are that the past is layer beneath the ever-changing and evolving cities. As the cities evolves, old structures and remnants from the past are brought to the surface once more in order to give room for new buildings and uses. Sometimes the new usage is specifically to discover the past and to promote the culture heritage, something the Athenian Agora is an example of. Here the modern houses were demolished to make room for the past.

A common occurrence during the different periods, are the reuse and recycling of the materials from the structures on a site. Due to limited access to materials and funds, the reuse of decommissioned buildings and structures were a widespread practise. As a result of this, it may at times be difficult to properly date a structure. Using building materials from an older period in a newer structure will lead to a debate surrounding the dating unless there are other features or collaborating information to determine the date. An actual example on reuse of material can be found at the Athenian Agora in the Stoa Basileios, more commonly known as the Royal Stoa. This stoa was first built once, and then later redesigned and rebuilt with recycled materials (Camp II, 1986:53-58).

#### 4.1.1 Archaeological material from trade and economic activities?

What is the archaeological material that is directly connected to the retail, trade and economic activities? What evidence did these activities leave behind?

When it comes to what archaeological material is left behind, there is a difference between the permanent trades and structures, and those of a more temporary nature. The permanent

structures were built to last for a longer period of time and to withstand the weather to a much larger extent than the temporary structures.

The temporary stalls and street vendors left little to no physical evidence of their presence in the city. They are more occasionally mentioned in texts and stories along with featuring in pictorial descriptions (Holleran, 2012:194-195). Examples of the physical evidence can be markers for the placement of the stalls left in the pavement, that indicated the size and where the stall was placed. Graffiti and *dipinti* also occasionally survive often depicting slogans and sometimes even price lists (Holleran, 2012:201).

The permanent structures left behind physical material as concrete evidence for their existence. Remains from the buildings and structures themselves often survive in varying degrees. Only parts of the foundation can have survived, as some of the structures further on in this paper is examples of, or whole buildings might have survived, as the *tabernae* in Pompeii is examples of. There the whole city has been frozen in time, and we can today use it to get a better picture of both the layout and the daily life in the ancient cities. Even though Pompeii is a mixture of both Greek and Roman influence, the city and its buildings can still tell us a lot about elements which would also have been present in other ancient cities. In Pompeii we can find *tabernae* with counters still in place, more or less completely intact, though they are made of bricks, cement or mortared stone, and some *tabernae* even have motives and pictures still decorating the walls (Mac Mahon, 2005; Holleran, 2012:47 & 125)

There is a large amount of archaeological material which can be indications of the economic activities taking place at a site. Pottery, shards and remains of amphoras are one type of material. If the pottery and amphoras were marked by stamps, the originating cities can even be identified, providing details of the trade network in which the cities were parts of. Coins would show parts of the network too. While the value of coins was determined by the material and the size of coins, they were individually designed in each city and area. Large amounts of one type of items, much larger quantities than what would have been needed for one household, could be indicators for either a shop or workshop. While one might not always find remains from the items produced, there might instead be various tools specific to certain trades instead. Crafting tools or weights for measuring are examples of this.

Amongst the more transient activities of trade which would have taken place at the market square and in the other central areas of the city, we find street sellers, hawkers and peddlers.

These would have left little evidence for their presence in the city, though they are mentioned by the ancient authors, often just in passing, and sometimes more detailed.

## 4.2 Textual Sources

The texts from the ancient historians were usually written some time, often decade or centuries, after the events they portrayed, but sometimes they could also describe the current time of when the author lived. Although the texts often were written a while after the events, they could also be written at the time of their present. Pausanias description of his journey across the Athenian Agora in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, is an example of a text written at the time that the event transpired. While Pausanias wrote about his time, Livy wrote about events which took place long before him. The opposite of Pausanias.

The ancient text provides an insight into the past, that the archaeological remains cannot. They were written by authors who lived closer in time, to the events they describe. What separates the textual sources from the archaeological remains, are the nature of the different sources that is a basis of the definition. Archaeological material is primarily the physical material that is left behind from human activities, while textual and literary sources are written texts. Usually various documents of sorts, but not necessarily. Textual sources are everything that is written down.

One thing that also have to be kept in mind when working with texts as sources, is the fact that the selected texts that have survive up until now, is only a small part, a fraction, of what was originally written. Many works have been completely lost due to the ravages of time, while other have survive as fragments or sometimes even as almost complete works. While they provide us with a unique insight into the past, they are also quite biased. The texts are written from the point of view of the author and thus carries their thoughts and values. Both the ancient authors and the texts they wrote, are a product of their time. The ancient texts have to be read in lieu of the context a time they were written. We cannot make use of the ancient texts whit out also questioning their bias.

A category of textual sources that are different from the more common texts, are inscriptions. Inscriptions are a type of source material that can be viewed as a category of its own as it is unique in due to it being both archaeological material and a literary source at the same time. They are important sources as they are contemporary sources. Due to their contemporary status, they give us an insight into the society and the time that they were written. This is no

matter or not, if the objects or structures themselves were made at the same time, or if they were older objects that were now reused. It is also the most important challenge with the material, they are only from the point of view of the writer, which may or may not be an accurate portrayal of the society at that time. They also share the same challenges as that any other archaeological material faces over time. The ancient marble plan over Rome, the *Forma Urbis Romae*, an example on this type of material. The marble slabs are part of the archaeological material, but the slabs are also decorated by the drawing of a property map of Rome with inscriptions naming the various buildings and places.

An important note about inscriptions in general is that they are all written texts, not symbols, which is then written on non-common surfaces and materials, usually materials such as stone, wood and metals. The inscriptions can take many forms, like being etched into the material, material inlayed into etchings, made by mosaic, painted onto the surface or even a combination of multiple of these methods (Keppie, 1991, p. 9-16).

## 5. The Agora in Athens

The Ancient Agora in Athens, not to be confused with the later Roman Agora located close to it, is situated at the foot of the Areopagus Hill. The Agora is located northwest of the Acropolis. The Panathenaic Way up to the Acropolis, ran diagonally across the site, from northwest to southeast. Southwest of the Agora, the Pnyx and the Filopappou Hill, known as the Mouseion Hill in the antiquity, is located. The later Roman Agora is located to the east of the Athenian Agora. The Kerameikos cemetery and the Kerameikos district, is located to the northwest of the Agora. Today, the Athens – Piraeus railway runs across the northern part of the Agora, separating the Stoa Poikile (the Painted Stoa), and the site of the Stoa of Hermes, from the other buildings at the site. Figure 1 displays the location of the Classical Agora and the northwest part of the city. Though the buildings displayed are from a latter period, the location of the agora and the main topographical elements of Athens were the same since its foundation.

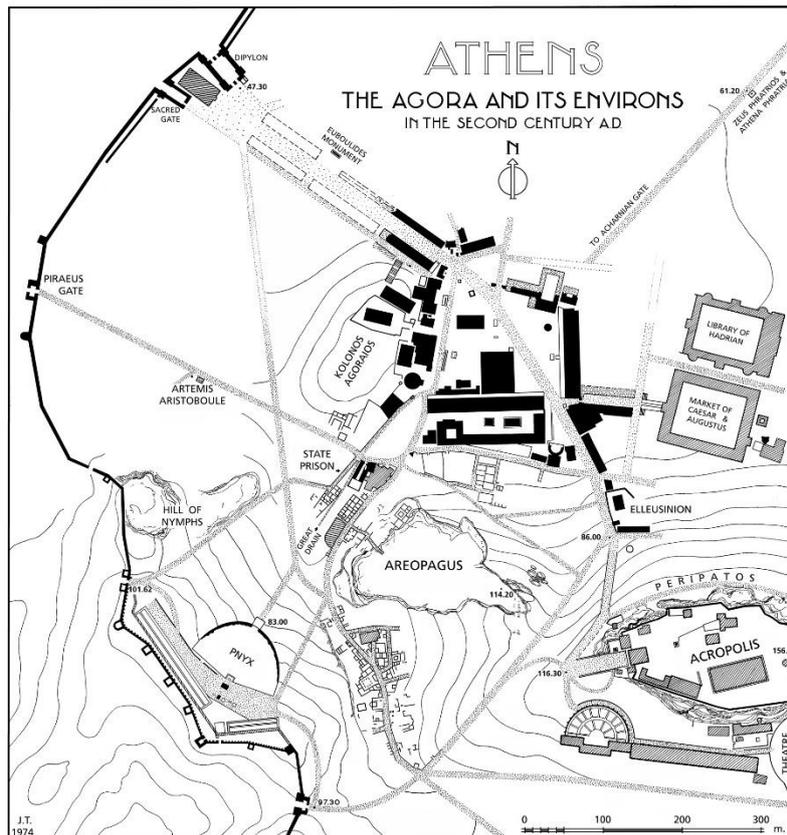


Figure 1, *The Athenian Agora and the northwest of Athens*, by J.Travlos, 1974 (*Agora Excavations*).

The site of the Athenian Agora was already in use 5.000 years ago and was used as site for burials and some habitation during the Bronze and Iron Ages. It was during the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE that the site was laid out as public place and the first buildings were built. The site went through several building phases over the course of the years. There were few buildings built during the Archaic period, some more during the Classical period, while it was first during the Hellenistic period that the largest set of building programs took place (Mauzy & Camp II, 2006:7-9, 72).

At the illustration, fig. 2, the buildings and structures build during the Archaic period, is marked with green. The structures marked in blue, is from the Classical period. The orange structures are from the Hellenistic period, and the red ones are from the Roman period in Greece. The illustration displays the placement of all the buildings and structures at the Agora in accordance to each other and where they would have been located in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, though they did not all exist at the same time as several of the buildings replaced earlier constructions. The material from some of the earlier buildings were also reused in some of the newer buildings at the site and in the near vicinity of the Agora.

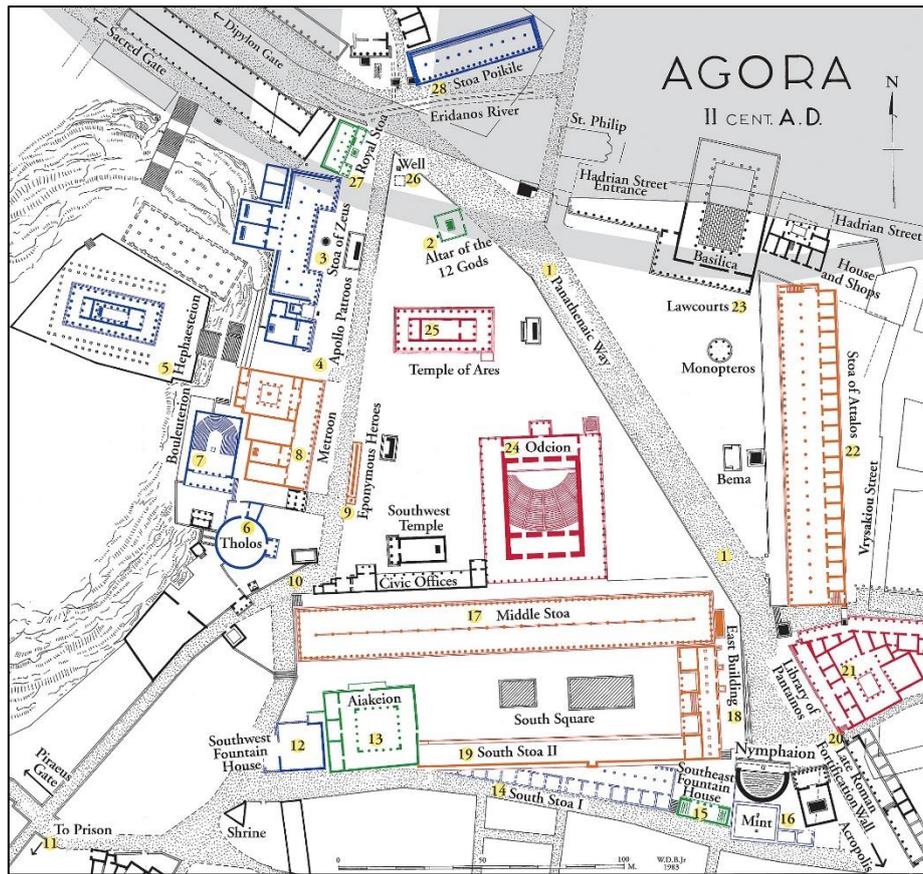


Figure 2, Schematics from the Athenian Agora in the 2nd Century CE (Camp II, 2003:2).

There were a number of buildings and structures constructed at the Athenian Agora during the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic period. During the Archaic period, the Royal Stoa, the Alter of the 12 Gods, the Aiakeion, and the Southeast Fountain House were constructed. During the Classical period, the Royal Stoa, the Stoa Poikile, the Apollo Patroos, the Hephaesteion, the Bouleuterion, the Tholos, the Southwest Fountain House, the South Stoa I, and the Mint were constructed. During the Hellenistic period, the Metroon, the Eponymos Heroes, the Stoa of Attalos, the Middle Stoa, the South Stoa II, and the East Building were constructed. During the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Kimon/Cimon are said to have beautified the agora by planting plane trees there (Plut.Cim. 13.8). The borders of the agora were marked by the *horos* stones<sup>1</sup>, separating the square from the surrounding area, though private houses still encroached onto the site.

<sup>1</sup> I 5510, I 5675, I 7039

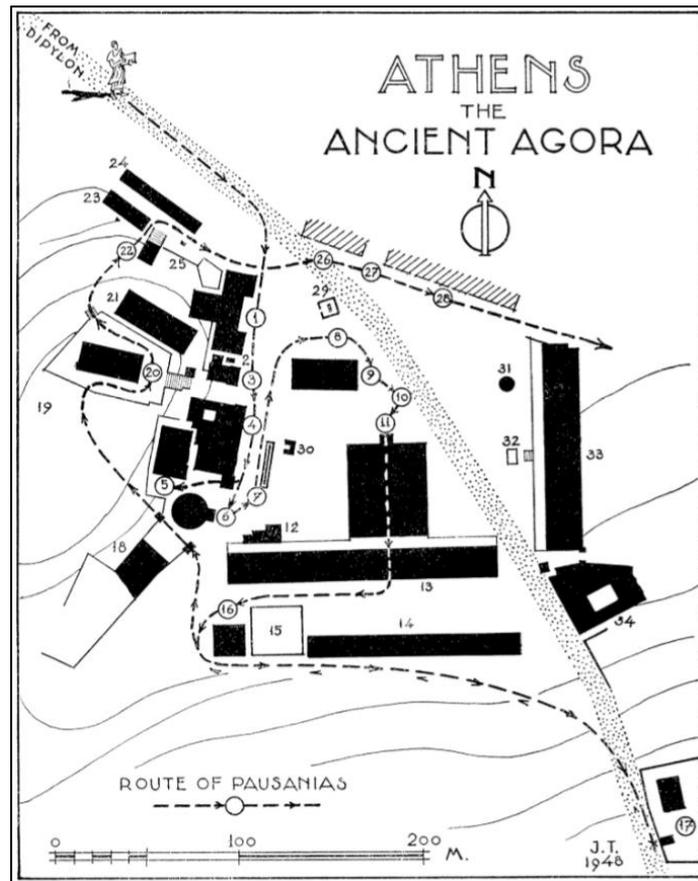


Figure 3, Pausanias's route across the Athenian Agora by J.Travlos (Vanderpool, 1949:130).

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE Pausanias visited the Athens and Athenian Agora. He wrote a travel guide to the city where described his walks throughout the city. He does not call the Agora by that name; Pausanias only calls it the district of Cerameicus. Dickenson (2015) and Robertson (1998) discuss the Pausanias's usage of the term "agora" and where in the city Pausanias's agora was located. Pausanias describe the Stoa of Zeus and the statue in front of it. He tells in great detail about the paintings and decorations in the Stoa Poikile (1.3-17). Pausanias does not follow a straight path on the Agora but takes a rather illogical path in his descriptions of the site. Pausanias's wanderings across the Agora have been used in conjunction with the archaeological material from the excavations in order to possibly identify the various buildings and structures. Pausanias visited the Agora 3 centuries after that the last large stoas was built at the site. These buildings were at the time of his visit not only visible, nut also in quite good conditions as they were still in use.

## 5.1 Stoa

One typically referred to a building or structure that consists of a free-standing portico or a covered walkway when one spoke of a stoa. This type of building was found in most of the Greek marketplaces and was popular among merchants and for religious and civic activities as the design of the buildings were in most occurrences suited for more than just one single activity. The stoas often had a backwall fronted by a single or double colonnade, in addition to short end walls. At the backwall there could be rows of rooms with their front out towards the colonnade. In the earlier periods, the stoas was mainly one storey buildings, while later on it also became not uncommon to have two storey stoas, the Stoa of Attalos II at the Athenian Agora an example of such stoa (Coulton, 1976:1-3).

There were a number of stoas built during the usage of the ancient agora, for administrative, civic, religious and economic activities, although only those relating to the economic ones will be discussed in detail. A total number of eight stoas have been identified on the Agora through texts from the ancient authors and in the archaeological remains found at the site; The Royal Stoa, the Stoa Poikile, the Stoa of Zeus, the Stoa of Hermes, the South Stoa I, the Stoa of Attalos, the South Stoa II and the Middle Stoa. As the primary functions of the Royal Stoa, the Stoa of Zeus, the Stoa of Hermes and the Stoa Poikile was aimed at the administrative, civic and religious activities, they will not be discussed further, while the remaining four all at some point served some economic functions, and thus will be discussed in further details.

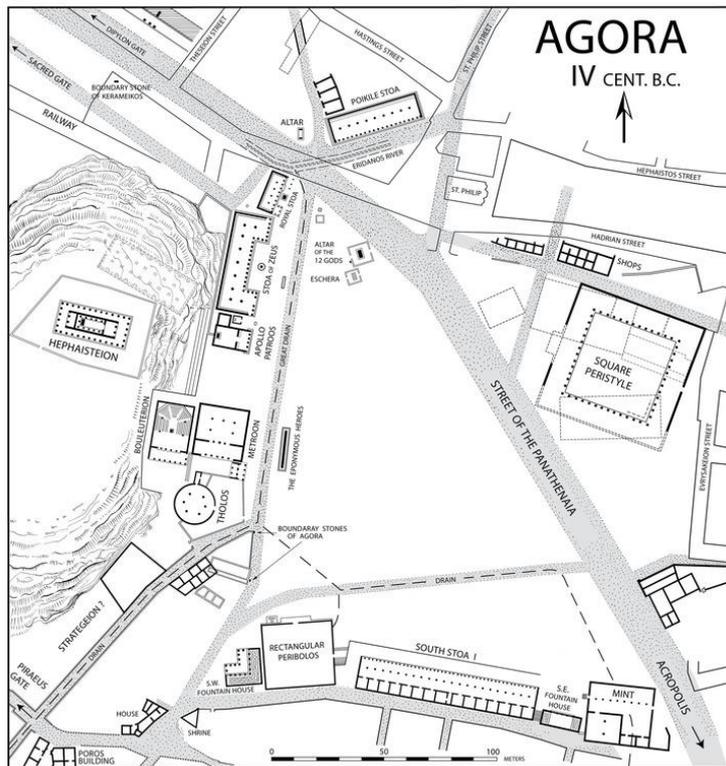


Figure 4, *The Athenian Agora c. 500 BCE*, by J.Travlos and W.B.Dinsmoor Jr. (*Camp II*, 1986:155)

During the Archaic period, the Athenian Agora were more scarcely populated with buildings than in the later period. Most of the activities and buildings were situated at the west side of the Agora, below the Kolonos Agoraios, the hill at the west side of the site, see figure 4. The Royal Stoa were located at the west side. Just north of the Royal Stoa, the Stoa of Hermes were located. The Stoa Poikile were situated at the north side of the Agora, and just east of the Stoa of Hermes. The Stoa Poikile is marked on figure 4 though the Stoa of Hermes is not, as its precise location have not been uncovered. There have been found remains from buildings just west of the Stoa Poikile that might be identified with the Stoa of Hermes, though this area has yet to be further excavated in order to properly uncover these remains.

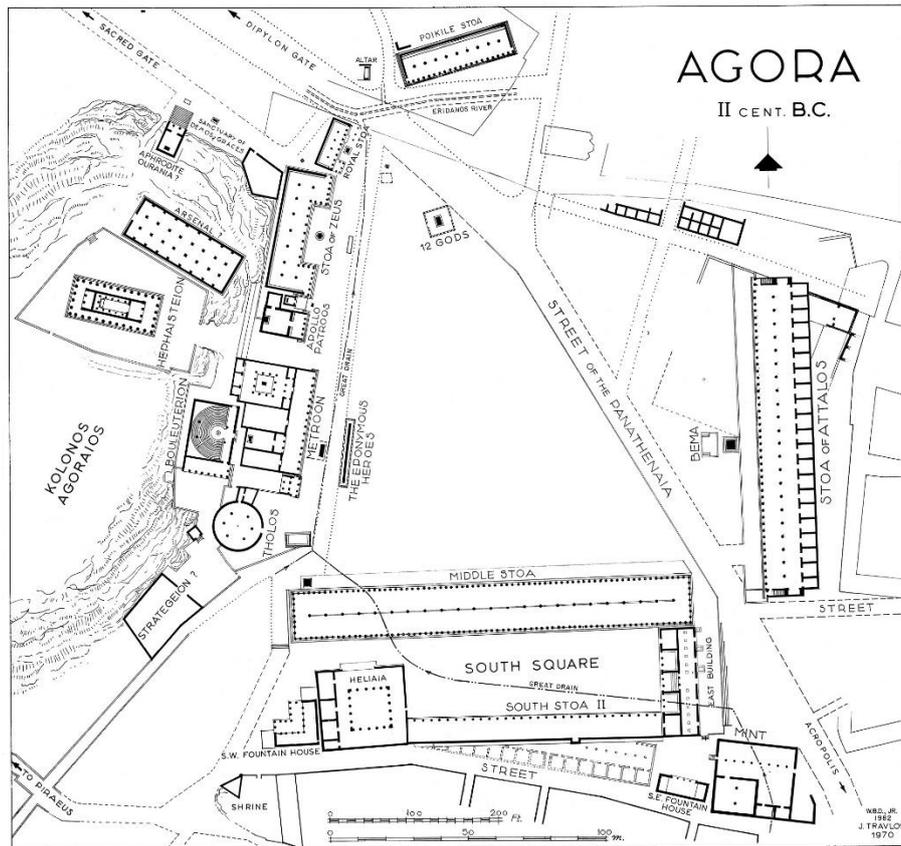


Figure 5, *The Athenian Agora after the Hellenistic remodelling*, by J.Travlos and W.B.Dinsmoor Jr. (Camp, 1986:169)

Around 150 BCE, an extensive building program and remodelling of the Agora took place. The South Square was built through the construction of the Middle Stoa, The East Building and the South Stoa II. While the first South Stoa had followed an ancient street, in regard to its orientation, the new buildings followed the orientation of the old Aiakeion, previously assumed to be the Heliaia.

### 5.1.1 South Stoa I

The first stoa to be discussed in detail, is the South Stoa I. It was situated at the south end of the Agora and was turned at an angle with the eastern end of the stoa more to the south than the western end. The first South Stoa has been dated to c. 430-420 BCE, based on pottery found beneath the floor, and was in use until the South Stoa II replaced it in the middle of the second century BCE (Camp II, 1986:122-126; Camp II, 2001:127-128).

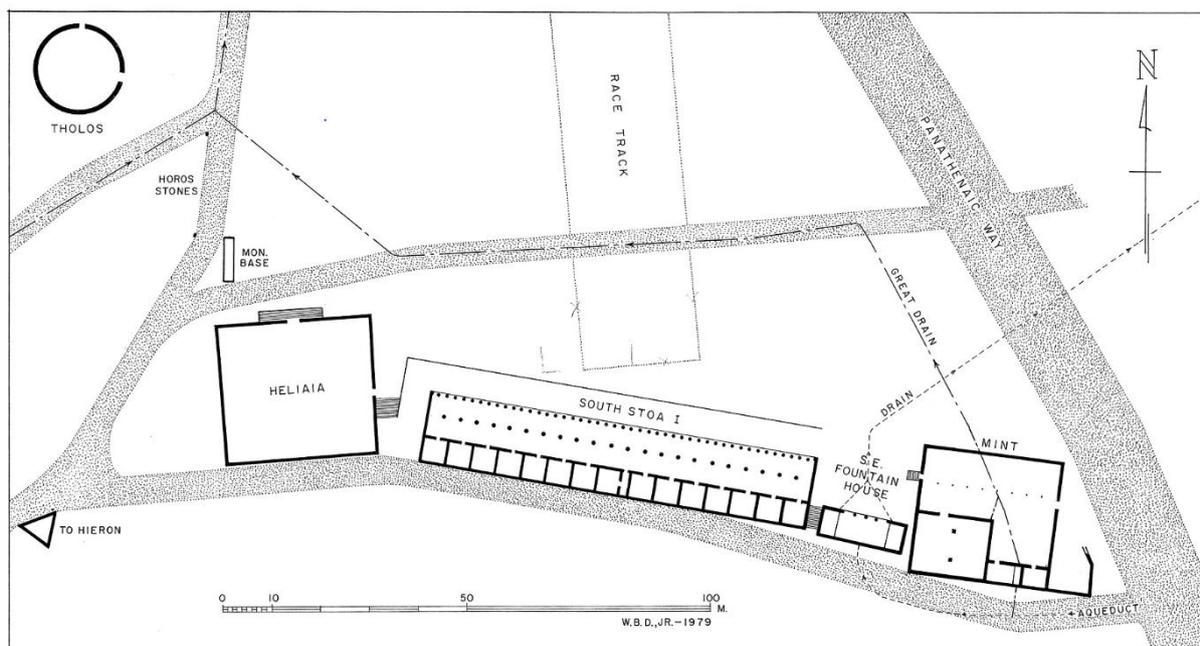


Figure 6, Reconstructed plan of South Stoa I, by W.B.Dinsmoor Jr (Camp II, 1986:124).

The lower parts of the walls at the South Stoa consisted of large square blocks, which were reused from earlier buildings in the area, while the upper parts were of sun-dried mudbricks. The exterior of the stoa was of Doric design. Fragments of Doric *capitals*<sup>2</sup> and *triglyphs*<sup>3</sup> belonging to the stoa was uncovered in the excavations. The stylobates at the stoa were of poros, a coarse limestone<sup>4</sup>. The stoa consisted of a long rectangular building, measuring some 80.47 meters in length and 14.89 meters in width, was divided into a row with sixteen rooms along the south side and a double colonnade in front of them, out towards the open space of the agora. There have been speculated if it had a second storey, but there is no conclusive evidence for that. Studies have suggested that at least parts of the stoa supported a second storey (Thompson & Wycherley, 1972:75). The doorway into the backrooms were situated off-centre. The first six of the rooms, from the east, measures 4.86 x 4.86 meters, while the remaining rooms measures 4.86 x 4.71 meters (Camp II, 1986:122-126; Camp II, 2001:127-128; Camp II, 2003:20-21).

The columns of the stoa were unfluted, based on the beddings for the columns. The foundation of five of the inner columns have was found in situ at the east end of the stoa, the spacing between them ca. 3,49 m. The inner colonnade had 22 columns while the outer

<sup>2</sup> A 2304

<sup>3</sup> A 1973, A 2931

<sup>4</sup> A 2305, A 2366

colonnade consisted of 45 columns. All of the rooms, except room VIII was entered from the colonnade. Room VIII was entered from an anteroom. The backwall of the stoa bordered along an ancient street. In the later period of the stoa's lifespan, the anteroom was converted into a passageway with a set of stairs (Thompson & Wycherley, 1972:74-76; Camp II, 1986:122-126).



Figure 7, Room V during excavation, note the raised cement border for benches (Agora Excavations).

There are a number of notable finds from this building. Some 240 coins, primarily bronze, have been found in the stoa<sup>5</sup>. Several of these coins were found in room III, V and VII. In room V, a raised cement border with a pebble-studded surface, on the floor, going around the wall of the room, was found. In addition, room V also had a later floor on top of the old floor layer with the cement border. This newer floor was also found in room IX and which was used in connection with benches set up against the walls. Several of the rooms have had traces of ash and charcoal, as of from braziers. In room X, a small hearth made from a wine jar was found embedded in the floor. An inscribed stele and record of the *metronomoi*<sup>6</sup>, dating to 222/1 BCE, was found in the floor of room III of the stoa (Thompson & Wycherley, 1972:76-78; Camp II, 1986:123-126).

<sup>5</sup> N 38419, N 68607, N 68837, N 68877, N 68882, N 68883, N 68884, N 69061, N 69071

<sup>6</sup> I 7030 & IG II<sup>2</sup> 1013

μετρονόμοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελάου ἄρχοντος  
 Δημόστρατος ἔσταιόθεν  
 Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀγγελῆθεν  
 Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου Λαμπτρέυ(ς)  
 Θεόδοτος Ἐκαλῆθεν  
 Ἐρητυμένης Οἰναῖος  
 καὶ γραμματεὺς κληρωτός  
 Νικίας Φίλωνος Κυδαθηναεὺς  
 καὶ γραμματεὺς αἰρετός  
 Ἡράκλειτος Τιμοθέου Κριωεὺς  
 τάδε παρέδωκαν μέτρα καὶ σταθμ  
 ἀ· χαλκᾶ σιτηρὰ ἡμέκτεα ΔΙΙ, χοῖνι  
 κας δύο, ἡμιχ[ο]ί[νικας -----]

Figure 8, I 7030, published by the Metronomoi of 222/1 BCE (from Vanderpool, 1968).

The inscription gives the name of the five members and the two secretaries of the Metronomoi in that period. It also records the handing over of the official weights and measures from the preceding council/board. Amongst them is specified the bronze measures for grain. Some of the lines and letters (lines 1, 7 and 9), and on the numerals (line 12), were coloured red in order to draw attention to them. The colouring on the rest of the text is uncertain and no traces are left of it (Vanderpool, 1968; Camp II, 1986:123-126).

### 5.1.2 South Stoa II

The Second South Stoa was built in the middle of the second century BCE and replaced the previous South Stoa. It was the last of the buildings at the South Square to be built. The stoa was situated at a slightly different angle than the first South Stoa, making it running parallel with the Middle Stoa, enclosing the South Square. At the east end of the South Stoa, it was connected to the Middle Stoa through the East Building (Camp II, 1986:175-179; Camp II, 2001:182; Camp II, 2003:28).

The second South Stoa consisted of a single colonnade in the Doric style, made of limestone. The superstructure of the stoa were made of reused material from a 4<sup>th</sup> century building. There were no backrooms in this stoa, only the wall back which bordered towards the slope at the south side of the stoa. There was a small fountain set into the backwall which was made from conglomerate faced with poros (Thompson, 1954b:76-77; Camp II, 1986:175-179; Camp II, 2001:182; Camp II, 2003:28).



*Figure 9, South Stoa II, view from the south. Rooms from the South Stoa I can be seen in the lower right corner (by author).*

During the excavations of the stoa, a number of coins<sup>7</sup>, stamped amphora handles<sup>8</sup>, pottery<sup>9</sup> and glass<sup>10</sup> was found. The upper parts from a stele with inscriptions, dating to the archon in 246/5 BCE, Philoneos<sup>11</sup>, was found in the crosscut between column 1 and 2 from the east.

### 5.1.3 Middle Stoa

The Middle Stoa is one of the building at the South Square, at the southern half of the Agora. The South Square was part of the extensive building program that took place in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. The South Square consisted of two stoas, the South Stoa II and the Middle Stoa, which were connected by a third building at their short end towards the east and the Panathenaic Way. The first building that was constructed as part of the building program, appears to have been the Middle Stoa. The Middle Stoa might have been built as early as around 180 BCE. The second South Stoa, which replace the first South Stoa, was built a few years after the Middle Stoa, around the middle of the century (Camp II, 1986:175-179).

<sup>7</sup> N 68431, N 68432, N 68433, N 68459

<sup>8</sup> SS 6579, SS 6585, SS 12193, SS 12196, SS 13134, SS 13185, SS 14391

<sup>9</sup> P 22882, P 22886, P 22888, P 22896, P 22899, P 23046, P 26732, P 27610, P 27611, P 27612

<sup>10</sup> G 499, G586

<sup>11</sup> I 7029 & IG II<sup>3</sup> 1015

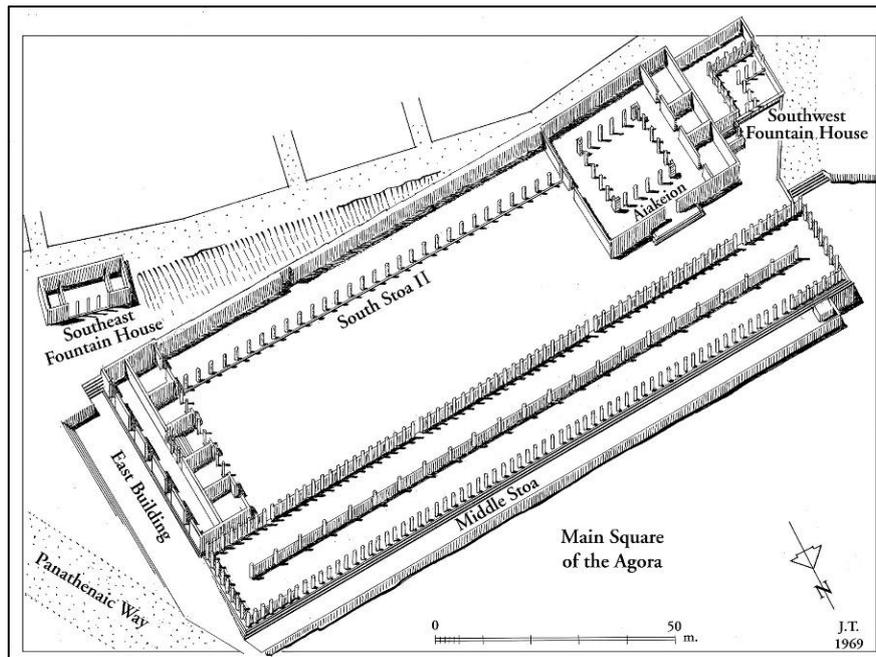


Figure 10, *The South Square, 2nd century BCE*, by J.Travlos (*Camp II*, 1986:176).

The Middle Stoa ran across the square, from west to east, dividing it into two parts of unequal size. The northeast corner of the stoa was situated right next to the Panathenaic way that ran across the agora. The south side of the Middle Stoa was in towards the enclosed South Square. The north side of the stoa was bordered by a terrace. Originally the west end of the terrace served as the site for a monument which was later replaced with a stairway that led up to the stoa. This terrace, with the placement of the monument, is displayed at figure 10 (Thompson, 1954b:77-78; Camp II, 1986:175-179; Camp II, 2001:180-182; Camp II, 2003:26).

The Middle Stoa was the largest stoa at the agora with a length of just under 150 meters. The stoa was of Doric design with colonnades at the north and south side, and no interior walls. The stoa had an interior central line of columns with parapets between some of them. The Middle Stoa was built in limestone, both columns and the other features, with a terra-cotta roof. The columns were unfluted (Camp II, 1986:175-179; Camp II, 2001:180-182; Camp II, 2003:26).



*Figure 11, The Middle Stoa and the South Square, view from south (by author)*

At the present-day Agora, the lower parts from a number of the columns from the colonnade belonging to the Middle Stoa is still visible. At the east end of the stoa, three columns and the original steps have been found in situ. At the west side of the stoa, only the foundation, made of red conglomerate, is left (Thompson, 1954b:77-78).

During the excavations of the site of the Middle Stoa and the construction fill of the Middle Stoa and a well dated to the classical period, a number of lamps, pottery, coins and stamped amphora handles was found. These finds have various origins and implies the connections of the wares and traders at the site. The stamped amphora handles tell us about which city the imported amphoras originated in. The Middle Stoa fill/building fill have been dated to the Hellenistic period. Some of the stamped amphora handles are of Rhodian, Knidian, Chian and Thasian origin<sup>12</sup>. A large number of coins have been found in these layers. They have been identified as both locally minted coins and also coins originating in other cities, such as Megara, Phlious and Myrina<sup>13</sup>.

In the Valerian wall, in the parts built in 267 CE, there were found stone blocks from the Middle Stoa, and which had been reused as building material for the city wall (Thompson, 1950:317-318).

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<sup>12</sup> SS 592 SS 662, SS 663, SS 671, SS 678, SS 714, SS 1085, SS 1570, SS 1571, SS 1572, SS 1573, SS 1574, SS 1575, SS 1576.

<sup>13</sup> N 25210, N 25235, N 25242, N 25244, N 25281, N 25612, N 32200, N 33773, N 33946, N 34700.

#### 5.1.4 Stoa of Attalos

Around 160-150 BCE, there were an extensive building program at the Athenian Agora, from which the Stoa of Attalos is one well-known example of (Camp II, 1986:172-179).

The Stoa of Attalos was located at the east side of the agora with the front facing out towards the square. It is located at the site of the of an earlier square peristyle lawcourt from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The stoa was built during the reign of Attalos II of Pergamon, 159-138 BCE, as a gift from him to the people of Athens. It was in use until its destruction by the Herulians in 267 CE, after which the backwalls were incorporated into the new fortification wall that was built, which resulted in the northern end being preserved entirely up to the roof (Camp II, 1986:172-173; Camp II, 2001:173; Camp II, 2003:32).

The Stoa of Attalos was built with local materials, the walls were of limestone while Hymettian and Pentelic marble was used for the columns and other features of the architecture. The stoa, measuring 115 x 20 meters, was a two-story building, consisting of 21 backrooms at the eastern side, and a double colonnade in front of them, on each floor, making it a total of 42 rooms in the stoa. There were stairwells up to the second floor at each of the short ends of the building. At the lower floor the outside colonnade was of Doric design while the inner colonnade was of Ionic design. At the upper floor, the outer colonnade was of Ionic design, while the inner colonnade was of Pergamene design. The stoa had Lion's Head Spouts along the roof to lead the water away from the building<sup>14</sup> (Camp II, 1986:172-175; Camp II, 2001:173). These features have been used in the reconstruction of the stoa, which took place from 1953 to 1956. The only mistake that was made during the reconstruction, was on the Lion's Head Spouts. The tongue was forgotten, so when it rains, the lion dribble instead of flinging the water away from the building.

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<sup>14</sup> A 819



Figure 12, Reconstructed Stoa of Attalos (by author)

An inscribed dedication was carved on the architrave of the stoa<sup>15</sup>. “*King Attalos, son of King Attalos and Queen Apollonis, built the stoa - - - - - toward the demos of the Athenians.*” (Wycherley, 1957:46). The inscription tells us how King Attalos II of Pergamon gifted the stoa to the people of the city in which he had previously studied. The columns of the stoa were more widely spaced than that of most of the other Classical buildings. The lower third of the outer columns at the ground floor were unfluted while all of the inner columns were completely unfluted (Camp II, 1986:172-175).

There have been found coins spanning from the whole period of use in the stoa. Coins dated to the period following the construction of the stoa, and until the destruction by the Herulians in 267 CE<sup>16</sup>.

During the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos. A number of wells were discovered and cleared out. One of the wells goes back to the Geometric period, while others goes back to the archaic and classical period. The geometric well was found at the north end of the stoa. One well from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE was found at middle of it, while another well from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE was found at the southern end. Large quantities of bones and cast of from slaughter have been found in the well beneath the stoa (Thompson, 1951:51, 1952:85,

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<sup>15</sup> I 6135 & IG II<sup>2</sup> 3171

<sup>16</sup> N 27555, N 27557, N27584, N28034, N28826

1956:57). In the Stoa Shop II, pottery from the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE was found<sup>17</sup>, while in the Stoa Shop III, pottery from the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE was found<sup>18</sup>. Under the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos, the remains from a square peristyle was uncovered (Thompson, 1954c:58-61). A Ballot Box was found under the stoa, in the northwest corner of the it. In the Ballot Box, a number of items was found, amongst them were several ballots, a tessera and a bronze sphere<sup>19</sup>. This find is dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE.

## 5.2 Other buildings

While the stoas were the primary structures housing the economic and trade related activities at the agora, there were some other secondary buildings which also held a connection to them.

### 5.2.1 The Mint

At the southeast corner of the first South Stoa, a large square building was situated. The building consisted of multiple rooms, shown on figure 13. The northern part of the mint is currently located underneath the Church of the Holy Apostles and the remains of the early Roman Southeast Temple (Camp II, 2003:23).

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<sup>17</sup> P 24723, P 24724, P 25271, P25275, P 25276

<sup>18</sup> P 24661, P 24667, P 24673, P 24674, P 24675, P 24676, P 24910

<sup>19</sup> B 1055, B 1056, B 1057, B 1058, B 1059, B 1060, B 1061, B 1176

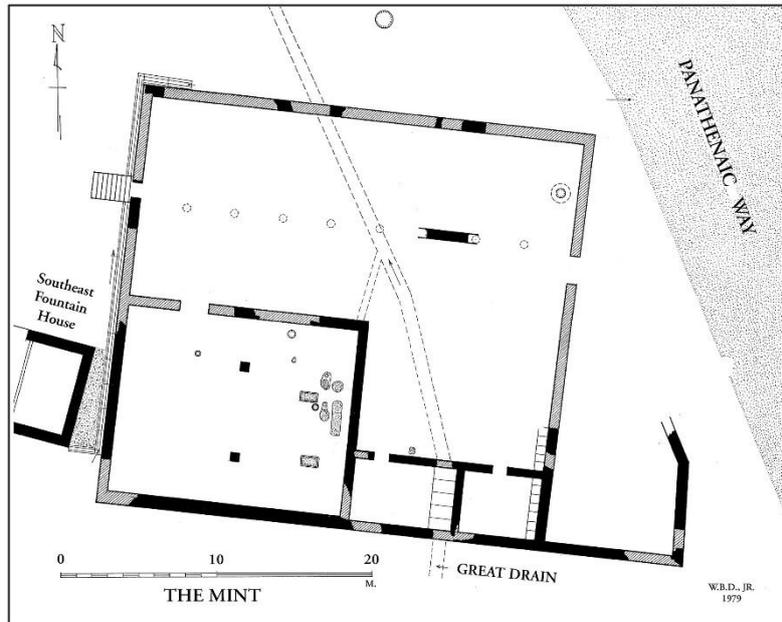


Figure 13, Reconstructed plan of the Mint, 5th century BCE by W.B.Dinsmoor Jr. (Camp II, 2003:23).

This building has been identified as the mint based on the material found inside it. During the excavations a number of tools and blanks<sup>20</sup> for the minting of bronze coins were uncovered scattered inside the whole building.

### 5.2.2 The East Building

At the east side of the South Square a relatively small building (12m x 40m), were connected to the east end of both the South Stoa II and the Middle Stoa. The East Building was divided into two levels longitudinally. The western half which the building, towards the courtyard, were at a lower level than the eastern half which faced the Panathenaic way. While the western part consisted of five rooms, with a stairway connecting the courtyard to the Panathenaic way located in the middle room. The eastern part consisted of one large room (Camp II, 1986:75-179; Camp II, 2001:182).

<sup>20</sup> B 1046

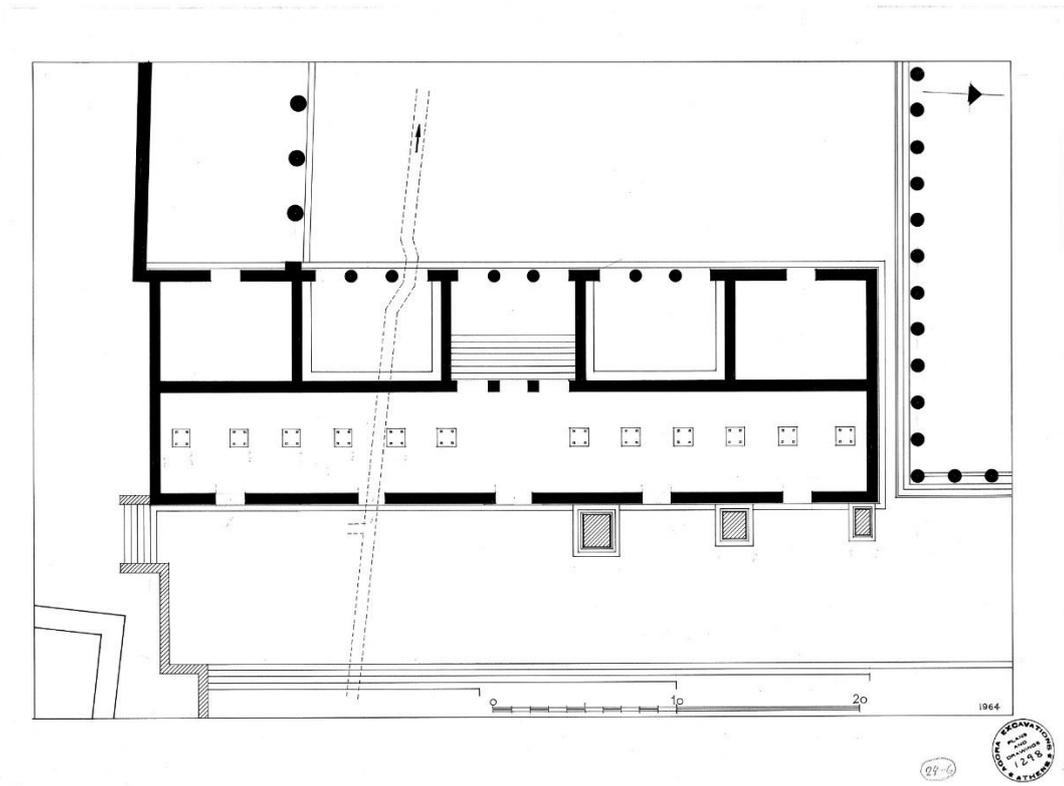


Figure 14, Reconstructed plan of the East Building, by J.Travlos (Agora Excavations).

The floor of the eastern part had a mosaic floor made from marble chips. twelve marble base blocks were set into the floor at 3m intervals. The marble bases had four markings, one in each corner. Only four of marble bases have survived and is still in situ.

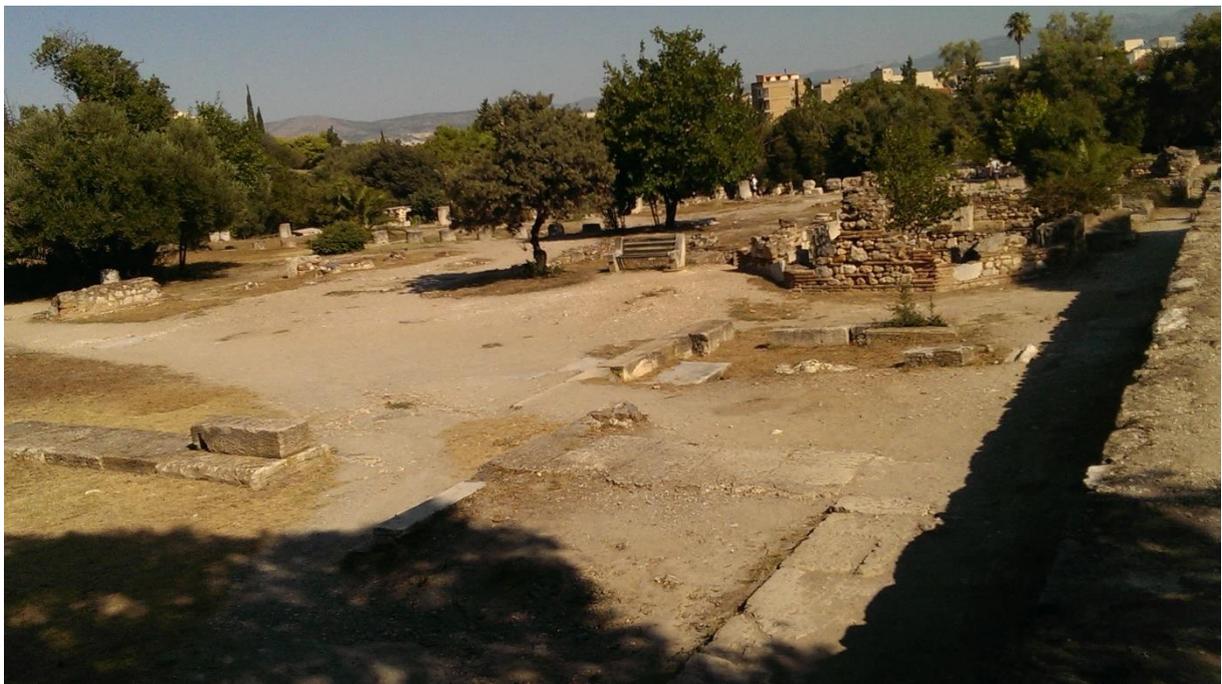


Figure 15, The Remains of the western parts of the East Building can be seen at the right, view from south (by author).

### 5.2.3 The southwest corner of the Agora

At the southern part of the agora, at the site right next to the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa, there were a number of number of buildings. This site was originally just outside of the original borders of the agora, as bordered by the Horos stones<sup>21</sup>. One of these buildings has been identified as housing a cobblers' shop. A number of hobnails<sup>22</sup> and bone rings<sup>23</sup> used in the making of shoes and sandals have been found in it. The finds date to the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Thompson, 1954c:54-55; Thompson, 1993:14-15).

Diogenes Laertius, in his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (II, 122), tells us about Socrates who visited a shoemaker named Simon. The identification of this house as the one possibly belonging to the Simon the Cobbler, which Socrates supposedly visited, have been made based on an inscribed kylix fragment found in the building<sup>24</sup> (Thompson, 1954c:54-55; Thompson, 1993:14-15).



Figure 16, Present day location and remains of the House of Simon the Cobbler, view from northwest (by author)

At the southwest corner of the site, between the locations of the Tholos and the Middle Stoa, and towards to Areopagus Hill, just outside the boundary of the agora, a number of buildings

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<sup>21</sup> I 5510, I 5675, I 7039

<sup>22</sup> IL 1361

<sup>23</sup> BI 698, BI 699, BI 704

<sup>24</sup> P22998

were located. Several of the buildings encroached on the border and partially onto the agora. These buildings have been associated as private houses, some serving as shops and workshops, which the house of Simon is an example of. This area has been considered as an industrial area due to the large number of buildings associated with marble working, pottery and metal working. The function of these buildings has been identified in the archaeological material and the remaining structures found during the excavations. The buildings have been dated to two phases: The first one, the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The second one, the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. During the excavations, a number of wells and drainage channels were uncovered. Pottery from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, was found in one of the wells. It has been more closely dated to c. 383 BCE based on the inscription<sup>25</sup> (Thompson, 1957:99-107; Camp II, 1986:122; Camp II, 2003:18-19; Camp II, 2015:467-513).

Lysias (24.20) listed a number of activities in this area, amongst them were; barbers, perfume makers, pottery, metalworking, shoemaking, and wine and wine shops. This was all activities that were in the closest vicinity of the agora. All of the activities which Lysias mention, have been found in the area at the southwest corner of the agora, an area which were in use since the earliest stage of the site, and which also housed a number of private residential houses. The residential status of the buildings have been determined by the layout and the presence of household waste in the wells which have been dated to the Archaic, the Classical and the Hellenistic period (Young, 1951:135-288; Camp II, 1986:135-147).

### 5.2.4 The northside of the Agora

Just north of the main agora square, is the Kerameikos district. This area was the potters district in ancient Athens. This was where the potters lived and had their workshops. Pausanias refers to the area right north of the Agora border as the Kerameikos, while in the later Roman period, the Kerameikos was used of a much larger area north of the agora (Camp II, 2001:261-262).

Homer in his 14<sup>th</sup> epigram, mentions the sale of “*pots and dishes*” and that they should be “*sold in plenty*” at the market and in the street. Lawall (1995) where it was determined that large amounts of the material had been locally produced. Large amounts of pottery, both amphoras and fine wares, have been found during the excavations at the agora. Some of it was

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<sup>25</sup> P 35996

imported, though much of it was locally produced. This can be seen together with the Kerameikos close by, and Homers' epigram in order to deduce that most of the locally produced pottery and fine wares was sold at the agora and at along on the streets, both as goods alone and as containers for other wares.

During the excavations of the northern side of the agora, a building was uncovered right west of the Stoa Poikile. Six rooms have been uncovered by 2012, the excavations of the later 7 years have yet to be published. The building has been interpreted to have had a commercial function based on these rooms (Camp II, 2015:467-513).

## 6. The Forum in Rome

The Roman Forum, a central plaza located at the foot of the Palatine Hill and the Capitoline Hill in Rome, 500 meters from the banks of the Tiber. From the Forum, the Via Sacra ran east alongside the valley beneath the Palatine Hill, towards the later Colosseum. One of the oldest forums in Rome, the Forum Boarium were located west of the Palatine Hill, next to the Tiber river. North of the Roman Forum, the Forum Piscarium was located.

The most complete illustration of the ancient city is still today the map made by Rodolfo Lanciani in 1901, which he named "*Forma Urbis Romae*" after the ancient marble map. The forum is marked by the green frame in figure 17. The forum can be seen in relation to the later imperial monuments of the city. The Colosseum to the east, the Circus Maximus to the south, the Theatrum Marcelli to the west, and the Imperial Fora to the north.

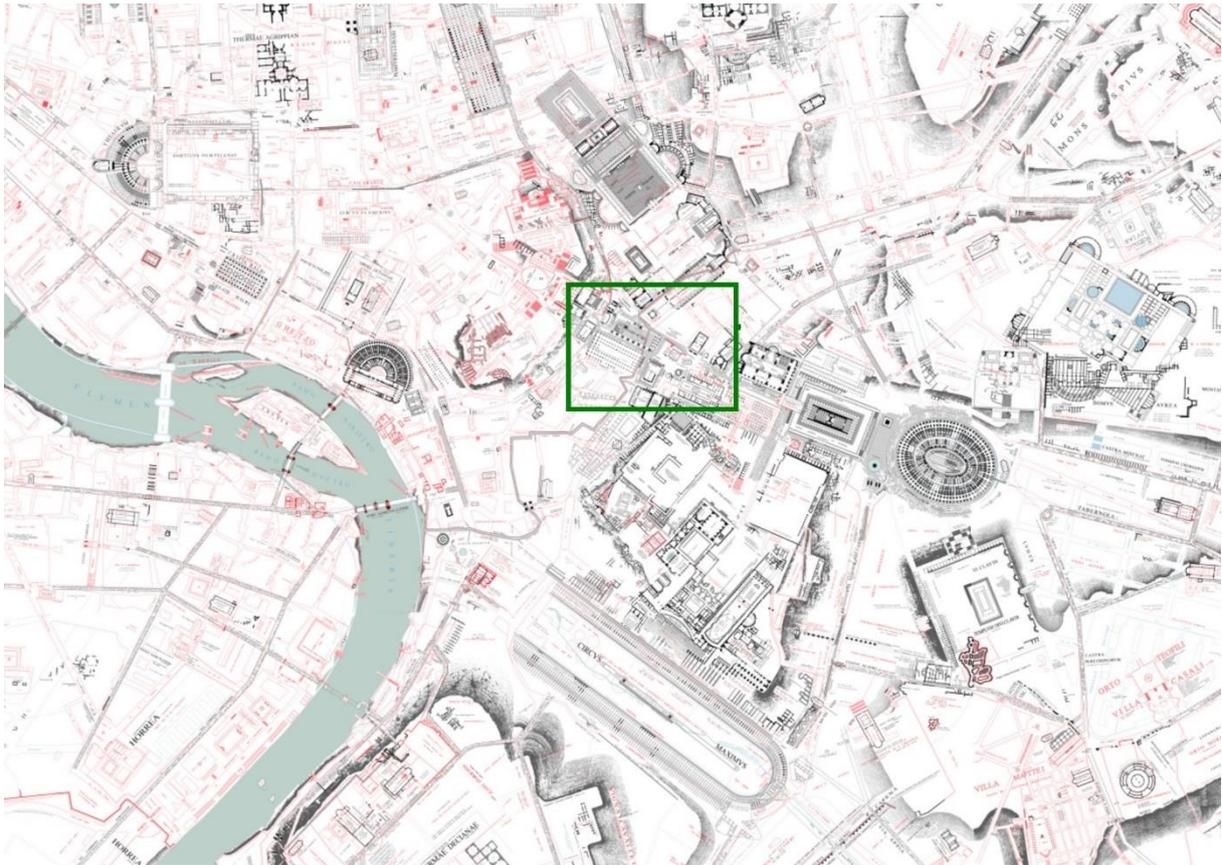


Figure 17, Map over ancient Rome, the Forum Romanum is located slightly above the middle centre (Lanciani, 1901).

The Roman Forum have had a large number of buildings and structures at the site. Rebuilding and replacement of previous ones were not uncommon. Many of the buildings have also changed names after being restored by new patrons.

In the earliest period of the republic, the forum consisted of much private houses and properties. These houses and properties were bought by the Senate in order to create a gathering place for the people in the area between the Comitia and the Temple of Vestae. The Regia and the Temple of Vestae had been built before the republic, during the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Liv. 1.20). The excavations uncovered the remains of buildings at these sites dating to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. (Claridge, 2010:105-111). The Comitium and the first Curia were built in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Liv. 1.30). The earliest pavements on the Comitium have been dated to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Claridge, 2010:75-77).

During the early Republic, the Temple of Saturn, the Temple of Concord, and the Temple of Castor and Pollux was constructed (Cic. de nat. deor. 3.13; Liv. 1.20-21). Though the current structures visible are from later restorations, the earliest temples dated to around the 4-5<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Claridge, 2010:80-81, 83-84, 94-95). The earliest Rostra built in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Liv. 8.14.12) (Lanciani, 1897:278; Claridge, 2010:85-87). The forum also housed a





Basilica Fulvia at the north side and the Basilica Sempronia at the south side of the forum. These can be seen on figure 19, although the Basilica Fulvia is seen as a shadow at the north side of the forum and not coloured in. Figure 19 displays the building present at the forum by the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.

There are a number of these buildings, which served as housing for some form of economic activities at the Forum. The *tabernae*, the basilicas and the *macellum*, all served a purpose connected with the economic life of the Forum. The later *Horrea Agrippiana*, which was located right southeast of the Basilica Julia at the forum and towards the Palatine hill, will not be discussed further on in detail though one should keep it in mind when discussing the change in the usage of the forum and thus also the area next to it. The excavations of the *Horrea Agrippiana* have shown that it consisted of a courtyard with *tabernae* surrounding it and it was identified by an altar discovered in situ (Platner & Ashby, 1929:260; Claridge, 2010:295).

## 6.1 *Tabernae*

Today the word *taberna* is generally translated to mean shop, but in reality, the ancient *tabernae* had a much more varied function.

When discussing *tabernae* in the archaeological material, it is used to describe a particular type of buildings which consists of a rectilinear room, with a wide entrance leading directly into the street. The entrance usually had wooden shutters covering the entire opening when closed. There were smaller doors in these shutters in order to allow for entrance without having to open up the entire *taberna*. Although they often consisted of one room, they could also be divided into having a smaller backroom. The *tabernae* usually also had mezzanine floor in addition to any backrooms that might have been in the *taberna*. Only the brick cornices or travertine shelves which the beams for the floor rested on, have been found, as the wooden boards and beams have not survived (Stambaugh, 1988:149-150; Holleran, 2012:99-102).

A common feature in the *tabernae*, is the counters used both as place for displaying wares and also worksurface. In Pompeii and Herculaneum, though not a direct part of the discussion, the *tabernae* found there give us a reference for *tabernae* in other cities, there have been found several *tabernae* with preserved counters made out of stone and sturdier materials. In one

taberna<sup>26</sup> from Herculaneum there was found a wooden counter. Wooden counters have also been depicted in frescoes in Pompeii<sup>27</sup>. It is thus reasonable to assume that even in tabernae where we have no stone counters, there might instead have been wooden ones. (Mac Mahon, 2005; Holleran, 2012:99-102).

There have been a number of different tabernae situated at the Roman Forum over the course of time. The tabernae that will be discussed are the Tabernae Lanienae, the Tabernae Argentariae, the Tabernae Novae, and the Tabernae Veteres. These notable tabernae were all located at the Roman Forum before they later on were replaced by basilicas. Although, there were also tabernae and shops built into the foundation of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, further discussed in chapter 6.1.4.

### 6.1.1 Tabernae Lanienae and Tabernae Argentariae

At the northern side of the Roman Forum, a row of tabernae was present since at least the sixth century BCE. They were located at the part that were right in front of the later basilica Fulvia.

The Tabernae Lanienae, lanianae directly translates to butchers, are the earliest known tabernae from the Roman Forum. Livy (Liv. 1.35.10) claims that the Roman Forum was occupied by tabernae already in the sixth century BCE, in the middle of the fifth century Verginius seized a knife from the butcher's stall and killed his daughter (Liv. 3.48.5). These tabernae that Livy tells about, were located at the north side of the forum, near the Shrine of Cloacina. There are little to no archaeological material from these tabernae due to fires, rebuilding and lack of excavation of layers. Thus, these tabernae are primarily known through the various ancient texts.

In the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the Tabernae Lanienae changed to instead house bankers while the butchers were pushed out of the forum. The tabernae at the forum were thereafter called Tabernae Argentariae. These tabernae were destroyed by the fire in 210 BCE.

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<sup>26</sup> *Decumanus Maximus*, Shop 8.

<sup>27</sup> *Tablinum*, VII.iii.30

### 6.1.2 Tabernae Novae

After the fire in 210 BCE, which destroyed a number of tabernae and buildings at the north side of the forum, the tabernae were rebuilt and renamed Tabernae Novae, meaning the new tabernae. These tabernae housed the bankers when the Basilica Aemilia was built right behind them in 179 BCE.



*Figure 20, The tabernae which was incorporated into the Basilica Aemilia (by author)*

The Tabernae Novae were depicted on the marble plan, the original Forma Urbis Romae, as the tabernae in the Basilica Aemilia<sup>28</sup>. The fragment shows three of the tabernae behind a triple colonnade. The shops are separated from the area on the right, by a gap.

### 6.1.3 Tabernae Veteres

The Tabernae Veteres, the old tabernae, were located at the southside of the forum. These tabernae had survived the fire in 210 BCE and had not needed to be rebuilt. Just as with all of the other tabernae at the Roman Forum in the Republic, there are little to no archaeological material accessible due to lack of excavations of the lower layers of the forum and the ancient texts are therefore the primary source for information about them at the current time.

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<sup>28</sup> FUR 16e

### 6.1.4 Other Tabernae

At the southwest side of the forum, the Temple of Castor and Pollux is located just east of the Basilica Sempronia. On the east side of the temple, the Spring of Juturna (Lacus Juturnae) is located. The Temple of Castor and Pollux was originally dedicated in 484 BCE, though it had to be rebuilt again in 117 BCE (Liv. 2.20.12; Liv. 2.42.5; Cic. pro Scauro 46). The three columns and part of the entablature that still exists today are from the restoration conducted during the Augustan period. Parts of the cella and the foundation was destroyed in 1773 in order to obtain the stone blocks. Only the central concrete, and a small part which the three columns stand on at the east side remained. A fragment of the frieze with the two letters inscribed, (Polluei e)T C(astori) have been found. Several fragments of the Forma Urbis Romae have been identified as depicting the eastern parts of the temple<sup>29</sup>. One fragment displays parts of the temple and the Basilica Julia<sup>30</sup>. Parts of this fragment have gone missing, though the complete fragment was depicted in a renaissance drawing (Platner & Ashby, 1929:104-105; Richardson Jr., 1992:74-75).



*Figure 21, Temple of Castor and Pollux in its present-day condition, west side (by author)*

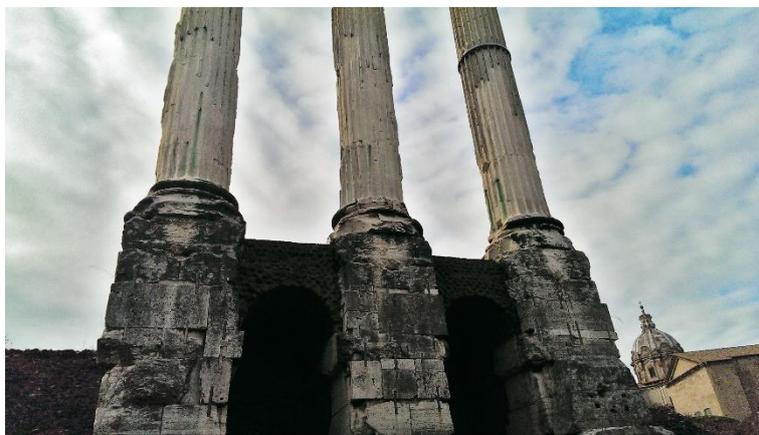
The podium and foundation of the temple, which is still visible today, are from the restorations and reconstructions carried out on behalf of Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus in 117 BCE. In the podium of the temple there were a number of chambers/rooms built into it, with metal doors that opened outwards. The temples served as the office for the standard weights and measures. Several of these have been found during the excavations, with

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<sup>29</sup> FUR 18a, FUR 18fg

<sup>30</sup> FUR 18b, FUR 18bc,

the inscription “Ex(actus) ad Castor(is) (CIL 5.8819.4; CIL 11.6726.2). The rooms in the podium also served as storage units for private, wealthy persons in the later periods following this study (Juvenal 14-260-62). Pliny (Nat. 10.121-122) tells of a raven which were located in the tabernae belonging to a cobbler in or near the Temple of Castor and Pollux. Pliny’s mention of the emperor Tiberius and his adopted son Germanicus sets the time of the events he mentions to between 4-19 CE. The temple had gone through restorations by this point, though it shows the continuation in the use of the tabernae in the podium (Lanciani, 1897:271-272; Platner & Ashby, 1929:104-105; Richardson Jr., 1992:74-75; Holleran 2012:124).



*Figure 22, Temple of Castor and Pollux, east side (by author)*

Two of the rooms and chambers in the podium of the temple are visible at the east side in present-day, see figure 22. The west side of the temple is stripped to the central core of the podium. Though it is still possible to see the indentations of where the removed parts were, see figure 21.

During the excavations, debris was removed from a drainage channel in one of the tabernae built into the podium of the temple. This taberna have due to the material found during the excavation, been identified as to have been functioning as a barber’s shop. The layer in the drainage channel have been dated to the Augustan period (Nilson et al., 2008:56; Holleran, 2012:126).

There are several tabernae depicted at the area of the Forum Romanum and right next to the forum on the Forma Urbis Romae. One fragment depicts the tabernae that were incorporated into the Basilica Aemilia<sup>31</sup>. Two of the fragments depicts the Temple of Peace and the

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<sup>31</sup> FUR 16e

tabernae right next to it, and in the area near it<sup>32</sup>. One of the fragments which depicts the Temple of Castor and Pollux, also depicts the tabernae in the area next to it and the Fountain of Iuturna<sup>33</sup>.

## 6.2 Basilica

A basilica was a building built for the purpose of housing public activities and business. The basilica most often consisted of a rectangular hall, surrounded by one or two ambulatories. These halls did on occasion have galleries and usually ended in an exedra or apse (Platner & Ashby, 1929:71-72).

The basilica has been viewed as the roman equivalent of the Greek stoa by many scholars throughout the years (Coulton, 1976:24). This is based on the fact that the basilicas were large buildings that usually housed various functions, just as the Greek stoas did, although, the Greek stoas had at times several similarities with the tabernae as they on occasion had divided backrooms behind the colonnade, but the large buildings with both singular and double colonnades are closer to the basilicas in design.

The earliest named basilica built in Rome, were the Basilica Porcia. The basilica was built by Marcus Porcius Cato in 184 BCE, situated at the north side of the forum, right west of the Curia (Steinby, 1993:187).

At the Roman Forum there are two basilicas that partially replaced and partially functioned paralleled with the tabernae. The Basilica Fulvia were built on the north side of the forum and the Basilica Sempronia which were at the south side. The Forma Urbis Romae depicts the basilicas Basilica Julia and Basilica Aemilia which that replaced these two<sup>34</sup>Though the .

### 6.2.2 Basilica Sempronia

Basilica Sempronia was built at the south side of the forum in 169 BCE, right behind the Taberna Veteres. It was constructed by censor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The site had previously housed the house of Scipio Africanus and a number of shops (Liv. 44.16). Little is known about the basilica beside its location and existence. The Basilica Julia were later built

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<sup>32</sup> FUR 15ab, FUR 556

<sup>33</sup> FUR 18a

<sup>34</sup> FUR 16e, FUR 18b, FUR 18bc, FUR 18d

upon the site of the Basilica Sempronia, parts of the foundation of from the basilica, have been found beneath the later one (Platner & Ashby, 1929:82; Gerding & Dell'Unto).

Foundation walls of tufo di Grotta Oscura blocks belonging to the Basilica Sempronia, were found during the excavations of trenches beneath the Basilica Iulia in 1960. The foundation from the basilica measures 1.8m x 7.25m and is accessible, behind locked doors, beneath the remains of the Basilica Iulia. Remains from a travertine pavement beneath the Augustan layer was also found during these excavations alongside remains from a peperino impluvium (Iacopi, 1993:187-188; Gerding & Dell'Unto).

### 6.2.1 Basilica Fulvia and succeeding basilica

The Basilica Fulvia was built in 179 BCE just behind the Tabernae Nova, at the north side of the forum, by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (Liv. 40.51). It became later known as the Basilica Aemilia after restorations done in 78 BCE (Plin.NH.35.13) (Platner & Ashby, 1929:72-74; Bauer, 1993:173-175).

### 6.3 Portico

Portico were a covered colonnade, formed by either a wall or one or more parallel rows of columns. The most common types were the rectangular, enclosing ones, similar to a courtyard or macella, or as a gallery along a street, providing a covered sidewalk. The earliest porticus were built in 193 BCE and these early porticus housed primarily business activities. Later during the principate, they got a more leisurely function with providing a space for walking and lounging, sheltered from the weather (Platner & Ashby, 1929:419-421). Richardson (1992:310-311) compares the porticoes as being the Roman version of the Greek stoa, primarily consisting of a covered colonnade.

At the Forum Romanum Vitruvius (5.1) described porticoes around the forum to be two-storey buildings. Although he wrote at a later time than the period studied, two-storey buildings was present at the forum in the late Republic.

## 6.4 Macellum

The macellum was a structure purpose-built specifically to house a market. It has been argued that the macella have been more of a luxury markets rather than everyday markets. The design of the macella is easily recognisable. A macellum was usually made of an enclosed courtyard with an internal colonnade most of the time in addition to being surrounded by tabernae on most if not all of the sides. The centre of the courtyard often had a tholos or round building, with either a fountain, basin or statue. In Pompeii, the macellum is located right next to the forum, much like the macellum right next to the Forum Romanum in Rome. The macellum in Pompeii is quite well preserved. The courtyard surrounded by shops, a portico covering the inside around the uncovered tholos in the middle, displaying the characteristics of the macellum (Holleran, 2012:159-161; Wilkinson, 2015:110-112).

The term macellum have been used interchangeable with forum. Several of the ancient authors used the terms interchangeable, sometimes using forum and other times using macellum. Livy, Plautus and Terence (Liv. 21.62, Curc. 474, Ter. Eu. 2.2) all refer to the presence of both fish and meat at these markets (Holleran, 2012:171).

In Rome a macellum was located right north of the Forum Romanum, in the area behind the basilica Fulvia. There is very little archaeological evidence from this macellum, most of the sources are from the classical texts. The macellum occupied the place that on which the Temple of Peace later was built. Due to this the remains of the old macellum lays beneath those of the temple and the Forum of Nerva. A small corner of the temple has been excavated to the layer beneath, in which evidence for the presence of the macellum were found (Stambaugh, 1988:147; Claridge, 2010:169-171; Holleran, 2012:162-171).

## 7. Analysis and discussion

### 7.1 The Athenian Agora

#### 7.1.1 The South Stoa I

The layout of the first South Stoa and the backrooms in particular, gives an indication of the usage of these rooms. The doorways in all of the rooms in this stoa was situated off-centre, which would give a better utilization of the rooms for the placement of dining couches. There have also been found raised base in the floor which the couches ones stood on. Se figure 23, illustrated by Dinsmoor Jr. The cement border would have protected the feet of the couches

and made cleaning easier. This all suggests the usage of the building was used as a dining place when it was built, and in the period after. The use and function of the stoa as a dining hall could be seen in connection with the civic and administrative activities in the Tholos, the Bouleuterion, the Metroon, the lawcourts, and the other buildings at the Agora at that time.

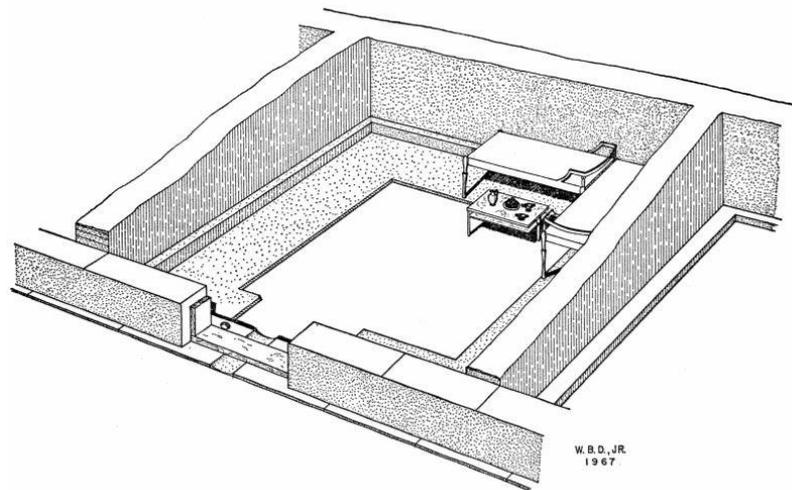


Figure 23, Reconstruction of Room V in South Stoa I, by W.B.Dinsmoor Jr. (Thompson, 1968:51)

An inscription from the building indicated that at least one of the rooms were used by the *metronomoi*. The stele with the inscription was found in room III in the stoa, with the lower parts of the stele base missing. The non-existent wear of the surface, outside the fading of the coloured letters, of it suggest that even after it was incorporated into the floor, it was not walked directly on. While the metronomoi are not directly connected to the economic activities of the agora, they still played an important role. They were in charge of the official weights and measurements for the city. The metronomoi were thus part of the civic activities while serving an indirect role for the economic ones.

The relatively large number of coins that have been found in the building, indicates the commercial nature of it in the later period of its use. In the early phases it was used as dining hall and meeting place as indicated by the marks from both the dining couches and the wall faced benches.

#### 7.1.4 The South Stoa II

The second South Stoa was the last of the stoas built in the large Hellenistic building program at the agora with its construction in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. The stoa was built with materials from an earlier 4<sup>th</sup> century building.

Much of the amphora handles found during the excavations were found to have originated in Knidos, Thasos, Rhodos and Kos. Most of the coins found in these excavations were from Athens, but coins originating elsewhere, amongst them Histiaia, were found.

### 7.1.3 The Middle Stoa

At the southern half of the square, the Middle Stoa were the first of the southern stoas to be built during the large Hellenistic remodelling of the Agora in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Work in this stoa started at the same time, or a little before the construction of the Stoa of Attalos.

In the layers dated to the Hellenistic period, a large number of stamped amphora handles have been found. The stamps on many of them indicate that they were produced outside of Athens and imported from Knidos, Thasos and Chios. In a well dating to the classical period, more, and older stamped amphora handles were found. Also here, the stamps indicated that the amphoras, with content, were imported to Athens.

Large amounts of the coins excavated from the Middle Stoa were locally minted in Athens, but a number of the coins found had originated in Megara, Myrina and Phlious. Much like the origins of the amphoras, these finds are indicators of the trade network which Athens was part of.

Stone blocks had been taken from the Middle Stoa for the purpose to be reused in the Valerian wall alongside blocks and monument bases taken from other buildings and structures at the agora (Thompson, 1950:317-318). This reuse of the material, this spolia, showed the discontinuation of the in the use of the Middle Stoa.

### 7.1.2 The Stoa of Attalos

The Stoa of Attalos was built specifically to house shops at the same time as the Middle Stoa was built. The Stoa of Attalos was constructed with more expensive materials than the other stoas, also being made out of marble from local quarries in addition to the limestone, rather than of limestone, mudbricks and reused materials as the other was. The first South Stoa were the least expensive stoa of four which can be seen in light of the Peloponnesian War which was ongoing when it was built.

The site of the Stoa of Attalos have been in use since before the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The northern half of the stoa occupies the site of the old peristyle lawcourt. During the excavations there was found a number of wells and rubbish pits dating to the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE, and to the geometric period. In these, large amount of bones and waste from animal slaughter was found. This is indicative of the presence of butchers in the area before the stoa was built.

At the Stoa of Attalos, the columns can tell us about some of the purpose for this stoa. The lower third of the columns were unfluted. This was usually only done on columns where there would be a lot of traffic with large quantities of items and crates, as the fluted columns could be damaged if one bumped into them. This indicates that the stoa and the backrooms served as shops frequented by large amounts of people, with a high frequency in exchange of items.

### 7.1.5 Other buildings

In the area west of the South Stoa I, South Stoa II and the Middle Stoa, immediately next to the agora, we have an area with several buildings interpreted to have housed workshops for potters, marble workers, metal workers, and other crafts like shoemaking and figurines. A number of buildings dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE have been identified as workshops. There are very few buildings in this area dating the Hellenistic period, though there are several wells from the period. This is interpreted as that the Hellenistic layer was situated higher than that of the following roman layer, resulting in few buildings from the latter period despite there being found, buildings from both the classical and the later roman period (Young, 1951:267-269).

The presence of this highly industrialised area at the very edge of the agora can be viewed as an extension of the commercial activities of the agora. Not only is it possible that some of the goods sold at the agora were produced there, they could also be sold directly from the workshops where they had been made. Both Homer and Lysias have in their works mentioned the sale and type of goods sold close to the agora and in the streets. Though the agora in which Homer writes about was the first agora, the archaic one located at a different site, what he writes is still relatable to the agora in focus for this study. Homer wrote about the activities of an agora, activities which would also have taken place at the second agora.

The East Building at eastern side of the South Square had twelve marble bases in the floor at the eastern part. The markings in these bases are indicators of where wooden tables, or

counters, would have been place. Lysias mentions the banker's tables at the agora, possibly the tables in the East Building. Socrates is also said to have gathered at the tabled at the agora. It is quite possible that these tables, was where the bankers were located at the site. Another possibility is to see the tables and the East Building in connection with the mint next to it, as a possible place for where the new coins were put into circulation.

### 7.1.6 The Agora as a whole

The site of the classical agora was first taken in use as a public square in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. An earlier archaic agora was located at a still undetermined location in the city. In the first stage of the usage of the site as a public place, it served more religious and civic activities based on the remains of the structures found during excavations. There have been found little evidence of trade in this period. Any economic activities at the site during this period would have had to take place in more temporary ways which would by their nature have left little to no evidence of their presence.

During the Classical period the agora experience and expansion of the activities, as a number of new buildings were constructed. These buildings were mostly of civic and religious nature, but the first South Stoa and the mint was constructed during this period. The latter two connected to the economic activities of not only the agora, but also those of the city.

During the Hellenistic period, in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, a large-scale remodelling of the agora took place. Several new buildings were constructed, most of which were directly connected to the trade and economic activities which took place at the agora.

The agora was in the early stages rather bare from permanent structures. The buildings were primarily situated around the edge of the site. Later on, the Middle Stoa was constructed to divide the agora into two parts, where the southern part seems to have held the more economic related activities. The civic activities were gathered at the western edge, with lawcourts situated on eastern edge, until the Stoa of Attalos was built. This can be seen on figures 4 and 5, illustrated by Travlos and Dinsmoor Jr.

## 7.2 The Forum Romanum

### 7.2.1 The tabernae

The modern usage of the term taberna translated to shop is narrow as they were also used to house the craftsmen and their workshops, they were used for both the selling of items and consumables, they also functioned as offices for officials and bankers.

There is very little archaeological material available from the earliest tabernae at the site. The primary material for the functions of the earliest tabernae can be found in the ancient texts.

While it is debatable whether or not that some of the events describe in the texts actually took place, it is reasonable to at least deduce that the type of activity was present at the forum.

Examples of this is the tabernae Lanienae, the butcher's shops and the tabernae Argentariae, the money changers. Here the name is also indicative of the function.

The tabernae served not only as shops, but also as workshops where some of the wares could be made and sold directly from the counters inside or at the threshold. Livy and several other authors tell of the argentarii, the moneychangers and the bankers who resided in the tabernae around the forum by the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE.

There have been found later material in the tabernae in the podium of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, which indicated that one of the rooms belonged to a barber.

The tabernae could also be incorporated into other structures, such as the macellum, and the later Basilica Aemilia.

### 7.2.2 The Basilicas

The basilicas at the forum did not appear until around the 3<sup>rd</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE. The basilica took over some of the activities previously conducted in the tabernae at the site. The basilica also served as meeting places, both for administrative activities and lawcourts, as well as market buildings.

### 7.2.3 Portico

Boëthius (1970:148) compared the two-storey porticos housing the shops and tabernae rebuilt after the fire in 210 BCE, to being quite similar to that of the buildings, the stoas, from the Greek agoras.

The tabernae surrounding the forum all had porticoes built in front of them to provide a covered walkway in which the activities from inside the tabernae had a tendency to encroach upon (Purcell, 1995:333-334).

#### 7.2.4 Macellum

The macellum that were connected directly to the Forum Romanum, lay directly north of the forum, just behind the Tabernae Novae, and the Basilica Fulvia. This is the first macellum built in Rome, as all the other known macella are from a later date. Holleran (2012) discuss the debate surrounding when the first macellum was constructed on this site, and if there were more than one built throughout the years. As Livy (27.11.16) tells of how several shops and a market (macellum) was destroyed by a fire in 210 BCE, they also tell that they were rebuilt, which would indicate that there were a pre-existing macellum at the site before the fire. Plautus (Am. 1012, Aul. 264, 373, 376, Ps. 169, Rud. 979) have the earliest mentions of the macellum and are from the end of the third and the beginning of the second century BCE. It is thus most likely that the first macellum is from around this period, and that the one rebuilt after the fire were the second macellum at the site. A third macellum were then built here in 179 BCE (Claridge, 2010:169; Holleran, 2012:161-163; Russell, 2016:69).

Claridge (2010) and Holleran (2012) refers to a macellum built next to the Forum Romanum in 179 BCE. Possibly referring to the incorporation of the Forum Piscarium into the macellum. The name alone indicating its use as a food market for fish, but also other meat as suggested by Livy (21.62) and also indicated by other authors such as Plautus and Terence. Terence (2.24-27) lists a number of activities and types of trades which took place in a macellum; cuppedinarii, fishmongers, butchers, cooks, sausage makers and fishermen.

Not much archaeological material from the macellum next to the Forum Romanum have been excavated due to the excavation stopping at the later Augustan layer, and buildings. What little is excavated shows a rather similar appearance to that of the macellum in Pompeii, making it reasonable to assume that they had a somewhat similar appearance. Both of the two macella was built during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, making the date of their construction quite close in time despite being in different cities.

### 7.2.6 Forum as a whole

During the early stages of the use of the site, the centre of the square was mostly an open space. It was the buildings, the tabernae in particular that served as a border between the forum and the surrounding area outside of the square.

As the forum started to take on the more monumental form, the common activities were moved away from the site

### 7.3 The Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum as marketplaces

How does the structures discussed from the Athenian Agora compare to those from the Roman Forum? Is there a basis to draw parallels between them or should they be view as completely separate entities?

At the Athenian Agora the excavation of the older layers was not halted due to ideological views as they were at the Roman Forum. At the agora, physical remains from buildings and structures going back to the establishing of the agora as an important city centre, have been found. As a result of this choice, there is a much more limited material from the Roman Forum available, than from the Athenian Agora.

We can see a clear difference in how the research and the management of these two ancient sites. While the Athenian Agora have had systematic and organized research and excavations, the Roman Forum on the other hand, have been scattered and disorganized. These differences in the handling of the finds and archives is the result of who is in charge of the sites. The Agora in Athens is under the management of the American School, while the Forum in Rome is under the management of the Italian Superintendence, the Italian ministry for Cultural Heritage and Tourism. These differences have influenced what material is available for study.

#### 7.3.1 Activities at the Athenian Agora and the Roman Forum, local or foreign goods?

Demosthenes (25.52) mentions the barbers and perfume shops as activities that could be found on or directly in the vicinity of the agora in Athens during his time. At the agora, there have been found a number of *amphoriskos*<sup>35</sup>. These bottles were containers for perfume, ointments and cosmetics. The presence of the amphoriskos at the agora, is an indicator of the presence of a perfume shop, or stall, at which these would have been sold. The presences of the archaeological material and the literary reference makes it reasonable to assume the presence of at least one perfume shop at the site. The amphoriskos were of both local and imported origin, suggesting the import of this luxury product with the purpose of retail sale at the agora.

At the Forum Romanum, in one of the tabernae in the podium of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, archaeological material indicating the presence of a barber were found. These finds indicate that the taberna served either as the storage unit for a barber, or even as the barber shop. At the agora, evidence of barbers has been found from the duration of the whole period. Products for the hair have been found in large quantities at the site (Thompson, 1993:16-18). The finds in the taberna at the forum, is of a later date than those from the agora. The presence of barbers at a and around a public place was a common sight. Archaeological material from the Early Republic is lacking in the source material and makes it difficult to determine the presence of barbers at the forum in the early stages of the period.

There have been found a large number of stamped amphorae handles at the agora. There were several found in the classical fill at the Middle Stoa, amongst them was a Chian amphora handle. Several more handles were also found in the construction fill of the Middle Stoa. Amphora handles from Rhodes, Knidos and Thasos was found there. In the building fill of the South Stoa II, amphora handles from Kos, Knidos, Rhodes and Thasos was found. All of the amphora handles have broken off the amphoras which were primarily used to transport oil and wine. The large number of amphora handles gives us an indication on the not only the wares that was imported to the city, but also the vast quantity in which they came. More than 15.000 stamped amphora handles have been found in the excavations as off 2006. This waste amount of finds tells about the large quantities in which the amphoras were imported.

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<sup>35</sup> G 499

The waste amount of stamped amphora handles can be compared to the Monte Testaccio<sup>36</sup> in Rome, where the empty amphoras were piled up and disposed of. The amphoras more often than not, were marked by their place of origin. This makes it possible to trace where the oil and wine was imported from.

The import of amphoras with wine and oil was a quite large industry. The oil and wine were then sold, or at least distributed in large amounts, at the agora if one goes from the number of stamped amphora handles found. The sale of wine, and wine makers have been mentioned at the area surrounding the agora by several ancient authors, amongst them, Lysias.

At the Athenian Agora, there have been found a large number of coins. Finds from different places at the agora and from different buildings, have been dated to the same period, showing an extensive use of the area at the time. Coins found in the Stoa of Attalos, have been dated to the same time as coins found at the South Square in the Middle Stoa and the South Stoa II. The coins are not only locally minted, many of them originate in other cities. Megara, Myrina, Phlious and Elis are but some of the examples on the coins originating elsewhere.

At the Athenian Agora, it was not only the stoa that served as permanent structures for trade, but also smaller houses and shops. The building named the House of Simon is an example of this. There were also a number of other buildings and houses not only at this particular site, but also along the northern, eastern and southern sides of the agora. The private houses

The Kerameikos district was as mentioned just north of the main square and can be seen together with the other houses and workshops in the industrialised area at the edge of and surrounding the agora, as an extension of the activities there.

### 7.3.2 Forensis Dignitas

During the time of usage, both the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum went through a series of changes brought forth by various reasons and benefactors. At the forum in Rome the changes that went on between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE have been by ancient authors called *forensis dignitas*.

The concept of *forensis dignitas* is mentioned by Varro, although the original texts written by Varro have not survived, parts of it have survived in another text written by Nonius Marcellus

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<sup>36</sup> Monte Testaccio

in the 4-5th century. Marcellus wrote his texts 3-400 years after Varro, and 6-700 years after the events described by Varro took place. Though none of the other ancient authors explicitly mentions the term, the changes that took place can be found in the texts from several authors.

The term *forensis dignitas* have been used to describe the process of change in the usage of the Roman Forum in particular. Over time the wares and business conducted at the forum went from the more messy, daily activities, to the more luxurious and cleaner ones.

Some of the earliest shops mentioned from the Roman forum, were the butcher's shops. They are mentioned by Livy when he tells the story of how Verginius seized a knife from one of the shops in order to kill his daughter (Liv. 1.35.10), later the butchers that resided in the tabernae was replaced by the bankers (Liv. 9.40.16; Liv. 26.11.7). The moneychangers had a large presence at the forum before 308 BCE according to the texts from Livy.

With the construction of the macellum next to the forum, which also went on to include the Forum Piscarium in its structure, provided a new place for the butchers, and fish mongers, to sell their wares. The macellum was not directly on the Forum Romanum, but in the immediate vicinity as it was right behind the Basilica Fulvia and the tabernae at the north side of the forum. Not only were the activities moved away from the forum, but the basilica and the tabernae at the north side served as a barrier between the forum and the macellum. Hidden from sight but still easily accessible.

In Athens, we have no such separate concept as that of the roman *forensis dignitas*. Although the term is a purely roman concept, the changes and the process that took place are not. At the agora, the activities related to trade were separated from the civic and religious activities with the construction of the Middle Stoa. It separated the economic activities to the southern part, and the Stoa of Attalos along the eastern edge. The civic and administrative activities of the agora was primarily located at the western side, though there were activities partially related to them at the southern side still. The Athenian mint was located just southeast of the South Stoa I and continued to be in use during the entire period.

What has been noted is that a number of producers and retailers of similar goods often tended to cluster together in the same areas of the city. An example of this clustering is the goldsmiths, jewellers and pearl dealer who dominated the path along the Via Sacra in Rome. The clustering was often caused by various practical and economic reasons, as well as also political (Holleran, 2012:53-56).

Some crafts and trades were dependent upon certain resource requirements and access, for example water, space, etc, and it was thus more practical to cluster them together in the areas that satisfied the necessary criteria. For producers that specialised in parts of the production of a product, it was both more practical and economic efficient to be close to each other. An example of this is the goldsmiths and engravers who were usually found close to each other in the city. Producers who needed the same resource to manufacture their wares, could more easily get together and buy the raw material in large bulks when they were located close to each other, and thus lower the individual price of cost for the resources. It would have been more expensive to buy only the amount that each one needed, rather than to buy a larger amount together and then divide it between themselves (Holleran, 2012:53-56).

By clustering together in specific areas of the city, it became easier for the customers to know where to go in order to what they were looking for. If they were in need of jewellery, they could just go to where they knew that the desired craftsmen and traders were located together in clusters. Likewise, they could do if it was pottery or other goods they were in need of (Holleran, 2012:53-56).

The industrial area at the southwest corner of the Athenian Agora were one clustering of metal and marble workers. At the north side of the Agora, in the Kerameikos, we find the clustering of potters.

When it comes to the nature of trade and retail, we have a distinction between the permanent and the temporary markets, as they have different characteristics that results in different amount of evidence of the activities. Different types of trade have different requirements and resource needs. While the terms forum and macellum are used for the actual places in question, other terms such as *nundinae* and *mercatus*, are the temporary markets, which took place over limited periods of time. The mercatus is rather important in connection with the religious festivals which would have taken place at the forum and in the temples at the site. The butcher stalls of the early forum would have played a role during these festivals with the sale of sacrificial meat.

At and surrounding the forum, there were a number of temples, both during the Republic and during the Imperial period. As part of the religious life in the city, there would be the occasional and recurring festival held in the city. Animal sacrifices were a common gift to the gods. The meat from these sacrificed animals, was a sought-after commodity. Meat was not

a common commodity amongst the people in the ancient city. It was usually only available to the rich and when as sacrificial meat (Stambaugh, 1988:148).

There is a presence of butchers in the early stages at both the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum. At the forum, we have partially the early tabernae, hidden beneath the current layers and the ancient authors telling about the butcher's shops at the site. At the agora we do not have any buildings that we know might have served as shops for the butchers, but we do have an extensive collection of bone material, clearly indicating that there were butchers in the area.

It can be speculated on if the agora had the same relationship between religious festivals, sacrifice and butchers as that which the forum had. Cause there were several religious activities taking place at the agora and the Panathenaic way up to the Acropolis crossed right ahead of the area in which the butchers would have been located at the agora. As mentioned, meat was not an everyday item for most people.

### 7.3.3 Structures

We also need to look at the layout of the buildings. This affected how they were used and what types of trade that could take place there.

The architectural layout of the stoas at the Athenian Agora share many similarities with each other. All four of them are long rectangular buildings with either a single or double colonnade. The South Stoa I had multiple small rooms, as did the later Stoa of Attalos. While the Middle Stoa and the South Stoa II did not have smaller rooms, they both encompassed and made out the borders of the South Square.

These stoa shares similarities not only amongst themselves, but also with that of the roman basilicas. The basilica were large buildings, often with galleries. They shared much of the same layout as the Middle and South Stoa II of the Athenian Agora. One large main room which may or may not be further divided by parapets to divide into smaller parts.

The Basilica Aemilia had more in common with the first South Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos. The basilica had a row of tabernae incorporated into the front towards the forum and a colonnade attached to the tabernae, giving it a layout quite similar to the backrooms behind the colonnaded rows of the South Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos. The archaeological material

and literary sources available also make it highly probable that these buildings, both the basilica and both of the stoas, were two storey buildings.

The earliest known basilica in Rome, the Basilica Porcia was built in 184 BCE, while the first stoa<sup>37</sup> at the Athenian Agora was built in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The first South Stoa was built a bit later, its construction dated to 430-420 BCE. Though the basilicas served many of the same functions and activities as the stoas. The stoas were older and had a longer tradition than the basilicas. The economic activities of the basilicas had previously taken place in some of the tabernae. Tabernae which had been present at the forum since the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

The Athenian South Square which consisted of the South Stoa II, the Middle Stoa and the East Building, share many of the same characteristics as those of the roman macellum. They both consisted of a courtyard structure, surrounding a central square.

## 8. Conclusion

How did the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum function as marketplaces in the period c. 600-150 BCE?

### 8.1 The Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum

When the South Stoa I was built, it served as a dining hall with the characteristic dining couches. The number of couches that fit in each room, suggest that the dining hall possibly served the official partaking in civic activities. Later on, the rooms were converted to support wall faced benches. It continued on to serving as the office for the metronomoi. These activities were both associated with the administrative and civic activities that took place at the agora. The metronomoi was part of the officials who worked at the agora. The large number of coins which have been found during the excavations suggest that the stoa also served an economic and commercial purpose in the later period. There have been found coins dating to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, though most of the coins found are dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE. The increase in the number of

The large amounts of coins and stamped amphora handles found at the agora, and which originated elsewhere, tells us about the waste trade network in which Athens was part of. The

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<sup>37</sup> The Royal Stoa

fact that these have been found at the site, tells that the wares was brought into the city and to the central agora. Large amounts of amphoras containing oil and wine were imported into the city.

The usage of the tabernae at the Forum Romanum displayed the varied use throughout the the period of use. The first taberna functioned as butcher's shops. By the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, a large number of bankers had taken over most of the tabernae at the forum.

Although the concept of *forensis dignitas* might be a creation from the time of Varro and Augustus, the process of the gradual transition from the common goods to the finer wares and dignified activities, took place.

At the forum we can clearly see the change in the usage of the site, not only at the forum itself, but also at the surrounding areas right next to it. During this process, the forum went from butchers to bankers and luxury and finer goods.

## 8.2 As a whole

We have seen the changes and what role the different buildings had in connection with the economic activities of the two sites.

We have seen the presence of barbers' shops at both the agora and the forum. Though the archaeological material varies in time from the two sites, the presence of the material and the mentions of the barbers in the ancient texts, makes it reasonable to assume the presence of the them.

We have both archaeological material and classical literature referring to the presence of bankers in the tabernae at the forum and at the agora, quite likely in the East Building.

We have seen that we can draw clear parallels between the markets and trade on the Forum Romanum and the Athenian Agora. Buildings at one site have quite often a corresponding building at the other site. While the names of the structures were different, the function and also often also the layout were quite similar. One major difference is that the Greek stoas seems to have been more multi-purpose than the roman equivalent. While the Forum Romanum had both tabernae and basilicas, the Athenian Agora had primarily only the stoas as permanent structures to house the various trade activities. Some private houses and workshops

were located next to the agora, encroaching onto it, the stoas were the only purpose-built buildings.

Both the agora and the forum went through a number of changes in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, changing how the space was perceived by visitors. At the same time there is also a number of differences between the sites. Some of these may be due to the differences in the material available from each of the sites, while others are due to the differences in the usage of the sites themselves.

Both the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum have been extensively studied throughout the years, though much still remains to be learnt from these two sites. New research is conducted continuously, and new technologies are being implemented in the documentation and research. Something the various digitalization and reconstruction projected of the sites shows.

The functions of the Athenian Agora and the Forum Romanum as marketplaces cannot be seen as separate entities from the other activities at the sites. We have seen how closely intertwined they might be at times. While the some of the wares and services provided change in nature, from the everyday to the more luxury ones, the sites had a continuation in use as the economic activities never completely disappeared. They went through a metamorphose as the agora and the forum took on a more monumental appearance.

On an important note, is the fact that while the buildings at the agora seemed to have a longer, continuously period of use, the forum and Rome were plagued by fires who destroyed parts of the forum several times. The Athenian Agora never went through this destruction.

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## Appendix 1. Glossary

**Aiakeion** – Building dedicated to the hero Aiakos, served a religious function while also being a storage and distribution centre for corn.

**Amphorikos** – Small vessel, made out of both clay and glass. Usually contained perfume, fragrance, cosmetic and ointments.

**Temple of Apollo Patroos** – Temple dedicated to Apollo Patroos (fatherly) next to the Stoa of Zeus Religious function.

**Bouleuterion** – The building used to house the council or senate meetings. The creation of the Athenian Boule, also known as the Council of 500, is accredited to Solon in 594 BCE.

**Dipinto** – Sketched or painted inscription instead of engraved.

**Eponymos Heroes** – Monument, large base supporting ten bronze statues representing the then heros for the tribes. The base of the monument also served as a noticeboard for new laws and decrees.

**Ergasterion** – The workshop of craftsmen in ancient Greece. Originally for potters, went on to also include other industries.

**Hephaesteion** – Temple dedicated to Hephaistos. Located on the Kolonos Agoraios.

**Horrea** – Warehouses and storage buildings for various wares; both produce and items, as well as valuable. They also served as places for merchants to sell directly from their storage unit.

**Mercatus** – A low-frequency market or fair, of high local importance in Rome as it was connected with religious festivals (Holleran, 2012:189-190).

**Metronomoi** – The public officials who served as the overseers of the weights and measures at the market and emporium in Athens and Piraeus.

**Metroon** – the old Bouleuterion at the Agora, later converted to a temple dedicated to Cybele. It continued to house the official archives of the city.

**Mezzanine floor** – An intermediate floor, above the main floor.

**Nundinae** – A roman periodic, high-frequency market that took place every 8<sup>th</sup> day following the last nundine, a day which was known as the market day. The local farmers in the

surrounding area, along with the market gardeners used this day to come into the cities to sell their produce, as well as for the rural population to deal with any urban matters while they were in town (Holleran, 2012:181-189).

**Opus quadratum** – A construction technique, square stone blocks were set in parallel courses. Vitruvius described the technique which was in use from c. 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

**Spolia** – The reuse of stone from old structures in new buildings and monuments.

**Tholos** – A building/structure type. It was a round structure built upon a podium, and had a domed roof supported by the ring of columns around the central structure.

## Appendix 2. Archaeological finds and material

### A2.1 Athens

<b>Inventory Nr.</b>	<b>Section Nr.</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Building associated/Context</b>
A 819	II 255	Lion's Head Spout Fragments	Stoa of Attalos
A 1824	Σ 2285	Regula Fragment with Guttae	Square Peristyle - South Stoa
A 1973	ΣA 1726	Triglyph Fragment	Square Peristyle - South Stoa
A 2304	T 2292	Capital Fragment, Doric	South Stoa I
A 2305	T	Poros stylobate block	South Stoa I
A 2366	T	Poros Stylobate block	South Stoa I
A 2931	T 3747	Triglyph Fragment	Square Peristyle - South Stoa
B 1046	T 2594	Bronze flans and a rod from the Athenian Mint	Mint
B 1055	ΣA 2134	Dikast's Ballot, Bronze.	Ballot Box, Stoa of Attalos/Square Peristyle
B 1056	ΣA 2135	Dikast's Ballot, Bronze.	Ballot Box, Stoa of Attalos/Square Peristyle
B 1057	ΣA 2136	Dikast's Ballot, Bronze.	Ballot Box, Stoa of Attalos/Square Peristyle
B 1058	ΣA 2137	Dikast's Ballot, Bronze.	Ballot Box, Stoa of Attalos/Square Peristyle
B 1059	ΣA 2138	Dikast's Ballot, Bronze.	Ballot Box, Stoa of Attalos/Square Peristyle
B 1060	ΣA 2139	Small plain sphere of solid bronze.	Ballot Box, Stoa of Attalos/Square Peristyle
B 1061	ΣA 2140	Dikast's Ballot, Bronze.	Ballot Box, Stoa of Attalos/Square Peristyle
B 1176	ΣA 3172	Tessera, Bronze.	Ballot Box, Stoa of Attalos/Square Peristyle
BI 698	MΣ 510	Bone ring, distrubed 5th century BCE filling.	House of Simon the Cobbler
BI 699	MΣ 511	Bone ring, late 5th century BCE level.	House of Simon the Cobbler
BI 704	MΣ 659	Bone ring, late 5th century BCE.	House of Simon the Cobbler
G 499	T 2492	Amphoriskos Fragment, Glass.	South Stoa II/Hellenistic building fill
G 586	T 3934	Bowl Fragments, Glass.	South Stoa II/Construction fill
I 5510	Z 1583	Boundary Stone, in situ at fork in ancient road east of the Tholos.	Agora Boundary
I 5675	KK 1170	Boundary Stone Fragment.	Agora Boundary
I 6135	ΣA 317	Inscribed fragments of dedicatory inscription	Stoa of Attalos

I 6135	ΣΑ 794	Inscribed fragments of dedicatory inscription	Stoa of Attalos
I 6135	ΣΑ 875	Inscribed fragments of dedicatory inscription	Stoa of Attalos
I 6135	ΣΑ 876	Inscribed fragments of dedicatory inscription	Stoa of Attalos
I 6135	T 3112	Inscribed fragments of dedicatory inscription	Stoa of Attalos
I 6135	Y 454	Inscribed fragments of dedicatory inscription	Stoa of Attalos
I 6135	Y 458	Inscribed fragments of dedicatory inscription	Stoa of Attalos
I 7029	T 3950	Inscribed fragment from stele, 245/6 BCE.	South Stoa II/Layer III
I 7030	T 3972	Inscribed fragment from upper part of stele	South Stoa I, Room III
I 7039	ΜΣ 1303	Boundary Stone, in situ at northwest corner of Middle Stoa.	Agora Boundary
IL 1361	ΜΣ 887	Iron nails, hobnails.	House of Simon the Cobbler
N 25210	Θ 240	Athenian Coin, ca. 196-190 BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa fill
N 25235	Θ 265	Coin, Megara, second quarter of 3rd century BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa building field
N 25242	Θ 272	Coin, Phlious, 4th century BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa building field
N 25244	Θ 274	Athenian Coin, ca. early to mid 330's-32/317 BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa building field
N 25281	Θ 311	Athenian Coin, 287-263 BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa building field
N 25612	Θ 637	Athenian Coin, 229-ca. 224/223 BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa fill/old drain
N 27555	I 1034	Coin, Septimus Severus, 193-211 CE, Bronze.	Stoa of Attalos
N 27557	I 1036	Athenian Coin, ca. 264-267 CE, Bronze.	Stoa of Attalos
N 27584	I 1043	Athenian Coin, 140's/150's-ca. 170 CE, Bronze.	Stoa of Attalos
N 28034	I 1458	Athenian Coin, ca. 140-90 BCE, Bronze.	Stoa of Attalos
N 28826	II 510	Athenian Coin, ca. 450's-404 BCE, Silver.	Stoa of Attalos
N 32200	Λ 410	Athenian Coin, 307-ca. 300 BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa fill/Hellenistic fill
N 33773	ΜΣ 316	Coin, Myrina, ca. 386-276/261 BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa building field
N 33946	ΜΣ 204	Coin, Alexander III, ca. 323-319 BCE, Gold.	Middle Stoa fill/East branch of Great Drain
N 34700	ΜΣ 316	Athenian Coin, ca. 190-183 BCE, Bronze.	Middle Stoa building field

N 38419	Θ 391	Athenian Coin, ca. 450's-404 BCE, Silver.	South Stoa I, Room X
N 68431	T 1194	Athenian Coin, ca. 140's BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa II
N 68432	T 1195	Athenian Coin, ca. 190-183 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa II
N 68433	T 1196	Athenian Coin, 229-ca. 224/223 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa II
N 68459	T 1224	Coin, Histiaia, late 3rd century to 146 BCE, Silver.	South Stoa II
N 68607	T 1375	Athenian Coin, ca. 224/3-198 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa I, Room III
N 68837	T 1604	Athenian Coin, ca. 322/317-307 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa I, Room V
N 68877	T 1645	Athenian Coin, ca. 190-183 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa I, Room VII
N 68882	T 1650	Coin, Elis, after 191 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa I, Room VII
N 68883	T 1651	Athenian Coin, 229-ca. 224/223 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa I, Room VII
N 68884	T 1652	Coin, Pamphylia, 3rd-2nd century BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa I, Room VII
N 69061	T 1844	Athenian Coin, 229-ca. 224/223 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa I, Room III
N 69071	T 1863	Athenian Coin, 229-ca. 224/223 BCE, Bronze.	South Stoa I, Room III
P 22882	T 1873	Bowl Fragments.	South Stoa II/Building fill
P 22886	T 1885	Fish Plate Fragments, Gray Ware.	South Stoa II/Building fill
P 22888	T 1888	Red Figure Cup Fragment.	South Stoa II/Building fill
P 22896	T 1920	Moldmade Bowl Fragment.	South Stoa II/Building fill
P 22899	T 1923	Black Figure Siana Cup Fragment.	South Stoa II/Building fill
P 22998	ΜΣ 484	Black Glaze Cup Fragment with Graffiti.	House of Simon the Cobbler
P 23046	T 2125	Black Figure Oinochoe Fragment.	South Stoa II/Building fill
P 23057	T 2165	Black Glaze Vessel Fragment with Strainer.	South Stoa II/Building fill
P 24661	ΣA 2871	Panathenaic Amphora, Glazed, ca. 500 BCE.	Well in Stoa Shop III, Stoa of Attalos
P 24667	ΣA 2888	Black Figure Neck Amphora, ca. 500 BCE.	Well in Stoa Shop III, Stoa of Attalos
P 24673	ΣA 2884	Black Figure Olpe, ca. 500 BCE.	Well in Stoa Shop III, Stoa of Attalos
P 24674	ΣA 2885	Black Glaze Pelike, ca. 500 BCE.	Well in Stoa Shop III, Stoa of Attalos
P 24675	ΣA 2886	Black Figure Oinochoe Fragment, ca. 500 BCE.	Well in Stoa Shop III, Stoa of Attalos
P 24676	ΣA 2887	Amphora Fragment with Glaze Decoration, ca. 500 BCE.	Well in Stoa Shop III, Stoa of Attalos
P 24723	ΣA 2907	Black Glaze Chous.	Well in Stoa Shop II, Stoa of Attalos

P 24724	ΣA 2908	Black Glaze Oinochoe.	Well in Stoa Shop II, Stoa of Attalos
P 24910	ΣA 2991	Hydria with Grafitto, last quarter of 6th century BCE.	Well in Stoa Shop III, Stoa of Attalos
P 25271	ΣA 3136	Pelike, late 6th century BCE.	Well in Stoa Shop II, Stoa of Attalos
P 25275	ΣA 3140	Black Glaze Cup with Grafitto: type C, late 6th century.	Well in Stoa Shop II, Stoa of Attalos
P 25276	ΣA 3141	Black Glaze Cup with Grafitto: type C, late 6th century.	Well in Stoa Shop II, Stoa of Attalos
P 26732	T 3767	Vessel Fragment with Maker's Stamp.	South Stoa II/Layer II
P 27610	T 3925	Black Glaze Bowl, broken though complete.	South Stoa II/Construction fill
P 27611	T 3926	Unguentarium, fusiform shape.	South Stoa II/Construction fill
P 27612	T 3927	Unguentarium, broken with missing fragments.	South Stoa II/Construction fill
P 35996	Γ 2968	Panathenaic Amphora Fragments, 1st half of 4th century BCE	Early Building I
SS 592	Θ 333	Stamped Amphora Handle, Knidian.	Middle Stoa building field
SS 662	Θ 345	Stamped Amphora Handle, Rhodian.	Middle Stoa building field
SS 663	Θ 346	Stamped Amphora Handle, Rhodian.	Middle Stoa building field
SS 671	Θ 354	Stamped Amphora Handle, Rhodian.	Middle Stoa building field
SS 678	Θ 371	Stamped Amphora Handle, Thasian.	Middle Stoa building field
SS 714	Θ 413	Stamped Amphora Handle, Thasian.	Middle Stoa building field
SS1085	Θ 786	Stamped Amphora Handle, Thasian.	Middle Stoa building field
SS 1570	Z 523	Stamped Amphora Handle, Chian.	Mixed Classical fill in Well
SS 1571	Z	Stamped Amphora Handle.	Mixed classical level
SS 1572	Z	Stamped Amphora Handle.	Mixed classical level
SS 1573	Z	Stamped Amphora Handle.	Mixed classical level
SS 1574	Z	Stamped Amphora Handle.	Mixed classical level
SS 1575	Z	Stamped Amphora Handle.	Mixed classical level
SS 1576	Z	Stamped Amphora Handle.	Mixed classical level
SS 6579	T 941	Stamped Amphora Handle, Knidian.	South Stoa II
SS 6585	T 947	Stamped Amphora Handle, Knidian.	South Stoa II
SS 12193	T 2038	Stamped Amphora Handle, Thasian.	South Stoa II/Building fill
SS 12196	T 2041	Stamped Amphora Handle, Koan (double handle).	South Stoa II/Building fill
SS 13134	T 2256	Stamped Amphora Handle, Rhodian.	South Stoa II/Building fill
SS 13185	T 2490	Stamped Amphora Handle, Thasian.	South Stoa II/Building fill
SS 14391	T 3776	Stamped Amphora Handle, Knidian.	South Stoa II/Construction fill

## A2.2 Rome, Pompeii & Herculaneum

City	Building/number/structure	Description
Herculaneum	Decumanus Maximus, shop 8	A wooden counter was found partially blocking the doorway when this shop was excavated. (Monteix, N. 2010. Les lieux de metier. Boutiques et ateliers d'Herculanum. p.63-64).
Rome	Monte Testaccio	An artificial mound made up of discarded and piled amphoras. Ca. 1st century BCE to 3rd century CE.
Pompeii	Tablinum, VII.iii.30	Wall painting displays bread distribution, ca. 1st century CE. Naples Museum, inventory nr. 9071. (Della Corte, M., 1965. Case ed Abitanti di Pompei. Napoli: Fausto Fiorentino. p.147).
Pompeii	Macellum, VII.9.7/8	Macellum located at the northeast corner of the forum. The use of the site as market dated to 2nd century BCE. (Wilkinson, P. 2015. Pompeii, an archaeological guide. P. 110-112).

### A2.3 Forma Urbis Romae

Forma Urbis Romae (Stanford Database)				
Stanford #	AG1980 #	PM1960 #	Slab	Identification
15ab	15a-b	15 a b	VII-10	Temple of Peace ( <i>templum Pacis</i> ). Horizontal row of multiple-storeyed <i>tabernae</i> .
16e	16e	16 e	VI-5	Basilica Paul(i)i ( <i>basilica Paul[li]</i> ), also known as the Basilica Aemilia.
18a(*)	18a	18a	VII-11	Section of the Roman Forum ( <i>forum Romanum</i> ) including the Fountain of Iuturna ( <i>lacus Iuturnae</i> ), the Temple of Castor ( <i>aedes Castoris</i> ), and shops ( <i>tabernae</i> ).
18b	18b	18 b	VI-6	Renaissance drawing: Section of the Roman Forum ( <i>forum Romanum</i> ) including the Temple of Castor ( <i>aedes Castoris</i> ), the Basilica Julia ( <i>basilica Iulia</i> ), and the Etruscan Street ( <i>vicus Tuscus</i> ).
18bc	18b-c	18 b c	VI-6	Section of the Roman Forum ( <i>forum Romanum</i> ) including the Temple of Castor ( <i>aedes Castoris</i> ), the Basilica Julia ( <i>basilica Iulia</i> ), and the Etruscan Street ( <i>vicus Tuscus</i> ).
18d	18d	18 d	VI-6	Renaissance drawing: Section of the Roman Forum ( <i>forum Romanum</i> ) including the Basilica Julia ( <i>basilica Iulia</i> ), the Temple of Saturn ( <i>Aedis Saturni</i> ), and Iugarius Street ( <i>vicus Iugarius</i> ).
18fg			VII-11	Temple of Castor ( <i>aedes Castoris</i> ). Currently missing, exists in a photo from 1882.
556	556	556	VII-10	Row of shops ( <i>tabernae</i> ) and a parallel double line, recessed (with crenellations?).