

Université de Montréal

**The state of commercial shops in the ancient Greek world and its colonies
during the Archaic and Classical periods**

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**Mémoire présenté à la Faculté des études supérieures
en vue de l'obtention du grade de Maître ès arts (M.A.)
en études classiques
option archéologie classique**

Décembre 2017

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Abstract

Much has come to light following the discovery of the large commercial building at ancient Argilos in recent years, almost as much as the questions it prompted. One of the earliest structures of its type, the series of rooms that make up 'Building L' are recognized as individual shops that can be dated as early as the Archaic period. Seemingly unique in its design, the structure resembled a Hellenistic stoa, although it did not include a colonnade before the rooms. The structure became a point of interest, especially regarding its utilization in a commercial context and whether its distinctive design might be found elsewhere in the ancient Greek world. In so doing, we can acquire a more thorough understanding of the functions and architectural development of such a building, as well as its broader connection to the economic and social circumstances of ancient Greek life.

There has been much scholarship devoted to the study of ancient Greek architecture and urbanism, specifically the economic activity carried out in the market areas of the Hellenistic period. Yet there remains insufficient research in these areas concerning earlier periods. More specifically, there is no comprehensive study dedicated to the state of commercial structures during the Archaic and Classical periods. Previous publications, such as those of J.J. Coulton and Susan Rotroff, have examined the uses and development of Greek stoas and other possible commercial structures in Athens, respectively. Unlike the Hellenistic period, that saw the preeminence of the Hellenistic stoa, there does not seem to be a single defined architectural form for commercial shops in earlier periods.

This thesis proposes to contend this point, to present a methodical study of Archaic and Classical commercial architecture by providing individual case studies, which are also pertinent to the historical narrative, economic growth, and cultural trade of the period. Thus, revealing a pattern in the architectural design of commercial structures located in ancient Greece and its colonies during the Archaic and Classical periods.

Key words: commercial structure, stoa, Greek architecture, trade, colonies, Archaic, Classical, agora, emporion, military agora, architectural development, archaeology.

Résumé

Le large complexe commercial de la cité antique d'Argilos, découvert il y a de cela quelques années, a depuis révélé autant de découvertes qu'il a soulevé de questions. Cet alignement de chambres, reconnues comme des boutiques individuelles et datées dès la période archaïque, font du « Bâtiment L » l'une des plus anciennes structures de sa catégorie. Vraisemblablement unique dans sa conception, cette structure rappelle la stoa hellénistique, sans toutefois arborer la colonnade frontale de cette dernière. Ce complexe est particulièrement d'intérêt en ce qui concerne son utilisation dans le contexte commercial de l'époque, mais aussi, à savoir si sa conception distincte est attestée ailleurs dans le monde grec antique. Ce faisant, il nous est possible d'approfondir notre compréhension des fonctions d'un tel bâtiment et de son développement architectural, ainsi que de son lien plus large avec les circonstances économiques et sociales de la vie grecque antique.

De nombreuses études ont déjà été consacrées à l'étude de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme grec antique, tout particulièrement sur l'activité économique menée dans les zones de marché de la période hellénistique. Toutefois, les périodes antérieures demeurent quant à elles insuffisamment documentées. Notons plus spécifiquement, l'état des structures commerciales durant les périodes archaïques et classiques qui n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune étude exhaustive jusqu'à maintenant. Lors de publications précédentes, J.J. Coulton et Susan Rotroff ont déjà respectivement examiné l'usage et le développement des stoa grecques et autres structures commerciales possibles à Athènes. À la différence de la période hellénistique, qui a vu naître la prééminence de la stoa hellénistique, il semble n'y avoir, pour les périodes antérieures, aucune forme architecturale définie, englobant ce type de boutiques.

Cette thèse propose de s'y soumettre, soit de présenter une étude méthodique de l'architecture commerciale archaïque et classique, en fournissant des études de cas individuelles qui sont pertinentes au récit historique, à la croissance économique, ainsi qu'au commerce culturel de l'époque. Ceci, de manière à déceler un modèle dans la conception architecturale des structures commerciales situées dans la Grèce antique et ses colonies au cours des périodes archaïques et classiques.

Mots clés : Structure commerciale, stoa, architecture grecque, commerce, colonies, archaïque, classique, agora, emporion, agora militaire, développement architectural, archéologie.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my supervisor, Professor Jacques Perreault, for guiding me through the completion of my master's degree and for giving me the opportunity to participate in the excavations at Argilos these many years. I am also grateful to the members of the Argilos team, Marie, François, Saskia, Jake, Bron, Alex, and J-P, for their knowledge and expertise, encouragement of my passion for archaeology, and their lifelong friendship. I would also like to thank the Canadian Institute in Greece for their support during my redaction year in Athens, specifically David Rupp and Jonathan Tomlinson, for welcoming and encouraging me during my studies abroad. Also, to the many friends I made during my stay in Athens, both at the American and British Schools. Their kindness and generosity enriched my experience and I am extremely appreciative of the advice and guidance they offered for my future academic endeavours. I am indebted to Bill Beck specifically, for his ruthless and much appreciated editing of my thesis, as well as his constant support during the last few months. I am also forever grateful to my colleagues and close friends, Keven and Laure, not only for their help in translation but for sharing in this experience with me. For their academic and moral support, I cherish their friendship most of all. Lastly, I would like to thank my mother and stepfather for their constant reassurances, their altruistic efforts when proof-reading my writing, and for having faith in my capabilities when I sometimes lost hope. Thank you to everyone who has helped me, who provided comfort and constructive criticism – it would not have been possible without any of you.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Interest and Objectives

There have been numerous publications concerning the development of ancient Greek architecture, economy, and urbanism. With regards to commercial structures in ancient Greek poleis, there has been noticeably more interest and available material from the Hellenistic period. This occurrence most likely stems from the scarcity of architectural remains and ancient sources from earlier periods. Evidently, there has been greater interest in more heavily populated ancient sites, such as Athens; the archaeological records from excavations there have illuminated much in recent years with the wealth of physical and written material available to them. Other, lesser known sites, especially early Archaic sites, have little preserved and insufficient references have been made to these earlier Greek settlements by ancient sources. Nonetheless, there have been significant publications in recent years by scholars such as Susan Rotroff, who has examined the commercial structures from the Classical and Hellenistic periods in the Athenian Agora.¹ Other scholars have paid particular attention to the economic activity of earlier periods in the ancient Greek world, such as Denise Demetriou who stresses the interconnectivity among the populations of the Mediterranean and how the multicultural economy shaped ancient Greek urban culture during the Archaic and Classical periods.² There is not, however, a study specifically devoted to the architectural remains of commercial shops in these early periods.

My interest in this research began with my participation in the excavations conducted at Argilos, under the supervision of Professor Jacques Y. Perreault, and the discovery of a large commercial structure at the site. The building's design and early date made it a seemingly unique structure that was designated for commercial activity. For this reason, I wished to locate other examples of such commercial structures in the ancient Greek world and its colonies during the Archaic and Classical periods.

The objectives of this study are twofold: to locate and review possible commercial structures that follow a similar design to the commercial building found at Argilos, and to identify

¹ Rotroff 2013.

² Demetriou 2012.

a potential architectural form that was recurrent during the Archaic and Classical periods. In so doing, a further objective will be to create a methodical study that will comment on the state of shops and provide a greater understanding of the architectural development and function of this type of commercial structure. This objective will be achieved by using a selection of sites and their relevant buildings as individual case studies. In addition, the physical and cultural environment of these structures may have influenced their architectural development. Therefore, these case studies have been chosen based on their architectural form, as well as their relationship to different aspects of ancient Greek economy and urbanism.

1.2. Typology

In order to elucidate the various types of similar structures presented in this thesis, I have applied my own terminology to certain architectural designs that recur in this study. The particular design of a commercial building that resembles Building L at Argilos, with a series of rooms and no colonnade, will be referred to as the structure Type A (Fig. 1). This is to avoid confusion with the early forms of stoas found during the same periods. The stoas that have a colonnade with no rooms behind it will be referred to as structure Type S (Fig. 2). And the later, typically Hellenistic, stoas that include a series of rooms behind its colonnade, will be referred to as structure Type H (Fig. 3).

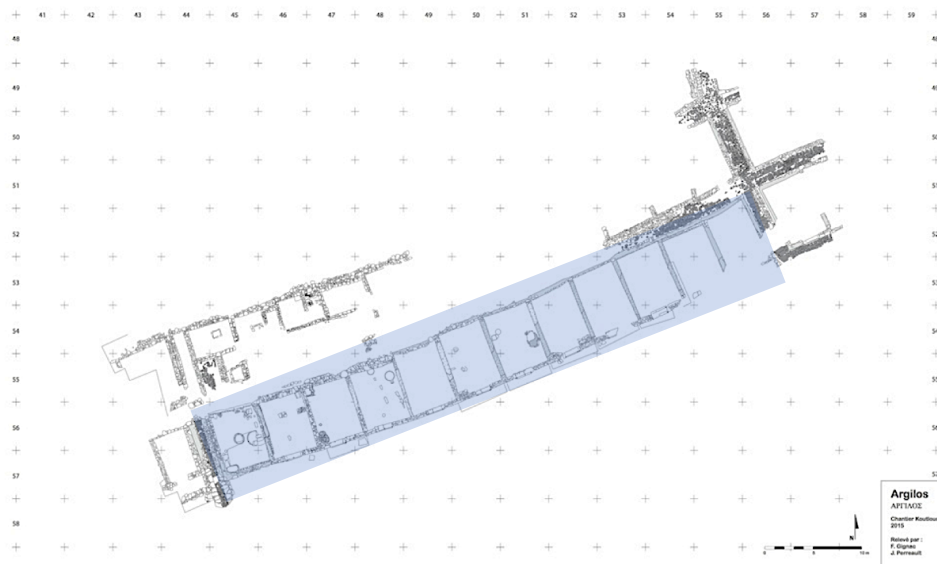
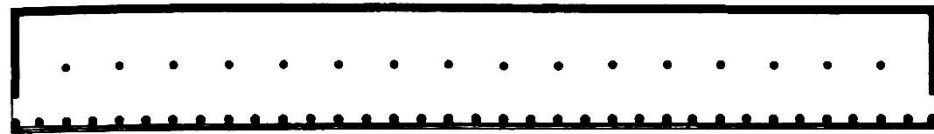
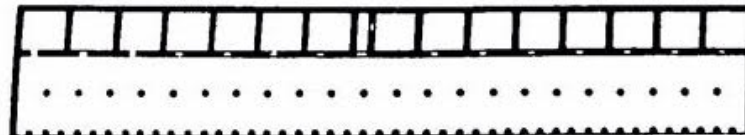


Fig. 1: Example of structure Type A: Building L at Argilos highlighted in blue.



Samothrace, Stoa J

Fig. 2: Example of structure Type S: Stoa J at Samothrace.



Athens, South Stoa I

Fig. 3: Example of structure Type H: South Stoa I at Athens.

There is one other architectural design discussed in this paper, whose presence is so far unique to the Athenian agora, which is associated with a commercial function. This structure includes a series of rooms as well as a courtyard and will be referred to as structure Type C (Fig. 4).

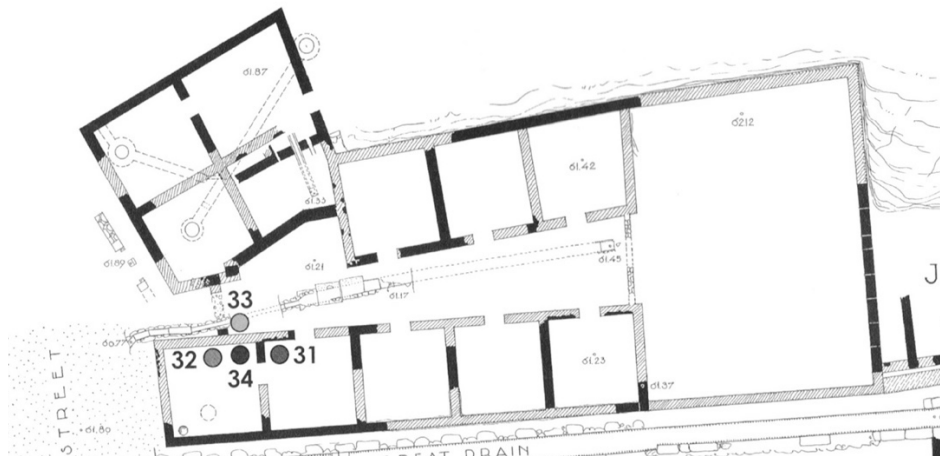


Fig. 4: Example of structure Type C: Poros Building at Athens.

The table below (Fig. 5) shows the distribution of the different types of commercial structures that are used as individual case studies throughout this paper. The table is organized first by type of structure and then chronologically. It is clear from this chart that the different types of structures are not isolated to one area, nor even to one period, with the exception of Type C in the Athenian Agora.

Type	Date	Building	Place	Location
A (or other)	9 th c. BCE	Terrace Building	Gordion	Industrial Area
A (or other)	9 th c. BCE	Clay Cut Structure	Gordion	Industrial Area
A	Beg. 7 th c. BCE	Archaic building beneath House I	Eretria	Unclear at this time
A	7 th -6 th c. BCE	‘pièces d’habitation’	Vroulia	Port
A	7 th -6 th c. BCE	Shops/Rooms 41,42 & 43	Vroulia	Port/agora
A	6 th c. BCE	Building L	Argilos	Unclear at this time
A	6 th c. BCE	Building 3	Vrachos	Unclear at this time
A	Late 6 th c. BCE	North-west Stoa extension	Samos	Agora
A	5 th c. BCE	Building 6	Olbia Pontica	Agora
A	5 th c. BCE	Rooms on western side of agora	Olbia Pontica	Agora
A	Late 5 th – early 4 th c. BCE	Classical Commercial Building	Athens	Agora
A	500-450 BCE	‘series of rooms’	Locri Epizefiri	Port
A	At least 5 th c. BCE	Houses A v 9, A v 10, and A iv 9	Olynthos	Along Avenue B (not in main agora of city)
A	Archaic & Classical	Building A	Methone	Agora
A	Classical	South Shops	Morgantina	Agora
A	Classical	Central Shops	Morgantina	Agora
A	Hellenistic	Extension to Central Shops	Morgantina	Agora
C	5 th c. BCE	Greek Building Δ	Athens	Agora
C	mid 5 th c. BCE	Poros Building	Athens	Agora
C	450-400 BCE	Strategeion	Athens	Agora
S	650-600 BCE	Bâtiment e	Megara Hyblaea	Agora
S	650-600 BCE	Bâtiment f	Megara Hyblaea	Agora
S	570-560 BCE	North-west Stoa	Samos	Agora
S	250-150 BCE	Stoa J	Samothrace	Agora/Sanctuary
H	Archaic (6 th ???)	Stoa U	Locri Epizefiri	Port
H	425-400 BCE	South Stoa I	Athens	Agora
H	ca. 3 rd c. BCE	Stoas in the South Market	Miletus	Agora
H	mid 2 nd c. BCE	Stoa of Attalos	Athens	Agora
H	Hellenistic	Structure to east of agora	Olbia Pontica	Agora

Fig. 5: Table with listed commercial structures discussed in thesis.

1.3. Methodology and Research Limitations

Once my objectives were defined, I began my research with a survey of all possible settlements that were founded during the Archaic and Classical period by consulting Mogens Herman Hansen's *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*.³ The survey is invaluable as it incorporates every polis established during the two periods I am examining. Once I had obtained a list of Archaic and Classical sites with references to architectural remains from the same periods, my research involved scouring through site plans of each polis in search of any traces of buildings that resembled the long structure with a series of rooms that was discovered at Argilos (see section 1.4 for detailed description). Once I had located a possible structure, it was necessary to investigate the site itself to find all pertinent information on its history, ancient and modern, through archaeological reports, publications, scientific journals, articles, and conference proceedings. Additionally, the bibliographic information of certain publications helped to guide and consolidate the more general research of the economic and cultural atmosphere of Archaic and Classical Greece. The archaeological reports of each site have been especially helpful to trace the architectural development of these individual commercial structures. For this study, the date of each building and the theories concerning its functions were of utmost importance, as well as the relationship to its environment i.e. the market or public area it was located in.

Originally planned to be a catalogue of Archaic and Classical commercial shops resembling Building L at Argilos, the insufficient amount of structures that were identified did not warrant a satisfactory volume for this type of presentation. This is not to diminish the presence of these structures in the ancient Greek world, but to account perhaps for their deterioration over time as well as their refurbishment or destruction in later periods. Therefore, it was decided to use the buildings presented in this paper as case studies in a broader analysis regarding the perception of such structures and their function as commercial shops. It was also necessary to supply a comprehensive study of the terminology (ancient and modern) and the ancient markets corresponding to these commercial buildings. Moreover, there are some case studies presented in this paper that are similar in design to structure Type A but are not explicitly identified as

³ Hansen 2006.

commercial in function. Nevertheless, I believe it necessary to discuss them in applicable circumstances given that such buildings often served multiple purposes throughout their history. The case studies presented in this paper have been grouped or separated based on their function within a commercial context, their overall architectural design, and their location within the ancient Greek world. The sections of this thesis were divided to address terminology, location, and design. In this way, they provide an inclusive and coherent comprehension of not only the commercial structures themselves but the environments and broader framework that produced such buildings as well as their architectural and chronological relationship to one another.

There are problems encountered when dealing with the various terminology and fragmented definitions given by modern and ancient sources regarding the design, function, and whereabouts of commercial structures of the ancient Greek world. The misconceptions and disagreements in scholarship concerning commercial architecture is extensive and convoluted. For this reason, I found it necessary to include a separate section dedicated to exposing and clarifying such issues; I attempt to address these problems in Chapter 2: Defining Terminology. An additional research limitation is met when analyzing early Greek settlements and their surviving buildings. The earlier Archaic layers and structures from these sites rarely survive the events of later periods, whether they be damage from conflicts, time, or architectural renovations. Thus, making the identification of commercial buildings during this time problematic and occasionally hypothetical. The lack of architectural remains and indistinct vestiges that are a frequent impediment when examining ancient sites and the difficulties of a cohesive language among scholars to discuss commercial shops, are a few of the main problems facing my research. Moreover, some of the sites presented in this thesis have not been completely excavated or their finds not fully published at the time of this study. There is, therefore, a factor of fragmentary data that requires the discovery of other commercial structures at different sites in future, as well as additional research of structures that have been partially identified but which cannot be categorized at present.

1.4. Historiography

Before commenting on the historiography of Archaic and Classical commercial structures, it is first necessary to mention the main scholarship on Greek architecture in general. Certainly,

when studying Greek architecture, the works of Roland Martin⁴ and Marie-Christine Hellmann⁵ can hardly be overlooked. Their respective publications have provided an encompassing look at Greek architecture, from Archaic to Roman, with information on an array of sites across the ancient Greek world. The general overview of architectural and urbanistic concepts provided by Martin and Hellmann are substantiated by extensive material evidence from numerous sites. Both are immeasurable to acquiring a secure understanding of the contextual knowledge and development of ancient Greek architecture and economy. More specialized publications have been consulted concerning different building types, as well as the economic conditions and events of these periods that could have affected the architectural design and development of the structures being discussed. Mogens Herman Hansen's *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* is invaluable in locating specific sites in the ancient Greek world, as it references every possible Greek polis with all corresponding information that has been collected. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*⁶ does much the same when locating stoas. J.J. Coulton's rarely contested catalogue of stoas remains the foremost publication dedicated to the study of Greek stoas from the Archaic to Hellenistic period, providing ample information concerning construction materials, architectural orders and theories of their function(?) relating to each building. With regards to commercial structures however, there remains a lack of specialized research on such material. Susan Rotroff's recent scholarship, *Industrial Religion*, focuses on identifying commercial structures within the Athenian Agora. Her unique take on pyre deposits and their connection to commercial activity has deviated from previous interpretations by archaeologists, such as Rodney Young, of non-commercial functions ascribed to certain buildings. For the purposes of my research regarding individual sites, I have supplied the available theories and debates concerning the separate buildings and their functions in the main body of this paper.

With reference to the general history of Greek economy and architecture, there is not much dissent among scholars. There are several efforts made to address the convoluted idea of commercial markets, such as the agora, emporion, and military agora, and how they deviate from one another. Denise Demetriou's *Negotiating Identity*, Philip Stanley's *Ancient Greek*

⁴ Martin 1967.

⁵ Hellmann 2010.

⁶ Coulton 1976.

Market Regulations and Controls, as well as the conference proceedings in Bresson and Rouillard's *L'Emporion* are some of the foremost authorities on the issue. Demetriou's views of early Greek maritime trade as a channel for cross-cultural trade emphasizes the interconnectivity of the ancient Greek world and the religious, cultural, and architectural concepts that were shared. Stanley provides a comprehensive description and analysis of various markets while substantiating his claims with ample sources from ancient authors. The information Stanley provides on different markets was extremely valuable for this thesis since it included their first appearance in ancient sources, theories regarding their transformations through different periods, and the different role of each market. Bresson and Rouillard supplied a variety of authorities on ancient Greek economy and maritime trade in their publication; no other publication has assembled such a collection of works focused on the Greek emporion. *L'Emporion* provides a compilation of works relating to the ἐμπόριον from different areas of research that address the problems of methodology and terminology encountered when studying the commercial space. The different approaches and theories presented offer a comprehensive familiarity with the subject and an indication of the problems facing the interpretation of ancient Greek public markets. With regards to ancient sources, the excerpts I have chosen to include are those which are constructive in their reference. In other words, they provide valuable information on the term in question – its functions, location, date, etc. When discussing the terminology of the word ἀγορά in the second chapter for instance, there are other early mentions by ancient sources, such as Thucydides and Pindar. I choose to reference Herodotus, however, as the others do not explicitly mention the ἀγορά as a place where trading and selling occurred, therefore I have chosen to omit them.

1.5. Argilos

The discovery of the commercial structure at Argilos was the incentive for further research into the presence of similar structures throughout the ancient Greek world during the Archaic and Classical periods. With regards to the architectural design of structure Type A being discussed in this thesis, it would be beneficial to first look at the commercial structure at Argilos. The historical context of the site and the material evidence gathered from the commercial building will be reviewed in order to better understand the commercial structures that will be

presented in later chapters.

The city of Argilos was colonized in the 7th century BCE by migrants from Andros. The city is located in the Strymona region, adjacent to the river mouth. Due to its proximity to the river and the area's abundant resources – its gold and silver mines as well as its rich timber supply – the city of Argilos became a significant and powerful urban center. The city burgeoned in the following centuries, prospering from its natural resources and port connections with other cities.⁷ The site has been excavated by Jacques Y. Perreault and Zisis Bonias for the past 25 years.⁸ Recent excavations in the southernmost area of the site has revealed four separate buildings, with the outer limits of two more possible structures having been discovered. Each building is separated by means of small streets and alleyways, facilitating access to this industrious area. My focus for this study, however, is “Building L,” as it is the most fully excavated building that is part of what is undoubtedly a commercial complex. Of the four structures found in the Koutloudis sector up to date, “Building L” is the southwesternmost building. It is comprised of a total number of twelve rooms, all evenly spaced and uniform with average dimensions of 4.50m by 6.50m and the structure itself measuring a total length of about 60m (Fig.6). “Building H” also follows a long, individually constructed space design (Fig.6) but the rooms in this structure have internal divisions whereas the rooms in “Building L” do not. Not only can the structure provide a more complete and broader understanding of the commercial functions of such a building in relation to the city's economic and urban development, the rooms can provide a detailed perception of what was manufactured and sold within each space and how. The city's progress can be observed through the architectural development and construction of numerous private and public buildings in all areas excavated. However, excavations have indicated to periods of destruction during the 5th century BCE, after the city's initial growth during the 6th century BCE.⁹ Like other cities in the area, Argilos was then seized and destroyed by Philip II in 357 BCE and ultimately abandoned. Between these periods of destruction, the city was rebuilt and reinhabited, as is

⁷ Liampi 2005, 70.

⁸ Perreault 2015, 173-196.

⁹ Liampi 2005, 78-80.

confirmed in two stratigraphic layers of occupation in all rooms located in “Building L.”¹⁰

Although most rooms in “Building L” have only been excavated to their late or early 5th century BCE floors, excavators theorize that the structure itself can be dated back to the 6th century BCE.¹¹ This is due to the observation in the first few rooms, where the back wall of the building exhibited similar masonry techniques including size, layout and type of stone used to build most of the Archaic period private buildings in other areas of the city.¹² Investigations in Room L6 have confirmed this hypothesis through the clearing of a 5th century BCE occupation layer. Below this layer, excavators removed a sand fill of 60 to 80 cm deep to reveal a floor dating to the middle of the 6th century BCE, suggesting that the construction of the room can be dated to this time.

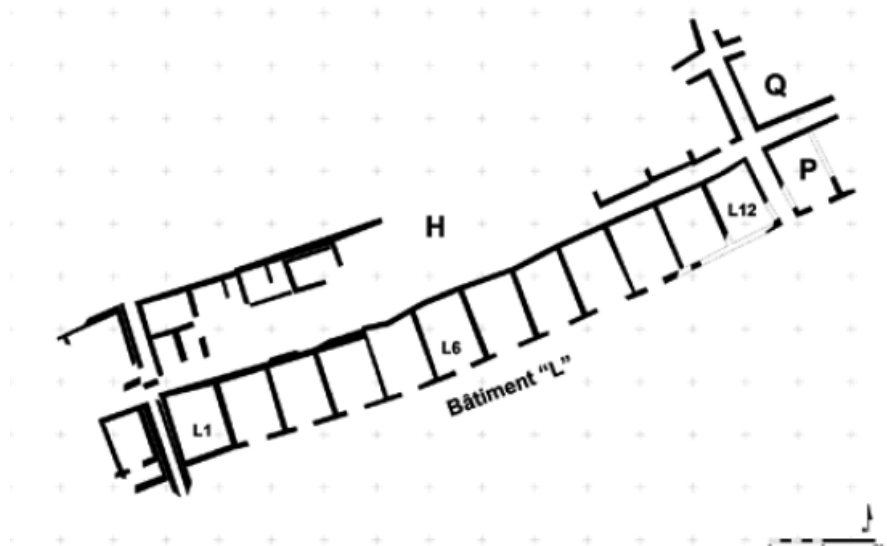


Fig. 6: Plan of commercial area at Argilos. Building L and Building H are labelled as such.

The function of the rooms is harder to determine, considering most rooms in “Building L” have yet to be completely excavated. Nevertheless, it is evident that the building itself had a commercial function where products were manufactured and/or sold – finds of over 500 coins in these shops corroborate this theory. Moreover, artifacts found within the rooms provide a more

¹⁰ Perreault 2016, 305. The two occupation phases date from 475/460 BCE to 425/400 BCE and 425/400 BCE to 357 BCE, which also relate to the later phases excavated in the southeast sector of the site where most of the private buildings have been found.

¹¹ Perreault 2016, 306.

¹² Ibid.

precise interpretation of the utility of each space. A press-bed for olive oil, grinding wheels, loom weights and basins to produce fabrics, as well as worked bone fragments have been found respectively in the rooms of “Building L.”¹³ These few examples demonstrate that each room in “Building L” manufactured or sold something different from its neighbor, promoting the specialty of each. This theory is reinforced by the actual construction of each room in “Building L;” the façade of each shop, the different materials used for the threshold of each shop, is distinct from the other. It is postulated that a different mason or technique was used in each individual room, considering that even the back wall – which serves as a terrace wall for “Building H” – was not built as one singular wall. This implies that the spaces were conceded to merchants such that they were granted use (and possibly ownership) of the lot (e.g., employment of their masons, purchasing construction materials, etc.).¹⁴

The architectural construction of “Building L” consists of a long, single row of uniformly sized shops. The adjoining walls of these shops, although constructed independently from their neighbors, are assembled using a consistent technique: the lower part of each wall is constructed in stone with the upper section in clay. The rooms in “Building L” are accessible by an entryway that opens onto a street.¹⁵ What is revealing about these thresholds is the placement of the hinges that show the doors to the shops opened outwards. This is significant for a commercial space, as the interior of the room on either side of the threshold, would have otherwise been occupied by the doors; with this design, the interior is freed for more storage or display of products. Jacques Perreault intriguingly compares this configuration to the public markets in modern cities of the Near East.¹⁶ He connects the outward-opening doors of “Building L” with the wings of shops in the bazaar as they fold against the outer wall to create additional space for goods, as well as defining the boundaries of the shop itself – adding to the idea that each shop was procured and constructed individually.

When investigating the long, single row design of “Building L,” we find evidence of rows of such shops or “strip-malls,” frequent in the Hellenistic period; in fact, the commercial stoa is a

¹³ Ibid. land, 306-307.

¹⁴ Tsakirgis 2005, 79. Tsakirgis here mentions a “multi-roomed building rented by several different men to serve an industrial function.”

¹⁵ Most of these are completely or partially preserved.

¹⁶ Jacques Perreault has discussed this idea with me in conversations in person and via email.

common feature in Hellenistic public architecture. Perhaps the most famous example is the Stoa of Attalos located in the Athenian Agora (Fig. 7). Built during the mid-2nd century BCE, it housed rows of shops behind a double colonnade with two storeys.¹⁷ The commercial stoas at Miletus around the South Market are other examples of Hellenistic commercial stoas with shops located at the rear of the building and a colonnade at the front (Fig. 8). Although both the Stoa of Attalos and the stoas at Miletus have colonnades across their front and Argilos does not, the importance of these examples is placed on the rows of shops located in all the buildings being discussed. The economic and social centers of such cities were bustling with the trade of goods and exchange of ideas, in and around these buildings that served to facilitate transactions. The structure at Argilos bears a strong resemblance to the rows of commercial shops in both cities. However, these buildings are stoas, unlike the structure at Argilos. As will become clear through the course of this analysis, there is no single type of architectural style for commercial shops – that is, not until the Hellenistic period, when the stoa takes precedence over other types of commercial architecture. As a consequence, there is a presumption in ancient Greek archaeology that the stoa is a standardized design for commercial buildings. There is, however, a tendency toward a particular design – structure Type A – throughout the Archaic and Classical periods that has been consistently grouped in a commercial context.

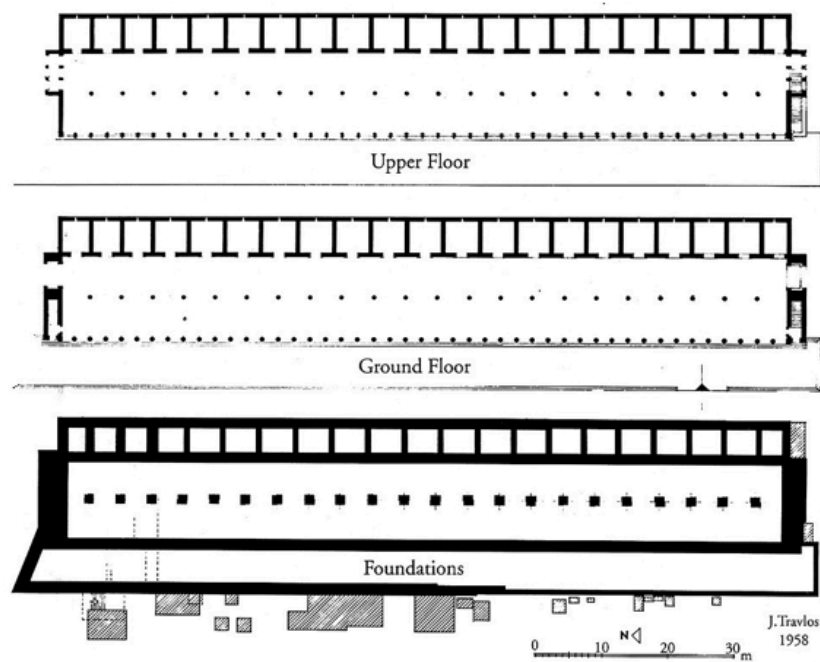


Fig. 7: Plan of Stoa of Attalos in Athens.

¹⁷ Coulton 1976, 219.

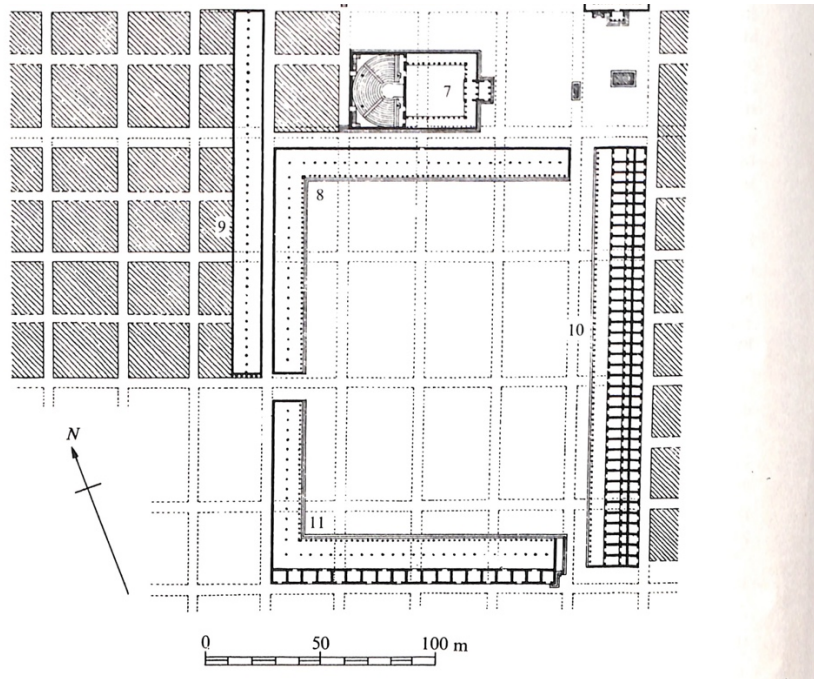


Fig. 8: Plan of South Market at Miletus.

As the population increased and local and foreign markets expanded, the burgeoning economy would play a significant role in the urbanization of Archaic cities. The architecture that developed to accommodate the commercial activity during this period would help shape and organize the city. Nonetheless, there remain some discrepancies regarding the architectural history of the ancient Greek economic world. This thesis will endeavor to present a comprehensive study in the architectural design of commercial structures of the Archaic and Classical periods. Chapter 2 of this thesis will attempt to navigate the convoluted and oftentimes problematic terminology of commercial structures provided by ancient and modern sources. In addition, the chapter will address the misconceptions surrounding Archaic and Classical commercial structures and the commercial stoa of the Hellenistic period. In Chapter 3: Identifying markets and commercial areas, selected commercial structures will be used to discuss the physical environments and locations these buildings, as well as providing a historical and scholarly context as to the various types of markets that existed in Archaic and Classical periods. Chapter 4 of this thesis will present an assortment of sites and their possible commercial structures located in the ancient Greek world and its colonies. The architectural design and function of each structure will be discussed, as well as the variances and similarities between them.

2. Defining Terminology

This chapter will focus on the terminology and historiography of the Archaic and Classical commercial structures that will be featured throughout this paper. There are certain misconceptions facing the scholarship of commercial structures in the ancient Greek world that need to be addressed. There is a misguided notion that the stoa was the paradigmatic architectural design for economic activity through the Archaic and Classical periods; in fact, it only became a standard during the Hellenistic period. This is not to imply that all stoas were commercial in function; they were, of course, used for many other purposes including religious and social gatherings, display halls, and covered walkways. The chapter will also examine the terminology used by modern scholars to designate commercial shops, as well as the different words pertaining to the functions and locations of such buildings within an ancient Greek city.

Due to the various structures that can be found in Greek public architecture, it can be difficult to identify the buildings that were associated with a commercial function. When a commercial building is identified by archaeologists, the terminology applied to the structure is often ambiguous or associated with other functions, such as shops integrated with workshops or domestic dwellings. Examples of these are the House of Simon in the Athenian agora¹⁸ and the domestic workshops located at Olynthos,¹⁹ whose functions are both commercial and productive. The lack of a cohesive language among scholars when identifying commercial structures results in inconsistencies in terminology and architectural classification. These inconsistencies can be observed at least during the periods that predate the comparably systematized urbanism of the Hellenistic period. This is in part due to the insufficient information that is available regarding commercial markets and their accompanying architecture in cities before the Classical and Hellenistic periods. According to Roland Martin, the physical space of the agora was transformed with monumental structures during the Classical period.²⁰ The agora of the Classical period likewise took on a greater commercial role, but it is the Hellenistic period

¹⁸ Rotroff 2013, 66 and 78-79.

¹⁹ Cahill 2000, 503.

²⁰ Martin 1967, 128. The architectural developments during this period have been attributed to the appropriation of superior building materials and new architectural forms.

that is regarded as the epitome of organized spatial economic urbanism. This is mainly owing to the recurring presence of a particular architectural form: the stoa. In its simplest form, a stoa is a covered colonnade or walkway, as described in structure Type S. During the Hellenistic period, stoas were typically arranged around the agora, delimiting it on four sides to create a large open space for the commercial center of the city.²¹ The stoas that surrounded the Hellenistic agora usually followed the structural design Type H. While the stoa's role during the Hellenistic period was certainly significant, it is not a Hellenistic creation; rather, it was one of the first public buildings constructed for purely practical purposes – to provide shade and shelter, often to worshippers participating or watching a ritual in or around a sanctuary.²² Some of the earliest examples can be dated to the early Archaic period and will be examined in this chapter shortly. The stoa's minimalist style and pragmatic use rendered it a central feature in the daily transactions of Greek urban life. Given the structure's long history, it served many different functions, far more extensive than merely a place to stop for shelter against the elements, which makes the application of a single description more problematic. Not only were there various functions attributed to the stoa as an architectural design, but an individual stoa could also have gone through many different uses throughout its lifetime. Located at the sites of Megara Hyblaea and Samos, are a few examples of such stoas that will be discussed presently in an attempt to better understand this chronological development as well as the modern misconception that could have occurred between the stoa and other commercial structures.

2.1. Megara Hyblaea

At Megara Hyblaea, the last of the first wave of colonies in eastern Sicily, there is an example of a stoa, structure Type S, as a possible space for commercial activity. During excavations of the Archaic agora by Georges Vallet, Francois Villard, and Paul Auberson, two stoas were discovered, dating to the second half of the 7th century BCE.²³ The eastern stoa is located along the eastern border of the agora and in this way one of the functions of the East Stoa, or

²¹ Hellmann 2010, 132.

²² Tomlinson 1992, 20-21.

²³ Vallet 1983, 25. The North Stoa was constructed slightly earlier, about a quarter century; dated to the third quarter of the 7th century BCE, whereas the East Stoa is dated to the end of the 7th century BCE.

“bâtiment f,” is as a delimitation of the agora to the east (Fig. 9 – highlighted in orange). The dimensions of the East stoa are difficult to ascertain due to its poorly preserved state but its conserved dimensions are 22.50m in length for the eastern wall, and 3.8m in length for its southern wall.²⁴ The North Stoa, “bâtiment e,” is located along the northern border of the agora, acting as a boundary of the agora to the north (Fig. 9 – highlighted in blue). Although the North Stoa is slightly better preserved than the East Stoa, it is still not complete. The south side of the North Stoa included a colonnade of sixteen columns that opened onto the agora. The conserved dimensions of the building are about 42m in length by 6m in depth.²⁵ Although the North and East stoas have no rooms or internal separations, their commercial function is acknowledged through temporary merchant stalls that would have been present as opposed to permanent shops. Economic activity in ancient Greek cities can be traced to well before any physical structures appeared to facilitate and organize the commercial interests of the population; temporary stalls or booths were presumably set up in and around the agora of most cities. Not all merchants could sell their goods in permanent installations; there were certainly foreign vendors who would market their products periodically at different cities. Unfortunately, we have no archaeological evidence for temporary shops, except for concentrations of artifacts in numerous spots along streets.²⁶ Some believe that this evidence points to the use of temporary wooden structures, such as the stalls or booths that would have been brought into the commercial center and taken away at the end of each day. As is assumed to have taken place in the stoas at Megara Hyblaea, there were temporary stalls that were set up in permanent buildings. As Richard Howland proposes, mercantile structures before the 5th century BC may well have included such porticoes of structure Type S with no internal divisions in which “merchants at this time [would have] separate portions assigned to them, [and] were marked only by temporary barriers or measured by the columns’ spacing”²⁷ (Fig. 10). The early date of these commercial shops within a stoa, although temporary, can help justify the tendency of

²⁴ Vallet 1983, 219.

²⁵ De Angelis 2003, 26.

²⁶ Examples of such accumulations have been noted at Olynthos and Athens. Cahill 2000, 499-503; Rotroff 2009, 39.

²⁷ Howland 1941, 18. Here, Howland states the possible organization of temporary mercantile structures in Athens before the 5th century B.C. This can also be applied to other cities in Greek world.

archaeologists and historians to interpret this structure as the standard design for commercial shops before the Hellenistic period, based on their predominantly commercial use during the Hellenistic period. It is important to note that not all Hellenistic stoas had a commercial function; they often served as administrative offices, exhibition galleries, or in sanctuaries, among other functions.²⁸ Once more, the early date of these buildings and the practice of creating these artificial boundaries for temporary shops, can be seen as the first step toward a more permanent installation for commercial activity.



Fig. 9: Plan of stoas at Megara Hyblaea. Highlighting 'batiment e' in blue and 'batiment f' in orange.

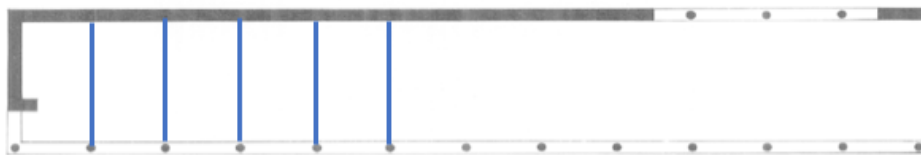


Fig. 10: Plan of 'batiment e' with added blue separations to indicate spacing between columns dedicated to individual temporary shops.

²⁸ Martin 1967, 138-140.

2.2. Samos

An early example of a permanent installation constructed to accommodate commercial activity can be found at Samos. There are two stoas in the ancient city of Samos that follow structure Type S, the South Stoa and the North-west Stoa, dating respectively to the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. Although the South Stoa was most likely used to provide shade and shelter for worshippers of the Temple of Hera,²⁹ the North-west Stoa served another purpose. The design of the North-west Stoa, built around 570-560 BCE,³⁰ is similar to that of the South Stoa, consisting of three virtually separate Type S stoas, dividing the building into three sections (Fig. 11 – highlighted in blue). The building's dimensions are 59.20m in length and 5.90m in depth.³¹ During the late 6th century BCE, the building was extended to the east, to a length of over 120m (Fig. 11 – highlighted in orange).³² The Archaic building campaign that expanded the stoa also integrated a series of rooms into the structure. The dimensions of each individual room are approximately 7m x 10m.³³ The late-6th century BCE extension can be classified as a possible Type A design, quite similar to the architectural plan of a commercial building, such as the one at Argilos. If this should be the case, it can be hypothesized that the extension was intended to accommodate shops. If so, this architectural design would correspond with the emergence of similar commercial structures built during the same period. For instance, the agora at Thasos was gradually expanded and eventually formed to resemble a colonnaded courtyard during the Hellenistic period (Fig. 12). The rooms located behind the characteristic colonnade of the stoas housed commercial shops, as well as administrative offices and banquet halls.³⁴

²⁹ Coulton 1976, 21-23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 27, 280.

³² *Ibid.*, 280.

³³ The dimensions of the added rooms are according to the scale supplied in Figure 3.

³⁴ Grandjean 2000, 62-64.

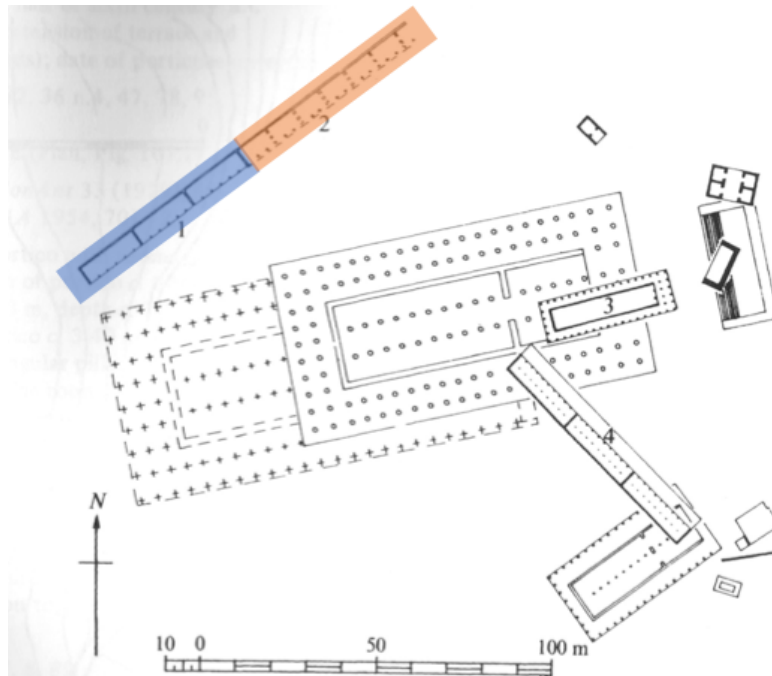


Fig. 11: Plan of stoa at Samos. Highlighting original construction of North-west stoa in blue and its later extension in orange.

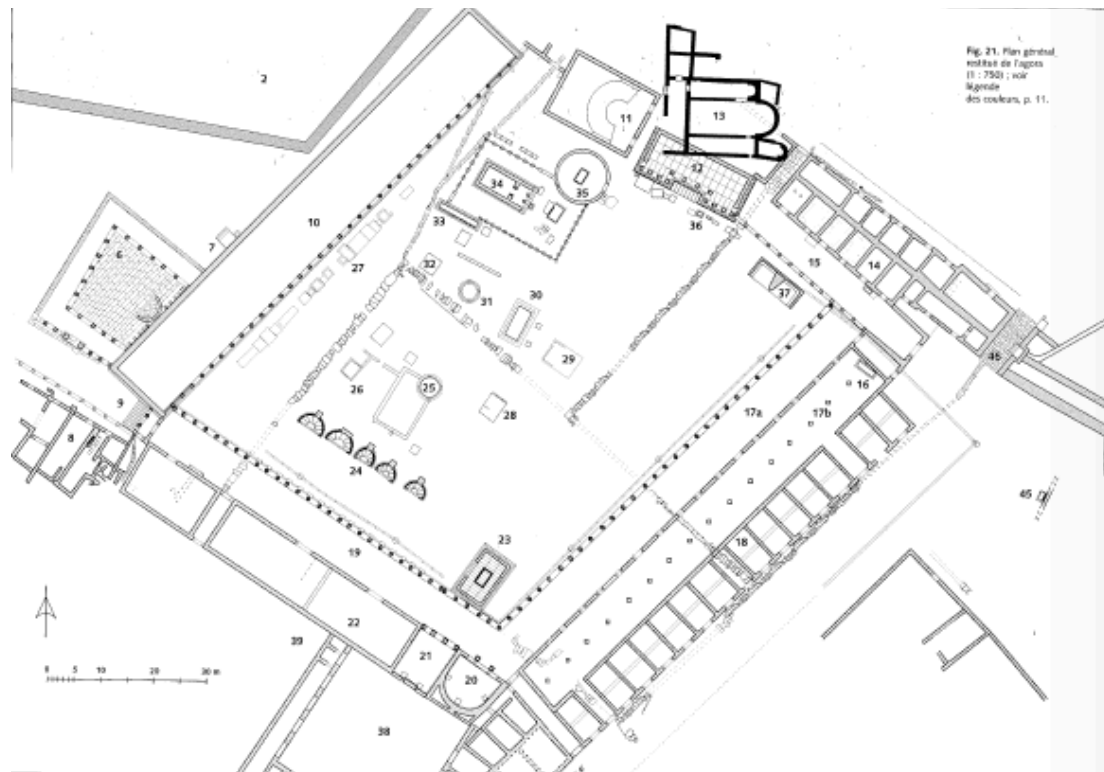


Fig. 12: Plan of agora at Thasos showing three sides of the Hellenistic colonnaded courtyard agora.

Little is definitively known about Archaic urbanism following the Greek 'Dark Ages.' According to Roland Martin, it was around the 6th century that most buildings began to be constructed with more distinct plans and requirements to accommodate more urbanized cities than had been seen in the previous centuries.³⁵ The North-west Stoa at Samos provides an example of the transition of functions – from a non-commercial function to a commercial function – that can occur within an individual building and the architectural changes it may necessitate. It would seem that the stoa's purpose and form developed to better accommodate the commercial activity of the city. One aspect of the architectural development of commercial structures can be seen with these two examples; thus, the temporary division of the stoa into stalls for commercial activity became a permanent feature, reflected in the architectural form of the stoas at Samos.

Given the development and function of the stoa during the periods preceding the Hellenistic period, it is reasonable that the structure became the chosen space to house commercial shops in later periods. The stoa was increasingly adopted within the agora as a framing element along its borders, turning the agora into the form of a large colonnaded courtyard.³⁶ An example of this can be found in the South Square of the Athenian Agora where, during the Hellenistic period, the South Stoa II, the East Building, and the Middle Stoa were built as part of one building program to form a commercial courtyard.³⁷ But what of earlier periods? We know that the stoa, although present in and around Archaic and Classical agoras, was not as prominent an architectural form, or at least not one with a strictly commercial function. Richard Tomlinson argues that the stoa was the first possible structure used to house shops in ancient Greece for the reasons already mentioned.³⁸ However, as will become evident throughout this thesis, there does not appear to be a uniform design for shops in earlier periods, but there does seem to be a predisposition towards a simple design such as the one found at Argilos. To corroborate this point, some notably early examples can be found in Vroulia and Vrachos, two sites that will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. Both sites were founded around the 7th century BCE – contemporaneous with the stoas at Megara Hyblaea and Samos – and both

³⁵ Martin 1967, 128.

³⁶ Tomlinson 1992, 22.

³⁷ Coulton 1976, 72-74.

³⁸ Tomlinson 1992, 20-21.

buildings are identified as structure Type A. This indicates that the stoa Type S was not necessarily the first structure used for commercial purposes, as Tomlinson suggests, but that the commercial structure Type A appeared synchronously with the earliest stoas of structure Type S. As discussed earlier, the commercial building found at Argilos has also been identified as structure Type A. And although previously thought to have been a stoa Type H due to the possible presence of a colonnade, the excavated structure possessed no such feature.³⁹ This identification of Building L at Argilos as structure Type A, corresponds more appropriately with the earliest examples of the structure during the Archaic period. Thus, the location of permanent commercial spaces in Archaic and Classical cities does not necessarily fall under the architectural parameters of a stoa – either in temporary booths within structure Type S or permanent structure Type H. Some shops were located in buildings with a simple series of rooms, others had no colonnade but incorporated a style with an open space or courtyard.⁴⁰ These different designs of the Archaic and Classical periods will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4, which will explore the architectural styles that occurred in multiple cities.

The unsystematic use of an architectural design for commercial structures throughout the Archaic and Classical periods accounts for the lack of terminological consistency. In other words, since there is no single structure designated for commercial activity before those located in stoas of structure Type H of the Hellenistic period, historians and archaeologists are compelled to ascribe their own terms to the buildings. Shops have been referred to as porticoes, stoas, *oikoi*,⁴¹ shops, *deigmata*, *leschai*,⁴² arcades,⁴³ *échoppes*⁴⁴, domestic-workshops, warehouse-shops, and workshop-shops. Roland Martin uses the term *κάπηλοι* when he is describing the features of shops⁴⁵ (from the word *κάπηλος*, meaning a retail seller or shopkeeper⁴⁶), used to accommodate commercial activity in the agora. These shops, regardless of the name they are given, can be found in city-centers within an agora, by the port as part of an emporion, or occasionally

³⁹ Perreault 2016, 303-304.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 4 for further details on this architectural style.

⁴¹ Barra Bagnasco 2000, 1-33.

⁴² Lehmann 1953, 3.

⁴³ Phoca 1999, 118.

⁴⁴ Hellmann 2010, 118. In English, refers to a small shop or kiosk.

⁴⁵ Martin 1951, 287. Whether Martin means temporary or permanent structures is unclear.

⁴⁶ Montanari 2015, “*καπηλοι*.”

participating in temporary markets in and around the city.

Along with the variety of terms, there are often slight variances in the architecture of the building or their assumed function that would compel scholars to supply different terminology. The definitions of some words do not differ considerably from one to another, such as porticoes and stoas, which are often interchangeable in an architectural discourse – the latter being the Greek word for the particular design of the covered walkway. Other terms provided, however, appear when different interpretations are combined with the possible commercial use of a building. For example, the terms *oikoi* and *leschai* are both terms from ancient Greek – the first referring to the Greek household⁴⁷ while the latter refers to a public place of meeting.⁴⁸ Both these terms signify a conceptual idea, but they are both used to identify physical spaces. The term *oikoi* is used by Marcella Bagnasco when she endeavors to classify the commercial building at the site of Locri Epizefiri in Southern Italy. The site itself will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter, but the terminology applied to the structure could be related to the city's association with visiting merchants and sailors and the accommodations that may have been provided for them. While the excavators seem to favor a commercial function, in this case, *oikoi* was chosen by Bagnasco to refer to the possibility of lodgings provided to foreigners who visited the city. In this way, Bagnasco has used the term *oikoi* to describe the building, linking it to a non-commercial function, though commercial activity did take place within the structure.

The term *deigma* can be traced back to the Classical period and was used by ancient sources such as Aristophanes (Kn. 979),⁴⁹ Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.1.21),⁵⁰ and Demosthenes (35.29) to refer to a place of commercial activity.⁵¹ Most often associated with an area in an emporion or commercial port, the *deigma* has been understood as a space where merchants displayed samples of their cargo.⁵² Scholars continue to debate whether the *deigma* refers to a physical structure or simply an open space. Walther Judeich refers to it as a building reminiscent of a portico,⁵³ while other scholars such as Stanley affirms that since ancient sources often refer to

⁴⁷ Montanari 2015, “οίκος”

⁴⁸ Montanari 2015, “λέσχη”

⁴⁹ Aristophanes 1907, 979.

⁵⁰ Xenophon 1921, 5.1.21.

⁵¹ Demosthenes 1939, 35.29.

⁵² Williams 2013, 40; Marquand 1909, 318.

⁵³ Judeich 1931, 394.

the *deigma* as a τόπος ('place'), that it must signify a space and not a physical structure.⁵⁴ Moreover, according to Bresson, the first sources that allude to a *deigma* being constructed come from the 1st century BCE,⁵⁵ much later than the periods considered in this paper. The term *lesche* is used by Karl Lehmann in his work on Samothrace when describing the long rectangular building located near the 'New Temple.' The word also appears in the *Odyssey* (18.329) and Hesiod's *Works and Days* (491, 499), who use the term to identify a room with reference to a smithy as a place to rest and meet with others, as well as commenting on the space's commercial function.

Another source of confusion is that some shops were integrated with spaces with other purposes, such as the domestic-workshops, warehouse-shops, and workshop-shops, all three of which have been labelled by Marie-Christine Hellmann⁵⁶ in her work *L'architecture grecque vol. 3: habitat, urbanisme, et fortifications*. Domestic-workshops, such as the ones we find at Olynthos that will be discussed in a later chapter, not only produced the items they sold within the household, but reserved a separate space at the front of the home to sell their products. Hellmann also identifies the styles of warehouse-shop and workshop-shop. The former was used as storage space in the agora or along commercial ports, but it is uncertain whether it was used to sell goods. The latter being essentially a shop where products were either sold and perhaps mended, or produced and sold.

In addition to the confusion generated by the inconsistency in terminology applied to identified commercial structures, there are buildings which share the same architectural design as these that are often mistakenly associated with another function. Such misinterpreted structures are often labeled as workshops, banquet halls, offices, etc. This is not to say that the identifications of such buildings are incorrect. On the contrary, there are numerous possible functions that could be applied to the relatively simple design of a series of rooms. That is what makes the identification of commercial shops so difficult. Due to the pragmatic design of the building akin to the one found at Argilos, there is a high possibility that shops were placed within structures that were once used for other purposes. Examples of this can be seen in the commercial structures at Athens or in the 'domestic-shops' found at Olynthos, both of which

⁵⁴ Stanley 1983, 181.

⁵⁵ Bresson 2007-2008, 102.

⁵⁶ These terminologies have been translated from Hellmann 2010, 118. "maison-atelier," "magasins-entrepots," and "atelier-boutiques"

have often been misidentified as non-commercial structures due to their slight variances in architectural design. The different types of commercial structures at Athens and Olynthos will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. Owing to the versatile style of such a building, there have been instances where a similar structure is thought to have had a non-commercial function.

2.3. Gordion

One such case of a similar structure being identified as having a non-commercial function is at Gordion. Although earlier than the structures discussed in this paper, similar buildings were found at the site of Gordion, a major city of Asia Minor located in modern Turkey. The building in question is dated to the 9th century BCE.⁵⁷ The structure consists of eight individual units, but the building is nevertheless interpreted as one collective construction, the Terrace Building (Fig. 13 – highlighted in blue). The units have been identified as workshops, following a megaron-type design with an anteroom at its entrance and a main room at the back, in which a large number of equipment for textile and food production was found in each.⁵⁸ Four other spaces have been uncovered, the Clay Cut Structure, running parallel and almost identical to the Terrace Building, facing it from across an open space or street (Fig. 13 – highlighted in orange). According to Burke, the workshops in the Terrace Building and Clay Cut Structure were most likely in production to supply a standing army, evidenced by the mass production of textiles and other goods, as well as buildings to provide temporary shelter to a campaigning army.⁵⁹ Moreover, he states that textiles were a prominent method of payment and trade and would have been used as a means of currency. As Burke puts it, “we can suggest both a military and peer-to-peer system of elite exchange with a heavy emphasis on cloth.”⁶⁰ Despite their early date and location outside of the Greek world, these buildings provide a potentially useful analogue for the Archaic and Classical commercial design being discussed. The Terrace Building and the Clay Cut Structure follow a very similar plan to the series of rooms found at Argilos and elsewhere in the ancient Greek world. Furthermore, both function to supply an army, as ascertained in military agoras, or mass

⁵⁷ Burke 2005, 72.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 71-72.

⁵⁹ Burke 2010, 150.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 152-153.

production for trading purposes in a peer-to-peer system that is characteristic of early commercial markets. We might imagine that the smaller space at the front of the room could be used to display merchandise that was produced in the workshop at the back, to be sold to visiting soldiers. It is informative, moreover, to observe the similarities between the architectural design of the two buildings at Gordion with that of the commercial structures being examined throughout this paper – that is, the ‘series of rooms’ in the featured buildings. The two societies were not unknown to each other; the Greeks and Phrygians shared economic and social contacts that would have allowed for transmitted concepts that may have included architectural influences. As mentioned previously, the practicality of such a simple design was undoubtedly used for various activities. The case at Gordion helps demonstrate the degree of possibilities involved in the identification and analysis of this architectural commercial form. At an earlier period, in an elite-governed society, perhaps it was solely for the production of goods for the patrician classes,⁶¹ later to be utilized by expanding cities in order to accommodate their economic needs. So too, the transformation of the agora and commercial ports, such as the emporion evolved from a growing economic demand by its population, which ultimately transferred to the development of suitable commercial structures.

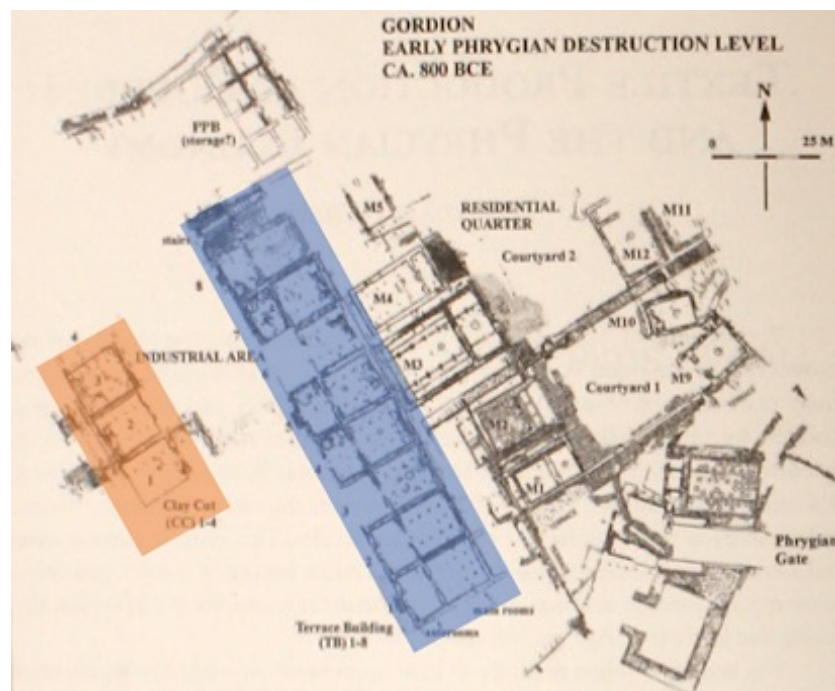


Fig. 13: Plan of Terrace Building (highlighted in blue) and Clay Cut Structure (highlighted in orange) at Gordion.

⁶¹ Burke 2010, 81.

The interpretation of a building's function, and its terminological designation, often depend on its location and its similarities with or differences from the architectural designs of other commercial shops. A lack of consistent terminology and the failure to conclusively define these commercial buildings, extends to the terms given to their locations within the city. That is to say, there is some disagreement when defining the public areas of the city where the commercial activity occurs, specifically the agora, emporion (or port-of-trade) and possible military agora. While these types of markets will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, I would like to focus on the terminology and definitions applied to each and how the differences in interpretation might affect the understanding of the commercial structures located in them.

The agora is reasonably well understood by modern scholars. Before the Classical period, the agora was an open public space used for most civic activities including political assemblies, social gatherings and some commercial transactions. During the Classical period, the agora changed in character, as its commercial activities took precedence over its other functions.⁶² While the agora continued to serve non-commercial roles, the conjunction of these functions generated various definitions that could be applied to the space in question. Before the Classical period, ancient sources used the word ἀγορά to mean both 'assembly or meeting place' as well as 'marketplace.'⁶³ The word ἀγορά derives from the verb ἀγείρω, meaning 'to gather or assemble.'⁶⁴ By the Classical period, ἀγορά developed to denote a marketplace, in accordance with the changes happening to the physical space itself. The earliest securely dateable use of ἀγορά with this meaning occurs in Herodotus (second half of the 5th century BCE).⁶⁵ Thus, the semantic development of this word corresponds well with the increasing commercial function of the agora during the Classical period.

More problematic to define, however, is the Greek emporion. Historians and archaeologists debate the definition of an emporion – its function, its location, and its relationship with or as a Greek polis. The word ἐμπόριον has been translated as 'market' and

⁶² Hansen 2006, 30.

⁶³ Montanari 2015, "ἀγορά."

⁶⁴ Ibid., "ἀγείρω."

⁶⁵ Herodotus 1920, 1.153. Other early uses of the word ἀγορά as a 'market' can be found in Thucydides and Pindar, although they do not explicitly mention the ἀγορά as a place where trading and selling occurred, therefore I have left them out.

‘place of trade or commerce.’⁶⁶ Essentially, ἐμπόρια were sites dedicated to commercial activity, usually located near a port, given that they were used to conduct maritime trade. These somewhat vague definitions, however, have resulted in the misidentification of some sites, as the application of the term emporion came to denote any place of trade and commerce. For instance, the military agora which was often set up by the port as well,⁶⁷ for easy access to the influx of supplies, is often misinterpreted as an emporion. The term military agora is a modern definition for what the ancient sources described as simply ἀγορά, ἐμπόριον, or any ‘marketplace’ that was created to supply an army. Additionally, there are other scholars who apply different terms synonymously with an emporion, such as Polanyi’s ‘port-of-trade’.⁶⁸ Certain academics, specifically Hansen and Demetriou, warn against the copious use of the term and confusion of what truly constitutes an emporion.⁶⁹ As I will examine in Chapter 3, scholars disagree about distinctions made between cities with an emporion as opposed to places that were emporia, or if there is in fact any distinction to be made at all. Although the terminology of the word ἐμπόριον does include definitions that limit it to a ‘trading-station,’⁷⁰ recent studies have tried to revise and apply a cohesive description of an emporion in order to prevent any misappropriation. However, the misuse and supposed multifaceted definition of the term has a long history, dating back to the ancient Greeks themselves. According to Demetriou, ancient sources seem to state that the differences in terminology for emporia lie in the understanding of the physical spaces by the ancient Greeks. “[The Greeks] called emporia the newer settlements founded in the western Mediterranean and Black Sea, whose most important function was commercial, whereas when referring to the older Greek world of the Aegean circle they called an emporion the specified space in a polis dedicated to commercial exchange.”⁷¹

Whether studied through ancient sources or modern scholars, it is apparent that there is a disjointed understanding of what constitutes a public market place in the Archaic and Classical

⁶⁶ Montanari 2015, “ἐμπόριον”

⁶⁷ Gras 1993, 104.

⁶⁸ Polanyi defined a port of trade in early societies as a port near body of water, placed between partnering economic bodies, it offers protection, storage and other services needed for maritime trade. See Chapter 3 for further explanation and difference.

⁶⁹ Demetriou 2012, 20; Hansen 2006, 29.

⁷⁰ Liddell 1940, “ἐμπόριον.”

⁷¹ Demetriou 2012, 19.

periods. This fragmented comprehension is also observed in the commercial structures of the same period. As there is no conclusive structural design formerly credited to the Archaic and Classical periods, modern scholars are required to assign their own terminology to the buildings. Furthermore, the misinterpretation of the stoa as the standard commercial building throughout all periods has hindered the understanding of Archaic and Classical commercial structures. The stoa was only systematized, in part, as a commercial structure during the Hellenistic period. The chronological evolution of certain commercial buildings will be discussed in later chapters; for now, it is important to note that the stoa plays a significant role when observed as a simple architectural building that housed temporary shops. Although the 'series of rooms' in the commercial structures featured in this paper did not all necessarily evolve from the idea of creating artificial boundaries within a stoa, the temporary stalls in the stoas presented at Megara Hyblaea and the altered permanent shops in the stoa at Samos can be viewed as cases of such a development. Additionally, the abundance of definitions supplied by scholars when referring to commercial buildings, whether it be within the agora or emporion, is indicative of the difficulty in identification. There is no consistent use of a term by scholars to define a commercial structure once it has been categorized as such. And there is the additional problem of the overemphasis placed on the Hellenistic structure Type H. It is, therefore, necessary to become familiar with the basic language and historiographical context that have been applied to such buildings in order to understand the architectural organization of a commercial structure. Hence, this chapter has addressed the various terminology used to discuss commercial architecture of the Archaic and Classical periods in order to recognize and clarify the inconsistencies surrounding the identification of commercial structures built during this time.

3. Identifying Markets and Commercial Areas

This chapter will discuss the different types of commercial markets that were in use in ancient Greece and its colonies during the Archaic and Classical periods. Specifically, I will discuss the types of markets where commercial structures similar to Building L at ancient Argilos have been located. It is necessary to differentiate between these different types of markets in order to demonstrate the continual presence of the commercial structure being examined throughout this paper in accordance with their setting in an urban landscape. As mentioned previously, a prominent feature of a commercial structure was its location in or around the main public area of the city. Although the agora has come to be viewed as the traditional site for economic activity, there are other examples of commercial structures being built outside of the city walls, close to the port. At its very beginnings, the agora is understood to have been an open space centrally located within the confines of a settlement that supplied its inhabitants with a communal space to conduct daily public activities.⁷² As cities grew in population and size, the need for a space to accommodate public gatherings and a growing commerce became an architectural necessity in any Greek city;⁷³ the agora became the allocated space dedicated to public life in most areas with corresponding structures. In addition to the growing population, certain movements and developments shifted the interests of some Greek states to more commercial endeavors, which would ultimately change the landscape of their economic activity. In what follows, I will distinguish between the agora, or local commercial center, and the emporion, or commercial port with a focus on foreign exchange. In addition to these two markets, there is the so-called military agora, which is another possible location of such commercial shops, which will also be addressed.

Though there are some differences in the design of the individual commercial buildings that will be considered in the upcoming chapters, it is clear that these structures were always built in the public areas of the city. The agora is recognized as the center of the Greek polis, serving the economic, political, and social needs of its citizens. The open layout of the agora provided a communal location for social gatherings between friends and associates, for retailers

⁷² Starr 1977, 84.

⁷³ Tomlinson 1992, 20-22.

to set up temporary booths to sell their merchandise, for political discourse and a general civic atmosphere that allowed inhabitants – and foreigners – to network or partake in everyday activities. Within the agora, buildings were constructed in order to accommodate ever-increasing commercial activity. The earliest markets in cities were located in open public spaces, where retailers and artisans would sell their merchandise in booths and temporary stalls, with no established delineated form.⁷⁴ Most scholars agree that our notion of what constitutes an agora was emerged during the Classical period, but was only fully realized as an organized, systemic public area during the Hellenistic period.⁷⁵ This should not be understood to mean that no architectural projects were undertaken before the Classical period within the agora. As will be made evident throughout this chapter, many buildings were constructed within the agora during the Archaic period for commercial and other civic functions. That is to say, it is true that monumental architecture was heightened during the Classical period most likely due to the increase in material and a “creative surge of forms and styles,”⁷⁶ as Martin states; but it would be wrong to assume that no significant structures other than stoas were built in earlier periods.

As stated in previous chapters, the stoa has been at the forefront of most academic discourse with regards to commercial activity due to the overwhelming presence of the structure during the Hellenistic period. In light of archaeological evidence, however, the understanding of Greek commercial architecture, especially during the Archaic and Classical periods, has been revised in recent scholarship to include other architectural forms as well. As a consequence of economic growth for Greek poleis and the development of trade and commerce, the agora developed from an all-inclusive space of public activity to one which became increasingly defined by its commercial function. Cities began to erect structures specifically designated for commercial activity, and a separation occurred between public market areas and public areas dedicated to other, non-commercial functions.⁷⁷ In the traditional definition of an agora (discussed above), Stanley identifies two distinct types of agoras: the ‘trade-agora’, where the commercial activity took place; and the ‘unity-agora’, where other urban affairs occurred.⁷⁸ The ‘unity-agora’ as

⁷⁴ Marquand 1909, 319.

⁷⁵ Hellmann 2010, 132; Martin 1951, 283.

⁷⁶ Martin 1967, 128.

⁷⁷ Martin 1951, 308.

⁷⁸ Stanley 1983, 30-31.

Stanley describes it, is simply that: an agora that accommodates not only commercial activity but integrates social, administrative, and political affairs as well. This is distinct from the 'trade-agora' that dealt solely in commercial affairs. Stanley's terms for the two classes of agora are corroborated also by ancient sources. Aristotle, for instance, who designates the public commercial market as the 'agora' as opposed to the 'free-agora,' a public space reserved for non-commercial activity.⁷⁹ Within the commercial agora, there was no distinction between foreign and local trade, or at least not until the 6th century when foreign trade seemed to have increased markedly.⁸⁰ The expansion of trade generated a different type of market that facilitated foreign commercial transactions. The distinction between foreign and local trade seems to have emerged during this time to develop a market on the outskirts of the Greek poleis in order to facilitate economic transactions. This type of trade agora is known as an emporion.

While the agora was typically the spatial and symbolic center of a city, it was not necessarily the designated site used for commerce and trade. Some scholars suggest that the emporion developed out of the 'trade-agora,' when a clear separation occurred between the commercial agora and the 'unity-agora.' The growing interest and participation in foreign trade is indicated with the removal of the commercial agora, or 'trade-agora,' from the traditional agora, or 'unity-agora,' in the city center, and relocated closer to the sea to become what is identified as an emporion.⁸¹ Stanley states the distinction between the agora and emporion is evidenced through a specific change in the language used to distinguish between these markets. For instance, foreign and local trade were differentiated by distinct terms used to denote the type of merchants present in each: an ἔμπορος for a foreign tradesman and a κάπηλος for a local tradesman.⁸² The terms first appear in Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 646-49) and the lyric poets (Semonides, fr. 16.2).⁸³ He dates the appearance of these terms in ancient sources to the Archaic period, specifically the 6th century BCE.⁸⁴ The divergence between the commercial agora and the emporion, however, may have occurred earlier than the last phase of the Archaic period, as early

⁷⁹ Aristotle 1944, 1331 a 30 - 1331 b 3.

⁸⁰ Stanley 1983, 96.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Hesiod 1914, 646-649; Gerber 1999, 16.2.

⁸⁴ Stanley 1983, 32-33.

as the 8th century BCE.⁸⁵ Colonization during the 8th-6th centuries BCE saw the founding of organized poleis around the Mediterranean and a flourishing of maritime trade. Urban development and an increase in trade during the Archaic period are attested by the presence of commercial structures in Archaic sites, as well as diverse imported pottery, particularly from the East, signifying multicultural exchange.⁸⁶ Therefore, the commercial structures being examined can be present within an emporion from the 8th century BCE onwards, as will be discussed in greater detail below. The growing importance of commerce during this time incited cities to create commercial ports of their own so as to participate in profitable foreign maritime trade. Michel Gras attributes the establishment of the emporion to the social, economic, and cultural process that develops from a local response to external demands, in other words, the creation of external trade contacts.⁸⁷ Thucydides comments on this development,

“With respect to their towns, later on, at an era of increased facilities of navigation and a greater supply of capital, we find the shores becoming the site of walled towns, and the isthmuses being occupied for the purposes of commerce, and defense against a neighbor. But the old towns, on account of the great prevalence of piracy, were built away from the sea, whether on the islands or the continent, and still remain in their old sites. For the pirates used to plunder one another, and indeed all coast populations, whether seafaring or not.”⁸⁸

Unfortunately, there are no ancient sources that describe the physical characteristics of an emporion, its technical functions, or the precise date of its foundation.⁸⁹ For this reason, there has been much deliberation as to the precise definition of an emporion and the characteristics of the space. What can be agreed on, is the fact that an emporion, as mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, is a port that serves a commercial function. The harbour is at the same time a place of commerce that is part of a trade route, a space to assemble foreign goods, and the location where exchange occurs for redistribution in a multicultural setting.⁹⁰ There remains

⁸⁵ Graham 1983, 5. Graham states that emporia were present during the 7th century BCE and possibly as early as the 8th century BCE.

⁸⁶ Austin 1977, 54-55.

⁸⁷ Gras 1993, 105.

⁸⁸ Thucydides 1910, 1.7

⁸⁹ Gras 1993, 104.

⁹⁰ Counillon 1993, 50-52.

some uncertainty among scholars as to whether or not an emporion was a commercial port on the outskirts of an established city, or whether it was a separate, individual commercial settlement. Many scholars have tried to address the differences observed in the identification of emporia by ancient sources, in which some sites are described as *being* emporia whereas other sites were explained as poleis *with* an emporion. What has been made clear by Hansen and Demetriou in their research is that most emporia of the Archaic and Classical periods were part of an established Greek polis; Greek emporia as individual settlements are only found in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁹¹ Then again, the idea of an Archaic or Classical emporion that was not a constituent of a polis seem to have been interchangeable in ancient sources with the notion of a Greek colony. Demetriou states that ancient Greeks applied the term *emporion* to cities whose main activity concerned foreign commerce.⁹²

It should be noted, however, that all pre-Hellenistic sites that have been identified as Greek emporia can be located outside mainland Greece, as one of its colonies.⁹³ The distinction between a Greek emporion and a Greek colony is vague, especially during the Archaic and Classical periods. Most scholars isolate the emporion and the ἀποικία into two separate settlements. Recognizing commercial settlements and the differences between a commercial port or colony, for instance, has been one of the main problems when trying to identify emporia.⁹⁴ The notion that any site located along a port could either be an emporion or a colony, where an emporion is identified as a commercial harbor and a colony as a polis,⁹⁵ has divided scholars concerning the objectives of colonizers during this period. In other words, there is an ongoing debate as to the motives behind the colonizing movement – overpopulation and the search for more land – and perhaps the greater role that was played by the commercial interests of the colonizers. The synchronicity of events during the period of colonization and the growth of maritime trade evokes a more obvious connection between the two types of settlements.

⁹¹ Hansen 2006, 23.

⁹² Demetriou 2012, 19.

⁹³ Hansen 2006, 23-24. Hansen summarizes this convoluted concept by stating “in the Classical period an *emporion* was primarily that part of a *polis* which was set off for foreign trade and placed in or next to the harbour; but if the port was the most important part of the *polis*, or if it suited the context, then the whole settlement could be classified as an *emporion*” 25.

⁹⁴ Zaccagnini 1993, 128.

⁹⁵ Hansen 2006, 4 ; Gras 1993, 104.

There is a correlation that can be made between an emporion and a colony. A colony was usually founded by the shore to have easy access to the sea, to create a port of exchange between it and its mother-city, as well as establishing foreign commercial routes. Colonies tended to be built according to a pre-conceived design.⁹⁶ An emporion too was organized and built with specific regards toward its commercial function. An emporion, which in most cases is identified as the commercial port of a Greek polis, could then be considered a settlement in and of itself in the sense of a colony. This is not to say that the main motivation for colonization was commercial trade. Most historians agree that the main reason for the colonizing movement was to address the issue of overpopulation in search of land.⁹⁷ Yet, the colonizing movement, in the process of its search to find land that was not only fertile but profitable,⁹⁸ ultimately created trade routes that encouraged foreign commerce within the Mediterranean. Therefore, it is to be expected for some colonies to possess characteristics of an emporion, as they are often one and the same. Such an example can be found at the site of Locri Epizefiri.

3.1. Locri Epizefiri

Colonized around the 7th century BCE,⁹⁹ the Greek colony of Locri Epizefiri is located in southern Italy, in modern-day Calabria. Its prime location along the shore of the Ionian Sea is the first indication of the site's possible function as an emporion. Excavations at Locri Epizefiri in the 20th century have uncovered an impressive colony surrounded by a 7km fortification wall,¹⁰⁰ on the outside of which was found a necropolis, as well as multiple public buildings near the port. Although much interest has been paid to the Archaic stoa, known as 'Stoa U,' I will be discussing another public building, a series of rooms along the outside of the city walls. During the excavations of the Centocamere, the area of 'one-hundred rooms' uncovered right inside the fortification walls, the area outside the walls was also excavated to reveal a series of rooms that have been tentatively dated around the first half of the 4th century BCE.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Austin 1977, 61.

⁹⁷ Graham 1983, 5.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Costamagna 1990, 32.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 51.

¹⁰¹ Barra Bagnasco 2000, 1-33.



Fig. 14: Plan of Locri Epizefiri highlighting the Stoa U in purple, the first series of rooms in blue, the second series of rooms in orange and the possible third series in yellow.

The rooms measured approximately 5m by 5m and form a long structure that measures more than 70m in length.¹⁰² A second series of rooms found at a distance of about 37 m from the first, was discovered running parallel to the former; the first group is comprised of 8 equally-sized rooms (Fig. 14 – highlighted in blue), the second of 12 (Fig. 14 – highlighted in orange). The two structures seem to border a vast rectangular area of approximately 150m by 50 m with the presence of two roads running north and south.¹⁰³ If examined closely, there are traces of a possible third structure identical to the two series of rooms to the south-west, along the same fortification wall; only the beginning of the first room can be seen (Fig. 14 – highlighted in yellow).

As discussed briefly in the previous chapter, the series of rooms is referred to by archaeologist Marcella Bagnasco as part of an *oikoi* complex. Their presence at the port of the city has led Bagnasco and most other archaeologists to conclude that the structure serves a commercial function. This theory is strengthened by the commercial structure abutting the city wall, which suggests that even during the 4th century BCE, the city was not fortified for military

¹⁰² Barra Bagnasco 1992, 18.

¹⁰³ Barra Bagnasco 2000, 28.

or defensive purposes.¹⁰⁴ This is consistent with the belief that emporia were considered neutral zones, areas of multicultural exchange, that were open to all. As Demetriou described it, an emporion was a “multiethnic settlement” that enabled commercial communications between distinct groups which shared a “common Mediterranean culture.”¹⁰⁵ Although the reason for the later fortification of city is unclear, its accessible plan before the 3rd century BCE clearly indicates the existence of a shared commercial space between locals and foreigners. Bagnasco refers to the commercial structure as an *oikoi* complex because of her theory regarding another possible function for the building, its use as accommodations for sailors and visiting merchants. Bagnasco interprets the general area of the site to be a sort of *agora emporica*, due to the presence of the structure and its proximity to the port. The rooms themselves having a single, centered entrance in front of the building and their deliberate location outside of the walls, most likely due to foreign traders, are also indications of a trading port. Bagnasco also maintains, that Locri Epizefiri has been recorded in connection with the term *καταγώγιον*, a resting place or inn.¹⁰⁶ Ancient sources such as Xenophon have described *καταγώγια* as “lodging-houses for ship-owners near the harbors, and convenient places of exchange for merchants,”¹⁰⁷ The structure’s vicinity to the port area suggests a significant influx of people, linked to both commercial trade and the worship of the nearby sanctuary complex of Aphrodite.¹⁰⁸ The worship of Aphrodite throughout Mediterranean harbors, specifically at commercial ports, and the diverse archaeological evidence found in such places attests the exchange of material, religious, and architectural culture among different communities in the ancient Greek world as early as the Archaic period. The presence of the much older building, Stoa U (Fig. 14 – highlighted in purple), has been identified as a religious sanctuary to Aphrodite, the protector of sailors. This building is especially significant to the placement of the shops along the outside fortification given the well-attested worship of the goddess Aphrodite in areas along the shore and in port settlements, including emporia.¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰⁴ Barra Bagnasco 1992, 226. The city is fortified around the 3rd century BCE and the structures on or near the wall are demolished as it is reinforced.

¹⁰⁵ Demetriou 2012, 230.

¹⁰⁶ Montanari 2015, ‘*καταγώγιον*.’

¹⁰⁷ Xenophon 1925, 3.12.

¹⁰⁸ Barra Bagnasco 2000, 28.

¹⁰⁹ Demetriou 2012, 91-93. Many inscriptions and dedications have been found to the goddess Aphrodite, depicting the worship of the goddess by maritime traders. Demetriou lists a few examples from Messina, Delos, Halikarnassos, among others.

function of Stoa U has been heavily debated by archaeologists and historians. During excavation, some 300+ votive deposits were found in the central space of Stoa U, filled with waste materials, fragments of vases and statuettes and numerous animal bones.¹¹⁰ These discoveries have led archaeologists such as Liliana Costamagna and Claudio Sabbione to determine the existence of *bothroi*, or pits, that held the remains of sacrifice or offering, that would attest to the theory of Stoa U as a sacred place or sanctuary. Following this theory, Costamagna also suggests that Stoa U's location outside the city walls alludes to its use for sacred prostitution, often associated with the cult of Aphrodite.¹¹¹ Bagnasco and other scholars, however, propose a different theory concerning Stoa U's connection with the goddess, and perhaps a more important connection to her veneration. They suggest that the reason for the stoa's location outside the city walls can be explained by Aphrodite's connection to navigation and trade.¹¹² Travelling merchants and sailors would come to worship at the sanctuary and take advantage of the nearby center of commerce and trade outside the city walls, or rather the merchants selling their goods would take advantage of the influx of travelling worshippers. In this way, the port of a commercial city had to be accessible to traveling merchants to facilitate trade transactions between populations. There is another city that has a particularly significant port, as well as the presence of a similar structure with a series of rooms.

3.2. Vroulia

The ancient settlement of Vroulia, dating to the 7th century BCE is located on the southern tip of Rhodes. The site's historical importance can be appreciated through its organized city plan as well as its strategic position marking it as the last port sailing out of the Mediterranean and the first port when arriving from the East.¹¹³ The exact nature of the settlement is unclear and has been debated for over a century. Excavations at Vroulia have revealed many public and residential buildings, most have not been well preserved, that have prompted scholars to attribute several different assumptions as to the classification of the settlement. Near the harbor,

¹¹⁰ Costamagna 1990, 213.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 67.

¹¹² Barra Bagnasco 2000, 23; Demetriou 2012, 91-92.

¹¹³ Kaninia 2017, 89.

two rows of what have been tentatively identified as houses, or 'pièces d'habitation',¹¹⁴ are separated by a street (Fig. 15 – highlighted in orange). Following this street northwest leads to the public area of the site, where the main market and sanctuary are located. This public space has been identified as an agora due to its quadrangular shape and by three commercial shops that have been found along one of its borders. At the beginning of the 20th century, Vroulia was excavated by Karl Frederik Kinch who identified the settlement as a residential military garrison.¹¹⁵ This was in part due to the row of individual units that he viewed to resemble residential apartments for the soldiers. This theory was supported by Torben Melander in the 1980s, due to the city's aforementioned strategic military position.¹¹⁶ Other scholars such as Ian Morris have argued for a standard Greek polis, with an "agricultural population"¹¹⁷ based on the contents found during the excavations of the tombs at Vroulia. While others, such as Lone Wriedt Sorensen, have disputed this idea due to the barren landscape of the site that would make it an impractical location for a purely agrarian polis.¹¹⁸ I am inclined to agree with Nota Kourou, however, who has stressed that a commercial trading post would be a more appropriate role for the settlement at Vroulia. Kourou's identification of the site as a type of trading port, is based primarily on Vroulia's strategic location. Located at the southern end of Rhodes, it was an essential port between the East and West – not through a military perspective but rather a commercial one. Additionally, the diverse pottery found at Vroulia also indicates significant local and foreign commercial transactions. Specifically, Kourou takes the example of a Cypriote limestone sphinx with a Phoenician inscription as an example of the vast trading network that Vroulia was partaking in, as it "implies a very complex pattern of interconnections in the eastern Mediterranean."¹¹⁹ Based on these criteria, the site at Vroulia fits well into the definition of an emporion. As a fundamental feature of an emporion, its multicultural trade networks would establish it as a foreign commercial port, that is to say, a market built beside the port of a Greek settlement that facilitates trade and commerce with foreign merchants.

¹¹⁴ Kinch 1914, 112.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 123.

¹¹⁶ Melander 1988, 83.

¹¹⁷ Morris 1992, 174-199. Skeletons of women and children were found, indicating a more traditional habitation or polis.

¹¹⁸ Kaninia 2017, 96.

¹¹⁹ Kourou 2003, 257.

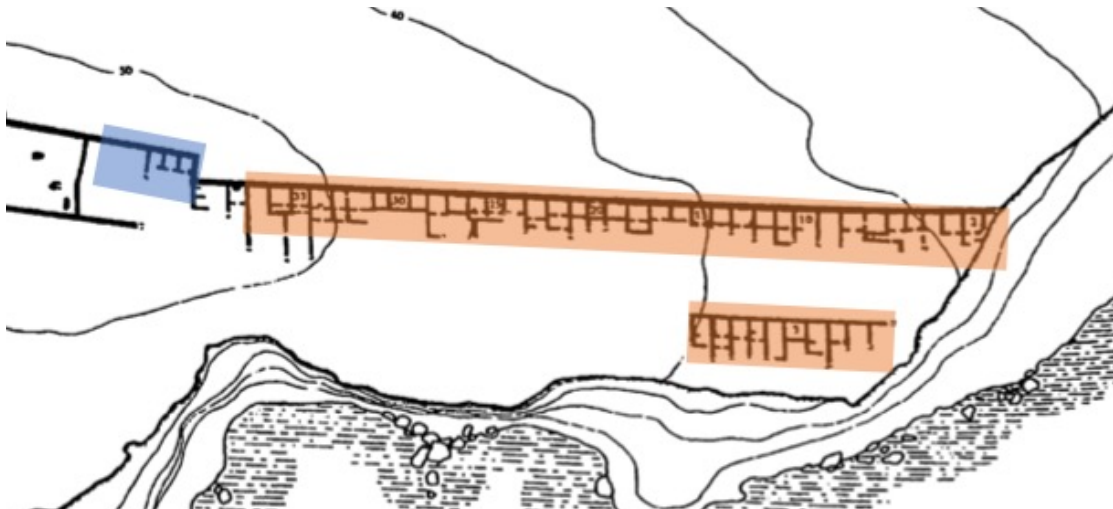


Fig. 15: Plan of Vroulia highlighting the commercial shops in blue and the two rows of 'apartments' in orange.

The three commercial shops that have been identified in the agora match our expectations of a commercial structure of the Archaic and Classical period. As at ancient Argilos, the shops consist of a series of equally sized rooms in or around the public area of the city. At Vroulia, only three rooms have been excavated – Rooms 41, 42, and 43 (Fig. 15 – highlighted in blue) – with architectural indications that this structure continued to include more rooms to the northwest. The rooms, like the 'apartments' to the south, are backed by the fortification wall of the city, as they follow along the same street. The fortification wall itself measures approximately 300m in length,¹²⁰ although it continues to the southeast into the sea (a great deal of the site is currently underwater). The dimensions of the commercial shops are approximately 3m by 3m and each has its own threshold, situated at the center of the façade, which opens onto the agora.¹²¹ The first of these shops shows traces of an anteroom or *προδομος*.¹²² The vestibule before Room 41 could have been used as a storefront where the merchant displayed his stock. This space is not present in front of the other two shops, which may simply be explained by deterioration with time. What is noteworthy here is the fact that the agora of the city, which has been identified by three commercial shops, is located slightly further away from the port than the row of possibly residential units.

¹²⁰ Kaninia 2017, 92.

¹²¹ Kinch 1914, 108-109.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 109.

Scholars have speculated that the row of ‘apartments’ served as residential homes for the citizens of Vroulia – if considered a traditional Greek polis – or as lodgings for the soldiers, if understood as a military garrison. While the idea of Vroulia as a typical Greek polis is rather improbable given its barren landscape, the notion of a military garrison is quite possible. As military agoras were set up in areas equipped with shops that would provide supplies to the army while the soldiers were stationed there, the row of 43 habitation units could have provided accommodations to these soldiers. On the other hand, following Kourou’s theory of a commercial settlement rather than a military one at Vroulia, the so-called ‘apartments’ may not be residential but rather temporary accommodations for travelers and foreign merchants. This is similar to the idea presented by Bagnasco at the emporion of Locri Epizefiri. As stated above, the row of ‘pièces d’habitation’ are continuous with the commercial shops further up the hill, following the same street. This organization would be particularly convenient for visiting traders, as their accommodations are adjacent to the market. The market almost certainly included foreign merchants and goods, given the position of its port within a maritime commercial network. Whether Vroulia was a military garrison that included a military agora or a emporion with a foreign market or simply an urban settlement with a commercial port, the structure located in its public commercial space is comparable to what is found in other such sites. The series of identical rooms is consistent with the architectural style of commercial shops constructed during the Archaic and Classical period, in different types of markets including an agora in a Greek polis, an emporion, or even a military agora.

Following the notion of a military agora at Vroulia, the third type of marketplace where our commercial structure could be located, we find circumstantial indications mentioned by ancient sources and even less attested by archaeological evidence of such spaces. Military agoras can be either temporary or permanent installations outside a city for the purpose of supplying an army with provisions.¹²³ According to Stanley, there were different types of military agoras in the ancient Greek world. The first is considered an extension of the army that was controlled by the military itself with no influence by the neighboring city (this type was most often set up during a siege); the second would be organized by the city in which the agora was located, outside its

¹²³ Stanley 1983, 8.

walls, to provide supplies to the army but who had access to the local market as well; the third was very similar to the second with the exception that the city had complete control of the military agora and the army could not make use of the local market within the city walls.¹²⁴ Military agoras have been attested in ancient sources since Thucydides, who describes the Peloponnesians encamped with their allies and had “established their market outside the city” (ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπέποιήντο).¹²⁵ Most of these military agoras described could merely have been temporary markets, set up for the duration of the foreign army’s stay in the area. According to Stanley, however, there are references to local governments providing military agoras in order to supply their own armies, which would certainly reform the inclination of simply temporary markets to more permanent installations.¹²⁶ As might have been the case at the site of Vrachos with Building 3, which will be discussed presently. Some scholars combine these types of markets located outside the polis as ‘frontier-markets,’ a term taken from Demosthenes who identified them as ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας,¹²⁷ that were set up at major circulation points and were most importantly considered as neutral areas.¹²⁸ These ‘frontier-markets’ would include emporia as well as military agoras, both of which were created on neutral territory, or at least in settlements where foreigners could partake in commercial activities, as well as the local population. Regarding the military agora, it would have been a top priority to provide the army with supplies as soon as they made camp in one area, which created the necessity for a permanent source of provisions resulting in the military agora.¹²⁹

3.3. Vrachos

Thus, is the predicament encountered at the ancient site of Vrachos. Located on a hill in Euboea, neighboring the town of Phylla and approximately four kilometers from the nearest shore, lies the settlement of Vrachos. The site was first surveyed in 1903 by archaeologist G. Papavasiliou, who identified it as a military fort. This theory is principally based on the

¹²⁴ Ibid., 116-117.

¹²⁵ Thucydides 1910, 1.62.

¹²⁶ Stanley 1983, 134.

¹²⁷ Demosthenes 1939, 23.39.

¹²⁸ Bresson 2007-2008, 284.

¹²⁹ Martin 1951, 285.

fortifications walls of the site as well as the presence of a monumental building, known as Building 3, that was identified by Papavasiliou as a barracks building. The building itself measures approximately 112m in length by 7m in width, consisting of twenty equally-sized rooms each measuring roughly 4.5m by 6m.¹³⁰ The rooms are divided into four sections of five by three small separate passages (Fig. 16). The upper walls of the structure were constructed using mudbrick, akin to Building L at Argilos.¹³¹

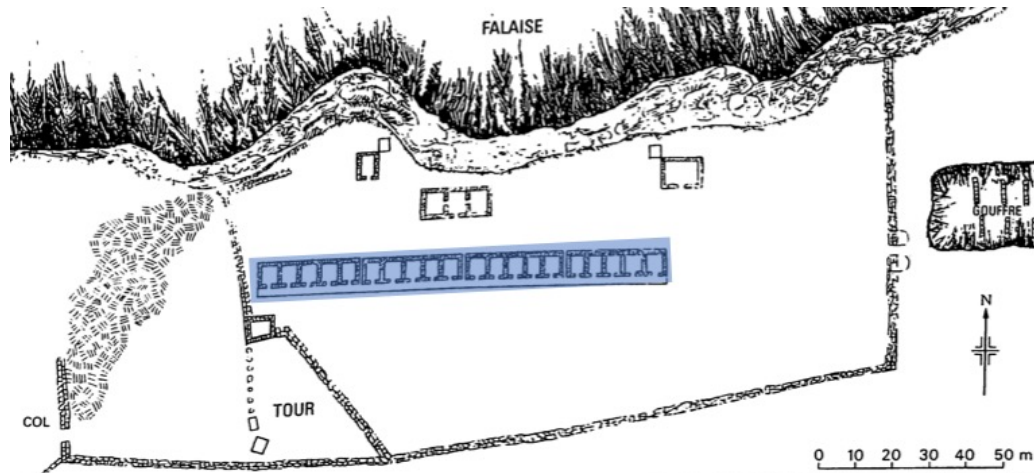


Fig. 16: Plan of Vrachos highlighting Building 3 in blue.

The belief that the site at Vrachos is a military garrison was opposed by L. A. Tritle who argued for a different function for Building 3. Tritle claims that Building 3 is a public building with its rooms serving as shops, located in an urban settlement, as Vrachos could in fact be the ancient city of Argoura.¹³² Tritle's arguments put into question the size of the site at Vrachos, stating that it is much too large for any ancient Greek military garrison, as it would be able to contain hundreds of men. Indeed, Coulton agrees that Building 3 would be better suited to a Roman barrack rather than a Greek fort.¹³³ Tritle additionally states that "only two of the Athenian frontier forts are larger than Vrachos,"¹³⁴ doubting why a city like Chalkis would or could build a military fort larger than most that were produced by Athens. Furthermore, Building 3 bears a striking resemblance to other commercial structures such as the ones presented in this paper,

¹³⁰ Sapouna Sakellarakis 2002, 9.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹³² Tritle 1992, 146.

¹³³ Sapouna Sakellarakis 2002, 6.

¹³⁴ Tritle 1992, 145, note 58.

consisting of a long structure with a series of equally-sized rooms that advocated to a more public function rather than military barracks. Building 3 has been tentatively dated to the 6th century BCE; pottery has been primarily from the late Archaic period, although excavations have revealed pottery fragments as early as the 8th century in most of the rooms.¹³⁵ More recent excavations at Vrachos have found an array of primarily cooking and drinking vessels¹³⁶ that would be more appropriately suited to defend the theory proposed by Papavasiliou toward military quarters. Although Coulton allows for the possibility of a different interpretation for Building 3 toward a public commercial structure, with regards to its size and its similarity with other structures of the same type found elsewhere in Greece,¹³⁷ he does not believe it to be. Coulton uses the same argument that Tritle does concerning the remarkably large size of the building, yet Coulton asserts that the structure has no parallels in relation to the small size of the site. He does admit, however, that Building 3 has no parallels with any Greek military barracks either.¹³⁸ Excavations in the area surrounding Vrachos have uncovered cemeteries, different architectural features, various inscriptions, among other finds that suggest the presence of a once burgeoning settlement.¹³⁹ Taking all the evidence into account, Building 3 at Vrachos can either be understood as barracks in a military fort; a commercial structure within an urban settlement; or a mixture of both, a military agora established within a military encampment on a hill near a neighboring settlement which it protected.

While the building at Vrachos cannot be conclusively identified as a commercial structure, it is nonetheless important to discuss the structure that is practically identical to Building L at Argilos and shares a common design with the other commercial buildings that have been discussed in this chapter. The similarities between Building 3 at Vrachos and the ‘apartments’ in Vroulia have been noted briefly by Coulton and others,¹⁴⁰ emphasizing the common use of the series of rooms. In this chapter, the architectural style of the series of equally-sized rooms has been observed in possible military barracks, sleeping quarters for foreigners, as well as

¹³⁵ Sapouna Sakellarakis 2002, 9.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-14.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

permanent commercial installments. These have been present in different types of markets: the traditional agora within the confines of its polis, the commercial port of an emporion, and the utilitarian military agora. In addition to common architectural structures, these sites share a polytheistic religious as evidenced through the cults of Aphrodite, as well as a collective material culture.¹⁴¹ Emporia and colonies built along the port during the Archaic period were planned with forethought and urban organization that produced public structures which enabled and facilitated commercial trade. As Demetriou claims, these interactions created the need for a “mutually comprehensible world.”¹⁴² Thus, sites that were involved in commercial trade often shared physical similarities. These constructions ultimately helped to shape Greek architecture and urbanism in the following centuries¹⁴³ so that we might find similar structures in later cities as a consequence of the open network of communication and trade that developed at the same time in colonies and emporia around the Mediterranean.

¹⁴¹ Demetriou 2012, 7-9.

¹⁴² Ibid., 230.

¹⁴³ Martin 1967, 10.

4. Architectural Function and Design

This section will discuss the architectural design of a few choice Archaic and Classical commercial structures, the social developments that produced such buildings, and the various styles that can occur during these periods. The chapter will present the various structures that correspond to the architectural design of the commercial building found at Argilos, in the Greek mainland as well as its colonies. We have a great deal of information about the economic and social circumstances that led to the organization of Hellenistic cities. Yet, the configuration of cities during the Archaic period, and even during the Classical period, is still relatively unknown, and the motivations for construction in urban centers is even less clear. There are, however, a number of Archaic and Classical buildings with commercial functions that can elucidate the architectural development that shaped the building style found at Argilos and other Greek cities. In this chapter, the architectural style, archaeological evidence, and theories surrounding the function of each distinct building will be reviewed. The objective is to consider the commercial function of the structures based on these factors, and to associate the mercantile conditions of these buildings with the development and presence of the series of equally-sized rooms during the Archaic and Classical periods.

As presented in Chapter 2: Defining Terminology, there are varying terms and interpretations of what constitutes a commercial structure. When attempting to identify shops, it is important to distinguish domestic from public. The production of goods and foodstuff was first and foremost generated by families for the need and use of their individual households. The volume of fabricated crafts increased with the population as well as with the economic and social development of “proto-urban settlements”¹⁴⁴ during the late Iron Age and early Archaic period. The practice of bartering and household-to-household trade became prevalent; if one family had an excess of one commodity, they could trade with another household for its surplus of a different commodity. Nijboer attributes the growth of urban centers to the escalation of craft specialization through which households became reliant on each other.¹⁴⁵ If, for example, one

¹⁴⁴ Nijboer 1998, 35. According to Nijboer, this period marks the development stages of the first buildings to accommodate communal functions, and the craft specialization that emerged during this time is fundamental to the growth of urban centers in these cities.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 35-37.

family produced an abundance of fabrics, they could trade with another family for their excess supply of wheat. In other words, the bartering among familial groups generated an economic allowance. This would in turn, create a system of commerce that would eventually transform into public trade centers that created a market for local, as well as foreign merchants, which necessitates the construction of streets and buildings to facilitate the commercial transactions.¹⁴⁶

4.1. Olynthos

The social and economic arrangement that Nijboer discusses lends one to believe the idea that shops evolved from private dwellings. But based on the evidence found in 'domestic shops' such as those that can be observed at the ancient city of Olynthos, this is not always the case. The North Hill of Olynthos, inhabited as early as the 5th century BCE, was organized in the Hippodamian-style with orderly streets and blocks of houses, with its agora located at the south end of the hill. According to Cahill, most of these shops are not located in the center of the agora but along an important street: Avenue B (Fig. 17), with every household maintaining a part of their allotted space for a shop.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, it has been suggested that this system of organization was due to the fact that some rooms, those which were identified as shops, were constructed earlier than the houses they were eventually integrated into.¹⁴⁸ In other words, the houses along Avenue B were built posterior to the shops that are associated with them. Thus, Avenue B can be viewed as the main axis for commercial and economic activity given that the city was planned around these earlier commercial shops.

¹⁴⁶ Nijboer 1998, 57.

¹⁴⁷ Cahill 2000, 503.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.



Fig. 17: Plan of Olynthos. Highlighting Houses A v 9, A v 10, and A iv 9 in yellow, as well as Avenue B in red.

The shops at Olynthos, often arranged in a series of two or more rooms, provide a clearer indication of what such commercial spaces were used for and how they integrated into the private and public life of the city. A few examples of these well-documented houses with shops grouped along Avenue B are as follows:

The eastern side of House A iv 9 (Fig. 18) – the side of the house bordering Avenue B – comprised of three uniformly-sized shops. One way in which the rooms have been labelled as

shops is by the numerous coins that have been found in each.¹⁴⁹ There is evidence of a large-scale textile production in the domestic portion of the home, more than would be needed for one family. Notably, in Houses A viii 7-9, almost 300 loomweights were found.¹⁵⁰ Hence, it seems likely that the production of crafts was completed in the household, probably that of the merchant himself, and then sold in one of the attached shops. The other two shops may have also belonged to the merchant or rented out to other retailers.¹⁵¹ Similarly, part of House A v 10 (Fig. 19) was allotted to three shops at its eastern portion, along Avenue B. Unlike House A iv 9, however, two of the shops not only opened onto the street but to the private dwelling as well,¹⁵² making a clear connection between the owner of the shop and the resident of the house. Twenty-six coins were found while excavating the shops in House A v 10 and according to Cahill, dealt in agricultural products.¹⁵³ Similar to both House A iv 9 and A v 10, House A v 9 (Fig. 20) had an entrance to the street for its shop but none to its private residence. It produced numerous coins during excavations, indicating its commercial function, which most likely consisted of the sale of fabrics.¹⁵⁴

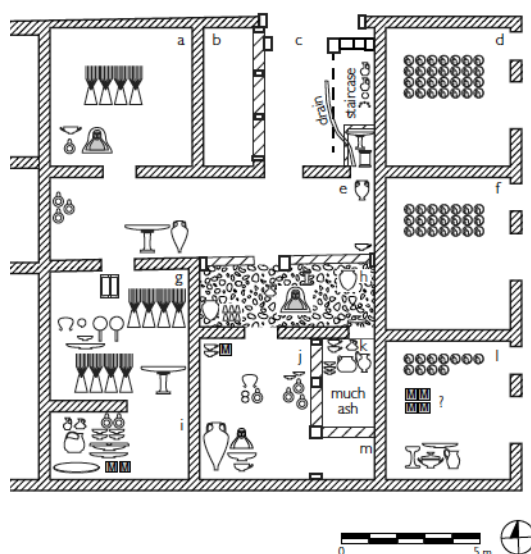


Fig. 18: Plan of House A iv 9.

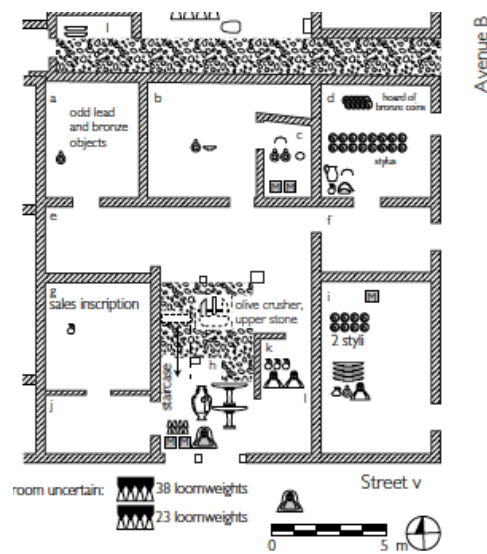


Fig. 19: Plan of House A v 10.

¹⁴⁹ Cahill 2002, 108-112. Cahill counts “28 coins in f, 21 in d, and 11 in i.”; Cahill 1994, 301.

¹⁵⁰ Cahill states a “typical Greek loom seems to have used between 20 and 40 loom-weights,” Cahill 2005, 58; Cahill 2002, 113; Cahill 2000, 504-505.

¹⁵¹ Cahill 2002, 81. There is evidence of such properties through sale and loan inscriptions found at Olynthos that confirms the idea renting spaces to non-family members.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 116. Sales inscription of the house can attest to this fact.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 274.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 120. Cahill states there are 14 coins in House A v 9.

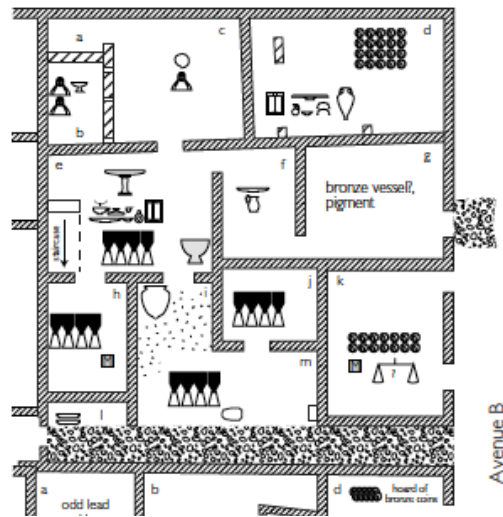


Fig. 20: Plan of House A v 9.

The organization of private household and public shop is not unique to Olynthos. At Argilos, one example of such a space is known as “Maison A”, where a workshop was located at the front of the house, opening onto the street that provides passage to the Southeastern slope of the hill (Fig. 21). The house itself went through three phases of construction, the first merely consisting of two rooms, one of which has been identified as a workshop.¹⁵⁵ A comparison can be made between “Maison A” at Argilos and the shops at Olynthos. Was “Maison A” simply a house or possibly a shop attached to the area of production that was completed in the household? The building’s proximity to what is believed to be the center of commercial life at Argilos – the area of the commercial complex where “Building L” is located – may suggest that the inhabitants of “Maison A” could very well have been the artisans of the products sold nearby.

¹⁵⁵ Perreault 2011, 40. Perreault states the possibility of a bronze workshop.

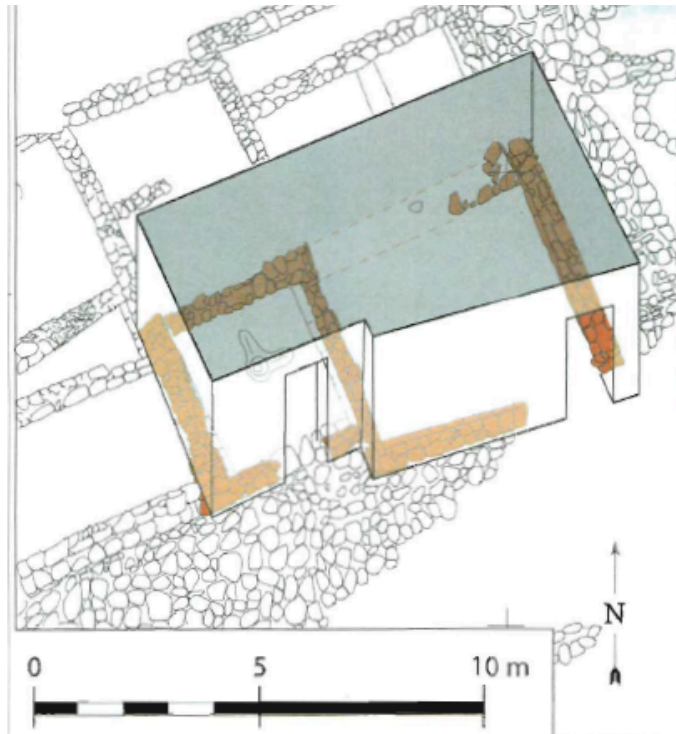


Fig. 21: Plan of 'Maison A' during its first phase of construction.

As discussed in Chapter 3, cultural and urbanistic ideas were imparted from city to city as a result of the network of trade routes established during the colonizing movement, including religious, administrative, and economic organization. The similarities between these Greek colonies and the connection and distribution of concepts can be observed at an architectural level. While not all shops developed from household industry, the architectural progression of commercial structures can be traced from smaller, less urbanized systems of trade such as the houses mentioned above. Over time, these types of shops became increasingly integrated into public buildings, with no evidence of housing. The urban and social expansion of the city required separate public buildings in which to conduct commercial activities. Hellmann notes the separation between domestic and professional life can first be witnessed in the development of long structures, such as the one at Argilos, consisting of one or more rows of identical rooms, which can be occupied by a variety of merchants and artisans.¹⁵⁶ Olynthos provides a different setting for the presence of a series of equally-sized rooms, which predates its residential complexes. Here, the notion of commercial production and trade evolving from a household

¹⁵⁶ Hellmann 2010, 127.

comes into question. Perhaps the social development of trade progress from household production to a more public atmosphere, yet architecturally, there were buildings created independently for the sole purpose of public commerce.

4.2. Athens

At Athens, there exist examples of shops located in buildings with a simple series of rooms, as well as other configurations of shops that incorporated a style with an open space, or courtyard. Such structures have so far been found primarily in the Athenian agora, thanks to the ongoing and thorough excavations that have been published regularly at the site for decades. Ancient literary sources such as Menander and Aeschines,¹⁵⁷ confirmed by the archaeological record, indicate that the area around the Athenian Agora was strewn with commercial establishments; some were small temporary stalls that were taken away each day while others were permanent shops. There are a few examples of possible commercial structures in the Athenian agora that do not incorporate the traditional construction of a stoa. Although there is no single, uniform design for a commercial building, there is a style of commercial building that is surfacing as a recurring design: structure Type C. This style of commercial building has been located in the Athenian Agora.¹⁵⁸ The Poros Building, the Strategeion, and the Greek Building Δ are structures that follow the architectural organization of Type C that is now beginning to be understood as another common design for commercial buildings. The Athenian Agora and these structures in particular, therefore, have been chosen due to their architectural design that exhibit the series of equally-sized rooms, while displaying slight variations on the style being discussed. Through Susan Rotroff's work on the Athenian agora, we can now recognize the construction of rows of equally sized rooms that are often combined with a central corridor and an open space or courtyard.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Aeschines 1919, 1.124; Schol. Odyssey 8.260

¹⁵⁸ Susan Rotroff locates and describes these types of commercial structures in the Athenian Agora in greater detail in her work *Industrial Religion* (2013).

¹⁵⁹ Rotroff 2013, 76.

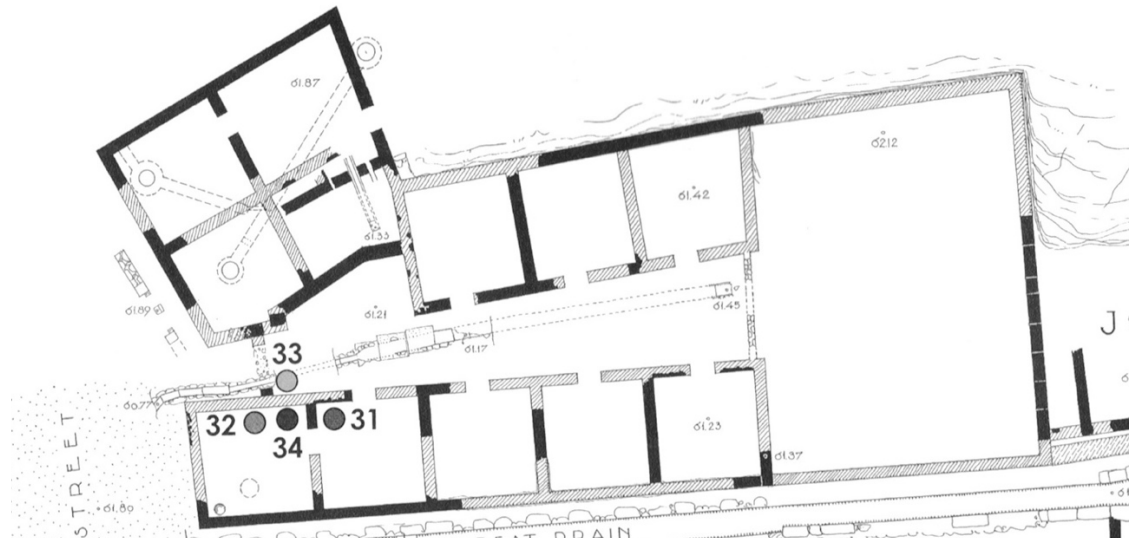


Fig. 22: Plan of Poros Building.

Such is the structural design of the Poros Building (Fig. 22), constructed in the mid 5th century BCE and believed to have been used as a state prison, apartments, or law courts.¹⁶⁰ Archaeologist Rodney Young refuted these suggestions stating that the lack of a water source and the small size of the structure could not accommodate these hypotheses. Instead, he suggests that the building was used as offices for public officials,¹⁶¹ which he deemed the only other possibility for a public building. Susan Rotroff, in her work *Commerce and Crafts around the Athenian Agora*, agrees with Young’s disapproval of the previous hypotheses, but does not agree with his assumption that the Poros Building functioned as office-space for public officials. Instead, Rotroff focuses on the evidence for its use as commercial shops and workspaces for the artisans: “a basin, an enormous *pithos* and an amphora sunk into the floor of the northwestern room”.¹⁶² The building’s location along a commercial and industrial street – the “Street of the Marble Workers” – and its design, with two rows of equally-sized rooms, each with a central door that opens onto a courtyard, lends weight to the argument for the building’s use within a commercial context.

The Strategeion is located north of the Poros Building and follows the same architectural design as the Poros Building, as well as the Greek Building Δ, which I will discuss shortly. The

¹⁶⁰ Rotroff 2013, 76.

¹⁶¹ Young 1951, 184-187.

¹⁶² Rotroff 2009, 44.

Strategeion is thought to have been the office of the ten generals of the same name, with two rows of rooms and a corridor between them, as well as a courtyard to the northeast (Fig. 23). Recently excavated pottery has dated the building to the second half of the 5th century.¹⁶³ The idea that the Strategeion was in fact a commercial building lies in its similarity with the Poros Building and the numerous Athenian coins that were found that point to its public and commercial function.

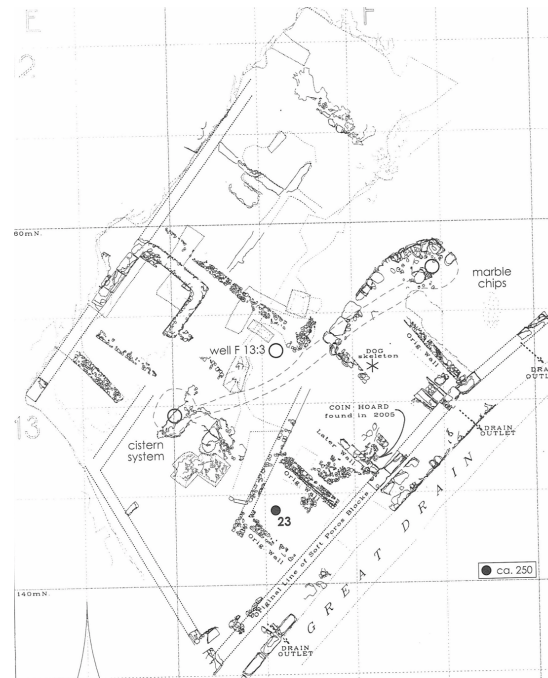


Fig. 23: Plan of Strategeion.

The Greek Building Δ, located in the northeast of the agora, and although almost identical in design to the two previous buildings in its Type C structure, does not have the central corridor between the two rows of rooms (Fig. 24). Thomas Milbank determines in his work *A Commercial and Industrial Building in the Athenian Agora, 480 B.C. to A.D. 125* that the two rows of rooms are split into four sections, with two rooms each connected to make one shop, and the courtyard accessible from the street was used by merchants as well.¹⁶⁴ Rotroff also assigns a commercial function to the Greek Building Δ based on the archaeological evidence, including “marble dust and chips, fragments of unfinished sculpture, metal filings and slag, terracotta molds, lumps of

¹⁶³ Camp 2007, 657.

¹⁶⁴ Milbank 2002, 90.

pigment and pigment containers, limestone burnishes, and fragments of possible tools,”¹⁶⁵ that attest to the diversity of craft and commercial activities, including the large number of coins that were also located in the building.

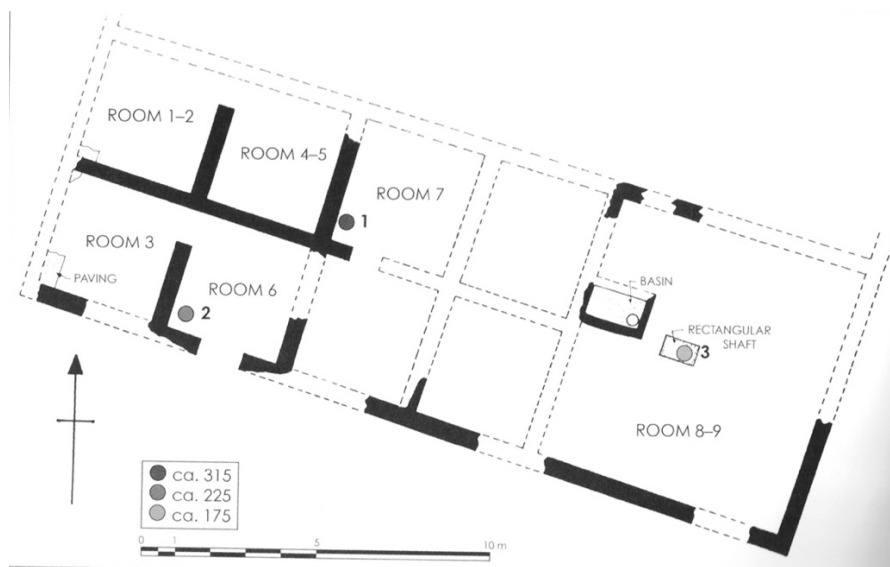


Fig. 24: Plan of Greek Building Δ.

Often, the only way to identify whether or not a structure was used for retail and trade is to analyze the evidence found during excavation – such as the olive oil press or the loom weights found at Argilos – which provides a clear indication of the commercial activity that took place within the building. Conversely, there are other significant finds that have little to do with what was sold in the shops, which are also important to identifying possible commercial activity within a building. Susan Rotroff’s invaluable research of the Athenian agora sheds some light on this process. When studying commercial structures, religious artifacts and connotations are rarely the focus of analytical research in order to determine if a building is associated with commercial activity. However, archaeologists have noticed numerous occurrences of such peculiar accumulations. As Rotroff describes it, many buildings in the Athenian agora contain a “concentration of pottery [that] bore witness to a repeated and customary ancient activity...characteristic objects (mostly ceramic) found in shallow pits or clusters, together with burnt bones and other evidence of fire...suggesting as it does a ritual function.”¹⁶⁶ Rotroff

¹⁶⁵ Rotroff 2013, 77.

¹⁶⁶ Rotroff 2013, 1.

associates these pyre deposits with purification rituals during the construction or renovation of commercial structures. The theory is supported by John Camp, who stated that the deposits were found in commercial establishments or private houses, never in sanctuaries or public buildings.¹⁶⁷ In other words, sanctuaries and other public buildings were rarely changed or renovated in terms of architecture – only following some disaster or essential need – whereas privately owned houses and shops were constantly renovated and often changed hands. As attested by Aeschines in his speech against Timarchus, “and if perchance a physician moves into one of these shops on the street, it is called a ‘surgery.’ But if he moves out and a smith moves into this same shop, it is called a ‘smithy’; if a fuller, a ‘laundry’; if a carpenter, a ‘carpenter shop’; and if a pimp and his harlots, from the trade itself it gets its name of ‘brothel.’”¹⁶⁸ Such public buildings were often converted to suit one profession or another with little architectural change to the space.

Although these pyre deposits have only been observed in the Athenian agora at present, their presence as a means to purify the building after a new owner took possession – often associated with the laying of a new floor – or after the renovation of a structure, could help to identify other commercial shops in future. Such is how the Classical Commercial Building has been identified as a commercial structure. It has at least four rooms that have been identified as shops that open onto the street (Fig. 25); there may be more rooms to the building considering the structure has not yet been fully excavated. The high concentration of pyre deposits, as proposed by Rotroff, suggests the building was associated with commercial activity. Furthermore, Camp proposes that the varying and non-uniform technique and materials that were utilized would imply that the rooms were constructed individually.¹⁶⁹ Just as at Argilos, the shops were constructed individually by different shop-owners due to the differing quality of materials and techniques that were employed. This supports the idea that the spaces were indeed rented out, either by the owner of the building or sold to individual merchants by the city.

¹⁶⁷ Camp 2007, 658.

¹⁶⁸ Aeschines 1919, 1.124.

¹⁶⁹ Camp 2003, 249.

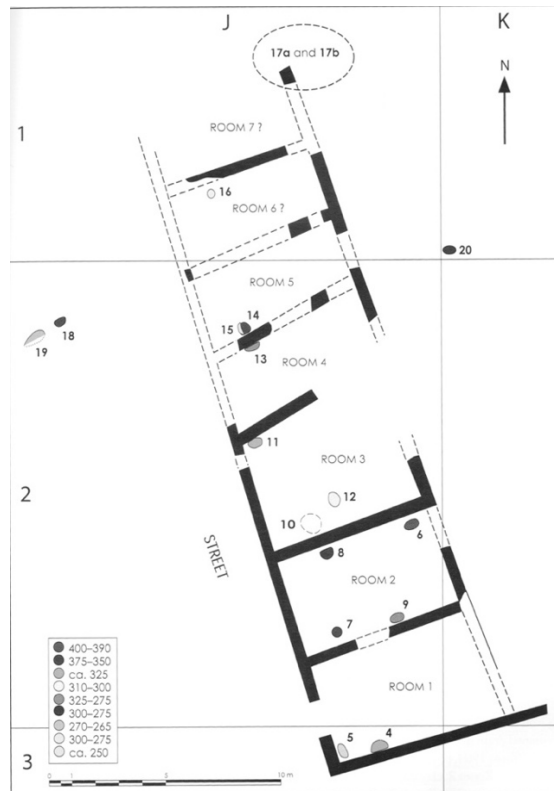


Fig. 25: Plan of Classical Commercial Building.

4.3. Methone

Moving closer to Argilos in Northern Greece, to the west of the Chalkidiki region, at the ancient site of Methone, we find another comparable structure following a similar design to the style of commercial architecture being discussed. Although excavations of the area have not been completed or fully published, a large building complex has come to light at Methone, identified as 'Building A' (Fig. 26), dated to the Archaic and Classical periods. Methone's proximity to Argilos with the presence of a similar public building, renders the site crucial to the further understanding of not only Building L but to the use of this structure in other cities around the area.

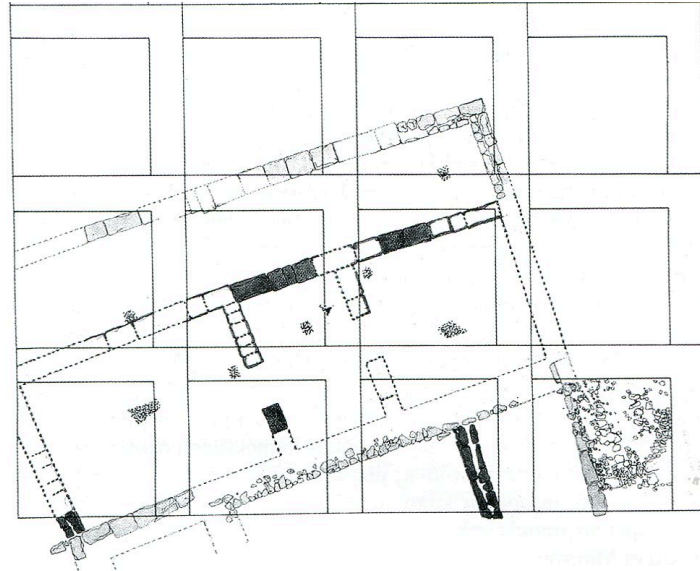


Fig. 26: Plan of Building A at Methone.



Fig. 27: Façade of Building A at Methone.

The interior of the rooms of 'Building A' consist of smaller stones, whereas the façade of the building was constructed with large stones that were more deliberately cut and shaped (Fig. 27). This method is very similar to what we find at Argilos and is to be expected that the most important public buildings would have a finished and polished look to the façade. The oldest of the floors in the south wing of 'Building A' show strong indications of being used as workshops, or more specifically as a goldsmiths' workshop, as is indicated by the presence of golden talents, molten gold pieces and molds.¹⁷⁰ According to the archaeologists at Methone, these rooms

¹⁷⁰ Besios 2004, 370.

developed into shops at a later date, most likely during the Classical period and were divided by brick walls to create individual spaces.¹⁷¹ Pottery from the 6th century BCE, as well as small burnt animal bones have been found in certain areas of the structure at Methone.¹⁷² Although the stratigraphy and finds of the excavations of 'Building A' have not been amply published, we can feasibly apply Rotroff's hypothesis of ritual pyre deposits to the structure. Given that successive floors have been burned throughout the section at different periods starting from the oldest construction phase¹⁷³, it is reasonable to consider these occurrences as indications of purification rituals performed during the construction or renovation of commercial structures, such as the laying of a new floor.

There is, however, another explanation for these finds: the possibility that the building was used later as shelter or as temporary homes during the siege by Philip II.¹⁷⁴ Strong traces of ashes and small burnt animal bones, as well as daily cooking vessels have been attributed to this period. But many of the ceramic finds are dated to the late 6th century BCE and do not fit the chronology of the siege.¹⁷⁵ The constant use of 'Building A' throughout all periods, in addition to the monumental architecture of structure, has led archaeologists to interpret it as a public complex. Its location in what is believed to be Methone's center of commerce and production confirms not only its public role but its commercial function as well.

4.4. Morgantina

The long strip mall-like style for commercial structures has been discovered outside mainland Greece, in its colonies. Where previous examples have indicated the presence of such shops in emporia, such buildings can also be found at the site of Morgantina in southern Italy, more specifically central Sicily. Morgantina was colonized by Greeks in the second half of the 6th century BCE. The earlier settlement lies in the 'Cittadella Hill,' and although buildings from this area date from the Archaic period, they are in very poor condition.¹⁷⁶ The site and orthogonal

¹⁷¹ Besios 2004, 372-373.

¹⁷² Ibid., 371.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 373.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Sjoqvist 1958, 155-156.

plan of the area known as the “second city” has been dated to the mid-5th century BCE.¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, like so many Archaic and Classical cities, Morgantina underwent a series of later building developments that removed or damaged the earlier Archaic structures located in the agora. Nevertheless, there remains evidence of commercial structures dated to the Classical period. The site provides yet another example of the transfer of architectural knowledge, that must have occurred through cultural and commercial exchanges, with the presence of two possible commercial structures that follow the ‘series of uniform rooms’ design. These two buildings can be found in the agora of Morgantina, as would be expected of public commercial buildings located in an inland city. The South Shops and Central Shops are two large structures running north-south and facing east, separated by what is called Theatre Street (Fig. 28).

The South Shops, located to the south of Theatre Street, consists of a row of six rooms, all uniform in size with the exception of its northern-most room – Room 6 – that is somewhat larger (Fig. 29). The dimensions of the rooms are approximately 2.7m wide and 4.5m long, with Room 6 measuring 3.1m in width.¹⁷⁸ Artifacts found in Rooms 1 and 3, suggest that the spaces were used for the sale of pottery, as attested by the numerous vessels found within—over 150 in Room 3 alone.¹⁷⁹ The Central Shops, located north of Theatre Street and attached to the Central Sanctuary (Fig. 30), consist of six rooms as well. The dimensions of the rooms in the Central Shops are consistent with those of the South Shops and all uniform in size, apart from the northern-most room.¹⁸⁰ Archaeologist Malcolm Bell has identified them as shops by the numerous coins discovered on and in the occupation layers.¹⁸¹ The objects found in the rooms included large receptacle vessels, very common in commercial spaces and most likely for provisions and crafts used or sold within the space. According to Bell, Room 3 had a considerable accumulation of animal bones (pig, sheep or goat, and cow) – a high portion of these being scapulae, jaws and other less eatable parts, that suggest the contents of a butcher shop.¹⁸² Due to the fact that the Central Shops are situated 2m below modern ground level, it made it necessary to refill the

¹⁷⁷ Bell 1988, 314. After the abandonment of ‘older city’ or Cittadella Hill around the same time.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 324-5

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 327.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Bell 1988, 329.

trenches in order to preserve the walls of the building from collapsing.¹⁸³ Consequently, there are a number of unanswered questions regarding this rather large commercial building. We do, however, know that the Central Shops were extended to the north during the Hellenistic period with the addition of another six rooms, following the same orientation and dimensions of each room as the earlier building (Fig. 31). This expansion to the Central Shops during the Hellenistic period coincides with the idea that an escalation in production necessitated the growth and expansion of urban centers. A larger population with advancements in the city's urbanization would progress to additional public buildings to accommodate the growing social and commercial needs of the city. The early Hellenistic addition to the earlier commercial building respects the previous Classical structure's outline of a series of equally-sized rooms. This development is an example that communicates the translation of later Hellenistic urbanism to a specific architectural style, and ultimately the Hellenistic stoa that becomes the homogenized design for commercial structures.



Fig. 28: Plan of Morgantina. Highlighting South Shops and Central Shops in yellow, as well as Theatre Street in red.

¹⁸³ Bell 1988, 327.

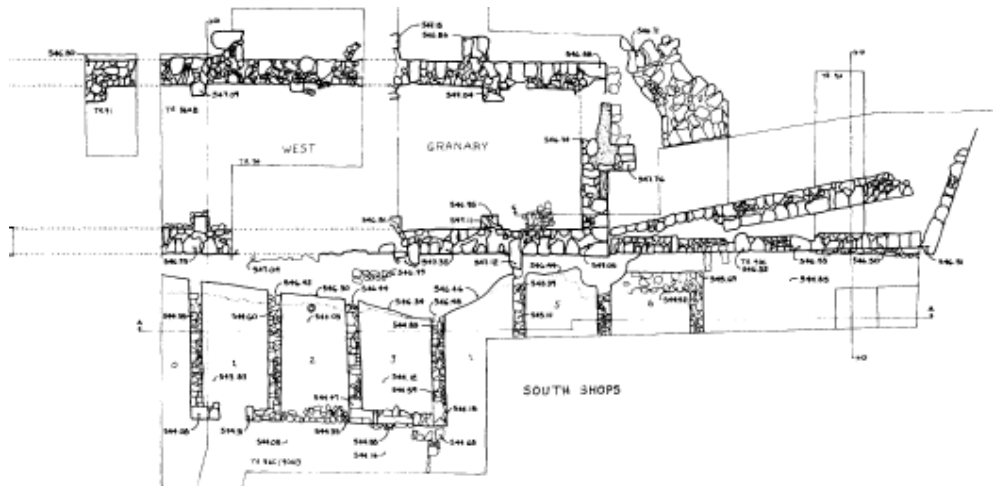


Fig. 29: Plan of South Shops.

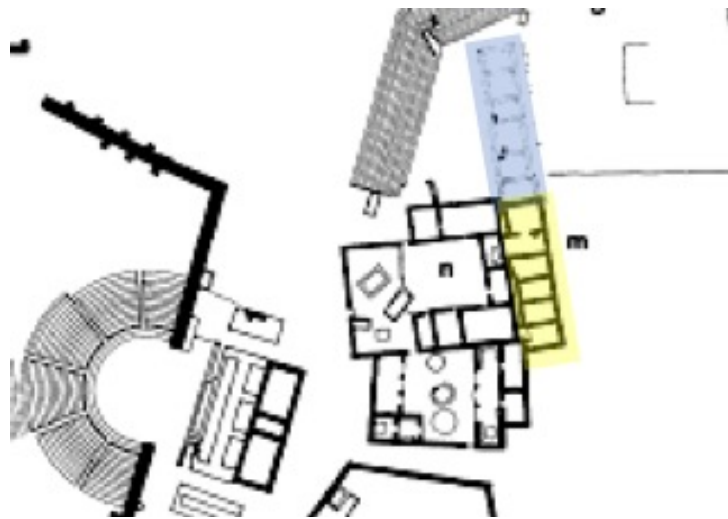


Fig. 30: Central Shops (marked as "m" on figure). Hellenistic extension highlighted in blue. Earlier structure highlighted in yellow.

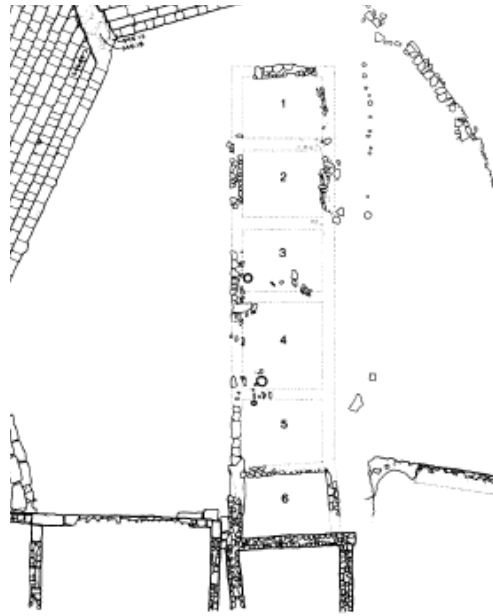


Fig. 31: Plan of Hellenistic extension to Central Shops.

4.5. Olbia Pontica

Further north towards Greece's eastern colonies, the city of Olbia Pontica was located along the Black Sea. The city was founded by Milesians during the 7th century BCE, although architectural remains for foundation of the city date it to the second half of the 6th century BCE.¹⁸⁴ Public structures have been found in and around the agora, as well as the *temenos* of the city – these two areas seem to be the developed quarters during the Classical period of the 'Higher City' of Olbia, as Archaic architecture has yet to be confirmed in this area of the site.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, there remain a few buildings that delineate the agora that can be identified as commercial structures. A small and poorly preserved building from the 5th century BCE has been uncovered in the northern part of the agora at Olbia Pontica, to the south of a hydraulic system (Fig. 32 – highlighted in blue). The structure seems to consist of a series of rooms, possibly three as shown by Wäsowicz in Fig. 33. The building's location bordering the agora and the 100 coins that have been found within the structure advocate for its commercial function.¹⁸⁶ To the south of the agora are two other commercial buildings. The first, dated to the 5th century BCE as well,

¹⁸⁴ Kryjitski 2011, 19.

¹⁸⁵ Wäsowicz 1975, 48.

¹⁸⁶ Wäsowicz 1975, 72.

features four rooms of equal dimensions that open on to the western side of the agora (Fig. 32 – highlighted in yellow).¹⁸⁷ Transport and commercial vessels were located within these four rooms, in addition to numerous coins¹⁸⁸ that indicate a commercial function. The second commercial structure to the east of the agora, has been attributed to the Hellenistic period, boasting over 700 coins found within its shops.¹⁸⁹ Although the building is later than the periods being considered, it is beneficial to note the similarities with this Hellenistic commercial building with the series of rooms found, not only at Olbia Pontica but other sites being discussed. The shops are uniform in size, with the exception of some rooms that must have undergone later construction phases and seem to superimpose the earlier structure (Fig. 32 – highlighted in orange). There is also the addition of a possible colonnade that is typical of the Hellenistic architectural development. As suggested previously with the Hellenistic extension at Morgantina, it is possible to trace the architectural development of the typical commercial stoa from earlier Archaic and Classical commercial structures. For this reason, Olbia Pontica was chosen to illustrate the presence of the commercial structure being discussed in the Classical period as well as its successors in the Hellenistic period. By examining the plans of Archaic and Classical cities, the architectural evolution of these commercial structures and their connection to the well-known Hellenistic stoa becomes slightly less ambiguous.

¹⁸⁷ Wäsowicz 1975, 72.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, .72-73.

¹⁸⁹ Kryjitski 2011, 58.

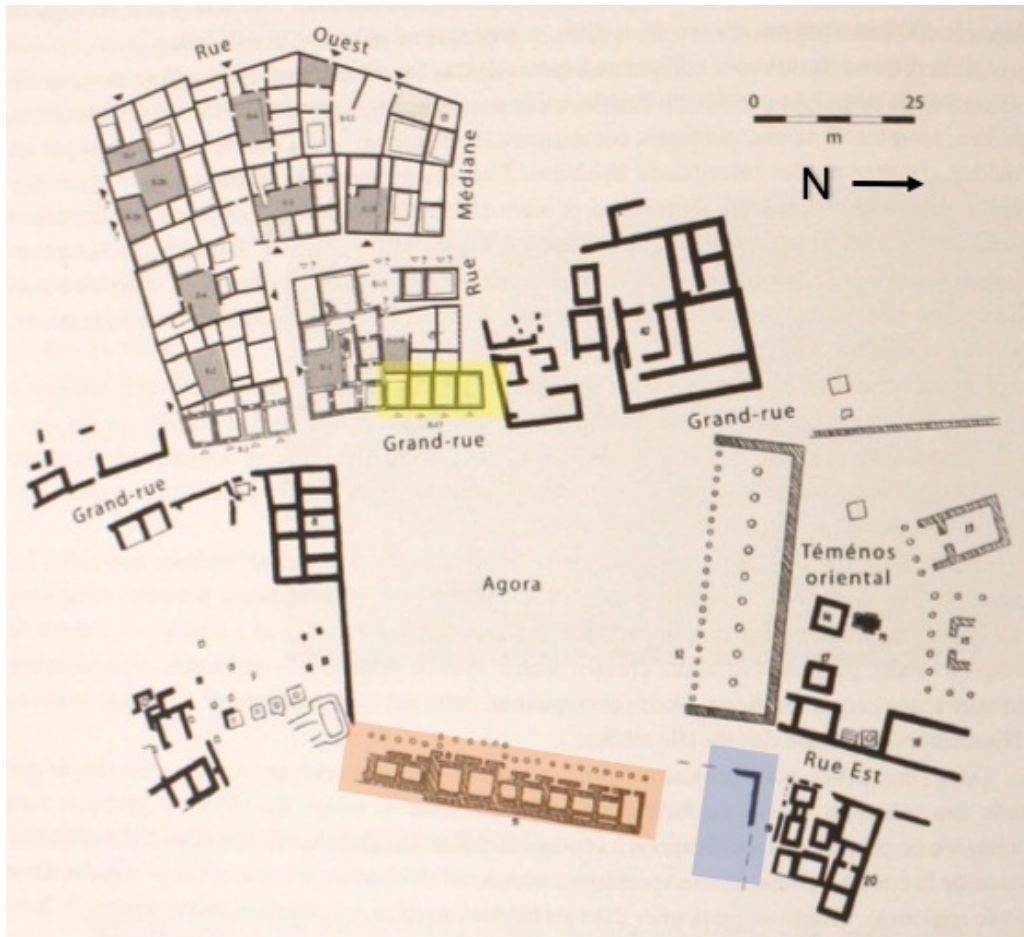


Fig. 32: Plan of Olbia Pontica. The plan is off by 90 degrees, making it necessary to add a North symbol. Highlighting the three commercial structures on the site: 5th century building south of hydraulic system in blue, commercial structure west of the agora in yellow, and commercial structure east of the agora in orange.

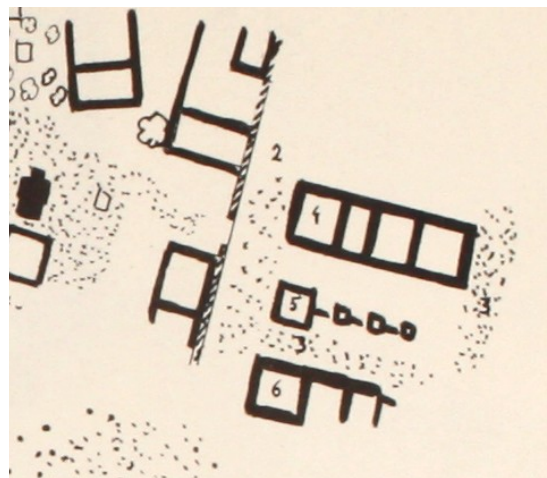


Fig. 33: Plan of possible commercial structure, identified as building '6' by Wäsowicz.

4.6. Eretria

In Eretria, there is a building of similar design to that of the series of rooms of structure Type A. Located, as it is, beneath the later construction of 'House I' in between the western fortification wall and the eastern road, its traces are difficult to discern. Nevertheless, it is unmistakable that there is a structure with a series of five rooms beneath 'House I' (Fig. 34). The building itself has been dated to the beginning of the 7th century BCE.¹⁹⁰ Unfortunately, publications on Eretria have not revealed material belonging to this structure. Indeed, the building is only referred to sparingly as "the archaic building" in most publications.¹⁹¹ Excavations and research seem to focus on the later constructions in this area, most notably 'House I' itself and the potential Heroon located north of this possible commercial structure. In fact, the building is deemed by some as part of the Heroon, a complex of some sort, part of the surrounding buildings that could have served as banquet halls.¹⁹² With the construction of the eastern road, the doors to the building have all but been erased and it is impossible to see whether the doors to the rooms were offset, as is often the case for banquet halls, as *kline* would be set up against the walls of the rooms. Eretria presents a particular case concerning the study of the long 'strip-mall' like structure and is notable for the information it gives us as one of its earlier appearances in its full form, outside of Argilos. On the one hand, the example given here at Eretria attests to the unexpected frequency of this architectural plan in and around Greece; given its presence at such an early stage, if indeed connected to a commercial function – as its design and placement in a public area suggests. On the other hand, it demonstrates the difficulty of locating such structures – especially during the archaic period – when the buildings themselves were either destroyed by time and later constructions, or by the lack of excavations and responsible publications that result in a scarcity of information.

¹⁹⁰ Ducrey 2004, 174.

¹⁹¹ Reber 1998, 27.

¹⁹² Bérard 1985, 33-34.

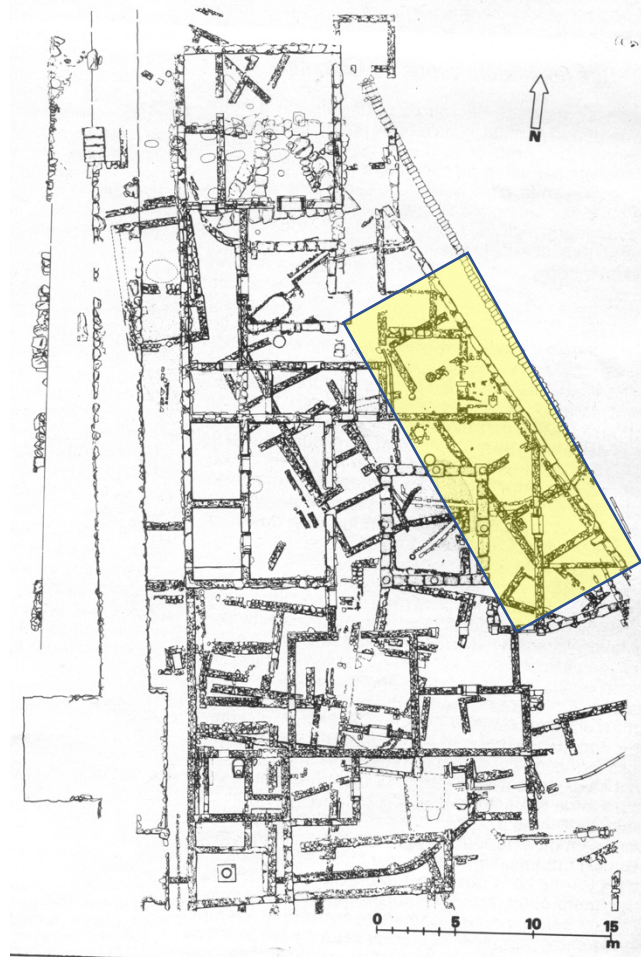


Fig. 34: Plan of Archaic building beneath House I at Eretria highlighted in yellow.

The various sites presented in this chapter were chosen owing to the presence of a comparable building corresponding to the architectural design of Building L at Argilos. These structures have been examined by their architectural style, the archaeological evidence obtained from the buildings, as well as the prevailing theories surrounding the functions of each structure. The increase in population that occurred during the early Archaic period encouraged social and economic growth that developed an architectural need for structures dedicated to facilitating trade and commerce. Although the social aspect of this development most likely emerged from household production and a peer-to-peer system, architecturally these commercial buildings seemed to have evolved independently from public necessity from a very early date. Indeed, based on the sites presented, we find such buildings as early as the 7th century BCE. One style in particular, Type A, has surfaced recurringly through both the Archaic and Classical period, around mainland Greece and its colonies. This series of equally-sized rooms within a building is habitually

located in a public space. Although there are slight variations in the design, such as the commercial buildings found at Athens that include an open courtyard, the basic plan remains the same. The pragmatic design of such a building could often incite a multifunctional use throughout its history, as evidenced by Rotroff's research into the commercial structures located in Athens. While this feature can explain its continuous use into later periods, for commercial activity and other, it also presents the difficulty of an accurate identification. The structure Type A appears to have progressed into the Hellenistic period where its design included and developed on previous architectural elements, such as structure Type S to a structure Type H. The development of this type of commercial structure at various sites can be noted for instance, at Morgantina and Olbia Pontica, where later construction phases can be traced to previous architectural styles. Thus, proposing an architectural development between the Hellenistic commercial stoa, Type H, and earlier Archaic and Classical commercial structures, Type A, at multiple locations. As revealed through these case studies, the presence of this type of building is not merely one occurrence. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the colonization period set up trade routes that enabled the allotment of multicultural ideas, including architectural forms. The location of these structures throughout the Greek world and its colonies attest to its popularity and the extent of this transfer of knowledge during the Archaic and Classical periods.

5. Conclusion

There are many discrepancies in the chronological development, terminology, and architectural plan of ancient Greek commercial architecture. For this reason, it is necessary to familiarize oneself with the basic discourse and vocabulary of ancient Greek economy, architecture, and urbanism. The lack of terminological consistency is due to the absence of a consistent design for commercial structures before the Hellenistic period. As a result, scholars have been obliged to assign various terms to these Archaic and Classical buildings. By means of a more inclusive study, as proposed in this thesis, one can understand the architectural organization of commercial shops of the Archaic and Classical periods. By incorporating and evaluating the definitions of previous scholars, by locating structures across the ancient Greek world, and by examining the various public markets they were located in, it is then possible to observe a relationship between multiple areas of study and identify an emerging pattern.

I argue that there is a correlation between the architectural development of a stoa and the commercial structure I've designated "Type A" in this thesis. Though the archetypal Hellenistic stoa (Type H), such as the Stoa of Attalos and the stoas at Miletus, has been consistently misinterpreted as the standard design of commercial structures in earlier periods given its prevalence over other structures, an analogous design—and in some cases an architectural predecessor to the Hellenistic stoa—can be found during the Archaic and Classical periods in the commercial structures of Type A. Moreover, I believe this correlation stems, in some cases, from the earlier form of stoas, Type S. Not all commercial structures emerge from this development, however, as there are some variances that occur from site to site, depending on the nature of the settlement and the date of its foundation. This is not to say that all Type H stoas developed from structure Type A. Certainly, some structures Type H developed from the earlier Type S stoa. Some commercial structures of Type A appear independently from previous architectural forms. Although the earliest commercial shops were surely temporary booths or stalls scattered throughout the agora, there is good indication to suggest that these temporary installments were set up in more permanent public buildings. These public buildings were stoas, generally of Type S, which were initially constructed in and around agoras, and served various civic and religious functions. Early examples of such buildings have been found in Megara

Hyblaea, in “bâtiment e,” and the first phase of the North-west stoa at Samos. Both stoas were located in agoras. Though not initially connected to commercial activity, the North-west stoa seems to have served a commercial function after renovations converted it from a Type S structure to a possible Type A. This ‘series of rooms’ in commercial structures of Type A, however, did not all necessarily evolve from the idea of creating artificial boundaries for temporary installments within a more permanent building such as a stoa of Type S. Yet, the theory presented at Megara Hyblaea and the modified structure at Samos can be regarded as cases of this architectural development.

Founded in the same period as Megara Hyblaea and Samos, Vroulia and Vrachos preserve structures of Type A which seem to have emerged organically from previous architectural designs. These buildings were constructed to address an architectural need as a result of the increase in trade and commercial activity. The synchronicity of events linking the colonizing movement and the growth of maritime trade during the Archaic period should not be minimized. The founding of new settlements in Greece, Italy and Asia Minor created a network of trade routes connected by the sea. These settlements were usually located along the shore, where their markets and commercial areas were also stationed. The growth in population and the shift to a greater commercial role in the agora, eventually led to a separation in which there was an agora designated for all economic activity and a ‘free-agora’ as Aristotle terms it, for all other religious, political, administrative functions. The establishment of an exclusively commercial market and the distinction between foreign and local trade that emerged nearly simultaneously has been linked to the creation of emporia. While located in agoras of many cities, the commercial structures of Type A have been found in emporia as well. The connection between the colonizing movement and the increase in maritime trade can be observed through the colonies and emporia that were settled throughout the ancient Greek world, such as Locri Epizefiri and Vroulia. Both settlements are considered emporia that took part in multicultural trade as evidenced by the archaeological record of both sites and the commercial structures built near the harbor. These (Type A) structures likewise did not develop from previous architectural forms such as the stoa Type S. Where commercial structures in Greek poleis are concentrated in the agora, at the center of the city, colonies appeared to construct independent structures to accommodate commercial activity at the port. The pre-planned nature of a colony and the

organization of the urbanism of a new settlement compelled the creation of buildings that would facilitate any commercial transactions and revenue. This involved the construction of a long, simple structure, such as Type A that contained a series of equally-sized rooms for shops. The versatile design of the building has often been identified with other functions, such as military barracks (Vrachos), political and administrative offices (Athens), accommodations (Locri and Vroulia), as well as for commercial shops. The successfully pragmatic style of Type A can be traced continuously through the Archaic and Classical periods, and into the Hellenistic period. At the sites of Morgantina and Olbia Pontica, two Greek colonies, the initial construction of shops was located in buildings that followed this exact design of structure Type A. During the Hellenistic period, both sites saw the modification of earlier structures or constructions of separate buildings that followed the previous Type A design. At Morgantina, a parallel extension to the Central Shops during the Hellenistic period follows the structure Type A. At Olbia Pontica, a Hellenistic structure Type A, and a possible later reconstruction converted it to Type H, on the eastern side of the agora, follows the same Type A plan of the earlier commercial buildings on the western side.

At the beginning of my research, it seemed that there was no uniform design for commercial structures in earlier periods until the adoption of the monumental commercial stoa with the addition of rooms behind the colonnade during the Hellenistic period (Type H). The Type H stoa's predominance during the Hellenistic period resulted in a misconception in scholarship of the structure as a standardized design in preceding periods. Although not entirely consistent, however, there is a predisposition during the Archaic and Classical periods towards a simple design, similar to the earliest stoas Type S, of a long structure with a series of rooms that contained shops but did not include a colonnade: Type A. The architectural development of the stoa (Type S and Type H) and our commercial structure (Type A) are not the same; they are parallel constructions that have intertwined and matured alongside each other throughout their history. Occasionally they developed from one to another; at times, they developed independently; and often they were present in settlements contemporaneously.

What is certain is that the commercial structure, following a "strip mall"-like design, can be located in the public area of Greek settlements, in different markets and commercial areas, including an agora, emporion or military agora. The multicultural system of trade that arose

during the Archaic period resulted in an exchange of material and social culture that inevitably produced a common architectural design that was recurring in the ancient Greek world. These structures eventually shaped Greek architecture and urbanism through their continuous use and we can therefore find comparable structures in later periods.

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