# EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA: THE ROMAN STOA, 1988–91 PART 2

(PLATES 53–72)

## INTRODUCTION

This is the second and principal report on the campaign of survey and excavation carried out by the British School at Athens between 1988 and 1991 on the site of the Roman stoa close to the acropolis hill of ancient Sparta, under the direction of the present writers.[1] The first part of the report, which appeared in 1993, contained some introductory remarks on the excavations together with two preliminary studies of samples of the pottery discovered, one on hellenistic and Roman material by D. M. Bailey, the other on medieval deposits by G. D. R. Sanders.[2] For the sake of the completeness of this second part, a few necessary observations relating to the location and nature of the excavations will be repeated, and the content of the various sections of the report that follow will then be briefly reviewed.

The purpose of the programme of fieldwork was to investigate further the substantial brick and concrete structure of Roman date which defines the south-eastern corner of the low, plateau-like hill known as Palaiókastro, situated to the east of the higher hill that formed the

[1] We wish to record our thanks to the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to carry out these excavations, and acknowledge with gratitude the support and assistance of Dr Th. Spyropoulos, Ephor of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for Arkadia and Lakonia; Mrs Bakourou, Ephor of the 5th Department of Byzantine Antiquities in Sparta; Mrs Diamanti of the Byzantine Ephoreia; and Miss Stella Raftopoulou of the Prehistoric and Classical Ephoreia. We are most grateful for the assistance of the successive directors of the British School under whose auspices the excavations took place, Dr H. W. Catling and Dr E. B. French. Funds and grants to meet the cost of the fieldwork were generously contributed by the following societies and institutions: British Academy, British School at Athens, King's College London, University College London (Gordon Childe Fund), Society of Antiquaries of London, Royal Archaeological Institute, and Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Among the specialist members of the team, we should like to pay particular tribute to Mr Nigel Fradgley (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England), who, with his assistant Robyn Burgess, took on the responsibility for surveying and architectural recording, and who has produced the final versions of all the plans, sections, and drawings published here. Thanks are also due to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England for the loan of equipment as well as personnel. Site recording was under the general supervision of Dr Hafed Walda and Adrian Powell, and the following students participated in the excavation work: (1989) C. Eccleston, M. Kamalakou, S. Loudoun, K. Lynch, J. Sidell, C. Smith, C. Stevens, K. Wilkinson; (1990) P. Baker, P. Ditchfield, C. Eccleston, P. Higgs, E. Ivison, S. Loudoun, A. McNulty, J. Sidell, C. Smith; (1991) K. Alexander, J. Babb, G. Carleton, A. Cussons, T. Erskine Crum, S. Gentleman, K. House, S. Mace, A. Matthew, K. Meheux, S. Mellalieu, M. Overbeek, K. Papayiannakis, J. Sidell, and K. Wilkinson. Environmental sampling was undertaken in 1989–91 by J. Sidell and K. Wilkinson, and conservation of finds in 1991 by M. Barlow and M. Halliwell. We are grateful to Mr Richard Anderson, architect of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, for taking kite photographs of the site for us, and for allowing us to reproduce examples here. Our understanding of the site and its finds has further profited from discussions with Pamela Armstrong, Don Bailey, John Hayes, Guy Sanders, Tony Spawforth, Susan Walker, and Elisabeth Waywell.

The following abbreviations of frequently cited works have been used:

Cartledge and Spawforth = P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (London, 1989)

Stibbe = C. M. Stibbe, 'Beobachtungen zur Topographie des antiken Sparta', *BA Besch.* 64 (1989), 61–99

[2] *BSA* 88 (1993), 219–86.

actual acropolis of ancient Sparta. Trial excavations had been carried out in 1906 on selected parts of the building by a team of British archaeologists led by R. C. Bosanquet, who were the first to call it by the name of 'Roman Stoa' which will continue to be used throughout this report.[3] The present campaign of research began in 1988 with a survey of the visible remains of the Roman stoa, after which we conducted three seasons of excavations between 1989 and 1991, opening up a new trench each year at a different point along the presumed line of the building. In summer 1989 excavation was defined by two apsed and vaulted compartment rooms roughly in the middle of the southern side of the stoa, designated RS XI–XII (reckoning from the east end of the building). In April 1990 trenches were located at the western end of the stoa (RSW 1–3), centred on a standing Roman wall of brick-faced concrete, from where they were extended westwards to include part of the eastern side of the considerably earlier Round Building. In summer 1991 trenches RSC 1–3 were opened up near to what was then understood to be the central part of the stoa, located so as to cross the line of the structure at the point where the vaulted compartments ended on the west, and to take in both the northern and the southern limits of the building. During the 1991 season further supplementary excavations were carried out in areas RS XII and RSW 1–3.

The objectives of this report are to describe the excavations and their principal finds, to analyse in preliminary fashion the stratigraphical evidence for the date of construction of the Roman stoa and the history of its use, and to discuss the architectural remains of the building in an attempt to recover its original appearance and its significance for the topography of ancient Sparta. Contributions are also offered on fresh evidence that has come to light for the medieval reuse of the Roman stoa, the original form and purpose of the Round Building, and the alignment and date of the late fortification walls of Sparta. The following section headings have been used:

1. Background to the excavations at Sparta.
2. Description of the excavations on the site of the Roman stoa and the Round Building.
3. Analysis of the stratigraphy and principal phases, with discussion of the dating evidence.
4. Introduction to surveying strategy (N. Fradgley).
5. The architecture of the Roman stoa and its reconstruction.
6. The Round Building.
7. The late Roman defences of the acropolis.
8. Medieval reuse of the Roman stoa: the church and monastery of St Nikon Metanoeites.
9. Conclusion: the place of the Roman stoa in the topography of ancient Sparta.

With the exception of Section 4 on surveying strategy, which is by N. Fradgley, all the sections represent the joint work of the two present writers.

Following this main account of the excavations and their results, a tenth and separate section by A. J. S. Spawforth offers a study of the new inscriptions found in the course of the fieldwork, mostly from the site of the stoa but including a few examples also from the theatre, where excavations were resumed in 1992–3. The results of work on other aspects of finds from the Roman stoa excavations are not yet completed, and will appear in a subsequent volume of the *Annual*. These will include sections by various authors on the coins, wall-paintings, and small finds and on the environmental programme.

[3] R. C. Bosanquet, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 277–83; R. Traquair, ibid. 415–18.

## 1. Background to the Excavations at Sparta

The remains of ancient Sparta have engaged the attention of scholars for more than a century. In the fifth century BC Thucydides remarked that should the city of the Spartans ever become deserted no one would ever believe that their power was what it was reputed to have been, if all that remained were merely temples and the foundations of other buildings.[4] In the event, thanks to the survival of the works of that historian and of others, posterity entertains no doubts as to the achievements of the classical Spartans; but it is furnished with little in the way of physical remains which might inform us of the character of that austere city. A similar state of affairs prevails in the matter of Roman Sparta, of which a detailed account is available in the Guide to Greece written in the later second century AD by Pausanias, a Greek from Asia Minor, whose purpose was to instruct the (mainly Roman) tourists of classical Hellas.[5] Taking due account of the special appeal which Sparta had for the Romans, Pausanias provides a detailed guide to the city which had, like the other historic centres of Greece, profited from the Greek revival inspired by the emperor Hadrian (AD 117–38).[6] Historic shrines were rescued from decay and refurbished, and new monuments and amenities appeared in a tidal wave of benefaction following Hadrian's progress through the Greek world. The Spartans of the second century AD were evidently responsive to the special regard in which the Romans held their classical ancestors, even to the extent of re-enacting some elements of the primitive physical training of Spartan youth and the system of communal living reputedly instituted by the lawgiver Lycurgus many centuries earlier.

The guidebook of Pausanias lists the monuments and other structures around the agora of Sparta and along the principal streets leading from it. This account still offers a tantalizing challenge to visitors to the now deserted site, where for centuries the only visible and identifiable relic has been the bowl of the theatre, set into the south face of the acropolis hill near its western and highest summit.[7] Around a century ago there appeared the first of several modern essays on the topography of Sparta by the German Heinrich Stein (1890),[8] followed in 1892 by that of Konstantinos Nestoridis, a local teacher and native of Sparta.[9] A third essay by Nicholas E. Crosby, published in the following year, concluded on the despairing note that Pausanias' description of ancient Sparta was 'a harrowing mixture of vagueness and precision'.[10]

Yet even before Crosby's work appeared, digging had commenced on the acropolis of Sparta, and the same volume of the *AJA* contained a report of the American excavations of

[4] Thuc. i. 10. 2.

[5] Paus. iii. 11. 1–18. 6; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, i–vi (London, 1898); N. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις*, ii: *Κορινθιακά–Λακωνικά* (Athens, 1976), 334–81; C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985); D. Musti and M. Torelli, *Pausania, guida della Grecia, libro III: la Laconia* (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Milan, 1991); J. Elsner, 'Pausanias: a Greek pilgrim in the Roman world', *Past and Present*, 135 (1992), 3–29; K. W. Arafat, 'Pausanias' attitude to antiquities', *BSA* 87 (1992), 387–409.

[6] A. J. S. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The world of the Panhellenion, i: Athens and Eleusis', *JRS* 75 (1985), 78–104; and esp. iid., 'The world of the Panhellenion, ii: three Dorian cities', *JRS* 76 (1986), 88–105, esp. 88–96 for Sparta; Cartledge and Spawforth, 105–19.

[7] A recent notable attempt to follow the route of Paus. is by Stibbe (n. 1). See also below, §9.

[8] H. K. Stein, *Topographie des alten Sparta nebst Bemerkungen über einige lakedaimonische Gottheiten* (Gratz, 1890).

[9] K. Nestoridis, *Τοπογραφία τῆς ἀρχαίας Σπάρτης* (Athens, 1892).

[10] N. E. Crosby, 'The topography of Sparta', *AJA* 8 (1893), 335–73.

the so-called Round Building by C. L. Meader and Charles Waldstein.[11] In the event this structure proved to be not a circular monument, but rather a prominent natural hillock which had been encased with a semicircular wall and three-stepped crepidoma at some time between the archaic and late classical periods; these were modified in Roman times.[12] The American pioneers departed Sparta for other sites in Greece and were replaced in Laconia by the British. Most of what archaeology has added so far to our knowledge of Spartan topography derives from the two five-season campaigns of excavation by the British School at Athens in 1906–10 and 1924–8.[13] In both, the efforts of archaeologists were concentrated on a major site of great importance and complexity: in the earlier, more by accident than design, this was the shrine of Artemis Orthia, which lay near the river Eurotas at the eastern edge of the city;[14] but in the later the effort of excavation was deliberately concentrated on the extensive remains of the theatre and on the adjoining structures near to the summit of the acropolis hill, where the historic shrine of Athena of the Brazen House (Chalkioikos) had been located and partly explored in the 1907 investigations.[15]

When the School began work at Sparta in 1906 the director, R. C. Bosanquet, had signalled the intention of engaging in the major and long-term investigation of one of the historic urban centres of classical Greece, matching the activities of other foreign schools in Greece at that time. To this end a broad range of investigations was devised in several areas of the site. These included the recording of surface remains and the location of structures through selective excavation. Several members of the School participated, including, apart from the director (who was liable to be detained in Athens to undertake such duties as receiving royal visitors or, as happened on one occasion, acting as an umpire in the revived Olympic Games),[16] A. J. B. Wace, Guy Dickins, and the School's architectural student, Ramsay Traquair, who had just completed a major study of the medieval fortifications in Laconia.[17] This broad approach had to be revised, mainly for financial reasons, when early in the first season a large deposit of archaic pottery and votive figurines was observed in a section of the Eurotas bank: it proved to belong to the shrine of Artemis Orthia, where later Roman tourists were invited to witness the spectacle of the sadistic contests of whipping from the vantage of a specially constructed grandstand.[18] The excavation of this major shrine and its associated deposits, which could only begin after the diversion of a mill-stream which crossed the site, proved a slow and tedious task that was carried through under Bosanquet's successor as director, R. M. Dawkins. In spite of this, the first two seasons of the School's work saw the completion of important projects on the topography of ancient Sparta. Patient and exhausting fieldwork by Wace revealed the line of the hellenistic and Roman city wall, constructed of stone and mudbrick

[11] C. L. Meader and C. Waldstein, 'Reports on excavations at Sparta in 1893', *AJA* 8 (1893), 410–28; cf. N. E. Crosby, *AJA* 9 (1894), 212–13, answered by C. Waldstein, ibid. 545–6.

[12] See below, §6.

[13] For the 1906–10 excavations see R. C. Bosanquet *et al.*, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 277–479; R. M. Dawkins *et al.*, *BSA* 13 (1906–7), 1–218; id., *BSA* 14 (1907–8), 1–158; 15 (1908–9), 1–157; 16 (1909–10), 1–61. For the 1924–8 excavations see A. M. Woodward *et al.*, *BSA* 26 (1923–5), 116–310; id., *BSA* 27 (1925–6), 173–254; 28 (1926–7), 1–106; 29 (1927–8), 1–107; 30 (1928–30), 241–54.

[14] R. M. Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia* (JHS suppl. 5; London, 1929).

[15] G. Dickins, *BSA* 13 (1906–7), 137–54; 14 (1907–8), 142–6. For the later excavations, see A. M. Woodward and M. B. Hobling, *BSA* 26 (1923–5), 240–76; A. M. Woodward, J. Droop, and W. Lamb, *BSA* 28 (1926–7), 37–95; A. M. Woodward, *BSA* 30 (1928–30), 241–54.

[16] R. C. Bosanquet, *Letters and Light Verse*, ed. E. S. Bosanquet (Gloucester, 1938), 162–3.

[17] R. Traquair, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 258–76.

[18] Dawkins (n. 14).

with a capping of glazed tiles early in the second century BC, which from the testimony of Polybius had a perimeter of 48 stades (*c.*6 Roman miles).[19] On the acropolis hill the shrine of Athena Chalkioikos was located and explored, and the anatomy of the nearby theatre was defined by trenching under the supervision of Dickins.[20] Several ancient structures on the lower ground to the south and west of the Acropolis hill were recorded, including a large Roman complex 500 m west of the theatre, known locally as Arápissa, which has recently been identified with the gymnasium known to have been donated by C. Iulius Eurykles Herculanus, a native of the city and a Roman senator in the time of Hadrian.[21]

Ramsay Traquair recorded and analysed the remains of the late fortification wall which enclosed the acropolis area (see §7 below), and from which many reused architectural elements and inscribed stones were recovered.[22] He also supervised the first investigation of the building thenceforward known as the Roman stoa which forms the subject of this report.[23]

All the work described above was carried through and reported on according to the best standards of the day. Yet perhaps the most notable, and certainly the most lasting, achievement of those early years was the planning of all the known remains of ancient Sparta at a scale of 1 : 1,000 by the Austrian surveyor W. Sejk (FIG. 1). This was completed by the end of the second season (1907) and was published in volume 13 of the *Annual*, but unfortunately the huge drawing could only be reproduced at a scale so reduced as to eliminate all the detailed record of the discoveries made on and around the acropolis hill.[24] Though it stands now in need of revision on many points of detail (the modern topography is entirely different), Sejk's plan of Sparta is a masterpiece, which remains a basis for reference and will continue to do so until the new survey, currently under way, is completed (cf. FIG. 2).

Fourteen years passed and a world war was fought (Dickins was a casualty) before the School resumed work at Sparta. Under the director, A. M. Woodward, who had participated in the earlier excavations, a five-year campaign (1924–8) concentrated on the theatre and the structures behind the cavea, between the theatre and the shrine of Athena Chalkioikos, already located and excavated in 1907–8.[25] The remains of the stage platform and stage buildings were uncovered to reveal a complicated succession of structures dating from the construction of the theatre in its surviving Roman form at the end of the first century BC to the time when the theatre ceased to function as such, probably at the end of the fourth century. Woodward was unable to complete the excavation of the theatre. Investigation of later structures from above the orchestra was resumed in 1973 by G. Steinhauer on behalf of the Greek authorities, and in 1992 the School accepted an invitation to return to the theatre, a campaign which is currently under way.[26]

[19] A. J. B. Wace, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 283–8; 13 (1906–7), 5–16.

[20] Athena Chalkioikos: see n. 8. Theatre: G. Dickins, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 394–406.

[21] A. J. B. Wace, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 407–14; O. Palagia, 'Seven pilasters of Herakles from Sparta', in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the 10th British Museum Classical Colloquium* (BICS supp. 55; London, 1989), 122–9; Cartledge and Spawforth, 129–30; 218 no. 19.

[22] R. Traquair, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 417–29; T. E. Gregory, 'The fortified cities of Byzantine Greece', *Archaeology*, 35. 1 (Jan.–Feb. 1982), 20–1; Cartledge and Spawforth, 122; 126; 218 no. 10.

[23] R. Traquair, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 415–18; R. C. Bosanquet, *Diary of Excavations at Sparta in 1906* (unpublished MS in BSA archive, Athens), 37, 52, 55, 61–2, 66–8; G. Dickins, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 432–4; P. Knoblauch, *AA* 1942, 156–7; Cartledge and Spawforth, 218 no. 18.

[24] *BSA* 13 (1906–7), 2, pl. 1. The original, drawn out on three giant-sized sheets of cartridge paper, is preserved in the BSA archive in Athens.

[25] See n. 13.

[26] For work in the theatre since the time of Woodward's excavations, see H. Bulle, *Das Theater zu Sparta* (Munich, 1937); F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater: Volks- und Festversammlung* (Archäologische Forschung, 9; Berlin, 1981); C. Buckler, 'The myth of the moveable skenai', *AJA* 90 (1986), 431–6; Cartledge and Spawforth, 128–9, 156–7, 217 no. 14; G. B. Waywell and J. J. Wilkes, in *AR* 39 (1992–3), 22, for report on 1992 excavations.


FIG. 1. Overall plan of ancient Sparta, after Sejk.

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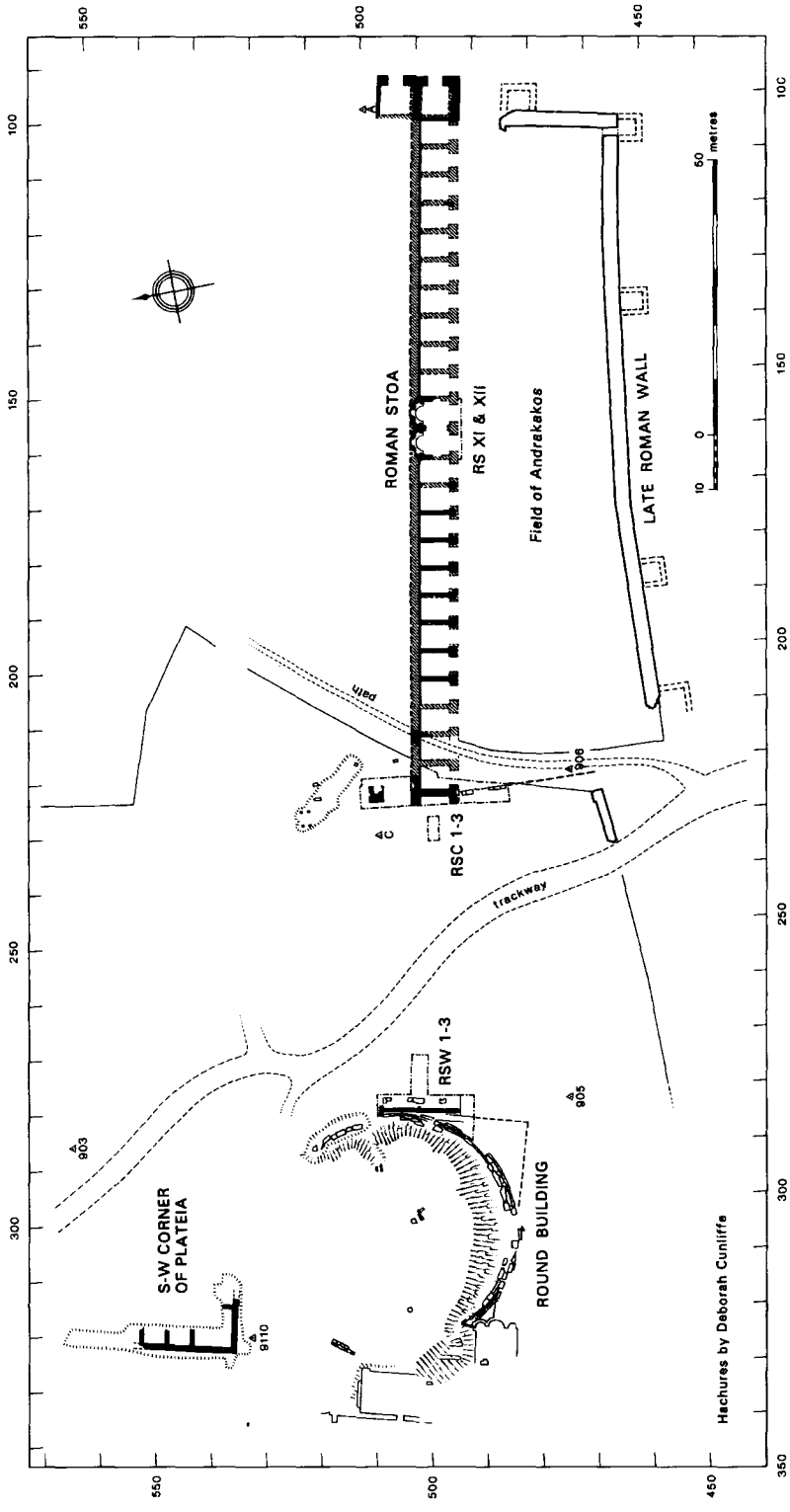


FIG. 2. General plan of Roman stoa, Round Building, sw corner of *plateia*, and late walls.

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Work on the acropolis proved to be no less difficult than that in the theatre, as excavation revealed in places an inverted confusion of archaic, classical Greek, and Roman deposits, perhaps resulting from enlargement of the theatre cavea in the Roman period. Several important finds were made in this area, including the torso and other fragments of a life-size marble hoplite statue.[27] Also on the acropolis, G. Cuttle began an excavation of the large three-apsed basilica which lies north-east of the theatre and incorporates many architectural elements removed from the latter and from its associated structures. What proved to be an impressively large Christian basilica with baptistery, dating probably to the late antique period (fifth to seventh centuries) was later fully exposed by the Archaeological Society of Athens.[28] This structure was long identified (erroneously, it now seems certain) with the church built in the late tenth century by Sparta's patron saint, Nikon Metanoeites (the Repenter; see §8 below).

The remains of ancient Sparta away from the acropolis zone are now threatened by the steady expansion of the modern town, whose buildings and streets, though still contained by the perimeter wall of Roman Sparta, have been steadily encroaching northwards to threaten the heart of the ancient city. New discoveries are regularly reported from routine building works and from pipe and sewer trenches. A large amount of this new evidence has been assembled in the recent account of hellenistic and Roman Sparta published by Cartledge and Spawforth.[29]

## 2. Description of the Excavations on the Site of the Roman Stoa and the Round Building

A season of survey in April 1988 had recorded the visible remains of the building at the south-eastern limit of Sparta's acropolis known as the Roman stoa, first investigated in 1906 by Bosanquet and Traquair (FIG. 2; PLATE 53 *a*).[30] This showed that the Roman stoa consisted of a range of south-facing barrel-vaulted chambers, each measuring 4.15 m wide and 5.25 m deep internally, separated by partition walls 0.90 m wide and set against a rear wall 1.80 m thick which formed a revetment to the acropolis hill. Construction was of mortared rubble faced with fired bricks (PLATE 53 *b*). Of the twenty-two visible chambers, the eleventh and twelfth (counting from the east) differed from the rest in having semicircular brick-faced apses, each decorated with three niches, which projected into the rear wall of the building. Their room widths were increased by 0.15 m to accommodate these, and roofing took the form of cross-vaulting (PLATE 54 *a*).[31] At the south-east corner two east-facing barrel-vaulted chambers returned at right angles to the north, each measuring *c.*5 m wide and 5.5 m deep internally. Their outer eastward face, which had subsequently been incorporated in the late Roman fortification wall, was faced in courses of ashlar masonry (PLATE 54 *b*).

[27] Sparta Museum, no. 3365. A. M. Woodward and M. B. Hobling, *BSA* 26 (1923–5), 253–66; Br.-Br. 776–8; J. Dörig, *The Olympia Master and his Collaborators* (Leiden, 1987), 20; O. Palagia, 'An Athena Promachos from the acropolis of Sparta', in O. Palagia and W. Coulson (eds), *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia: Proceedings of an international conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (April 10–14, 1992)* (Oxbow monographs, 30; Oxford, 1993), 167–75.

[28] A. M. Woodward, *Diary of Excavations at Sparta, 1924–8* (unpublished MS in BSA archive, Athens), 135–7, 145, 169–89 for 1925 excavations; 239–67 for 1926 excavations; A. Adamantiou, *PAE* 1934, 126–8.

[29] Cartledge and Spawforth (n. 1); cf. Stibbe (n. 1), 65.

[30] R. C. Bosanquet, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 277–83; R. Traquair, ibid. 415–18; G. Dickins, ibid. 432–4.

[31] Traquair (n. 30), 415, following the plan of Sejk (ibid. pl. 8), erroneously supposed that there were three of these apsed chambers (nos. 11–13).

The overall length of the visible southern range of chambers was *c.*114 m, or *c.*120 m including the projection of the eastern range. The length of the eastern range (two chambers) measured *c.*14.5 m. If the stoa had continued westwards as far as the Round Building, as Bosanquet had supposed,[32] then its overall length from east to west would have been *c.*188 m, including the eastward projecting bays.

Commencing from this starting-point, three seasons of excavations were carried out in different areas of the building between August 1989 and August 1991. The location of trenches was determined to a considerable extent by questions of land ownership. All the substantial visible remains of the stoa are situated on privately owned land. The main, south-facing range of rooms is in a field belonging to Mr and Mrs Andrakakos, the eastern return is on ground belonging to Mr D. Kolovos, while the terraced ground to the north of the stoa's back wall is divided between the property of Mr E. Grammatakis to the east and Mr V. Grigorakis to the west. Because of the difficulties attendant upon separate negotiation with different landowners, it was decided to excavate in one of these areas only, namely the field of Andrakakos, where the greatest extent of the stoa was visible. However, as the field is under cultivation it was possible to obtain permission to excavate only in one location, the pair of apsed rooms roughly in the centre of the stoa, and consequently there was no opportunity to put down trials elsewhere in this area, as would otherwise have been desirable. The other two trenches that were opened up, at the west end next to the Round Building and in a central area where the terrain begins to rise up, both lay within land owned by the Greek Archaeological Service, to the west of the footpath which cuts through the line of the stoa beside the western limit of the field of Andrakakos.

The following areas of the Roman stoa were therefore excavated, designated by their official trench numbers, and proceeding from east to west:

I: RS XI, RS XII. Two adjoining trenches within the area of ground encompassed by compartments XI and XII of the south range of the stoa, measuring overall 11 m E–W and 9 m N–S, into the apses. Excavated August–September 1989, July–August 1991.

II: RSC 1, 2, 3. Three contiguous trenches forming a cross-section, 32 m long and between 4 and 5 m wide, running N–S through the stoa, taking in part of compartment XXIV. Excavated July–August 1991.

III: RSW 1, 2, 3. Three adjacent trenches at the presumed W end of the stoa next to the Round Building, taking in the E side of this structure and also some of the ground in front of the stoa. Maximum dimensions of excavated area: 17.5 m N–S, *c.*12 m E–W. Excavated April 1990, July–August 1991.

Each of these principal areas will now be discussed in the sequence listed here, to indicate the extent and quality of information revealed.

### 1. RS XI, RS XII (FIG. 3)

These trenches, measuring overall 11 × 9 m, were laid out over an irregular ground surface from which the upper brickwork of the two apses emerged. Large fragments of tumble from the concrete vaults lay in the SW corner. Because of these and the great depth of the soil cover, which proved to be more than 3.50 m in places down to the Roman floor level, it was decided not to excavate the whole area in full. The limits of the excavation are shown by the plan. A N–S section was maintained in RS XII, of which only the eastern half was dug to the Roman floor level. Likewise, in order to keep a main E–W section line, RS XI was excavated in two parts, of which only the northern half has reached the bottom; the

[32] Dickins (n. 30), 432; Bosanquet, *Diary* (n. 23), 37, 52, 55, 61–2, 66–8.

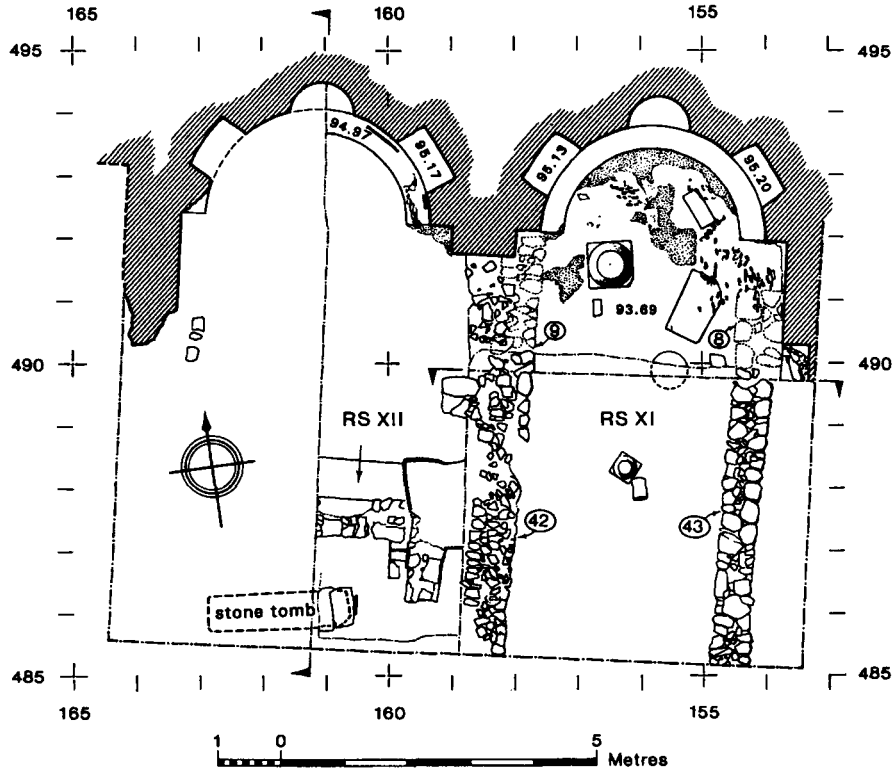


FIG. 3. Plan of trench RS XI and XII, showing composite features of Roman and medieval periods.

southern half has been taken down only to the latest of the middle Byzantine levels. A sounding made by Traquair within the centre-apse of RS XI was located and cleaned out to avoid contamination of the undug levels.[33]

The appearance of the original Roman building as revealed to its full extent in the northern halves of RS XI and RS XII is very impressive (PLATE 55). Preserved to a height of nearly 6 m from the floor to the apex of the vaults, the two compartments are seen to be linked together in a single large room which, to judge from the niches and water conduits in the back wall, originally served as a fountain-house or nymphaeum. Construction is of high-quality concrete faced in fired brick with a core of heavy, rounded river-stones. The layout is carefully symmetrical, with walls and piers turning at right angles, and the two apses consist of perfect semicircles with a diameter of 3.54 m or *c.*12 Roman feet. The upper wall surface of each apse is decorated with three brick-faced niches, of which the central one is semicircular and half-domed (radius 0.46 m), the outer pair rectangular and arched (width 0.92 m, depth 0.46 m). Orifices in the upper back wall of each niche are likely to have been for water outlets fed by narrow conduits that extend back and upwards into the hill behind. About 0.29 m below the bottom of the niches, a brick-built ledge 0.35 m wide springs forward, being carried all the way round the semicircular plan of the apse and extending down to the floor level 1.10 m below. Although described as a 'seat' by Traquair, who located part of it in his sounding,[34] this ledge is likely to have provided support for a marble basin or distribution trough receiving the water pouring from the triple outlets above.

[33] Traquair (n. 30), 415–17. [34] Ibid. 417, fig. 2.

The half-domes of each apse, which are fully preserved, are skilfully constructed of brick-faced concrete, with a course of extra-large 'two-footer' bricks at their springing-points and 'keystones' of transverse bricks at the apexes. Evidence of surviving brickwork in the NW corner of RS XII confirms that these two compartments had cross-vaulted roofs, apparently also in brick, although the southernmost piers which supported them have yet to be fully uncovered (part of the central one, opposite the protruding pier between the apses, may have been used as a wall-support for the later church, although it is a little out of line). Another original feature, only partly revealed, is a niche within the E side wall of RS XI, *c.*1.60 m S of the NE angle of the room, with a ledge originally 1.85 m above the floor (later broken through in secondary usage). It is 0.42 m deep and 0.56 m long as revealed (originally longer). Buildings with this kind of sophisticated design and high-quality, brick-faced concrete construction first appear in Greece in the Hadrianic period,[35] and it seems likely that the original phase of the Roman stoa as we have it is Hadrianic or early Antonine in date, *c.* AD 125–50 (see §3). Evidence for dating the original phase of the building in these trenches is at present mainly architectural, as later soil accumulations above the Roman floor had been cleaned out when the building was reoccupied in the middle Byzantine period (see below).

Consistent with this dating is the original decor of the two compartments, which consisted of lavish marble revetment in a variety of colours, fixed to piers, walls, and apses, and a floor of marble slabs (to judge from fragments found in the excavations). Although virtually all of the marble was later stripped out, sufficient traces remain in niches and angles to indicate its character (PLATE 56 *a*). A surviving stretch around the projecting ledge of the apse of RS XII has marble tiles *c.*2 cm thick of blue–white colour, surmounted by a separate moulding in red stone (PLATE 56 *b*). Within the central semicircular niche of the apse of RS XI, thin upright panels of marble, *c.*11 cm wide with chamfered edges, would originally have imparted a delicately polygonal effect to the surface (PLATE 56 *c*). Marble plugs *c.*4 cm in diameter, inserted into the walls at intervals, seem to have secured iron clamps which held the heavier elements of architectural ornament attached to the walls in the vicinity of the niches (PLATE 57 *b*).

A second phase of usage for the building occurred at some time after the marble facing-slabs had been systematically removed from the walls and floor, probably in the late Roman or early Byzantine period (fifth–sixth centuries AD), when the two bays were converted into a plaster-lined cistern for water storage, like several other structures within the late Roman fortification walls of Sparta. The clearest evidence for this is found in the NE corner of RS XI, where the pink waterproof plaster, *opus signinum*, can be seen to overlie a fragment of the original marble wall revetment left in place in the angle (PLATES 56 *d*; 57 *a*). The floor was also relaid at this time, with fragments of bricks, tiles, and marble slabs set on edge in a rough herring-bone pattern and then skimmed with plaster.

Despite the great depth of soil cover, no layers datable to the Roman or early Byzantine periods were discovered immediately above the Roman floor level in RS XI and XII. The stratigraphy that remains belongs to the eleventh century and later, suggesting that any earlier accumulations had been cleaned out when the building was reoccupied in the middle Byzantine period, probably in the late tenth century. This was the third main phase of occupation, which constituted a major programme of structural renovation and extension as the remains of the Roman stoa were converted to religious usage. To judge from the evidence revealed so far, it seems that a church with rich wall-paintings was built across the front of the stoa on a parallel E–W alignment, and that the apsed compartments which were now enclosed by it were refurbished for liturgical or burial purposes. Walls belonging to the NW corner of this church have been uncovered in the southern area of RS XII (PLATE 57 *c*). They were partly founded on the brick-faced concrete pier which supported the cross-vaulted roof of chambers RS

[35] In general see H. Dodge, 'Brick construction in Roman Greece and Asia Minor', in S. Macready and F. H. Thompson, *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (Society of Antiquaries, London, 1987), 106–16, although she incorrectly dates the Roman stoa at Sparta to the Augustan period (p. 107); cf. Cartledge and Spawforth, 218 no. 18.

XI and XII (presumably still surviving intact at this time), and were partly new constructions of rough stones or mudbrick faced in plaster. Evidence of the frescoes suggests that they were extensive, decorating the surfaces of all the walls so far discovered. Two areas of dado survive in position, decorated with different designs of imitation *opus sectile* (PLATE 58 *a–b*). One runs round the outer NW angle facing into RS XII, beside which was found a well-preserved bronze bowl, probably a lamp, together with several links of bronze chains and a hook from which it was once suspended (PLATE 58 *c–d*). The other, which probably belongs to a later phase of decoration, was applied to the reused W face of the Roman brick pier, adjacent to a threshold block of a Byzantine doorway, with its iron seating for the door pivot preserved intact, which led into RS XII. That the upper parts of the frescoes above dado level carried figured decoration is suggested by a substantial deposit of plaster fragments found close to the wall, just inside the NW angle of the church, which preserve the remains of standing draped figures, about three-quarters life-size, including a finely painted bearded male head (PLATE 59 *a*). It must be stressed that only a very small part of the church, its NW corner, has been excavated. Its walls continue E under the southern part of RS XI, and S into the field of Andrakakos, but these were deliberately left undug to conserve the wall-paintings, which are likely to be fully preserved, even if in a fragmentary state.

The existence of two phases of frescoes was explained by the discovery of a tomb burial in the extreme SW corner of the area of RS XII being excavated, opposite a probable doorway into the church (PLATES 59 *b*; 60 *a*). The tomb was roughly rectangular in shape and had been constructed out of reused ancient squared stones and tiles; its internal dimensions were 2.24 × 0.64, its depth 0.55 m. Its E–W alignment meant that 1.50 m of its length extended into the N–S section of RS XII, but the five cover slabs had not collapsed; by removing two of them (one of which was found to bear two lines of a Greek inscription of Roman date) it was just possible to excavate the contents.[36] The principal burial was that of a man, aged about 25, whose much-decayed skeleton was laid out with his head to the west. He held a hen's egg in his right hand, presumably symbolizing the Resurrection, and wore two fine bronze rings on the third finger of his right hand (PLATE 60 *b–c*). One of these was a signet ring with the radiate head of Christ (?) and the letters (apparently) O . . . C; the other carried a Greek inscription: K(YPI)E BOHΘE TON OΦPATON ('Lord, help the wearer of this ring'?). A second body, also of a man, had been interred within the tomb, and subsequently the cover slabs had been removed at the E end (indicated by damage to the stones from leverage) and numerous charnel bones inserted. After the tomb had been filled in this fashion and re-covered, further deposits of human bones had been placed over the tomb, covered in soil and mortared over with a layer of cement *c.*2 cm thick. This secondary level had been contained by a loosely built E–W wall, just to the S of the threshold slab, and it was with this that the second phase of fresco painting applied to the brick pier was associated.

During the third phase of occupation, when the church was built, the inner apses of RS XI and XII were cleaned out down to their late Roman floor level (phase 2), and divided one from the other by a partition wall of mudbrick on a tile foundation which abutted on the pier between the apses. They were used for different purposes. Within RS XI four large architectural stones of marble were found reused, of which three may have been built up into a kind of table: a rough-hewn column drum as a support, a Doric capital above it, and a large flat block as a table-top (PLATE 61 *a*). The Doric capital, which was found lying upturned on its abacus, is of considerable interest (PLATE 61 *a–b*; FIG. 12). Its broadly spreading echinus and narrow upper column-diameter give it a distinctly archaic Greek appearance, but its smooth workmanship appears Roman, and so it should be considered archaizing. If it belonged to the outer colonnade of the Roman stoa, which has not yet been established, it would have considerable implications not only for the reconstruction of the building but also for its interpretation (viz. that there was a calculated attempt to evoke the appearance of a late archaic Greek predecessor; see §5 below). The flat slab, which may have formed the table top, is also of added interest on account

[36] The work was expertly carried out in difficult circumstances by Michael Halliwell and Jane Sidell.

of a roughly incised board game, visible on its upper surface, consisting of concentric squares: a game akin to Nine Men's Morris, which has been popular through the ages (PLATE 62 *a*).[37] Evidently not all the activities carried out in this room were of a religious nature.

The apse of RS XII during this same third phase was used for burial purposes. A grave cut into the concrete floor and covered by a slab of blue schist contained the skulls and bones of at least seven individuals—in all probability more, as it has so far only been possible to excavate half the deposit since it runs under the N–S section line (PLATE 62 *b*). First indications are that of the six skulls found, three are of adult males, two of adult females, and one of a juvenile. From this and from the associated finds, it is clear that the converted Roman stoa in its third phase played an important part in the religious life of medieval Sparta, or Lakedaimonia as it was then called. There is no direct evidence for the identity of the stoa church, but it is tempting to associate it with that founded by the Byzantine saint Nikon Metanoeites (Nikon the Repenter). The text of his *Life* describes how the holy man arrived in Sparta around AD 970 and instructed his followers to build a church, a monastery and an inn (*katagogion*) in the remains of a two-storeyed stoa on the market-place. The monastery is still recorded as being in existence in the later fourteenth century, long after the bishopric of Sparta had been moved to Mistra. Very likely it is the remains of St Nikon's monastery and church that have now been located in the ruins of the Roman stoa (see §8 for further discussion).

Following the destruction of the church, probably in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, the site seems to have lain abandoned for a period, to judge from a layer of green clay that accumulated over its remains, probably by water action. A deposit of black, carbonized material immediately above this, which extended over the whole of the northern half of RS XI and part of RS XII, indicates that the area was subsequently swept by a severe fire. Clay occupation layers on top of this (contexts 12 and 1016) were replaced in turn by the final main phase of occupation, set at a level roughly equivalent to the top of the shelf running round the apses (1.10 m above the Roman floor level). At this time new partition walls were built within the stoa, two of which have been discovered so far (wall numbers 8 + 43 and 9 + 42), running parallel to one another N–S to subdivide it into two main rooms, but set slightly off-line compared with the original Roman walls (PLATE 62 *c*). The foundations and lower courses of these walls were solid constructions of large, flat-fronted stones bonded with clay, with a floor of clay composition laid between them (context 10 = 1007). To judge from the large quantities of cobbles that had fallen on to this floor, the walls may have been of stone construction for their entire height, up to the vaulted roof of the stoa, which is still likely to have survived, at least in part, at this time. The walls were of considerable length, abutting on the back wall of the stoa either side of the apse of RS XI and running S beneath the southern limit of the trench. Associated pottery suggests their construction should be dated to the early fourteenth century, perhaps *c.*1325. Clearly these walls do not represent some resuscitation of the church whose remains they overlie. Probably they should be regarded as a final building phase of the monastery within the shell of the stoa, an interpretation supported by a further example of stone furnishing, devised from reused architectural blocks, that was found buried on the clay floor (PLATE 62 *c*). Eventually, when these walls collapsed, probably *c.*1350–75, the remains of the vaulted roof of the Roman building fell with them. Thereafter occupation of the site ceased except for squatter activity.

### II. RSC 1, 2, 3 (FIG. 4; PLATE 63 *a*)

Following surface survey in April 1991, a 4 m wide trench was excavated across the line of the stoa to a length totalling 32 m. By this it was hoped to recover evidence for the south façade of the stoa beyond the line of the vaulted chambers, and also for associated structures on the N: that is, facing on to the higher ground of the eastern acropolis. In all parts of the trench there was found to be a complicated succession of structures, which left only a few areas where earlier occupation deposits could be

[37] H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Board Games other than Chess* (Oxford, 1952), 43–5, fig. 18 *f*; C. M. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, Monographs, 5; London, 1989), 244–5, no. 217, pl. 44.

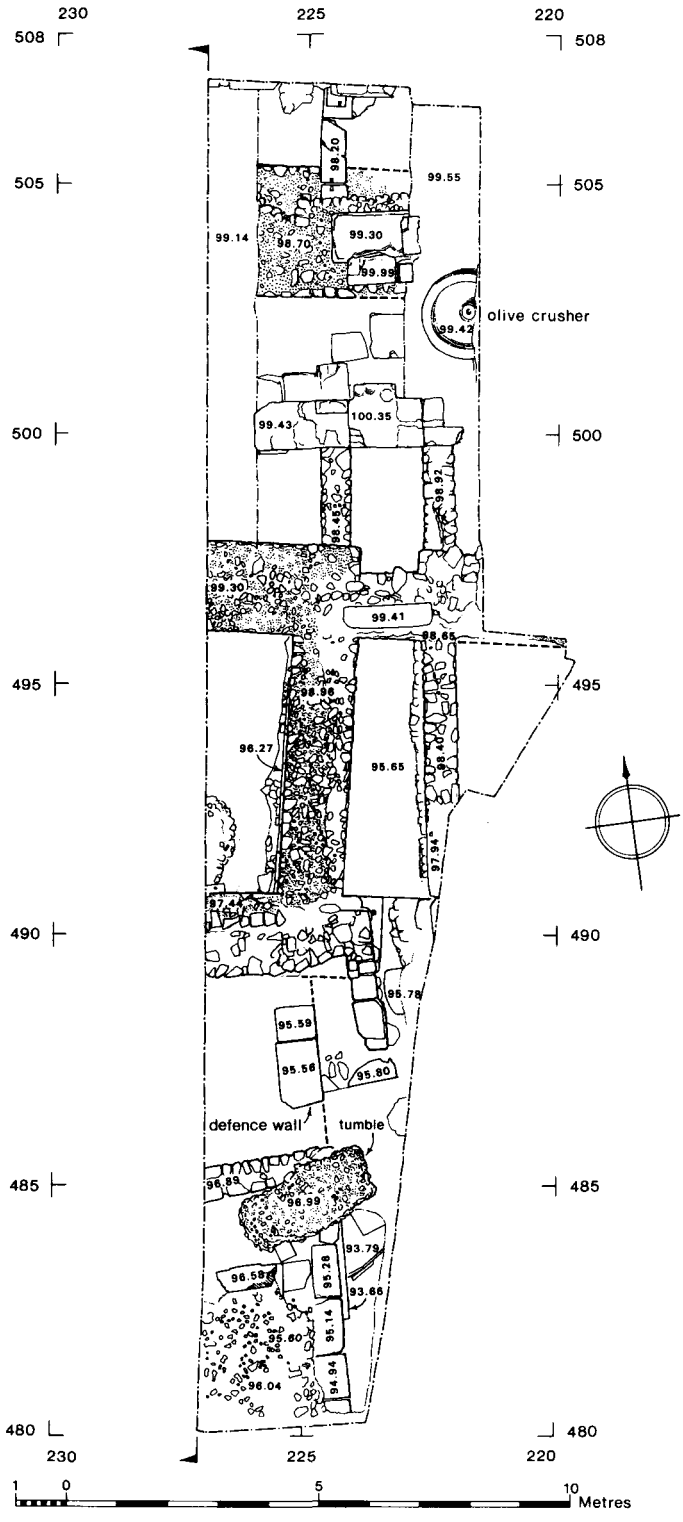


FIG. 4. Plan of trench RSC 1–3, showing composite features of Roman and medieval periods.

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examined. Wherever possible this was undertaken, involving excavation to a depth of more than 4 m. The trench, which for purposes of recording was divided into three roughly equal areas (RSC 1–3, from N to S), produced important evidence for the design and construction of the Roman stoa, some evidence for a building which preceded it, a new section of the late Roman wall around the acropolis (on a wholly unexpected alignment), and two major phases of medieval buldings, one of which may reasonably be associated with the monastic complex tentatively identified as that founded by St Nikon.

The earliest structure encountered was an ashlar wall, aligned roughly N–S at the N end of the trench (PLATE 63 *b*). The foundation course consisted of a double row of limestone blocks (*c.*100 × 50 × 25 cm) resting upon a platform of clay-bonded river cobbles and held together with iron clamps. Above this a block of the first marble course, with a lifting-boss, survived *in situ*. This building, whose construction would suggest a date in the hellenistic or early Roman periods, had been dismantled when the stoa was constructed, since it was partly overlain by a raft of cobbles set in mortar belonging to the northern façade of the stoa.

The principal new evidence for the Roman stoa was found in trench RSC 2. Here a substantial, well-preserved stretch of the central wall of the stoa was discovered on an E–W alignment; it was 1.80 m in thickness, solidly constructed of concrete faced in a mixture of fired brick and rubble, and surviving to a height of *c.*4.50 m (PLATE 64 *a*). Running S from it at right angles was an equally well-preserved partition wall, which represents the western side wall of stoa room XXIV. It is 1.20 m in thickness, and is of similar construction to the central E–W wall, to which it is bonded. Although the existence of this partition wall had been established by sondages during the 1906 excavation, and it appears on the plan of W. Sejk,[38] a significant new discovery was that it marked the western limit of the vaulted chambers which commence at the E end of the stoa. As in the compartments to the E, the wall projected forward 5.20 m where it terminated in a brick pier which permitted access from the S. Roofing took the form of a standard N–S barrel-vault, whose brick voussoirs are just discernible in the robbed S face of the central wall of the stoa at the eastern limit of trench RSC 2 (the springing from the E face of the partition wall had been cut away during remodelling in the medieval period). Clear evidence was found of modification to this part of the stoa within the Roman era. The S opening of RS XXIV was blocked by a wall of brick-faced concrete little different in technique from the original work (PLATE 64 *b*). Its secondary nature is demonstrated by a straight joint with the pier to the W of the entrance, but there is no further indication at present as to precisely when or for what reason this change in plan occurred.

The arrangements within the stoa area to the W of the partition wall remain uncertain. The S front here was enclosed by a brick-faced concrete wall, 1.60 m in thickness, which had formed part of the original construction. It had been dramatically fractured at its inner joint with the partition wall, probably by earthquake, and its S side was much rebuilt in the medieval period (PLATE 64 *c*). How far W it extended is not known. A trial trench, RSC 4, put down to the W of RSC 2, revealed no trace of any further N–S partition wall which would have enclosed the compartment on its W side, nor was there any sign of a springing for a vaulted roof on either the central wall of the stoa or the W face of the partition wall to RS XXIV. The area within the three surviving walls was found to be packed with inert yellow clay, of the kind that occurs naturally in the ground to the N of the acropolis, over which was a deep layer of yellow-brown mudbrick. This hard-packed clay and mudbrick was excavated out to below the footings for the central and partition walls of the stoa, which were located at a depth of *c.*4.50 m (PLATE 65 *a*). From the existence of putlog holes in the faces of both walls, and from traces of a concrete floor subsequently cut through and filled with this clay, it is clear that this solid infilling is subsequent to the construction of the walls. Whether it was carried out immediately afterwards, so that it formed part of the original programme of construction of the stoa, or represents some later remodelling (say, at the same time as the blocking of the entrance to RS XXIV) is difficult to determine. From the associated pottery, it is more likely to be the former. In any event, it seems clear that the deposit is Roman rather than medieval.

[38] *BSA* 12 (1905–6), pl. 8. 3.

This fresh evidence from RSC 2 casts doubt on previous assumptions concerning the overall design and extent of the Roman stoa. The existence of the vaulted chamber RS XXIV implies an asymmetrical arrangement for the southern range of compartments, in which the two cross-vaulted, apsed chambers, RS XI and XII, were flanked by ten barrel-vaulted rooms on the E (RS I–X) and twelve on the W (RS XIII–XXIV). The change of design W of RS XXIV raises questions regarding the appearance, or even the existence, of any S-facing stoa superstructure between RS XXIV and the Round Building (see §6 for further discussion).

Elsewhere in trenches RSC 1–3 the remains associated with the stoa were much obscured by later buildings. In the south, in front of the line of the vaulted chambers, any remains were overlain by the massive bulk of the late Roman defence wall (see below and §7), but a narrow space along the E side of trench RSC 3 permitted excavation to a level below that of the late wall's footings (plate 65 *b*). This revealed the debris, notably a marble unfluted column and fractured paving slabs lying on edge, of a building demolished before the late wall was built, conceivably the south façade of the stoa in its original or reconstructed phase. Such, however, is the depth of levels in the area (4.50–5 m) that a more extensive excavation and clearance of the area to the Roman levels is required before the matter can be settled.

On the higher ground in the N part of the trench (RSC 1) the condition of the remains after extensive medieval reuse and subsequent stone-robbing did not permit any certain reconstruction of the stoa's north façade. Around 4.80 m N of the central E–W wall of the stoa is a 2.60 m wide platform of cobbles set in concrete (partly overlying the earlier ashlar wall, described above) which may represent the foundation of the N façade running on a parallel E–W alignment (PLATE 65 *c*). Between this and the middle wall (*c.*1.50 m N of the latter) a similar raft of cobbles set in mortar, *c.*1.70 m wide and defined on the E and W sides by blocks of limestone, seems likely to be the foundation of a pier rather than of a N–S wall joining the central stoa wall with the N façade, since the intact N face of the central stoa wall showed no signs of any attached structure at this point (PLATE 65 *d*). The general appearance and construction of these two foundations suggest that they belonged to the stoa, since they are very similar to the concrete platform at the W end of the stoa, to be described below. It is noteworthy, however, that they lie at a markedly different level compared with other known parts of the stoa. The surface of the cobbled platforms in RSC 1 is 1.80 m lower than the platform at the W end, and is at the same time 5 m higher than the floor level of the southern range of vaulted chambers (calculated from the relaid floor levels in RS XI and XII, since the floor level of RS XXIV has not been reached). These different levels exert a key control on any hypothetical reconstruction of the stoa, as will be discussed below (§5).

As already noted above, the S part of the trench (RSC 3) contained a massive wall of mortared rubble, faced on the E by blocks of dressed stone removed from earlier structures including columns, two inscribed statue bases, and a small Doric frieze block (PLATE 66 *a*; FIG. 15). In character it matches the 3.80 m wide defence wall of the acropolis first explored in 1906.[39] Then the portion in front of the stoa was assigned to the period of the Herulian attack on Greece (AD 267–8), but a more likely context seems to be the presence of Alaric and the Visigoths in 396. The discovery of this stretch of the late fortification wall on a N–S alignment within the perimeter line defined by the 1906 excavations must cause a reconsideration of the history of the late Roman and Byzantine defences of Sparta, which had hitherto been regarded as coterminous (discussed in §7 below).

Excavation of the RSC trenches confirmed the extensive reuse of the remains of the stoa in the medieval period, already observed in RS XI and XII. Two periods of medieval structures could be identified, the earlier consisting of a clearance and reuse of the vaulted rooms of the stoa which did not extend west of RS XXIV. In the NW corner of this chamber a passage of *c.*1.00 m was cut through the main E–W wall of the stoa and arched with reused bricks (PLATE 66 *b*). A new N–S wall of mortared stone, resting on footings of massive reused Roman blocks, was erected above the Roman (?) occupation

[39] Traquair, ibid. 420–9.

levels to form a corridor or stairway approaching the passage through the stoa wall from the S. Beyond the surviving remains of the stoa on the S, a narrow gate (*c.*1.50 m) had been opened through the stone and concrete base of the late fortification wall, not far from the point where it approached the front of the stoa. This was associated with the gravel make-up of a street surface leading N beside the E face of the late wall towards the passageway constructed in RS XXIV. At this period the superstructure of the stoa appears to have been in place until some event, probably an earthquake, caused a huge mass of concrete core to collapse and block the passage through the wall, as well as to crush a medieval doorway constructed on top of the late wall (Plate 64 *a*). This tumble will need to be removed before any further examination of the late wall and the medieval layers in this area can be attempted. Investigation of the remains associated with this earlier medieval phase N of the central wall of the stoa was prevented by a congestion of structures belonging to the later medieval phase. However, enough survived to indicate that this area also was occupied, with a reuse of the stoa structures which may be associated with the monastic complex tentatively identified as that of St Nikon.

The later medieval phase was best represented at the upper level in the N part of the trench (RSC 1; PLATES 63 *b*; 65 *c*). Here several massive foundations and connecting walls made extensive use of ancient architectural stones, including architraves and columns. The plan of the remains suggested a basilican or aisled structure aligned E–W, which may have been a church. Alternatively it may have been a workroom of the kind likely to have been required by a monastic complex. Some elements of this building had already been exposed in an earlier excavation (perhaps of 1906) which lay immediately N of the RSC trench, where the reused ancient material included whole column shafts and a 2 m length of marble architrave employed as a supporting pillar. A notable find, though not necessarily in its original position, was the worn basin of a donkey-powered olive-crusher in conglomerate stone (PLATE 67 *a*). (A similar basin was visible among the medieval remains in the theatre cavea before its removal to the architectural depot in 1993.) The walls of this building had overlain rather than reused those of the stoa. The south wall appears to have followed the line of the main E–W wall of the stoa. The gap in the wall resulting from the earlier medieval arched passage was now bridged for the footing of this wall by a marble column shaft and a reused rectangular block of limestone (PLATE 67 *b*). All the structures of this later medieval phase were heavily mortared, while the walls were faced with small irregular stones with brick packers interspersed, a style employed in several other remains on the acropolis, including the upstanding sections of the perimeter wall.

### III. RSW 1, 2, 3 (FIG. 5; PLATES 67 *c*–70)

In April 1990 and again in July–August 1991 excavations were carried out at the presumed W end of the Roman stoa, adjacent to the Round Building, an area where trials had been conducted by Bosanquet in 1906.[40] The 1906 excavations had suggested that the main central wall of the stoa continued W to within 12 m of the Round Building, a prominent knoll of natural rock and soil that had been encased by a curved façade of large masonry blocks at a much earlier date (see below, §6). Alongside and partly overlying the three-stepped crepidoma of this structure, an exposed N–S wall of brick-faced concrete appeared likely to belong to the stoa, in all probability marking its western extremity.

The new excavations were designed to examine this visible relic of the stoa at its western limit, and if possible to determine the relationship between the original Roman construction and the patently earlier structure of the Round Building. Three trenches were opened up, of which two (RSW 1 and RSW 3) were aligned N–S to take in the exposed brick-faced Roman wall close to the Round Building, and to extend beyond the presumed N and S faces of the stoa. Trench RSW 1 measured 9 × 3 m, and was separated by a 1 m baulk (later removed) from trench RSW 3, whose dimensions were 7.5 × 3 m. Subsequently both trenches were extended W as far as the uppermost of the three steps forming the crepidoma of the Round Building. A third trench (RSW 2), measuring 6 × 3 m, was orientated E–W,

[40] Bosanquet (nn. 23, 30); Dickins (n. 30).

with its S section aligned with the S limit of RSW 1, from which it was separated by a 1.5 m baulk, also later removed. In all three trenches digging was complicated by the presence of back-filled trial trenches from the 1906 excavations, which had to be cleared out first; these had caused considerable damage to the walls and floors of the secondary medieval phases of occupation.

When fully cleared, the N–S Roman wall was seen to be of similar brick-faced concrete construction to the walls of the stoa further E; like those it was once revetted in marble, as indicated by the presence of at least one marble plug *in situ*. Preserved still to a height of 1.85 m, it is 75 cm wide and is 14.5 m long between the outer faces of the eastward return corners at N and S, both of which have been located. The lowest course, which consists of large two-footer bricks, stands on a massive concrete platform whose core contains the same heavy, rounded stones used for the vaults and inner structure of the stoa further E. From this evidence it was concluded that this was likely to be the western end wall of the stoa, but probably at first-floor rather than ground-floor level. The top of the concrete platform, which has been located in all three trenches, is at an appropriate level for an upper storey, about 6.80 m higher than the Roman ground-floor level to the E in RS XI and XII.

At the N and S ends of the W wall, traces of the E–W return walls were revealed, both of which are contemporary from the evidence of bonding. That at the N, which is 50 cm in thickness, was found to continue W beyond the line of the N–S wall to abut on the steps of the Round Building. To the E it terminated in a pier, some 30 cm beyond the western end wall, suggesting that the N front of the stoa was open from this point onwards (PLATE 69 *a*). At the S a small fragment of projecting brick preserved the line of the inner face of the return, but none of its S face survived. If this had coincided with the front of the stoa platform, its thickness would have been *c.*80 cm. Its original length is not known, but it need not have been greater than that of the brick pier at the N. Such an interpretation is supported by the existence of another brick pier located at the midpoint of the inner face of the W wall, whose surviving base is bonded into the structure (PLATE 69 *b*). It is 48 cm wide, projects 32 cm, and is almost precisely equidistant between the N and S return walls (or piers; 6.27 m from the pier to the inner face of the N return wall, and 6.24 m from the pier to the inner face of the S wall). Traces in the surface of the brickwork above the base suggest that the central pier would have been carried up to the full height of the wall originally. Whether it served simply as a strengthening buttress or was the start of an E–W dividing wall within the stoa at its upper level (including, presumably, arched-over doorways communicating between front and back parts) is uncertain. A point in favour of the latter may be that it is on the same alignment as the main central wall of the stoa further E (that is, the S face of the central pier is closely aligned with the S face of the 1.80 m thick lower central wall).

In front of the central pier a massive ashlar block of limestone was set into the rubble concrete, one of a series that ran parallel to the W wall, although much damaged by later use of the building (PLATE 69 *c*). Dowel-holes on the upper surface indicate that other blocks were intended to rest on top, but the precise purpose is unknown. Adjoining this line of stones to the E there extended a thick concrete surface, consisting of pebbles and brick fragments set in lime mortar. This surface, which lies *c.*20 cm lower than the foundation raft, was found to continue E across the entire area of trench RSW 2 (PLATE 70 *a*). It could perhaps simply represent the continuation of the stoa platform, from which the upper layer of pavement had been removed by later occupants. Alternatively, it could indicate a separate feature, such as a road or passage running through the line of the stoa, as was the tentative conclusion of the 1906 excavators.[41]

The S face of the stoa platform was located in the S part of trench RSW 3, in reasonable alignment with the façade of the chambers on the S side of the stoa further E (plate 68 *b*). This is a remarkably solid construction in which the rounded stones of the concrete aggregate form the surface of the wall, lightly skimmed with a covering of mortar, almost in the manner of *opus incertum*. The appearance is similar to that of the cobbled foundation platforms in the RSC trenches (see above), and like them was presumably

[41] Dickins, ibid. 432.

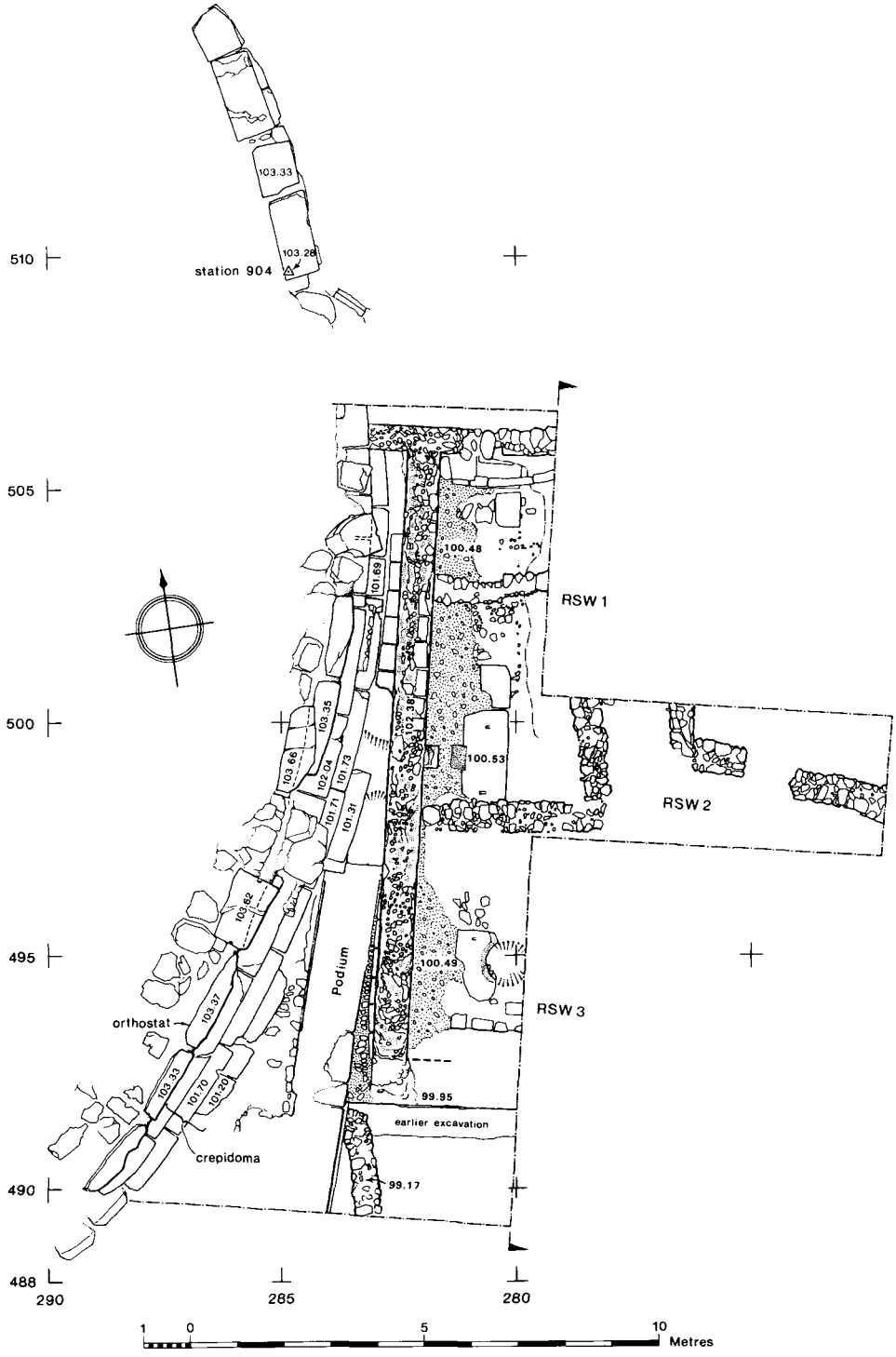


FIG. 5. Plan of trench RSW 1–3 and part of adjacent Round Building, showing composite features of Roman and medieval periods.

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not meant to be visible, but there are no dowel-holes or other points of attachment to suggest that there was a separate front surface of marble or ashlar masonry. The stoa platform is very deep, extending downwards some 1.70 m where it is founded on the natural sandstone of the ground, which rises up here towards the outcrop encased by the Round Building. It is certain, therefore, that the lower range of vaulted chambers, which are so conspicuous a feature of the E part of the stoa, did not exist at the W end, and very probably did not continue beyond RS XXIV, where the natural ground level begins to rise.

Excavation between the W wall of the stoa and the Round Building revealed courses of conglomerate stones, which seem to have made up a square podium, originally *c.*1.50 m in height, on which the circular crepidoma of the Round Building rested (PLATE 68 *a*). This feature, which is of considerable significance for the interpretation of the monument, had gone unrecognized in previous excavations.[42] The line of the podium is not parallel with the W end of the stoa, but runs in more of a NNE–SSW direction. The podium was evidently in need of consolidation at the time the Roman stoa was built, and a strengthening wall of concrete was added, aligned with the edge of the podium. Towards the N, where the western end wall of the Roman stoa overrides the lowest step of the crepidoma, the narrow area between the two structures had been covered by a paving of large Roman bricks, some of which were subsequently robbed, revealing the lowest step *in situ* below the Roman rubble make-up.

The south face of the stoa platform was extended beyond the line of the W wall to form a tight join with the podium of the Round Building. Excavation of the ground contained within the angle of the two structures revealed the remains of a stone and mudbrick wall, running alongside the podium, and cut through by the footings of the stoa platform (PLATE 68 *a*). This wall, which we may take to be later than the Round Building and earlier than the stoa, had once been rendered with plaster painted red, and had a white cornice in moulded stucco; it was associated with a clay floor from which quantities of Roman pottery were recovered (see below, §3, RSW 1–3, phase B). After the stoa platform had been constructed, the ashlar façade of the podium of the Round Building in this area had been rendered with a coat of mortar. Subsequently its upper courses had been much damaged by later occupation and stone-robbing. It was beyond the remit of the present excavation to trace the podium any further. On the assumption that it was square, its probable line on the S side of the Round Building is indicated by dotted lines on the plan (FIG. 2). The façade would have been *c.*50 m long, and, given the fall in the natural ground level, must have presented an impressive appearance to the south.

The remains of the Roman stoa at the W end, just as at the E, had been extensively remodelled and adapted for secondary occupation in the medieval period, although here there was no trace of a church or monastery. Several rubble and clay walls which were uncovered in all three trenches are likely to have belonged to houses, although no very coherent plans emerged, partly because of terracing down the hillside. There appear to have been three main phases of occupation in a continuous sequence of habitation lasting from the early twelfth to mid-fourteenth centuries. During the first phase of medieval occupation the remains of the Roman stoa were stripped bare of previous accumulations, as a result of which there were no layers earlier than middle Byzantine on top of the actual structure. In trench RSW 2 the first medieval walls were founded directly on the Roman concrete, and several layings of clay floors were associated with them, with rich deposits of pottery and, in one instance, a flattened bronze container (PLATE 70 *a*). In trench RSW 1 the reoccupiers of the area seem to have encountered drainage problems on top of the concrete platform in close proximity to the Round Building. In an attempt to solve these a line of terracotta pipes was laid on top of the concrete beside the course of large ashlar blocks, and the walls were set relatively higher, running at right angles to the western end wall of the stoa to form rectangular rooms (PLATE 70 *b*).

In trench RSW 3 at the S side of the building, the first medieval re-builders had been more adventurous in their attempts to terrace down the hillside. They had cut deeply into the floor of the concrete platform, had built walls upon it, and had attempted to sink pits down into the solid fabric.

[42] Bosanquet, who discovered part of the podium in his trial trench along the S front of the Stoa platform, described it in fact in his *Diary* (above, n. 23), p. 55, as a 'platform on which Round Building stands. This platform C is Roman and it has a thick coating of plaster'. For some reason he did not draw attention to this feature in his *BSA* article (n. 30).

The upper walls of the dwellings of this first middle Byzantine phase were of mudbrick, and many fragments of coarse roof-tiles were found in the tumble.

In the second medieval phase, further house walls of rough stone construction were built at right angles out from the western brick wall of the stoa, but on a slightly different alignment, the effect of which was to divide the area up into smaller rooms. Within the clay floors associated with these walls were several circular rubbish pits, possibly intended to serve as latrines, which went down to but did not penetrate into the Roman concrete floor. A well-preserved deposit on the principal floor (context 37) close to the brick pier in RSW 1 included a complete iron, three-legged stand, in remarkably good condition, dated by associated pottery to the first half of the thirteenth century (PLATE 70 *c–d*). This was the time of the Frankish occupation of medieval Sparta prior to the founding of Mistra in 1248, and it seems to mark the most flourishing period in the reuse of the remains of the Roman stoa.

The third and final phase of medieval occupation is represented by floor deposits close to the modern surface in trenches RSW 2 and 3, which contained pottery datable to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Thereafter there are only random traces of squatter activity.

## 3. Stratigraphy and Principal Phases with Discussion of the Dating Evidence (Table 1)

A first attempt is made in this section to identify the principal phases in each of the main areas excavated, and to correlate them with one another in order to build up a composite picture of the construction, history, destruction, and reoccupation of the Roman stoa. For each phase the nature of the dating evidence is indicated. For the most part this consists of the pottery, sometimes aided by associated coinage (although much work still has to be done on the latter). The pottery dates derive from preliminary analyses carried out by D. M. Bailey and J. W. Hayes on the pre-Roman and Roman material, and by G. D. R. Sanders on the medieval sequences. Publication of selected groups and typologies by Bailey and Sanders has already appeared in part 1 of this report.[43] The individual contexts which are cited belong to the following numbered sequences employed during the excavation:

Trenches RS XI, XII (1989; 1991). RS XI: contexts 1–999. RS XII: contexts 1000–1999.
Trenches RSW 1–3 (1990; 1991). RSW 1: contexts 1–999. RSW 2: contexts 1000–1999. RSW 3: contexts 2000–2999.
Trenches RSC 1–3 (1991). Contexts 4000–4999.

Some of the more significant contexts are indicated in the main section drawings (FIGS. 6–9), to which reference should be made.

### *Principal phases*

TRENCHES RS XI, RS XII (FIGS. 6–7)

Pre-Roman stoa: no evidence.

*Roman*

1. Roman stoa structure: evidence of architectural plan and technique of construction, *c.* AD 125–50.

2. Conversion to use as cistern. Systematic removal of marble facing slabs from walls and floor; relaying of floor in rough *opus spicatum*; application of waterproof plaster to floor and walls (*opus signinum*). No stratigraphical evidence for dating. Likely date: post earthquake of AD 375; just pre- or post-Alaric's arrival in AD 396; or any subsequent time in 5th–6th centuries.

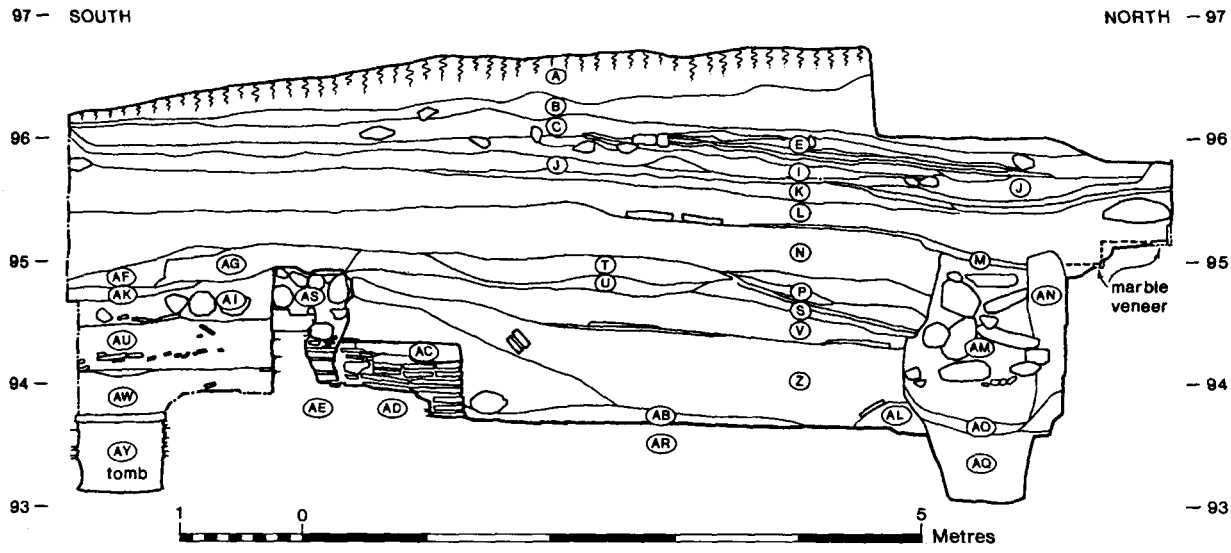
*Byzantine*

3a. Conversion to religious usage. Clearance of accumulated debris to floor of phase 2, which was

[43] D. M. Bailey, *BSA* 88 (1993), 221–49; G. D. R. Sanders, ibid. 251–86.

TABLE 1. Correlation of phases of Roman Stoa

| Phase | RS XI–XII | RSC 1, 2, 3 | RSW 1, 2, 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hellenistic | – | – | A. Podium of Round Building 3rd C BC |
| | – | I Ashlar wall RSC1N 1st C BC; Context 4121 RSC1SW; Contexts 4165, 4163 RSC2W | B. Context 2075 1st C BC/AD |
| Roman Pre-Stoa | – | I RSC1N Context 4124 Augustan; RSC1SW Context 4113 1st C AD | B. Rubble wall + floor, Context 2073 1st C AD |
| Roman Stoa | 1. Main structure *c.* AD 125–150 | I RSC2W: mud-brick make-up, Contexts 4154, 4142, 4132, 4119<br>II Structure: rafts, central wall, RS XXIV | C. Structure of platform and west wall, *c.* AD 125–150 |
| Roman Stoa Modification | – | III Blocked entrance to RS XXIV, date uncertain; could go with II above, or with IV or V below | |
| Roman Stoa Destruction | – | IV Demolition/collapse of façade, context 4160. Cracked wall | |
| Roman Stoa conversion to cistern/defence | 2. Removal of marble facing; pink plaster, new floor; AD 375–400 or later | V Construction of Late Fortification Wall, AD 375–400 or later | D. Removal of marble facing |
| Byzantine | 3a. Church built, apses cleared *c.* AD 970–1000? | | |
| | 3b. Church. Phase 2 of frescoes and burials. AD 1150–75 | VI RSC2E Doorway through centre wall and corridor constructed *c.* AD 1175 | E. Debris cleared. First houses early 12th C AD |
| | 4. Destruction of church, AD 1260–75. Followed by abandonment, squatters, green clay, contexts 16,17 *c.* AD 1275–1300 | VII Collapse of vaults, date *c.* AD 1250 | F. Second houses, floors with circular rubbish pits, *c.* AD 1200–1250 |
| | 5. Reoccupation layer, context 12, with circular rubbish pits, *c.* AD 1300 | | |
| | 6. Latest rubble walls + floor 10, *c.* AD 1325 | VIII Latest building in RSC1, *c.* AD 1300 | G. Third houses, *c.* AD 1300–1350 |
| | 7. Destruction of walls and vault, *c.* AD 1350 | | |




| KEY | Context | Description |
|---|---|---|
| A | 1001 | Loose grey-brown soil |
| B | 1002 | Ashy layer |
| C | 1002 | Fine dark grey layer |
| D | 1002 | Loose white-ashy layer, apparently resulting from spread of fire (with occasional stone inclusion) |
| E | 1002 | Fine black layer (with charcoal inclusion) |
| F | 1002 | Fine light brown powdery layer |
| G | 1002 | Fine black layer (with charcoal inclusion) |
| H | 1002 | Fine dark grey layer |
| I | 1002 | Compacted light brown silt (with moderate stone inclusion) |
| J | 1002 | Fine light-grey powdery layer |
| K | 1006 | The upper part of (L) separated in north half of section by interrupted band of yellowish clay ending at 7.2 m. |
| L | 1006 | Layer of greyish-white clay (with moderate large and small stones, broken tile and the occasional charcoal inclusion) |
| M | | Compact brown clay, probably seal for rubbish pit (AM) (with occasional small fragments of mortar inclusion which thicken at north end above sunken pit fill below) |
| N | 1007 | Layer of mud-brick debris (with middle-brown fragments of mortar, charcoal, brick and small stone inclusions extending across the entire section to 7.1 m. where cut by pit (AP) |
| O | 1016 | Crumbly greyish deposit (with the occasional brick inclusion) |
| P | | Pink and grey deposit of probably burnt clay; fairly clean, possibly remains of a hearth, though not necessarily in original position. |
| Q | 1016 | Crumbly fine yellow to light green deposit (with the occasional charcoal inclusion) |
| R | | A layer of black ash |
| S | | Crumbly fine grey/brown deposit (with the occasional charcoal and bone inclusion) |
| T | | Crumbly mid-brown deposit (with moderate brick fragments, grey mortar, pottery and charcoal inclusion) |
| U | | Friable brown deposit, noticeably softer than mud-brick level (N) overlaying it (with moderate small stones and charcoal inclusion) |
| V | 1017 | Fine crumbly light green deposit (with the occasional charcoal and brick inclusion, conjectured water deposited) |
| W | | Layer of grey-white clay similar in character to (V) |
| X | | A layer of orange burnt clay connected with fire-spreads (Y) |
| Y | | c.f. (X) |
| Z | | Layer of mid-brown clay (with the occasional charcoal inclusion) |

FIG. 6. Trench RS XII, E-facing section.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AA | | Compacted rust coloured collapse of mud-brick (with roof-tile inclusions) |
| AB | | Compacted brown clay (with pottery, charcoal and bricks laid as floor-surface) |
| AC | | brick and mortar construction, probably a pier, partly coated with white plaster; brick courses poorly aligned; construction also includes small stones |
| AD | | Wall/step of coursed brick running into section, part of on which (AC) later constructed |
| AE | | Threshold block of bluish marble incorporated in (AD) |
| AF | | Tip of grey/black fine ash and burnt material (with small stones and burnt mortar inclusions) |
| AG | | Compacted tip of grey/brown material, probably dispersed mud-brick (with small pieces of mortar and some brick inclusions) |
| AH | | Deposit of greenish material, similar to (V) (with mortar fragments, charcoal and small brick fragments inclusions |
| AI | | Tumble of building debris (with large stones, brick, roof tile, mortar and wall plaster fragments inclusions) |
| AJ | | Greyish /White deposit identical in character with (L) |
| AK | | Dark grey to black deposit of ash and charcoal |
| AL | 1025? | Compacted red-burnt clay possibly remains of a hearth (with mortar fragments inclusion) |
| AM | 1020 | Friable dark grey/dark brown silty organic deposit, probably filling of rubbish pit (with large stone, brick, roof tile, bone fragments, pottery, and organic material inclusions) |
| AN | 1020 | Compacted greyish/green clay (with tile fragments and loose brick inclusions) |
| AO | 1020 | Compacted grey/green clay |
| AP | | Compacted grey/green clay (with loose brick and roof tile inclusions) |
| AQ | | Burial cut rendered with soft white plaster/mortar cut into Roman floor and covered with slab of blue schist. Fill consists of compacted greenish/grey clay with small fragments of brick roof-tile and pottery in addition to human bone. |
| AR | 1037 | Concrete floor of Roman building covered with probably secondary make-up of bricks and spreads of white plaster |
| AS | | Stone wall containing re-used mouldings, bonded with yellow clay and with large stones keyed together by small fragments of brick |
| AT | | A layer of jet black charcoal |
| AU | 1042<br>1043<br>1044<br>1048<br>1049<br>1050 | Compacted light brown silt (with brick fragments, and wall plaster fragments inclusion) |
| AV | | Lens of mortar spread sealing (AW) burial |
| AW | | Compacted light brown silt (with charnel bone of multiple burial inclusion) |
| AX | | White marble cover slab of tomb (AY) |
| AY | | Medieval tomb built of ancient spolia containing principal and secondary burial |

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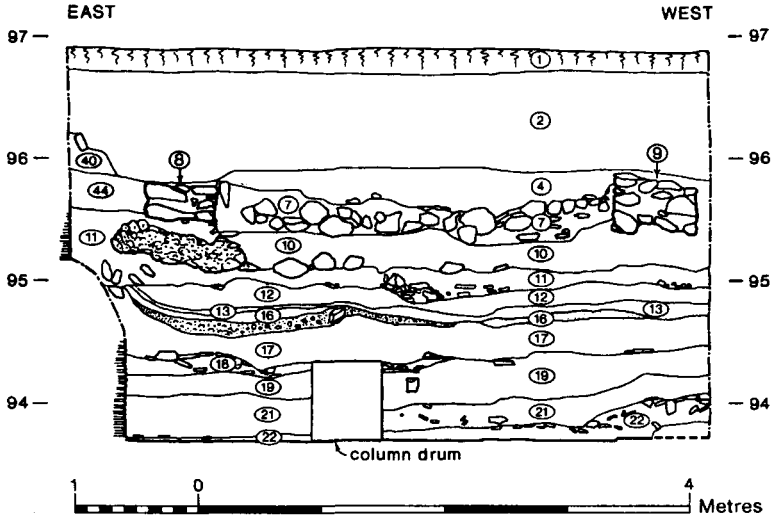


FIG. 7. Trench RS XI, N-facing section.

reused. Construction of church in front of RS XI and XII, incorporating Roman brick pier, with fresco-decorated walls. Addition of partition walls, dividing inner areas of RS XI and XII into separate rooms, entrance via threshold block to W of church. Archaeological evidence for dating: earlier than the lowest soil levels above the floor of phase 2 = contexts 21 and 22 in RS XI, and contexts 1029 and 1036 in RS XII. Preliminary analysis of pottery suggests the following dates: mid-12th cent. (*c.* AD 1140 ± 10) for contexts 22 and 21; early 13th cent. for 1029; mid-12th cent. for 1036; *c.* AD 1175 for layer 20 (immediately above 21). Bronze coin 131 from layer 20, within which the Doric capital and other architectural stones of RS XI principally lay, is identified as minted by the counts of Edessa in the Latin east, dating to the first half of the 12th cent. AD. There is a possible historical date for beginning of phase of *c.* AD 970–1000, if the association with St Nikon's church and monastery is correct. This would allow between 150 and 175 years of normal use before decline set in and soil began to accumulate. Built tomb and earlier charnel burials in RS XII belong within this phase.

3b. Secondary phase in usage of church. New fresco applied to brick pier in association with further burials and mortar spread above built tomb, and blocking of threshold into RS XII. Contexts associated: 1052, floor layer going with mortar spread and re-frescoed wall; 1050, 1049, 1048, 1043, 1042, successive occupation levels above it. 1048 = 1029 to N of blocking wall 1046; 1043 = 1024 ditto; 1042 = 1022 ditto. Dates suggested by pottery are: AD 1150–75 for context 1052; AD 1175–1200 for contexts 1050 and 1049; *c.* AD 1200 for 1048; *c.* AD 1225 for 1043; and AD 1225+ for 1042. Phase 3b therefore likely to date between *c.*1150 and *c.*1260.

4. Destruction of church followed by period of abandonment. Destruction in RS XI is indicated by a spread of roof-tiles between contexts 17 and 18/19, overlain by 30 cm thick layer of greenish clay ( = context 17). Above this context 16 was a layer of black, burnt material indicating a widespread fire. Destruction levels in RS XII section are represented by layer Z, which comprises contexts 1022 ( = RS XI 18/19), 1024 ( = RS XI 20), and 1029 ( = RS XI 21) overlain by the green clay of layer V, context 1017 ( = RS XI 17). Pottery of contexts 18 and 19 dated to *c.* AD 1260, that of context 17 to *c.* AD 1275–1300, and that of context 16 to AD 1300+. Destruction of the walls, frescoes and roof of the church may therefore be assigned to *c.* AD 1260–75. Associated coins still to be assessed: context 19: coins 114, 124, 126; context 18: coin 108; context 17: coins 77, 80, 91, 101, 151; context 16: coins 67, 70, 76. Partial collapse of the vaulted roof of the stoa is already likely at this time (rumble reused in context 11; see below, phase 6).

5. Reoccupation of area. In RS XI layer 13 (above 16) is probably the clay make-up for floor 12, which was rich in sherds, architectural stones, glass, iron, and other small finds, including coins 48–50. Not associated with any particular walls or subsidiary structures. In RS XII = 1012 (and 1016). Pottery likely to date to early 14th cent. Circular rubbish pits in floor belong with this phase.

6. Final main occupation phase of site. In RS XI layer 11 is make-up for clay floor 10 which belongs with the long, clay-bonded rubble walls 8 + 43 and 9 + 42, the last to be built within the vaults of the stoa at this point. Foundations of wall 8 rest on fragments of tumble from vaulted roof, showing this had already partially collapsed by this date. Equivalent in RS XII is layer N = context 1007. Pottery of contexts 11 and 10 is thought to date to *c.* AD 1300–25. Coin found in context 10, no. 28, is from the Latin east, a silver denier tournois of Philip of Taranto, prince of Achaea, dated to AD 1307–13. Coin 33 from context 11 is still to be assessed.

7. Destruction of walls of phase 6, and remains of vaulted roof of stoa. Floor 10 covered with a layer of tumble in RS XI, contexts 7 + 41, overlain by a layer of yellow clay with many areas of soft black and grey ash (context 4), indicative of squatter activity. Equivalent in RS XII are layers L (context 1006 = 7 + 41), and C–K (context 1002 = 4). Pottery dated to mid-14th cent. AD.

TRENCHES RSC 1, 2, 3 (FIG. 8)

*Pre-Roman stoa*

I. The ashlar wall at the N of RSC 1 is associated with contexts of 1st cent. BC date. Context 4168 contained a local version of a Pergamene cup fragment of pre-50 BC, and is not likely to be later than the time of Augustus; context 4124 above it included Italian and eastern sigillata bowls of the second half of 1st cent. AD.[44] Similar levels were encountered in the SW area of RSC 1, immediately N of the central wall of the stoa. The layer 4121 contained fineware cups and an unguentarium fragment of *c.*150–50 BC. Above this, layer 4113 included a Dressel 6 amphora of 1st cent. AD and other sherds of *c.* AD 50–150.[45]

Excavation in RSC 2 to the W of the western wall of compartment RS XXIV revealed layers of the following dates, suggested by their pottery (beginning from the lowest). 4165: hellenistic, late 2nd cent. BC. 4163: pre-Augustan, *c.* mid-1st cent. BC. 4154: mostly residual material from within mudbrick, but including pottery from late 1st cent. BC. 4142: mainly residual, but some material from late 1st cent. AD. 4132: most of material late hellenistic, but deposit overall probably early 2nd cent. AD. 4119: much pottery from 1st cent. BC, but latest material dates to early/mid-2nd cent. AD. This sequence perhaps suggests that the mudbrick make-up to the W of RS XXIV is contemporary with the initial phase of construction of the Roman stoa.[46]

*Roman*

II. Roman stoa construction, cf. RS XI, XII, phase 1. Suggested date of *c.* AD 125–50 for the original construction tends to be confirmed by the date of the pottery in the underlying strata of RSC phase I, listed above, and the pottery of the mudbrick infill in RSC 2W (also given above).

III. Roman stoa modification. Blocking of S opening of compartment RS XXIV. Date uncertain. Could be soon after II, but perhaps more likely to belong to the period of construction of the defensive wall.

IV. Demolition of presumed front of Roman stoa, as indicated by debris in RSC 3 overlain by foundations of the late fortification wall. Context 4160, associated with it, contained a sherd of African Red Slip ware of *c.* AD 250.[47] Actual time of destruction could be anywhere from the period of the Herulian raid on Greece in 267–8 to the severe earthquake of 375, or even the arrival of Alaric in 396. Earthquake damage is preferred, but mid-3rd cent. AD pottery could support time of Herulian raid.

V. Construction of late Roman fortification wall. Footings built over debris of phase IV. Layers associated with the foundations contained little pottery that was diagnostic (contexts 4159, 4158, 4155), but all are likely to date to 4th cent. AD, although 4159 could be very late 3rd-cent.[48] A slightly higher layer, context 4148, contained an African Red Slip ware fragment of Hayes form 50, of late 4th–early 5th cent., and a fragment of a Laconian copy of an Athenian lamp of Broneer type XXVII of the 3rd or early 4th cent., suggesting an overall date of late 4th–early 5th cent.[49] An association of this phase with the presence of Alaric and the Visigoths in AD 396 seems most plausible.

*Byzantine*

VI. Conversion of stoa. Cutting of passageway through central wall of stoa, approached by new corridor from gravel street running alongside remains of fortification wall, the top of which was also occupied by a structure. Associated pottery still partly awaits diagnosis. RSC 3: context 4122 from beside late

[44] Bailey (n. 43), 222–5, nos. 1–23.
[45] Ibid. 225–30, nos. 24–69.
[46] Ibid. 231–42, nos. 70–157.
[47] Ibid. 242, nos. 158–60.
[48] Ibid. 243–5, nos. 161–73.
[49] Ibid. 245, nos. 174–9.

fortification wall (according to D. M. Bailey and J. W. Hayes it is predominantly Byzantine of 12th–13th cent. with some 9th–10th cent. material, and one late Roman combed amphora sherd of 6th–7th cent. AD).[50] RSC 2: context 4162 (medieval 'floor-level' of corridor); context 4157: layer at footings of medieval E wall of corridor = 4140, pottery from which is dated to the later 12th cent.; context 4144: fill above 4157.[51] Coins to be assessed from context 4157 are nos. 814 and 817. Drains constructed at this time above concrete raft of stoa in RSC 1, later reused for burials. Context 4057 is a sealed layer above the tombs/drains. Context 4115 probably represents the floor make-up of the earliest Byzantine layer in RSC 1. Coins 512 and 514 from context 4057 still await identification. Phase VI presumably commences *c.* AD 1000 and continues until first half of 13th cent.

VII. Collapse of converted stoa. Tumble from vault crushes structure on top of late fortification wall. Debris fills corridor in RSC 2E (context 4114, pottery dated to second quarter of 13th cent.), and RSC 1SE, the other side of the passageway through the central stoa wall (context 4141, below 4058, pottery also from second quarter of 13th cent.).[52] Coins to be assessed: no. 640 in context 4114; no. 838 in context 4141. Date: *c.* AD 1250.

VIII. Construction of later building in RSC 1 on foundations of Roman stoa. Uses central wall of stoa, gap cut into which is now bridged over, and extends beyond N limit of trench. Perhaps a basilican or aisled structure. May have been workroom, to judge from presence of olive-crusher. Upper levels of RSC 1 may furnish datable pottery: contexts 4019, 4030, 4016, 4027, 4040, 4041, 4047, 4058. Context 4137 in E extension of RSC 2 ( = context 4058) contained pottery dated to second quarter of 13th cent.[53] Date: probably late 13th or early 14th cent.

TRENCHES RSW 1, 2, 3 (FIG. 9)

*Pre-Roman stoa*

A. Podium of Round Building which serves as support for W end of stoa. Date uncertain, but from evidence of architectural design and technique of construction it is not likely to be later than hellenistic, perhaps late 3rd- or early 2nd-cent. BC.

B. Rubble and mudbrick wall (context 2074) with painted wall-plaster in angle between podium of Round Building and S side of stoa platform, associated with clay floor (context 2073). Stratigraphically it appears to be part of a structure that was later than the Round Building, which was then cut through and partly destroyed when the stoa was constructed. Note, however, that the precise relationship between the structure and the stoa platform was destroyed by Bosanquet's trial trench along the front of the latter. Pottery from floor (context 2073) mostly dates to late 1st–early 2nd cent. AD, but according to D. M. Bailey also includes an Athenian lamp fragment of 4th-cent. AD date, from a lamp of Broneer type XXVIII from the workshop of Stratalaos. This and other material of 3rd–4th-cent. date may be intrusive contamination from back-fill of 1906 trial trench, which cut through this floor. Actual date of floor deposit likely to be early 2nd cent. AD.[54] Layer immediately below this floor and above natural terrain, context 2075, seems to have pottery of second half of 1st cent. AD or very early 2nd cent.[55]

*Roman*

C. Construction of stoa platform and W end wall. Datable by architectural style to *c.* AD 125–50, as in other trenches.

D. Marble revetment stripped from floor and walls. Cf. RS XI and XII, phase 2. Perhaps occurred in late 4th cent. AD, or later.

*Byzantine*

E. First phase of medieval reoccupation. Previous accumulations of debris removed from stoa platform, rubble blocking wall built to N of RSW 1 (base of wall 11), house room cut into stoa platform in RSW 3, bounded by wall 2029 to N, and clay floors laid directly on Roman concrete base with drainage pipes underlying them in RSW 1. Associated pottery from many contexts (51 + 61 and 57 + 48 in RSW 1; 1027–9 in RSW 2; 2023, 2030, and 2040 + 2061 in RSW 3) suggests a date in the early 12th cent. for the first reoccupation. Context 1026, the fill of a pit within floor 1027, contained pottery dated to late 12th cent.,[56] while layer 1038, below 1027, is dated by its pottery to around mid- or later 12th cent.[57] There seems then to have been continuous habitation until the third quarter of the 13th century, with re-laying of floors.

[50] Ibid. 246.
[51] Sanders (n. 43), 284.
[52] Ibid. 284.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Bailey (n. 43), 247–9, nos. 188–202.
[55] Ibid. 246–7, nos. 183–7.
[56] Sanders (n. 43), 285.
[57] Ibid. 286.

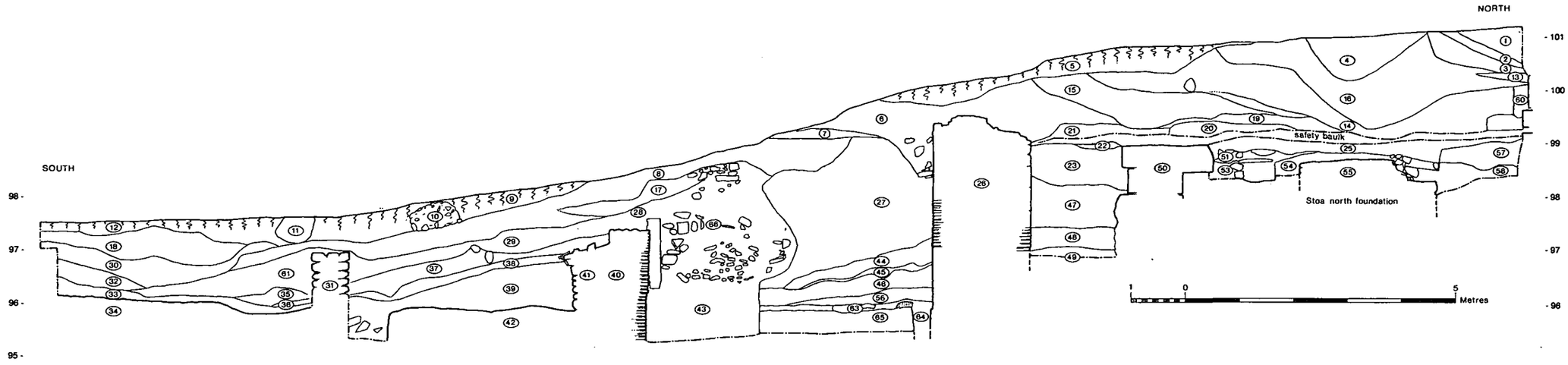


FIG. 8. Trenches RSC 1–3, E-facing section.

| Key | Description |
|---|---|
| 1 | Rubbish pit (modern) |
| 2 | Lining for rubbish pit made from compacted earth (modern) |
| 3 | Tip material (rubble and debris) (modern) |
| 4 | Loose earth (modern) |
| 5 | Plough soil (modern) |
| 6 | Fine rubble with small chips (result of stone robbing) (modern) |
| 7 | Compacted yellow clay (modern) |
| 8 | Grey/black sandy silt-gravel (stones, ash, charcoal, ceramic and mortar inclusions) (modern) |
| 9 | Plough soil (modern) |
| 10 | Concrete block (stoa vaulting material) |
| 11 | Limestone block |
| 12 | Plough soil (modern) |
| 13 | Compacted sandy gravel (modern) |
| 14 | Compacted mortar and stone chippings (result of stone robbing) (modern) |
| 15 | Fine rubble (modern) |
| 16 | Tip-rubble (result of stone robbing) (modern) |
| 17 | Compacted orange/red clay with brick fragments (modern) |
| 18 | Compacted red silty clay with large to medium stones (modern) |
| 19 | Occupation layer (high compaction) |
| 20 | Compacted sandy-silt ( mortar and bone inclusions) |
| 21 | Occupation silt layer (with stone and animal bone inclusions) |
| 22 | Fine ash layer |
| 23 | Compacted light brown sandy silt with pockets of ash |
| 24 | Safety baulk |
| 25 | Back-fill covering drains |
| 26 | Stoa central wall |
| 27 | Clean yellow clay with small stones and burnt brick fragments (could be dispersed mud-brick superstructure of Roman construction) |
| 28 | Fine brown silt |
| 29 | Fairly compacted orange/brown silty clay (with brick fragments and small chippings as inclusions) |
| 30 | Compacted orange silt (modern) |
| 31 | Undug soil baulk to support mud-brick bonded wall (62) |
| 32 | Road make up (modern) |
| 33 | Highly compacted dark brown silt |
| 34 | Core of Late Roman wall |
| 35 | Tipped highly compacted yellow clay (with pebble inclusions) |
| 36 | Friable grey silt (with ashy ceramic inclusion) |
| 37 | Compacted yellow silty clay (with cobbles, bricks and mortar inclusions) |
| 38 | Friable dark grey silt (with ceramic and shell inclusions) |
| 39 | Highly compacted dark brown clay (with medium stone and pottery inclusions) |
| 40 | South wall of stoa |
| 41 | Mud-brick bonded Medieval stone wall (collapsed) |
| 42 | Core of late Roman wall |
| 43 | Clean white/grey soil (with small black stones, brick fragments and fine small cobble inclusions) |
| 44 | Friable mid brown clay (with small stones and brick fragments inclusions) |
| 45 | Compacted grey silty brown clay (with gravel, large stones and brick fragments inclusions) |
| 46 | Compacted silty orange brown clay (with charcoal and mortar fragment inclusions) |
| 47 | Compacted yellow/ brown silt (with clay and rubble inclusions) |
| 48 | Compacted clay with silt (with gravel, ceramics, bone, charcoal, and amphora fragment inclusions) |
| 49 | Compacted purple-brown clay/silt (with stone chipping and charcoal inclusions) |
| 50 | Byzantine E-W wall |
| 51 | Layer to consolidate drain cover |
| 52 | Flaky white schist (drain cover) |
| 53 | Compacted clay with gravel and mortar (Back-fill of drain cut) |
| 54 | Compacted clay with gravel and mortar (Back-fill of drain cut) |
| 55 | Stoa north foundation |
| 56 | Friable mid brown clay (with small stones and brick fragments inclusions) |
| 57 | Undug dark grey silt layer |
| 58 | Silty clay with stone and bone inclusions |
| 59 | Undug yellow layer |
| 60 | Foundation cut |
| 61 | Tipped friable graveley light grey silt (with ceramic and pebble inclusions) |
| 62 | Mud-brick bonded wall (supported by undug soil baulk 31) |
| 63 | Compacted orange-brown silty clay (with charcoal and mortar inclusions) |
| 64 | Foundation cut of the Stoa central wall (26) with back-fill |
| 65 | Highly compacted yellow-brown silty clay (with orange-brown lumps of clay inclusions) |
| 66 | Compacted orange silty clay and stones possibly as result of stone robbing (with large limestone ,grey marble cipollino and brick fragments inclusions) |

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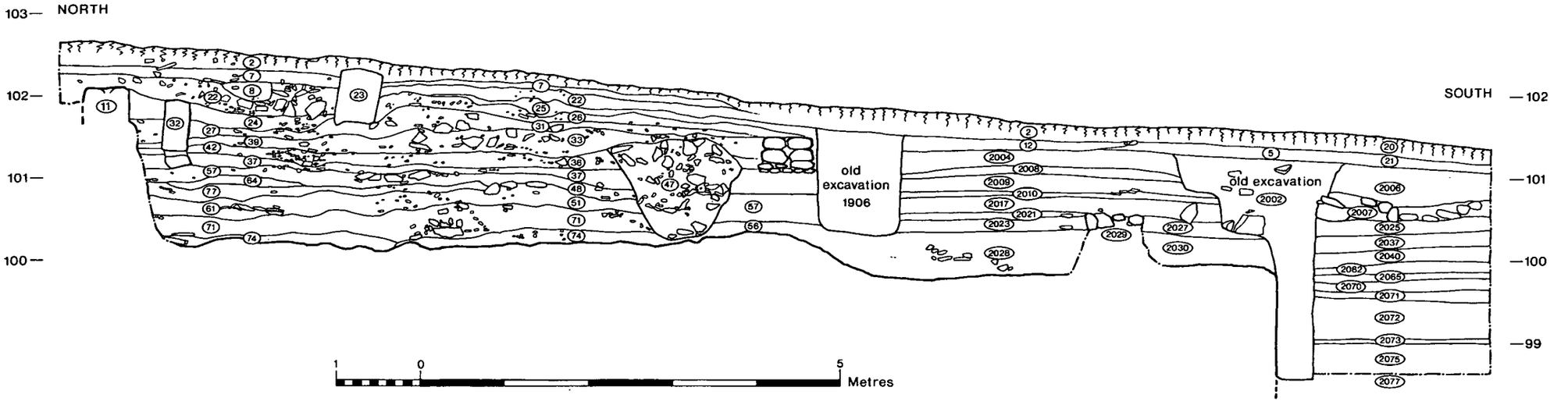


FIG. 9. Trenches RSW 1–3, W-facing section.

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F. Second phase of medieval occupation. Associated with further rubble walls, set at higher level, which divide area up into smaller rooms, with associated clay floors (walls 32, and 28 in RSW 1, latter of which returns as 1047 = 1016 in RSW 2). Principal floor in RSW 1 is context 37, on which the iron tripod stand rested, dated by associated pottery to second quarter of 13th cent.; so also layer 39 above it with fill of pit 40.[58] The equivalent phase in RSW 2 is represented by floors 1018–20, either side of wall 1011, likewise datable to the mid-13th cent. by pottery.[59] The first half of 13th cent. sees the Frankish occupation of Sparta under G. de Villehardouin from 1205 until the founding of Mistra in 1248 (ceded to Byzantines in 1259).

G. Third phase of medieval occupation represented by floor deposit within trench RSW 3 (context 2010), not far below modern surface with handmade cooking pot, together with other fairly complete vessels, date of which is believed to be early 14th cent. Context 2008, a layer just above it, contains pottery datable to early 14th cent.[60] Equivalent contexts in RSW 1 are 24 and 25 + 26 (overlain by 22) either side of late cross-wall 23; these seal the fill of a pit (context 1051 = 46), the pottery from which includes material of the early 14th cent.[61] In RSW 2 contexts 1012 and 1013 are the latest floors with fallen roof-tiles. Context 22 in RSW 1 contained coin no. 94, a copper coin of Guillaume de Villehardouin, prince of Achaea AD 1246–78; mint of Corinth, probably struck in the 1250s.[62] Context 1015 in RSW 2 (equivalent to 1012 and 1013 in W of trench) contained coin 83, bronze half-tetarteron of Manuel I (AD 1143–80), mint of Thessalonica; and more significantly no. 81, a silver denier tournois of Louis IX of France (AD 1226–70).[63]

## 4. Introduction to Surveying Strategy
### by N. Fradgley

The recent surveying and drawn recording work at Sparta has been planned on an annual basis, each year's work being conditioned by the type of survey and recording equipment available to the project at the time. From the outset in 1988, a three-dimensional site grid was established which has been maintained and extended in subsequent years as the focus of the project's activities moved to different parts of the site. The use of a unified grid as the basis for recording all the physical remains has simplified the recent task of integrating the work of successive years into a single computerized record through the use of CAD.

#### 1988 SEASON

In April 1988 the project was equipped for surveying by the Department of Survey and Photogrammetry at University College London. Included in the inventory were two 'bolt-on' EDMs, two site theodolites, and one precise theodolite, all of notable pedigree and some of venerable age. Work was based on the standard practice of three-tripod traversing. Three closed traverses were completed, each sharing a pair of common survey stations, one of them the site origin. Placing the origin and the RO on the crest of ground immediately N of the stoa allowed one of the principal axes of the site grid to be aligned approximately with the stoa.

As part of their M.Sc. coursework, Jane Read and Richard Hibbert carried out two of the traverses covering a wide area of the acropolis. These surveys were plotted at 1 : 500 with the numerically adjusted traverse control stations located by manual rectangular plotting, and the standing archaeological details by subsequent radial plotting. Contours of 1 m interval were interpolated and added to selected areas. The third traverse, assisted by John Wilkes and Jason Wood, concentrated on mapping the extant remains of the stoa to be drawn at 1 : 100. This differed from the other traverses also in that details were recorded using a small 'peanut' EDM prism, supplied by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England, more suitable for surveying architectural details.

[58] Ibid. 285.
[59] Ibid. 284.
[60] Ibid. 283.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid. 285: date of context put too early.
[63] Ibid. 286: context dated too early.

The details were plotted using a computer survey plotting system at RCHME. Height values of all control stations were verified independently by levelling using an assumed site datum of 100 m at the origin.

The work of mixing concrete for embedding permanent station markers was enjoyed by all five members of the team, some less than others. The marks themselves are 2.5 mm circular depressions drilled in the end of 12 mm diameter steel building rods, hammered into a hole in the ground into which the cement is poured until only the top of the rod is visible. The ground cover and topography of the acropolis area largely determine the positions of the control stations, and there is rarely a convenient rock outcrop to use as foundation for a control marker.

Annual tractor cultivations between the olive trees, which cover most of the site, have now dislodged some 'permanent' markers including both the origin and RO. Others have become isolated by fencing and land-claiming, which has occurred in the areas S and W of the stoa since the survey in 1988. Consequently, other permanent markers now play a crucial role in maintaining the grid and also justify the original investment of time.

## 1989 AND 1990 SEASONS

The initial luxury of EDM equipment was not repeated in 1989 or 1990. For both these years the excavations were referenced to the grid using the BSA's own site theodolite. It quickly became evident that control stations positioned for ease of traverse work in this landscape are seldom well placed for triangulated survey work. The traditional method of planting olive trees in rows, and the undulating terrain, result in restricted sight lines in most directions. The grid was extended by means of observed angles forming adjusted braced quadrilaterals, starting from a pair of permanent stations surveyed in the previous year.[64] New control points thus located within sight of the excavation areas were used to 'stake out' grid-pegs on the edge of the excavations in the conventional way. The same control points were also used to establish coordinated local planning points within the excavated area, by means of three- and four-point resection.[65] The local points are chosen to enable more precise hand-planning of important details than is possible with grid-peg-based planning frames. String lines are fixed between pairs of such points (if possible, no more than 10 m apart) and tape offsetting to the details is reduced to small distances to minimize errors. These lines form the bases of temporary small auxiliary grids, whose planned detail can be added easily to the main plan by reference to the endpoints, whose positions are already coordinated on the site grid.[66] Finally, distances between the new control stations were checked by catenary using a calibrated steel band, spring balance, and 'Little John' roller-grip.[67]

## 1991 SEASON

Surveying in April 1991 was helped largely by the provision of EDM equipment once again. This time the BSA's newly acquired Total Station theodolite was used in conjunction with RHCME's plotting software and data-logger. A detailed survey of the Round Building was carried out by means of three-tripod traversing. Other structures in the vicinity, and features already revealed by earlier excavations, were also included.

A separate closed traverse extended the survey area into the theatre (*c.*300 m to the W) and established three permanent control stations there in anticipation of future work. This traverse also verified the coordinates of the permanent marker located within sight of the east *parodos* in 1988.

[64] Braced quadrilateral: P. H. Milne, *Basic Programs for Land Surveying* (1984), 371–91. The method was selected for its ability to identify and compensate for unreliable angle readings resulting from strong heat shimmer during daytime observations.

[65] The resection equation attributed to Tienstra was used. See A. Bannister and S. Raymond, *Surveying* (1984), 227–9.

[66] System devised in conjunction with Richard C. Anderson, architect of the Agora excavations, American School of Classical Studies.

[67] Corrections to measurements were based on standard equations, distances not reduced to sea level. See R. J. P. Wilson, *Land Surveying* (1983), 134–40.

In all about three thousand three-dimensional detail points were recorded by EDM, including marking out and surveying the perimeter of an excavation area planned for July of the same year (RSC trenches). During the excavations the EDM was used to record the precise location and alignments of the key structures. This was in a part of the stoa where the deep stratigraphy and density of past building activity made precise, detailed planning by traditional methods almost impossible in the available time.

It is axiomatic that linear and proportional relationships should exist in the architecture of this type of site. The extent to which it holds true may be the principal concern of the survey work, and it is hoped that the apparent preoccupation with survey precision may be appropriate in this context. The nature of local topography and tree cover, already described, have contributed additional complications, but have also added to the enjoyment in carrying out the work.

N.F.

## 5. The Architecture of the Roman Stoa and its Reconstruction

The Roman stoa is a very large building which has been only partly excavated. The following discussion is therefore based on incomplete data, and any conclusions as to the original design and appearance must be regarded as provisional.

### EXTENT AND DESIGN

The extent and layout of the stoa is most easily discernible on its south-facing side, where the remains of the structure are visible above the modern ground level for some two-thirds of its length. The overall length may be calculated as 187.60 m. This consists of the following parts: an E-facing chamber at the SE corner (length including front and back walls 8.20 m); ten barrel-vaulted chambers (RS I–X), each 4.15 m wide plus ten partition walls of 0.90 m, making 50.50 m; the two apsed chambers (RS XI–XII), once cross-vaulted, with internal widths of 4.30 m plus a dividing pier of 1.00 m, making 9.60 m; twelve barrel-vaulted compartments (RS XIII–XXIV) of 4.15 m width plus twelve partition walls of 0.90 m, making 60.60 m; and finally a distance of 58.70 m from the E face of the W wall of bay XXIV to the outer face of the W end wall next to the Round Building. This last distance at the W end equals the length from the SE corner to the start of the central apsed rooms (i.e. from the E limit to the W wall of bay X), suggesting an overall symmetry in the design, which in itself tends to confirm that the western extremity of the stoa does form part of the original plan of the building.[68]

The width of the surviving structure is 14.50 m, which is the length of the western end wall and also the combined width of the two E-facing compartments at the SE corner. This dimension also finds reasonable confirmation in RSC trench, where the distance from the front of bay XXIV to the midpoint of the concrete foundation raft in RSC IN is almost precisely 14.50 m.[69] From the evidence of this width, and from its even distribution either side

[68] It should, however, be noted that the likely presence of a colonnaded portico at the E end would have increased the overall length of the stoa to *c.*195 m and would have negated the overall symmetry in design.

[69] The reasonable presumption of the existence of a colonnaded portico along the S façade would have increased the overall width to *c.*22 m.

of the massive central wall of the stoa, 1.80 m wide, which runs like a spine from the E end of the building to beyond bay XXIV (and which, according to the report of Bosanquet and Dickins, extended to within 12 m of the Round Building),[70] there is little doubt that the stoa was double-fronted, with a northward façade balancing the one that faced south.

Beyond this, the evidence for the form of the stoa is much less clear-cut. A complicating factor is a considerable variation in levels between different parts of the building. The natural terrain on which the stoa was built rises steadily from E to W and at the same time from S to N, and one of the principal functions of the central wall of the stoa was to act as a revetment against the hillside and provide stability for the structure as a whole. As a result of this the stoa was undoubtedly two-storeyed along much of the S side.[71] Arrangements on the N-facing side are less certain, but if the evidence of trench RSC 1 has been correctly interpreted it seems that there were no N-facing compartments, but instead a concrete raft provided a firm foundation at a higher level either for an E–W wall or more probably for a N-facing colonnade. How this would have been accommodated towards the W end, where the level of the surviving concrete platform is 1.80 m higher, is not known. As stated above, the design of the building and the levels within it varied according to the rise in the terrain, and the levels of the surviving portions constitute an important control on any reconstruction. The key figures are as follows. The surviving late Roman floor level in RS XI and XII is on average 93.70 m above datum (varying between 93.633 and 93.723), and this may suggest a slightly lower original floor level for these bays of *c.*93.50–93.60. Whether this would have been the floor-level for the other compartments I–XXIV on the S side is, however, open to doubt. Soundings by Traquair in 1906 gave a floor level in one of the (unspecified) rectangular barrel-vaulted compartments 3.27 m below the springing of the vault, while one of the two E-facing compartments gave a reading of 3.25 m.[72] In the best-preserved compartment RS XVI (which may be the one tested by Traquair), the vault springs from the side walls at 97.17, which would give a floor-level value here of 93.90, some 20–40 cm higher than the floor of RS XI–XII. The discrepancy is reconcilable if it is recalled that the latter were intended to contain water, so that their built floor level may well have been lower. In the reconstructed cross-section which is offered, it is assumed that there was such a difference and that the principal floor level of the vaulted compartments on the S side was *c.*93.90. In RS XXIV the barrel-vault springs from the side walls at 97.125 m, some 4.5 cm lower than in RS XVI. Assuming that the barrel-vaults were complete semicircles of 2.075 m radius, this would give a height for their apex on the underside of the vault of *c.*99.20–99.25. This is in reasonable agreement with the height for the roofing timbers of the front colonnade, obtained from the beam-holes at the SE end of the stoa, of between 98.62 and 98.90, as a result of which the top of the beams when covered with two-footer tiles would have come *c.*20–25 cm below the core structure of the inner vaults.

There is less certainty about the thickness of the concrete floor carried over the vaults. The maximum height of the concrete platform found at the W end of the building in RSW trenches, 100.53 m above datum, would, if it had extended all over the building at first-floor level, have given a floor thickness of about 1.30 m; this seems excessively great, even supposing it could have been supported by the roof timbers of the lower colonnade. However, we know

[70] R. C. Bosanquet, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 277–83; G. Dickins, ibid. 432.

[71] This was the interpretation drawn also from observation of the visible remains by P. Knoblauch, *AA* 1942, 156–7.

[72] R. Traquair, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 416–19.

that the western level did not extend to the N half of RSC, where the stoa foundation platform is nearly 2 m lower. It seems safer, therefore, to try to calculate the floor thickness from the highest surviving rubble aggregate at the SE corner, which is 100.256 at a point where the walls of the two eastern bays adjoin the end bay of the southern range. It is possible that the surface of the upper floor make-up is preserved here; even if not, it is unlikely that any great depth of aggregate is missing. This would suggest a floor thickness of between 1 and 1.20 m above the southern and eastern range of vaults and any associated colonnades, and this figure (1 m over the vaults) has been incorporated in the reconstruction.

Still more problematical is the evidence from the N-facing part of the building. The two areas of concrete platform in RSC 1, presumed to have been foundations for the structure of the stoa, have their surfaces at 98.70 m, an intermediate level which comes at about 50–55 cm below the apex of the barrel-vaulted roofs of the southern compartments, *c.*4.80 m above the ground-floor on the S side, and *c.*1.55 m below the level of the first floor as just calculated. This suggests that there was only a single storey on the north façade of the building, but quite how this was coordinated with the rest of the building is not clear. It would have been possible by placing further foundation blocks on top of the north platforms to bring their level up closer to that of the western platform, and equivalent to the upper floor on the S side of the building. But it is by no means likely that this was done, for the resultant N-facing colonnade would probably have seemed unacceptably low for the single storey visible on that side. It is preferable to suppose that there was a taller single colonnade on the N side, set lower at about the level of the surviving rafts; but this leaves open the question of the interrelationship with the higher first-floor level to the S, and the higher platform to the W on the N side.

Another question of crucial importance is whether there was originally a colonnade in front of the compartments on the S-facing side, which would therefore by implication have been a two-storeyed colonnade. The archaeological answer to this lies within the field of Andrakakos, but it was not possible to obtain permission to excavate here. Hopes of finding at least a partial solution in the S part of trench RSC 3 were thwarted by the unexpected discovery of a N–S spur of the late fortification wall. While there are tantalizing traces of a collapsed frontage to the stoa beneath its footings, these do not provide a clear-cut answer to the question, as there was insufficient room to excavate beneath the debris.

Nevertheless the existence of a colonnade in front of the stoa is strongly implied by architectural evidence in the form of beam-holes for timber roofing supports, which survive in the front faces of both the S and E sides of the SE corner (PLATE 71 *a–b*; FIG. 10). These are set just below the top of the inner vaults, measure 28–31 cm high by 24 cm wide, and penetrate into the structure up to 70 cm from the front of the wall (or 1.50 m if one includes the *opus quadratum* facing which still exists at this point). They are spaced close together, being 56 cm apart between the sides of the holes. There was therefore one beam every 80 cm along the façade at this point. The holes are carefully built for strength, with small, flat-sided stones providing a resting surface within the concrete fabric, a large, flat stone at the back of the hole, and vertical sides constructed from five courses of regular-sized fired bricks. Each beam-hole was capped by a two-footer brick, 56–57 cm wide and 6 cm thick, and it seems likely that the whole ceiling was covered by such two-footer bricks, which in turn supported the concrete upper floor over the colonnade, up to 1.20 m thick.

Remains of five such beam holes exist on the S face of east bay 1, including a sequence of four; while on the E front of eastern bays 1 and 2 there are a further six, including a sequence of five. From their technique and the way they are bonded into the overall structure, there is no doubt that these holes form part of the original design of the stoa, and do not constitute

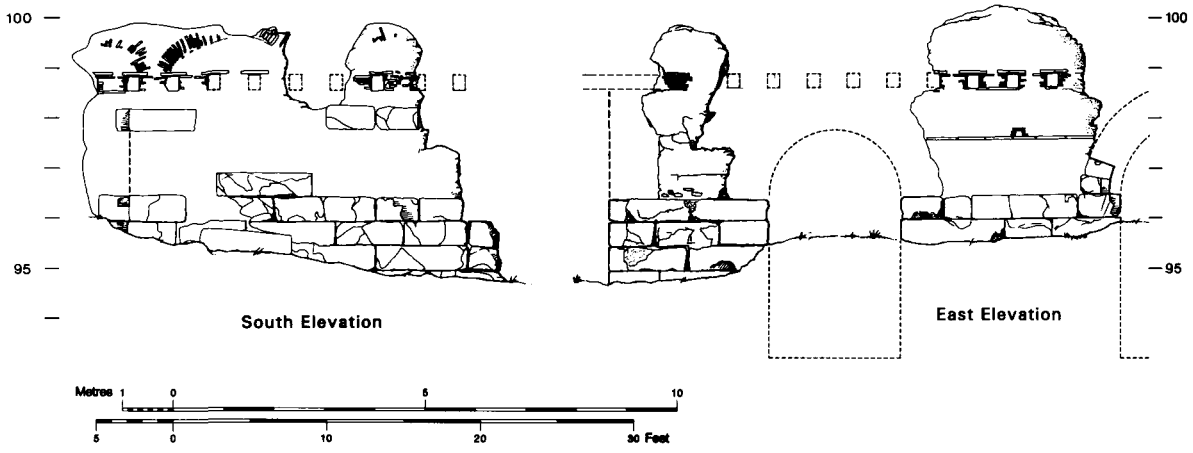


FIG. 10. South and east elevations of SE angle of stoa.

some later reconstruction, perhaps at the time of the building of the late Roman defensive walls. The partial filling of some of the holes with concrete aggregate suggests that their original purpose had become defunct by the time the stoa was incorporated in the circuit of fortifications. It is difficult to see how they can be interpreted other than as the bearing-points for a horizontal roofing system that projected outward from the building around its SE angle, which must have been supported by free-standing uprights in the form of a colonnade. The evidence supplied by the surviving beam-holes fits quite well with the suggested restored cross-section through the building (FIG. 11).

The stone facing of the SE corner also formed part of the original construction of the stoa, being laid as a sequence of stretchers and headers which were embedded within the concrete core. Course heights average 47–48 cm, and the material is a poros limestone similar to that of the blocks let into the concrete platform at the W end of the building. Its surface is rough enough to suggest that it was covered by another medium or material, so that it performs the same function as the brick facing employed further W. Presumably stone was felt to be needed here, to give added strength to the most exposed and low-lying part of the stoa at its eastern extremity. The partially preserved façades of the two E-facing bays also supply valuable information on the widths of the doorway openings within the stone jambs—2.64 m for bay 1, but 2.99 m for bay 2—and the stone voussoir blocks by which they were arched. One course of voussoirs survives within bay 2, and the impressions of several other blocks are visible in the extant concrete fabric of both bays. Presumably similar entrances were constructed of brick along the façade of the southern range of compartments.

Given, therefore, that there was a colonnade turning from the E end along the S side, a further problem is how far it would have extended westwards. The concrete platform and end wall at the W project forward only as far as the line of the fronts of the stoa compartments to the E. Even if one interprets the W end as part of an upper storey, one might still have expected it to project forwards far enough to take in the front line of a colonnade to the E, as it would have had to continue the line of its upper storey. The answer may be more complicated, for it is possible, or even likely, that a roadway ran through the line of the stoa at a point close

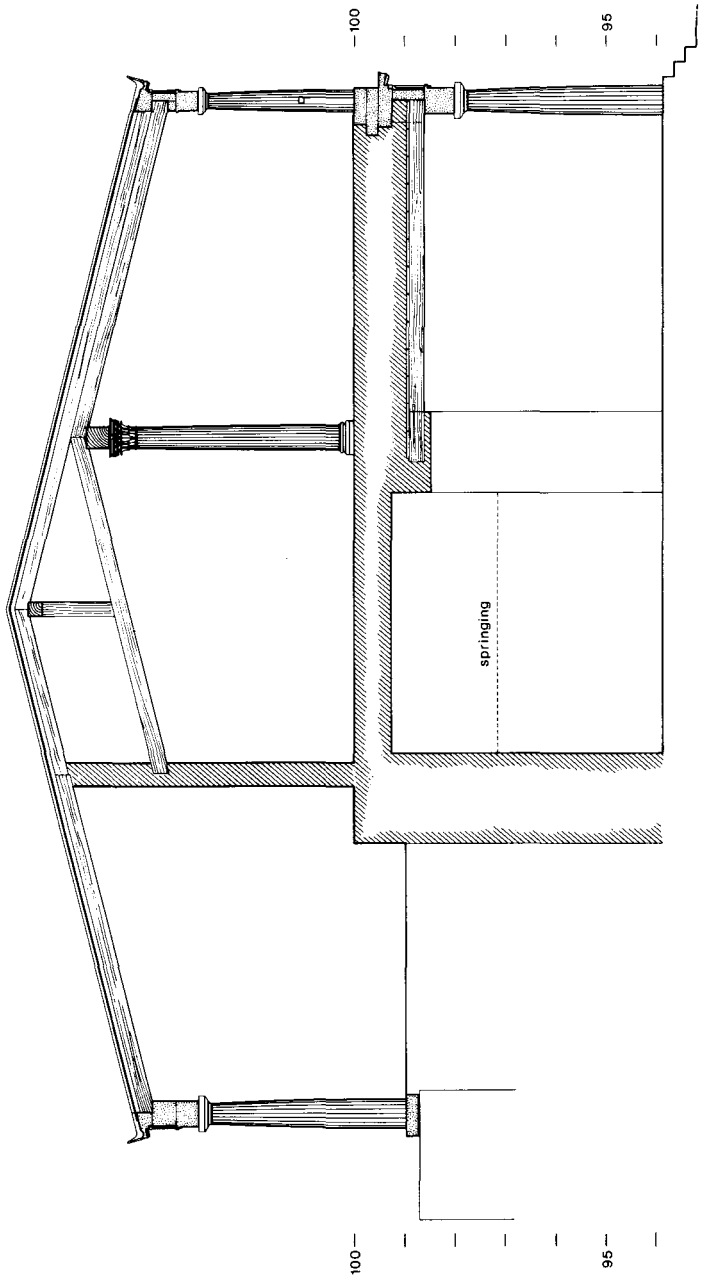


FIG. 11. Hypothetical reconstructed section through stoa at trench RSC 1 3.

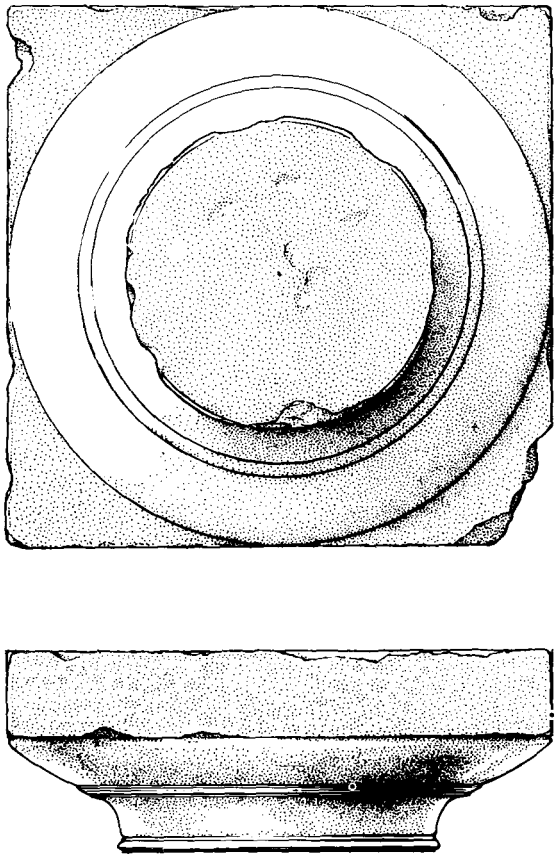

FIG. 12. Plan and elevation of Doric capital found in trench RS XI. 1 : 10.

to the modern path up onto the higher acropolis. If so, the parts of the stoa either side of it could have been treated differently in the architectural designs. However, one should not overlook the point made at the beginning, that the overall longitudinal symmetries of the building suggest a coordinated design.

Related to the question of the stoa's colonnade is the interpretation of the well-preserved marble Doric capital found reused in the medieval phase of RS XI (FIG. 12; PLATE 61). This has an abacus 0.714 m square and 0.115 m thick, and the overall height of abacus plus echinus is 0.265 m. The diameter of the underside of the echinus is 0.41 m, which provides the dimensions of the upper diameter of the column shaft that would once have supported it. The curving profile and spread of the echinus are archaic Greek in form, finding close parallels in the Doric capitals from the so-called throne of Apollo at Amyklai, now in Sparta Museum.[73] The rather smooth character of the carving seems Roman, however, and the likeliest interpretation of this capital is that it is archaizing work of the second century AD, imitating archaic Greek work of the mid- to late 6th century BC. There is no proof that it belonged to the façade of the Roman stoa, but there must be a chance that it did, given that it was found reused within the building, and its scale is about right for a lower Doric order on the S side, assuming a higher ratio of column shaft to capital than would have been the case in the archaic period. With this proviso it has been incorporated in the hypothetical reconstruction of a cross-section through the stoa from N to S which has been drawn up, based on the cumulative evidence of the three trenches excavated (FIG. 11). This demonstrates, at the very least, that the varied foundation levels at S, N, and W can be accommodated to a plausible overall reconstruction. It assumes that there was a two-storeyed Doric colonnade on the S side, set 6.20 m in front of the compartments (from column axis to the front wall of the entrances). It also supposes that there was a single

[73] Paus. iii. 18. 9–19; E. Fiechter, *JdI* 33 (1918), 107–245; E. Buschor and W. von Massow, *AM* 52 (1927), 1–85; A. Delivorrias, *AAA* 1 (1968), 41–5; R. Martin, *RA* 1976, 205–18; M. Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century BC* (Oxford, 1987), 81–2; R. A. Tomlinson, 'The Menelaion and Spartan architecture', in J. M. Sanders (ed.), *Φιλολάκων: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London, 1992), 247–55; A. Faustoferri, 'The throne of Apollo at Amyklai: its significance and chronology', in Palagia and Coulson (n. 27), 159–66.

row of columns on the N side, of the same dimensions as the lower colonnade on the S side, which fits quite well with the height of the platform on the N side and with the arrangements of the upper floor to the S. This presumes an outer upper colonnade three-quarters of the height of the lower columns, and a necessary inner Corinthian colonnade above the entrances into the south compartments.[74] The width and location of the upper dividing wall is based on the evidence of the central brick pier on the inside of the W end wall in RSW 1. The upper roofing system is not known. That which is offered here is based on the example of the stoa of Attalos in the Athenian agora, which is a tripartite stoa of similar proportions. This reconstruction, it must be emphasized, is mostly hypothetical and is offered *exempli gratia.* Even if it proves to be on the right lines, it still leaves a number of questions which need to be addressed.

First, how far west did the presumed southern colonnade proceed? In all probability no further than the lower range of vaulted compartments. From the evidence of trench RSC it would seem that this lower storey terminated with compartment XXIV, after which the next enclosed compartment was filled with hard-packed mudbrick whose function may have been to effect the transition to the upper level beyond this point. If so, the colonnade may have ended at this point, not to be resumed beyond whatever may have intervened to the immediate west.

Second, why are the apsed compartments XI and XII not centrally placed within this series of rooms, having instead ten barrel-vaulted compartments to the E and twelve to the W? The answer is not known. On the face of it there seems no reason why the apsed rooms could not have been made absolutely central. It does seem likely, however, that as originally designed they were intended to provide a central focus for the S side of the building, and this could imply that rooms XXIII and XXIV served a different function from the others. The blocking of the entrance to XXIV may be a pointer in this direction, but it is not known if this blocking also applied to XXIII or any of the other compartments, or indeed when precisely it was carried out.

Third, it is surprising that no traces of staircases have yet been discovered which would provide a link between the lower rooms of the south range and the higher levels to the north or the upper storey. It is hard to believe they did not exist, but there are no signs of them in compartments I–XXII. Is it possible that stairs occupied either parts of XXIII and XXIV at the W, or one (or both) of the E-facing compartments at the E? In answer to the first possibility, it is perhaps significant that the medieval reoccupiers of RS XXIV were forced to cut a way through the central wall, implying perhaps that if there was a staircase here they did not know about it.

## TECHNIQUE OF CONSTRUCTION AND FINISH

The surviving structure of the stoa is made of extremely hard greyish-white concrete with an aggregate of rubble, mostly consisting of rounded river cobbles set in lime mortar. At the E end, where the façade is best preserved owing to its incorporation in the later fortification wall

[74] Note the remark by G. Dickins (n. 70), 432: 'We found in the trenches to the east of the round building a Corinthian capital, column and base, which perhaps belong to the decoration of the round building itself'. An ascription of these architectural members to the upper inner order of the Roman stoa might be more plausible, but it has not been possible to test the hypothesis, as their present whereabouts is not known.

of the acropolis, the remains of the stoa are faced with ashlar blocks in poros limestone up to the springing of the arches, above which the facing is of brick. On the south façade at the E, the stone facing continues at least to the level of the upper floor, and higher than any existing level in the rest of the stoa. By contrast the platforms and foundations uncovered at the W end and in trench RSC 1 were presumably constructed within shuttering, as their surfaces are made up of flatter-sided cobbles, giving an effect similar to that of *opus incertum*. The S face of the platform at the W end has been lightly rendered with mortar to create a slightly smoother finish, and mortar has been applied also to the W face of the partition wall of bay XXIV in RSC 2. It seems that in neither case was any kind of stone revetment envisaged. Elsewhere the structure of the stoa was built within faces of fired brick, for accuracy and economy of construction, for strength, and to provide a smoother surface for the application of a stone facing. The bricks measured *c.*0.27 × 0.27 × *c.*0.03 thick, and were finger-scored diagonally to provide four of the smaller triangular bricks employed in most of the facing-work. In places half-bricks, or even whole bricks, were used when construction needs required it. At intervals, usually every ten courses, single courses of larger two-footer bricks, measuring 0.555–0.565 square and 0.05–0.06 thick, were carried through the thickness of the walls to help bond the face to the concrete structure. They were also used for the springing-course immediately below the vaults, and for other parts requiring greater strength, for example the vertical intervals of shuttering stages and the undersides of putlog holes for wooden scaffolding, generally about 10–12 cm square, that pierce the W-facing surface of the W wall of RS XXIV. Brick was also employed to face the underside of the vaulted roofs, whether barrel-vaults as in most compartments or in the cross-vaulted roofs of compartments RS XI and XII. The apses of RS XI and XII, with their niches and half-domes, have been most skilfully constructed from brick, with a course of the extra-large bricks at the springing-points and imitation 'keystones' at the apexes.

The original decor of the stoa consisted of high-quality marble revetment in a variety of colours applied to all surfaces, and floors of marble slabs. Virtually all of this had been systematically stripped out at a later date, but numerous fragments of marble slabs were found in the excavations, and sufficient traces remained lodged in niches and angles to indicate its character. Most of the marble used was white with bluish veins, probably from one of the nearby quarries on Taygetos, perhaps at Goranoi, but there are also instances of green and pinkish-red marble being used (apparently also local). The floor paving consisted of blocks 5 cm thick, while 2 cm thick panels were applied to the walls, and plenty of samples were discovered of marble moulding which marked transitions or helped mask joins in the decor. The marble facing was fixed to the walls by means of small dowels of white marble, many of which still survive, inserted into the brickwork and secured by iron clamps. Generally these are about 2 cm in diameter, but some larger examples are *c.*4 cm thick, their purpose evidently being to secure the heavier elements of architectural ornament in position.

It is not certain whether the vaults of half-domes were finished in marble or plaster, possibly the latter, but the niches within the apses of RS XI and XII were certainly finished in marble. Fragments of the thin slabs employed remain in the rectangular niches, while the central semicircular ones were lined with upright panels about 11 cm wide, closely fitted together with chamfered edges, which would originally have given a delicate, polygonal effect to the surface. The lower ledge in the apse of RS XII also has parts of its marble decor intact, consisting of thin tiles of blue–white marble *c.*22 cm long, pressed into place and surmounted by a simple moulding of red stone.

The marble revetment seems to have been systematically stripped from the building at some

point before conversion of RS XI and XII into a cistern. This is clear from the way the pink waterproof plaster in the NE corner of RS XI overlies a fragment of the original marble panelling left in place in the angle. Presumably any sculptural decoration will have been removed at the same time. The stoa excavation has been noteworthy for its total lack of any kind of sculptural finds, whether in the round or in relief. It would be surprising if sculpture had not played a part originally in the decoration of the building, but not a trace has come to light so far. The large limestone blocks let into the concrete platform at the west end have dowel-holes in their upper surfaces to receive other blocks, but whether these were statue bases or simply formed part of the buttressing of the west end of the building is impossible to say.

## FUNCTION OF THE STOA

There is very little direct evidence for any specific function for the stoa, other than that of general civic amenity. The barrel-vaulted rectangular compartments of the south side have all the appearance of shops. It is unlikely that they would have served as dining-rooms, a common phenomenon of earlier Greek stoas, for the entrance doorways are not placed off-centre as is usual when dining-couches are to be accommodated. There is every likelihood that the double central room made up of bays XI and XII was designed to serve as a public fountain or nymphaeum. The conduits leading to the three niches in each apse presumably conveyed water, and will have terminated in decorative water-spouts. Water collection or retention basins may have been placed on the projecting ledge running round each apse, although it is a little high for water to be drawn from it with ease, unless further water-spouts were provided. Alternatively, each semicircular apse below the ledges may have served as a water catchment area, supplied with the necessary drawing and drainage facilities. Another possibility, still more grandiose, is that the whole floor area of RS XI and XII was lowered compared with the rest of the stoa compartments, so as to form a large, shallow pool serving a decorative as well as a functional purpose. No pipes or other forms of structural evidence have so far been found south of the apses in support of any of these arrangements, but no doubt much has been obscured by the later conversion of the area to serve as a larger-scale cistern.

In more general terms, the stoa must have played a significant role of delimitation in the urban topography of Roman Sparta, dividing and at the same time presumably linking the higher area of the acropolis plateau on the N side with whatever lay S of the two-storeyed south façade. Presumably, given the likely design of the stoa, both areas had important market functions, although which (if either) was the principal agora is not known. The alignment of the north façade of the stoa is within 2° of forming a right angle with the long N–S wall of polygonal masonry excavated N of the Round Building about thirty years ago (PLATE 72; FIG. 2).[75] Although the remains appear to be earlier in date, perhaps late hellenistic or early imperial, it could well be that the rebuilding of the Roman stoa was intended to give greater definition to the broad level *plateia* of which this wall and its E–W return formed the SW angle.

## IDENTITY OF THE STOA

There is no internal evidence for the identity of the stoa, although its design and technique suggest a date for its original construction in the second century AD, perhaps *c.*125–50. In all

[75] C. Christou, *PAE* 1964 [1966], 112–20, pls 113–18; id., *Ergon*, 1964 [1965], 106–12; *BCH* 89 (1965), 717–23; Stibbe, 77 n. 67.

probability the stoa was already in existence at the time of Pausanias' visit to Sparta *c.* AD 160, and the main consideration is whether there are grounds for identifying this building with the 'Persian stoa' mentioned by him.[76] That is the only stoa he refers to in a long but admittedly summarized description of the buildings and topography of ancient Sparta. At iii. 11. 3 he says:

> the most striking monument in the market-place is called the Persian stoa, built from the spoils of the Persian wars [i.e. just after 479 BC]. It was altered in the course of time until it reached the size and decorative splendour you now see. Above the columns are Persians in white stone, in particular Mardonios, son of Gobryas, and Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis and queen of Halikarnassos.

The size and decorative splendour of the Roman stoa have been amply demonstrated in the recent excavations, and must allow a *prima facie* case for identification with Sparta's renowned Persian stoa. Unfortunately there is insufficient evidence to pronounce further on this intriguing question. We do not know even where Sparta's market-place was, although the chances are that it was either N or S of the line of the Roman stoa. Equally tantalizing is the large marble Doric capital found reused in RS XI. This appears to be Roman work of the highest quality, done in a deliberately archaizing Greek style. If it belonged to the façade of the stoa, a case could be made that the Roman builders of the stoa wished to preserve in the lower external colonnade the flavour of a late archaic Greek building, and that this was therefore a rebuilt version of the renowned Persian stoa, in fact the one seen by Pausanias. Confirmation or refutation of this theory can only come from further excavation of the surviving remnants of the stoa. For the present it is worth bearing in mind the words of Hugh Plommer, which may yet turn out to be prophetic, in what is still one of the most informed discussions of the Persian stoa at Sparta.[77] Hazarding a guess at the likely appearance of the stoa in the time of Pausanias, he says:

> I should like to think of it as a two-storey stoa, perhaps with a wholly Doric exterior, and with columns on the ground floor separated by a continuous architrave from Persians on the first floor. A continuous Doric extablature could have provided a handsome crown for the whole work. . . . With such a design, the Persian stoa would stand in the line of the Throne of Apollo at Amyclae, often restored with a peristyle supporting an upper storey of grouped figures.

## 6. The Round Building (plates 71 *c*, 72; fig. 13)

Most of the structural remains belonging to the Round Building, a prominent feature which lies roughly midway along the south side of the acropolis hill, were revealed by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens during the excavations of 1892 and 1893 directed by C. L. Meader and Charles Waldstein (later Walston).[78] The traditional name derives from a hopeful association by the excavators with the 'round building' (οἰκοδόμημα περιφερές)

[76] This suggestion was first made by G. Dickins (n. 70), 432: 'It is possible that in it we have a late restoration or renewal of the great *Stoa Persike* mentioned by Pausanias'. The implication, however, that the stoa as we have it is later than the time of Paus. is clearly wrong, from the evidence of the pottery sequences discussed in §3.

[77] H. D. Plommer, *JHS* 99 (1979), 100.

[78] Meader and Waldstein (n. 11); Crosby (n. 11); Waldstein (n. 11). Supplementary excavations were undertaken by C. Christou in 1964: *PAE* 1964 (1966), 102–12, and other refs. in n. 75 above.

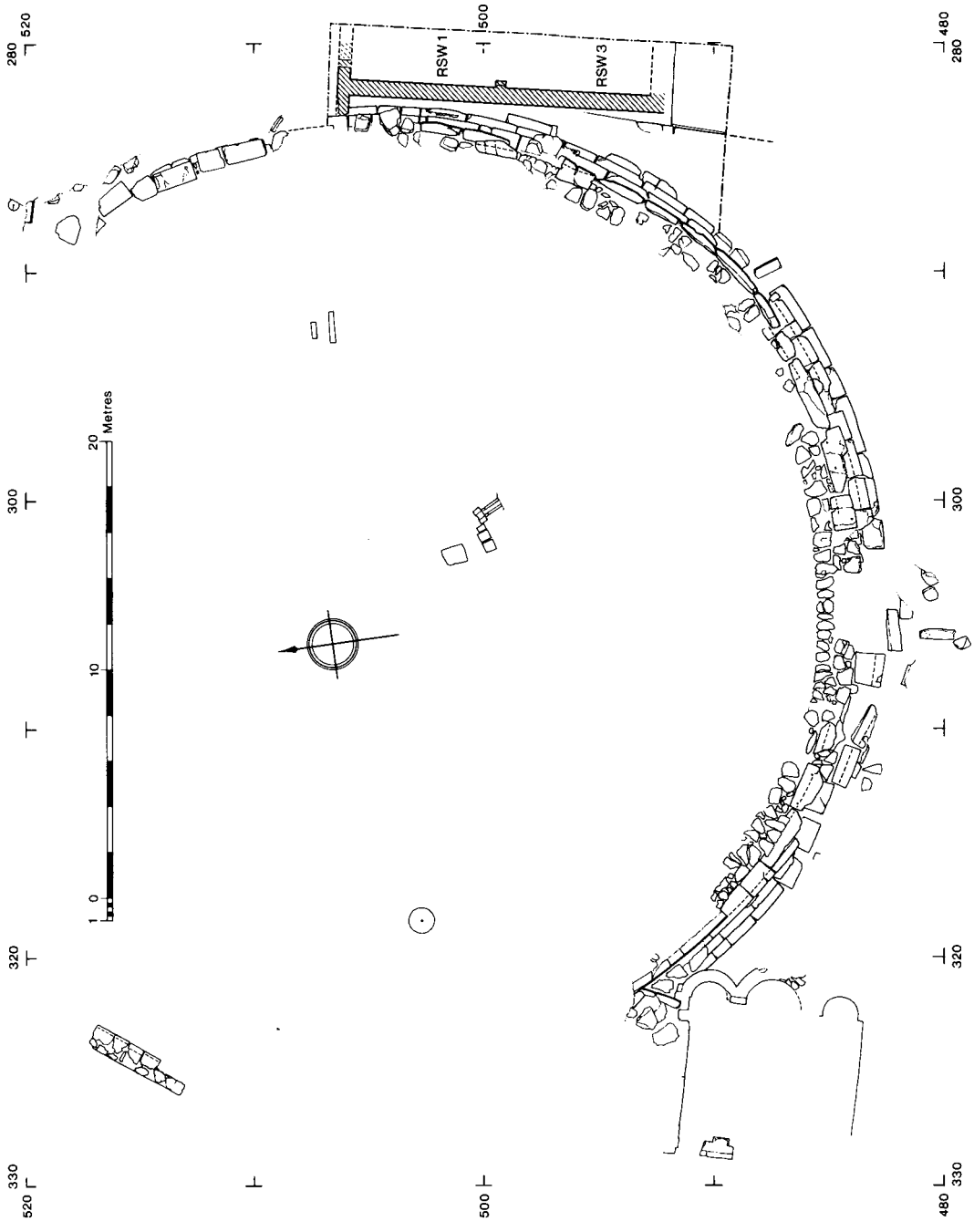


FIG. 13. Plan of Round Building.

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containing images of Olympian Zeus and Olympian Aphrodite, located by Pausanias on one of the streets leaving the agora.[79] Before excavation the site appeared as a mound of earth *c.*44 m in diameter, rising to a height of *c.*6 m. Excavation on the top in 1892 revealed the base for a single large statue, or possibly a group of statues, near which was found the marble fragment of a thumb holding what may be a sceptre; this belonged to a colossal statue of the hellenistic or Roman period. In 1893 further excavation revealed the enclosing masonry of the mound, which commenced on the south and followed a circular line westwards until it was joined at an acute angle by a second wall of similar construction, possibly following a curved alignment of similar radius, in the vicinity of a small three-apsed medieval church which abuts the mound on the SW. The radius was measured as 21.65 m (giving a diameter of 43.3 m), but when the remaining part of the circle to the N was trenched no trace whatsoever was found of masonry. At the highest point of the mound in the NW there was a platform of the natural conglomerate rock *c.*7 m square beneath a thin covering of soil. This rock falls steeply down towards the SE, where it gives way to a softer sandstone. The surface of the conglomerate rock was found to have been weathered into irregular cavities, but a portion of it at the centre of the mound had been artificially levelled, perhaps to receive a statue base with an area of paving around it. At the central point of this was a round cavity, 1 m in diameter, cut vertically to a depth of 0.50 m, with a second hole in the bottom of it *c.*0.40 m in diameter and 0.50 m deep. This was interpreted by the excavators as the setting 'to hold the mastlike post which supported an umbrella-shaped roof',[80] but a more likely explanation is that it served to secure a statue base in position.[81]

The circular wall is a retaining wall formed of large unworked blocks, *c.*1 m across, set one upon another and fitted without the use of any mortar or clamps. This rough construction was encased by a finished construction of large blocks of the conglomerate rock, quarried from the W side of the core of the mound; it consisted of a three-stepped crepidoma of classical proportions on which rested a vertical wall of unknown height, best preserved now at its SW end where three courses survive to a height of *c.*3 m. The lowest course consists of large slabs set on edge (orthostats) measuring *c.*0.40 m thick, 1.30 m high, and between 1.50 and 3.0 m long, roughly dressed to the curvature of the monument. Upon these lies a flat course of slabs in reddish marble, 0.30 m high and 0.70 m broad, with a setting-line cut into their top surfaces for the next course above; this consisted again of upright slabs 0.97 m high and 0.43 m thick, only one of which remains *in situ*. The upper surface of the top step has a hollowed setting-channel for the upright slabs, and the entire construction rests upon a foundation of unworked boulders at least 1 m deep. The circular wall is unlikely to have risen much higher, since the levelled area on top, with the cavity setting, is less than 2 m above the surviving height. The inner retaining wall, consisting of rough boulders, was traced for *c.*68 m, rising between 0.50 and 2 m above the top step of the crepidoma. The latter has been traced for 56.65 m, the lower steps for a similar distance, except on the SE where the bottom step has fallen away. Ten blocks of the first course of upright slabs are preserved, two near the W corner which together measure 5.90 m long, and eight on the E. Only two blocks of the next (horizontal) course are

[79] Paus. iii. 12. 10–11. For the most recent discussion of varied interpretations of this monument prior to the present excavations, see Stibbe, 71–7, esp. 76–7.

[80] Meader and Waldstein (n. 11), 424.

[81] Crosby (n. 10), 342; (n. 11), 212, argues that the base placed here was that of the large statue of the demos of Sparta recorded by Paus. (iii. 11. 9) in the agora. See n. 88.

preserved, and only one of the second upright course, all at the W end. On the E side of the mound the crepidoma and orthostats in the locally quarried conglomerate come to an end, but the steps and wall uprights are continued for a short distance in smaller, less carefully fitted blocks of poros. Beyond these there were signs of a much rougher construction continuing the line, without mortar or clamps and incorporating at least one architectural element, suggesting a hurried construction, perhaps for defensive purposes. At its W end the circular wall is skilfully joined at an acute angle by a curved wall of similar construction, preserved for a length of only 2.25 m until it is interrupted by the walls of the three-apsed church. This wall provides the surface for an inner construction of rough boulders, and consists of dressed facing-slabs resting on a three-stepped platform, except that for the lowest course of orthostats the height is achieved by three courses of closely fitted blocks instead of a single slab. It is hard to see what the original design and purpose of this apparently secondary feature might have been, and the solution must depend on further excavation at this point. The ground falls away steeply to the SW of the Round Building, and there are indications that the area was extensively remodelled in Roman and medieval times.

On top of the mound, careful recording by the early excavators of the few surviving remains suggests that some of the twenty-two rectangular blocks of dressed poros, bedded into the natural rock, formed circles concentric with the enclosing wall of the mound described above, which increased gradually in height towards the outside. The furthest block, 10.58 m from the centre, is *c.*0.50 m higher than the level of the central area. It seems possible that on the top of the Round Building there was a shallow, theatre-like area in the NW part of the circle.[82] Eight of the blocks belong to one of the circles, some of which have a recess along the upper, inner edges aligned on the same circle. On the upper face of two stones a circular line 0.42 m in diameter, raised 1 cm above the rest of the top surface and with shallow grooves intersecting at the centre, probably indicates the position of a column-setting. With these may be associated two fragments of a Doric column in white marble (1.40 m high, 0.39 m in diameter) and the fragment of a Doric capital, which together permit the reconstruction of a curved Doric colonnade, frieze, and entablature. The recesses along the inner edges are likely to have supported paving slabs. Thus we can accept Waldstein's reconstruction of the building as a paved circular terrace, enclosed by a curving Doric colonnade centred on a rectangular base which supported a group of statuary.[83] All the associated finds were of Roman or medieval date, the most notable being the head from a lifesize marble statue, probably of the emperor Caracalla (AD 211–17), from the upper level near the centre.[84] The quality of the work has been judged poor, as was that of several small fragments of male and female figures.

It appears that an earlier Spartan monument was remodelled at least once in the Roman imperial period, the phase to which the fragments of architecture and sculpture can be assigned. As to the interpretation and identification of the original structure, a number of possibilities suggest themselves from the form of the building and from associations with the text of Pausanias. The character and construction of the enclosing wall and the three-stepped crepidoma, which served to contain a hillock of natural rock and soil on the south of the acropolis hill, recall the conformation and technique of the Menelaion and could indicate a

[82] This has led to the interpretation of the building as a *theatron* for choral or other cult performances: R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris, 1951), 233–5. See also n. 89.

[83] Meader and Waldstein (n. 11), 421; Stibbe, 76.

[84] Meader and Waldstein (n. 11).

much earlier date for the original construction, possibly even in the era of archaic Sparta.[85] Of the identifications proposed, the most favoured has been the rotunda with statues of Olympian Zeus and Olympian Aphrodite said to have been founded in the late seventh century by the Cretan Epimenides, which was located by Pausanias beside the Skias or 'Canopy' built by Theodoros of Samos on one of the roads leading out of the agora.[86] Other less plausible interpretations have included the Skias itself,[87] the base for the large statue of the demos of Sparta seen by Pausanias on the agora,[88] or some kind of theatre-like platform for viewing chthonic or cultic performances.[89]

None of these suggestions have been able to take into account new evidence for the form of the structure which came to light in the excavations of 1990 and 1991 in the S part of trench RSW 3. These revealed that the circular wall and three-stepped crepidoma rested upon a square podium of rendered ashlar blocks, some 1.50 m high at the point where the Roman stoa foundations abut, whose appearance could indicate a late classical, hellenistic, or even later date for the origin of the monument.[90] So far very little of this podium, whose surface has been considerably abraded by medieval reoccupation, has been uncovered, and the possibility must remain that this feature is a secondary construction which was added as a result of a cutting back of the S slope of the acropolis hill in the course of a hellenistic or early Roman (i.e. pre-stoa) remodelling of this area. However, it is more likely that it forms part of the original construction. The blocks of which it is composed appear to be of the same stone as was used for the crepidoma and circular wall; its E edge runs under the lowest step of the crepidoma, with which it is perfectly aligned; and it was sufficiently venerable to merit substantial refurbishment and buttressing at the time that the Roman stoa was built.

The combination of square base and circular superstructure is one particularly favoured for tomb monuments or victory monuments in the hellenistic period, and it is possible that this was the original purpose of the structure before its conversion for reuse in the Roman imperial period.[91] If this were the case, suitable recipients for such an impressively sited S-facing monument might have included Brasidas, the Spartan commander in the Peloponnesian war,

[85] Tomlinson (n. 73) favours a date for the enlargement and encasement of the Menelaion 'about the end of the sixth century' (p. 249). A similar date is proposed by Stibbe, 77, for the architecture of the Round Building, in contrast to the earlier date of *c.*600 BC suggested by Waldstein (n. 11). Christou, however (n. 78), is opposed to a date earlier than the 5th cent.

[86] Paus. iii. 12. 11. Nestoridis (n. 9), 52; Meader and Waldstein (n. 11); Stibbe (n. 79).

[87] Stein (n. 8), 14; 21; F. Robert, *Recherches sur la signification et la destination des monuments circulaires dans l'architecture religieuse de la Grèce* (BEFAR 147; 1939), 113 ff.; W. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (Baltimore, 1943), 64; F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos* (Mainz, 1986), 29 n. 98; 35 n. 123; cf. the discussion and rejection of this identification by Stibbe, 71.

[88] Paus. iii. 11. 9. Crosby (n. 81 *bis*) argues strongly for the Round Building as the location of the statue of the demos of Sparta. His view has found some recent support from Cartledge and Spawforth, 109, 221 no. 39, who note that C. Iulius Theophrastos set up statues of Hadrian and Demos during his term as priest of Zeus Olympios, early in the reign of Antoninus Pius (*SEG* xi. 492. 4–5). Granted the link between Demos and the worship of Zeus Olympios, however, there is nothing to indicate that the statue of Demos was set up on the site of the Round Building.

[89] Martin (n. 82); Christou (n. 78); Kolb (n. 26), 79–81, 110; D. Mertens, *Architectura*, 12 (1982), 108–10. Cf. Stibbe, 77.

[90] See above, §2.

[91] The combination is first encountered on the Lysikrates monument at Athens of 334/3 BC: H. Bauer, *AM* 92 (1977), 204–27; B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture* i (Bristol, 1990), 15–17. In the 3rd cent. BC it is found on the heroön at Limyra in Lycia: J. Borchhardt, *Symposium*, 7 (1985), 439–99; id., *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses fur klassische Archäologie (Berlin 1988)* (Mainz, 1990), 498; Ridgway, op. cit. 196 n. 48. Much later still it occurs on the mausoleum of Hadrian at Rome: M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton, 1987), 161–81. In general cf. J. Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age* (Toronto, 1990).

whose cenotaph was located on the road leading W from the agora before reaching the theatre,[92] or even one of the hellenistic kings of Sparta such as Kleomenes III or Nabis.[93]

Whatever may have been its original function, it is tempting to recognize in the Round Building, as others have done before, the location of the statues of Olympian Zeus and Olympian Aphrodite.[94] Hadrian associated himself with the cult of Zeus Olympios from AD 128/9, and it would be plausible to see a date then or soon afterwards as the time of refurbishment of the Round Building and the installation of the statues recorded by Pausanias. As the repair to the structure was evidently carried out at the time of the construction of the platform for the Roman stoa, this would have the added advantage of confirming a date in the later Hadrianic period, *c.* AD 130, for the massive redevelopment of the south-eastern acropolis of Sparta that construction of the stoa entailed. If so, then a significant instigator and benefactor in this programme of redevelopment is likely to have been the last of the Euryklid line, C. Iulius Eurykles Herculanus, who died *c.* AD 136.[95] One would like to think that it was not just chance that a fragment of an inscription naming him was found reused in trench RSW 3, where the Roman stoa adjoins the Round Building.[96]

## 7. The Late Roman Defences (fig. 14)

During the 1906 excavations close attention was paid to the stone wall which enclosed the acropolis hill, following its contours in an irregular course.[97] In the SE the wall follows a line nearly parallel with that of the long axis of the Roman stoa, but between 35 and 40 m in front of the visible remains (FIG. 14). A length of *c.*115 m on this alignment is flanked by pairs of towers roughly opposite each end of the range of twenty-four vaulted compartments on the S side of the stoa. The E side of the stoa was incorporated in the wall, with the two E-facing compartments being entirely sealed up into the line of the later defensive structure. The construction of the late wall consists of a mortared rubble core faced in its lower part with large blocks, including many architectural elements removed from existing buildings, to a thickness of 3.80 m. The upper part of the curtain wall is faced with irregular stones set in mortar between bonding courses of bricks, also reused from earlier structures. The use of spolia for the lower part of a defensive wall, clearly intended to deter the use of the battering-ram or crowbars, is a familiar feature of urban defences constructed in several areas of the Roman empire from the third century AD onwards.[98]

The towers, which appear to have been of an original build with the wall, were entered at ground level by narrow doorways through the wall. The lintels were reused columns, which were also employed to bond the towers into the structure of the wall. At the W end of this section fronting the stoa the footings of a gate with square towers were excavated in 1906.[99] The western tower projected from the angle of the wall in two directions, and its construction, along with that of the gate, was secondary to, and of a rougher character than, the rest of the

[92] Paus. iii. 14. 1. This interpretation finds the support of Torelli (n. 5), 210–11.

[93] Kleomenes III (regn. 235–221 BC): Cartledge and Spawforth, 49–58; Nabis (regn. *c.*207–192 BC): ibid. 59–79. No such memorial is attested, however, by Paus.

[94] Above, n. 86.

[95] Cartledge and Spawforth, 108–14.

[96] See below, §10, no. 11 (RSW 3, 2002.40).

[97] R. Traquair, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 417–29; Gregory (n. 22), 14–21, esp. 20–1; Cartledge and Spawforth, 122; 126; 218 no. 10.

[98] J. J. Wilkes, 'Civil defence in third-century Achaia', in Walker and Cameron (n. 21), 187–92.

[99] Traquair (n. 97), 420–1, figs. 5–6.

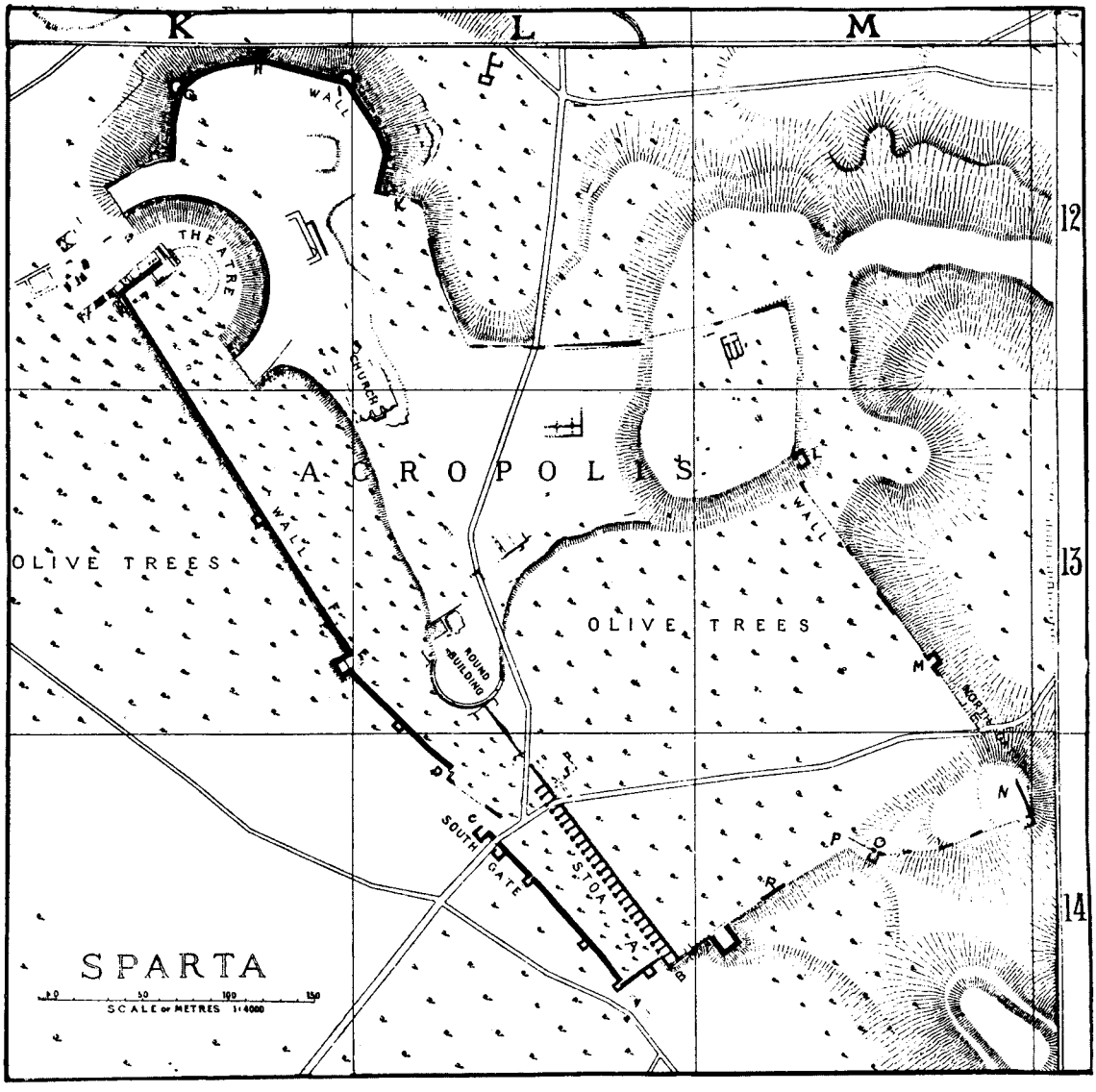


FIG. 14. Plan of late fortification walls (after Sejk).

wall fronting the stoa. The entrance would have been cut through the wall in a secondary phase, following the blocking of the original entrance through the late wall leading up to this area of the acropolis.

To the W of the later gate the late wall changes its line and breaks back for about one-third of the distance (*c.*11 m) towards the line of the stoa (point C on the 1906 survey). Behind the west tower of the secondary gate there is a short section of wall (preserved to a length of *c.*12 m), set on the new alignment and standing to a height of *c.*4 m. The 1906 survey indicates that this section continued for *c.*30 m to a point where it breaks back to follow another different

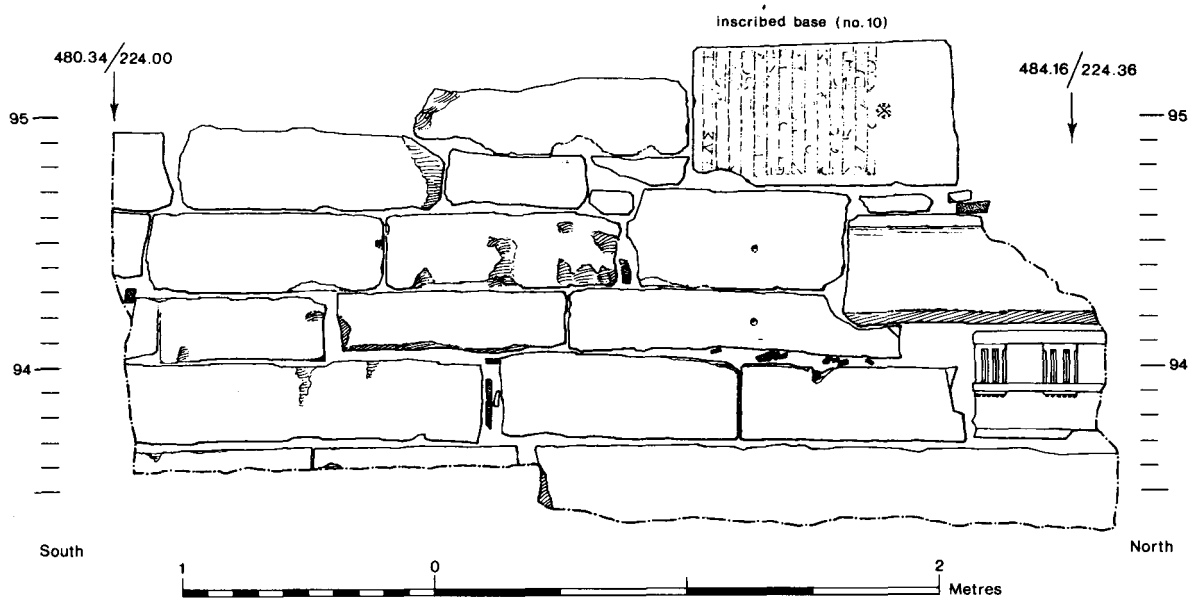


FIG. 15. E-facing elevation of newly-discovered stretch of late fortification wall in trench RSC 3.

alignment, closer to that in front of the stoa (point D on the 1906 survey). The thickness of the section of wall between points C and D (*c.*2 m at the base) is barely half that of the rest of the wall in this area, and it seems most likely that it represents a later decision to bridge a gap or re-entrant in the original course of the acropolis defences at this location. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by the discovery in 1991 at the S end of trench RSC 3 of a section of defensive wall, representing an in-turn from the stretch in front of the stoa and perhaps connected with a gate leading up to the acropolis.[100] The 10 m long section of newly discovered wall lies just W of bay XXIV of the S front of the stoa. It follows a roughly N–S alignment, and was at least 3 m thick with a core of mortared rubble, including numerous small fragments of worked stone. On its E side it was faced with well-fitted courses of reused architectural elements, including Doric columns, a Doric frieze, and an inscribed statue base (FIG. 15). A southward continuation of this line would meet the E–W wall fronting the stoa precisely on the W side of the point where Traquair located the second gate and flanking tower in the 1906 excavations. Therefore it may be suggested that in this area the acropolis wall originally turned inwards to the point where the vaulted compartments of the stoa ended (W side of RS XXIV), to form a re-entrant in which the principal gate into the acropolis was located and no doubt well defended by the walls flanking the approach to it. At a later date the re-entrant was closed off by the later section of narrow wall, and a new gate was constructed at its E end.

[100] See above, §2, RSC 1, 2, 3.

South-east of the Round Building (point D on the 1906 survey) the original acropolis wall is once more visible to its full thickness of *c.*3.80 m, heading W in the direction of the theatre for a distance of *c.*300 m until it joins the complex of buildings which lay to the rear of the stage building (*scaena*) of the theatre. In this section of the wall, which was followed by a continuous trench in the 1906 excavations, the exterior lower facing-courses incorporated many reused blocks, dressed back where necessary to the face of the wall. There were also many fragments of marble revetting, both white and coloured, including moulded facing-ornament, typical of Roman buildings dating to the second and early third centuries AD. The line of the wall was determined by existing buildings, with towers located at points where changes of alignment were enforced, for example at tower E (on the 1906 survey), where the wall returns to a line parallel with that of the Roman stoa and the *parodoi* of the theatre. From here the wall turns northward at a right angle to follow the W side of the theatre complex, where it appears to have been constructed almost entirely from reused blocks from the theatre and adjacent structures, including some large frieze blocks in local marble with a carved ornament of swags and bucrania. In this stretch the remains of a gateway survive, leading out westwards from behind the stage building, suggesting that the line of the fortifications on the S side of the acropolis included a main E–W thoroughfare running just inside the walls from at least as far as the Round Building, if not from the E end of the Roman stoa.[101] Thereafter the wall turned again at a right angle to the W, as the massive bulk of the theatre's cavea and its retaining wall were employed to form the SW corner of the acropolis defences without significant modification. Throughout its course along the S side of the acropolis, no traces have so far been observed of any associated outworks or ditches, although these might be anticipated in an area where the approach to the acropolis hill is relatively gentle.

In the NW quarter the wall encloses the summit of the acropolis following a polygonal line, in which there were three towers (G, H, and I on the 1906 survey) but evidently no gate. There is no indication that the higher western summit was ever walled off as an inner citadel, although that could have been effected with comparatively little effort. Much less of the perimeter wall is now visible in the northern sector. Some reused material was employed, but neither in the quantity nor in the systematic fashion observed in the south. Most of the facing-blocks have long since been stripped away from any upstanding section, leaving only occasional columns protruding from the exposed inner core. The course of the wall was set to enclose two lesser summits towards the N and NE of the main acropolis hill, and this section was flanked by at least four square projecting towers of which two are partly preserved (L and M on the 1906 survey), the second being constructed almost entirely from a Roman building of the Corinthian order. To the E of tower M the remains of a north gate are visible, where a paved roadway passes through the line of the wall just before it ascends steeply to a summit (marked 'N' on the 1906 survey), where the line of the wall turns a right angle to the S. On the S side of this summit the remains of a tower (O on the 1906 survey) are still upstanding, and reveal the use of wooden beams to give stability and strength to the lower part of the structure, the usual supply of architectural blocks suitable for reuse perhaps not being available in that quarter. The best-preserved stretch of the acropolis wall is to be found thereafter in the straight section on the E side of the hill, where it survives for a length of *c.*15 m and stands

[101] For this interpretation see Traquair (n. 97), 428. He was unaware, however, of the existence of the W gateway beside the stage building of the theatre, not revealed until Woodward's excavations of 1927: *BSA* 28 (1926–7), 35 [check].

nearly 8 m high, but at 2.60 m thick is more than a metre narrower than the wall on the S. The lower core of loosely dumped mortared rubble is faced with reused blocks in courses 0.45 to 0.60 m high. A decorative effect is achieved in the outer face by the use of alternating courses in blocks of marble and poros stone, and at a higher level by an alternation in the same course between blocks of marble or poros and column-drums.

The discovery in 1991 of a new section of the acropolis wall on an unexpected N–S alignment seems to offer an explanation, as discussed above, for what had appeared an untidy confusion in the visible remains on the S side between the end of the stoa section and the Round Building. The 1906 excavators had associated the original construction date of the acropolis wall with the Herulian raids of AD 267–8 rather than the destructive presence of Alaric and the Visigoths in Achaia at the end of the fourth century. However, the small amount of diagnostic pottery recovered from the layers below and beside the newly discovered section of wall in trench RSC 3, while not entirely ruling out an association with the Herulian raids, seems very much to favour an original construction date late in the fourth century, whether occasioned by the earthquake of 375 or the arrival of Alaric in 396, or a mixture of both.[102] A full walling-off of the S side of the Acropolis also seems unlikely as long as normal town life flourished in the residential quarters to the S, beneath the streets of modern Sparta, and there is plenty of evidence in the form of mosaic pavements recovered from rescue excavations that a luxurious lifestyle continued well into the fourth century. The severe earthquake of 375 would also be a more reasonable provider of the large quantities of architectural spolia and statue-bases incoporated in the foundations of the wall than the depredations (if any) which may have resulted from the incursions of the Heruli.[103]

The excavators of 1906 paid close attention to the structural phasing and dating of the perimeter walls, and many of their observations remain valid today. Nevertheless one hesitates to follow Traquair's analysis and his conclusion that the stretch of wall fronting the stoa on the S side is of an earlier date than that between the Round Building and the theatre, on the grounds that the former is generally devoid of architectural spolia while the latter abounds in it.[104] Visual comparison of the two sections in their current state does not confirm Traquair's analysis on this point. Moreover, he suggested that the secondary south gate which he excavated replaced that alongside the E end of the stoa which, he argues, remained in use after the first construction of the perimeter wall. That is now to be questioned, in the light of the possibility that an original south gate of the acropolis wall lay somewhere between the end of the stoa vaults and the Round Building, from the evidence of the N–S section of wall located in 1991. The quantity of spolia employed is likely to have been determined by what was available in the vicinity. Building an effective defence in this manner does not require a supply of fresh-cut stones, but still needs the presence of craftsmen to produce the façade secure against the battering-ram. Moreover, the Herulian defences at Athens and Olympia, both revealed fully since the 1906 excavations, are constructed almost in their entirety of spolia, and it is now demonstrably unwise to follow Traquair in using this as a diagnostic feature and assigning an earlier phase at Sparta to the time of the Heruli and a later one to that of Alaric.[105] The

[102] See above, §3, trenches RSC 1, 2, 3, phases IV–V.

[103] Cartledge and Spawforth, 122–6.

[104] Traquair (n. 97), 428–9.

[105] Wilkes (n. 98). For the post-Herulian wall at Athens, see now A. Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, xxiv: *Late Antiquity: AD 267–700* (Princeton, 1988), 5–11, with appendix by J. Travlos, pp. 125–41. For Olympia see A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Munich, 1972), 110–12; *Olympia Bericht*, vi, 1953–4, 1954–5 (1958), 5–6.

absence of any medieval spolia in the defences, a point noted by Traquair, does seem to place their construction in the late Roman period: that is, before the collapse of the political and institutional structure in the region following the Slav invasions of the early seventh century.[106] Conceivably the citizens of Sparta may have walled off the most exposed part of the acropolis in the face of a perceived threat from the Heruli; but the much longer-lasting and more widespread state of alarm which attended the presence of Alaric and his people in 396 seems on balance the most likely occasion for the construction of the acropolis defence wall. Once in existence, the circuit will have determined the pattern of occupation in the area, and any sense of security afforded by what remained of the much more extensive perimeter of hellenistic and Roman walls first erected under the rule of Nabis must now have vanished for good.[107] The acropolis walls, no doubt many times repaired, were still the protection for the prince of Achaia and his court at Lakedaimonia following the Frankish conquest in 1205, until the construction of Mistra in 1248.

## 8. Medieval Reuse of the Roman Stoa: The Church and Monastery of St Nikon Metanoeites

All three areas that were excavated revealed considerable reuse of the remains of the Roman stoa during the medieval reoccupation of Sparta. At the W end in the RSW trenches small-roomed structures, in all probability houses, were built directly upon the concrete platform of the stoa in the early twelfth century, at the start of a phase of continuous habitation that lasted about 150 years (see above, §§2–3). In trenches RS XI and XII and RSC 1–3, where the lower range of vaulted compartments would still have survived intact in the medieval period, there was evidence of reconstruction on a grander scale. This involved the clearing out of post-Roman deposits from the apsed compartments of RS XI and XII down to the late Roman floor level at some time before the mid-twelfth century, and the construction in front of these compartments of a church with impressive wall-paintings and numerous burials.

Because of the unusual association of a Byzantine church with a two-storeyed Roman stoa, Pamela Armstrong made the suggestion at the end of the 1989 season that we might have come upon the site of the church and monastery of St Nikon Metanoeites, reported in his extant *Life* to have been founded at Sparta in the remains of a stoa by this famous tenth-century saint.[108] Previous scholarship has tended to associate the church of St Nikon with the basilican church on the acropolis of Sparta close to the theatre, but the topographical and architectural problems involved in such an identification have long been noted by the more careful critics.[109] Subsequent finds, and discussions with other Byzantine and medieval

[106] G. Huxley, *Monemvasia and the Slavs: A Lecture on Some Works of Historical Geography in the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (Athens, 1988), 5–21.

[107] A. J. B. Wace, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 283–8; 13 (1906–7), 5–16; Cartledge and Spawforth, 126; 217 no. 9.

[108] We are particularly grateful to Pamela Armstrong for making this suggestion, and for her subsequent help in providing many of the references contained in this section. She has kindly read through the discussion, but she is not responsible for any errors that may have been made.

[109] The suggestion was first made by W. A. Heurtley, *BSA* 27 (1925–6), 265, in the publication report of the excavations carried out at that time by the British School. His view found the support of A. Adamantiou, following fresh excavations reported in 'La ville de Lakedaimonia et la basilique de Saint-Nicon', *Deuxième congrès international des études byzantines* (Belgrade, 1929), 169; cf. id., *PAE* 1934, 126–8. M. E. Galanopoulos also favoured the identification with St Nikon in *Βίος, πολιτεία, εἰκονογραφία, θαύματα καὶ ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε* (Athens, 1933), but was criticized by P. Koukoulis, *Epet.* 11 (1935), 466–8, who decided against

specialists, have lent further weight to the possibility of the Roman stoa being the site of St Nikon's foundation.[110] The identification is still not positively confirmed, however, and the purpose of this section is to review the range of evidence pertaining to the question. In particular the references to the form and fabric of the church and monastery contained within the *Life of St Nikon* will be listed and discussed, with a view to reaching a verdict of probability on the question of the identification. The references are derived from the recently published text, translation, and commentary by Denis F. Sullivan (1987), which is based on the 1982 edition of the text by O. Lampsidis.[111]

To consider first of all the chronology of the life of St Nikon: it is apparent from internal references in the *Life* that he lived between about AD 930 and 1000. Although few of the dates are certain, the overall sequence given below is unlikely to be out by more than five years, because we are told that he went to Crete soon after its liberation from the Arabs in 961. He came to Sparta around 970, and is likely to have founded the church and monastery by 975. He died some time ('a sufficient time') after 997, when he would have been about 70.[112]

*Chronology*: lived *c.*AD 930–1000

| | |
|---|---|
| *c.*930 | born in Pontus Polemoniacus near Armenian *thema*, of wealthy parents (2. 11) |
| *c.*941 | entered monastery of Chryse Petra when he became a *meirax* (2. 30) |
| *c.*953 | after twelve years, left monastery and spent three years in wilderness (18. 1–2) |
| *c.*956 | spent unspecified time preaching in 'eastern regions' (20. 1) |
| 961 | travelled to Crete soon after its liberation from the Arabs by Nikephoros Phokas, and spent seven years 'counteracting Islam' by building churches and appointing priests and officials (21. 7) |
| *c.*968 | crossed to mainland Greece, landing at Damala (Epidauros) and visiting Aigina, Salamis, Piraeus, Chalkis, Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and Nauplion (21. 47–31. 3) |
| *c.*970 | headed for Sparta via Mani, Kalamata, Korone, Methone, Messene, and Arkadia (31. 4) |
| *c.*970–5 | Travelled to Amyklai as Sparta was plague-ridden. Invited by elders of Sparta to come to rescue the city. Overcame plague by banishing the Jews. Made Sparta his home, and founded the church and monastery (33–8). |
| *c.*987 | predicted fate of Bardas Skleros to *strategos* Gregorios (39. 83–4) |
| 996 | reference to Bulgarian attack on isthmus of Corinth (40. 4–5) |
| 997 | accusation against John Malakenos (43. 9–10) |
| *c.*1000 | reported to have died 'a sufficient time' after this accusation was refuted (44. 1) |

the acropolis location after weighing the evidence contained in the *Life*. Koukoulis' view was in turn challenged by G. A. Sotiriou, who resumed the excavations and reported on them in ''Ανασκαφαὶ ἐν ἀρχαίᾳ Σπάρτῃ', *PAE* 1939, 107–18 (with plan of the buildings on p. 118). The authoritative view of P. Vokotopoulos, based on a study of the architecture, is that the church is not that of St Nikon but an earlier basilica of the second half of the 6th or the early 7th cent., reused in the middle Byzantine period: see *'Η ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ εἰς τὴν δυτικὴν στερεὰν 'Ελλάδα καὶ τὴν ''Ηπειρον ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 7ου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 10ου αἰῶνος* (Thessaloniki, 1975), 204 n. 2; and *Πελοποννησιακά*, supp. 6.2 (1975), 270–85; cf. also Cartledge and Spawforth, 213; 221 no. 44.

[110] We are indebted to Michael Angold, George Huxley, and Michael Martin for discussing different aspects of the problem, and for supplying some helpful bibliography. The background to the history of Sparta between the late Roman and middle Byzantine periods is treated by Huxley (n. 106). Documentary evidence for Venetian trade with Sparta in the 12th cent. (mostly in olive oil), with refs. to churches (including the Venetian church of St Nicholas dedicated at Sparta by 1168), is to be found in R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziano dei secoli xi–xiii* (Turin, 1940); A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca, *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneziano dei secoli xi–xiii* (Venice, 1953); S. Borsari, *Venezia e Bisanzio nel xii secolo: i rapporti economici* (Miscellanea di studi e memorie, 26; Venice, 1988). A report of a pilgrimage to St Nikon's at Sparta early in the 14th cent. is to be found in J. Longnon (ed.), *Livre de conquête*, paras. 921–2.

[111] D. F. Sullivan, *The Life of St Nikon* (Hellenic College Press, Brookline, Mass., 1987); O. Lampsidis, *'O ἐκ Πόντου ὅσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε* (Athens, 1982).

[112] Sullivan (n. 111), 18–19.

The author of the *Life of St Nikon* was an unnamed man who, as he tells us in chapter 68, was appointed abbot of the monastery 'at the time of the concurrent eleventh indiction, the 6,650th year'.[113] As Byzantine dating counted from a beginning of the world in 5508 BC, this would give a date of AD 1142 for the appointment of the abbot, but as this does not fit with the eleventh indiction some emendation is necessary. Lampsidis proposed emending 6,650 to 6,656, giving a date of AD 1148 for the commencement of the author's abbotship.[114] Sullivan, however, argues on the basis of internal evidence for an emendation of 6,650 to 6,550, with a resultant date of AD 1042.[115] Supposing the *Life* to have been written shortly after the author became abbot, there are therefore two possible dates for its composition: either *c.*1050 or *c.*1150. Which of these is preferable is difficult to determine. If the Roman stoa is the site of the church and monastery, possibly the archaeological evidence would favour the later, mid-twelfth-century date for the composition: perhaps *c.*1150–75, soon after the second phase of wall-paintings had been carried out, which it might be possible to associate with the refurbishment by an earlier abbot Gregorios, mentioned in chapter 58. This brings us to the detail of references to the topography and architecture of the church and monastery contained in the *Life*, to which we now turn.

*References in the Life of St. Nikon to his church and monastery*

35 Nikon summons people of Sparta to central church (καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία = (?) acropolis basilica), to which he goes up (ἄνεισιν). Then leads procession to market-place (*agora*), carrying three stones, and places stones on ground near market-place (ἀχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς) as site for church. Church dedicated to the Soter, the Mother of God, and the eminent martyr Kyriake. All citizens, men and women alike, clear site of rubbish (φορυτόν) and help collect building material. Plan marked out with a rope. He (re)builds the stoas below and those lying above with great technical skill (τάς τε κάτω στοὰς καὶ τὰς ὑπερκειμένας εἰργάσατο). Having enclosed the building on all sides, he fits the roof (dome?).

37 Iron chains and holy cowl of Nikon displayed within precinct as objects of reverence.

38 Completion of the 'divine church and holy hermitage, or rather holy inn and refuge' (θεῖος ναός, ἱερὸν φροντιστήριον, ἱερὸν καταγώγιον καὶ σκηνή). Church encompassed by beauty, gleaming and colourful columns, shining stones and paintings. Skilful technique and variety of material surpass work of Pheidias, Zeuxis, and Polygnotos. Bishop Theopemptos dedicates church. Miraculous increase in length of short column from altar-table.

39 Golden dove seen flying in the inner sanctum (ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις), where there is an ever-burning lamp. There is an exercise ground (γυμνάσιον) for ball-players and horse-riders below the divine house (ἔνερθεν τοῦ θείου οἴκου), from where noisy games disturb the evening hymn.

44 John Malakenos commissions posthumous portrait of Nikon to be done on wooden board. Made more realistic by the apparition of Nikon's ghost to the artist. The icon is 'to this day hung up and venerated in the holy and divine precinct'.

45 The dying Nikon reclines in the vestibule (ἐν τῷ προνάῳ) of the divine and holy hermitage.

48 After the death of Nikon his coffin (σορός) becomes the scene of miracles.

51 It was possible to touch the divine casket (προσψαῦσαι τῇ θεία κιβωτῷ).

53 Miracle of paralysed woman who 'lay below the vaults of the holy hermitage' (ἔκειτο μὲν ὑποκάτωθεν τῶν ἀψίδων τοῦ ἱεροῦ φροντιστηρίου). Healed by monkish apparition who 'came down the stairs from the divine church' (τινα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θείου νέω κλιμάκων κατίοντα) and bade her stand. She did so and 'immediately mounted the stairs' (εὐθὺς τῆς κλίμακος βαίνοντας).

55 Oil-lamp hung above the urn (κιβωρίου) of the holy tomb (ἱερᾶς θήκης), close to which was a circle of smooth, polished stone.

[113] Ibid. 2–3. This is the reading of the Barberini MS. The other extant version, the Koutloumousi, gives the year as 6,500th, which, as Sullivan notes, is highly improbable since it would fall within Nikon's lifetime at AD 992.

[114] Lampsidis (n. 111), 317–20.

[115] Sullivan (n. 111), 3–7. A similar emendation had been proposed by C. Mango and R. Jenkins, 'A synodicon of Antioch and Lacedaimonia,' *DOP* 15 (1961), 240.

58 Gregorios, abbot of monastery, goes to Constantinople to petition emperor for chrysobull to grant security to monastery. Tax-collector (κυβικυλάριος) who comes in his absence locks up monks and desecrates monastery. Frightened off by a vision of the holy man, he leaves seventy-two gold coins in the holy tomb, with which the abbot buys holy pyxides and vessels which remain 'in use to this very time'.
Gregorios 'scraped old age off the holy church and raised it to a splendid vision and most pleasing freshness'. He filled it with many decorations, gleaming and colourful columns, splendour of polished stone and 'everywhere pictures of precise craftsmanship and varied material'. In addition he 'surrounded it with bright colonnades and splendid forecourts and stairways. . . . He beautified it in every way and glorified it as even today the divine house appears'.

63 An afflicted boy called Luke, still living in writer's day as an aged priest, touched the coffin and in his dream 'seemed to be mounting the west stairway of the divine and holy house of the saint. There the commanding and divine icon bearing the name of Antiphonetes [Christ] is situated and there also the figure (ἀπεικόνισμα) of the great one is represented'.

66 Divine form and icon of saint miraculously inscribed and engraved on a stone slab, which of old used to be in the middle of the church, but later was placed in the forecourt (προτεμένισμα) of the divine church near the holy grave. On it was engraved the form of the cross-bearing staff.

67 Stephen (still living in the author's day) took oil from the 'workroom of the monastery, where the fruits of the olive trees were customarily crushed and with tools and stone weights oil squeezed out'.

68 The unnamed writer of the *Life of Nikon* took over the abbotship of the monastery 'at the time of the concurrent eleventh indiction, the 6,650th year' ( = AD 1142; Lampsides emends to '6,656th' = AD 1148; Sullivan argues for AD 1042).

75 Story of recent miracle. A young boy who stole a purse was locked in one of the cells (κέλλας) of the monks. In panic he hurled himself head-first through the window of the cell looking south into the market-place, and was dashed against the stone-paved stairway. The height was no less than 6 fathoms (ἓξ οὐργίας = 36–37 feet, the height of the monastery). The child was unhurt except for his right thigh, and made a full recovery within fifteen days. Later, when a large crowd gathered, 'some of those from the monastery . . . made a test. They threw (not from the very height of the window, as being too high and extending to a great altitude, but from the parapet (ἔπαλξις) which lay below and was less high) some types of fruit on to the stone steps where the child was dashed and preserved unharmed. And each time the fruit was crushed and reduced to pulp'.

76 Love and kindness of the great man to all who live in the land of Sparta, and to all who travel by sea.

77 Epilogue by abbot author. May holy Nikon protect from on high the monastery, 'my pride and my delight' (τὸ ἐμὸν ἐντρύφημα καὶ καλλώπισμα).

All the references cited above have something to tell us about the location, architectural form and internal decoration of the buildings, but the most important are chapter 35 for the site and foundation of the church, chapters 38 and 58 for the rich finish with wall-paintings and columns, and chapter 75 for the location, orientation, and height of the monastery. There was at least one painted wooden icon of the saint (ch. 44), and perhaps another engraved on stone (ch. 66).[116] The coffin and tomb of the saint, which play a major part in the account, were situated in the vestibule of the church (ch. 45), and were the scene of many miracles (*passim*).

How closely, then, do the descriptions in the *Life* match the finds from the site of the Roman stoa? The answer is quite well, in most respects. We are told that the church was built into the remains of an earlier stoa, which had higher and lower parts, i.e. was two-storeyed (ch. 35), and this fits very well with the area of RS XI and XII, where the remains of the actual church came to light. The monastery itself, with its cells for the monks, was S-facing, and there was a considerable height of 36 feet on the S side (ch. 75). Given the topography of Byzantine

[116] The only surviving portrait of St Nikon is the representation in mosaic of his head and upper body in the narthex of the church of Osios Loukas: E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Harvard, 1931), ill. 25, p. 93 (no. 80).

Sparta, this means that it must have been located somewhere along the S side of the acropolis area within the defensive walls, and the only known stoa in precisely the right spot is the Roman stoa. The height of the surviving lower storey of the stoa, *c.*6.35 m or nearly 21 feet, is in reasonable agreement with the height of 36 feet given for the monastery at this point, since it presumably had at least two storeys. There are several other references that ring true. The vaults beneath which the paralysed woman is placed (ch. 53) are well attested on the lower S side, and the inner sanctum referred to (ch. 39), with its ever-burning lamp, may well have been the principal apsed rooms of RS XI and XII, enclosed and darkened by the building of the church in front of them. It is possible that even the bronze hanging lamp has been recovered. We are told that the site was cleared out of rubbish (ch. 35), and this would agree with the absence of pre-twelfth-century deposits in RS XI and XII. The wall-paintings discovered so far seem rich enough to support the somewhat enraptured description of the internal decoration (ch. 38), and even the olive-crusher from the workroom (ch. 67) may have been found in the northern part of the RSC trench.

What of the proximity to the agora? We are told (ch. 35) that the three stones which Nikon carried from the central church to the agora were placed near the market-place for the site of his church, while the cell from which the boy-thief fell (ch. 75) looked south into the agora. We do not know where the market-place of Byzantine Sparta was located, any more than that of Roman Sparta. It seems likely, however, that the Roman stoa delimited part of the Roman agora, situated either S of it (in which case the main agora would be the *plateia* to the N), or N of it (in which case the agora would have lain to the S, beneath the modern football stadium). Alternatively, it may have divided the agora into upper and lower parts, in similar fashion to the agora at Roman Corinth. The same range of possibilities applies to the Byzantine agora of Sparta. It may have been N of the Roman stoa, S of it, or divided by it. The references in ch. 35 and particularly ch. 75 imply that the agora was in the area S of the stoa in the field of Andrakakos. If this were the case, then there would clearly be no problem in associating the monastery of Nikon with the stoa. Even if the agora were on the broad *plateia* to the N of the stoa, the monastery, if located in the stoa, will still have backed on to it, and will have had the elevated, S-facing location so evidently implied by the story in ch. 75. The location of the exercise ground for ball-players and horse-riders (ch. 39) depends on where the agora was. This, too, may have been situated within the field of Andrakakos, inside the line of the walls, where the proximity to the church would clearly cause offence. Alternatively, it may have been located outside the walls where the modern stadium of Sparta is sited, and from where the cries of football-players still distract the attention of visitors to the stoa.

It should be noted that there are a number of points mentioned in the *Life* for which correspondences have not yet been found in the excavated finds: in particular, stairways. We are informed that there was a stairway at the W end (ch. 63), there was a stairway leading from the church down to the vault in which the woman lay (ch. 53), and there was a stone-paved stairway on which the young thief fell but was miraculously unharmed (ch. 75). While there must have been some kind of stairway at the W end of the lower vaulted compartments in RSC trench to communicate between the different levels, nothing has actually been found. Similarly, the one step that leads from the church into the inner apse of RS XII is hardly sufficient in itself to be called a staircase. Nowhere, as yet, is there any evidence for a stone staircase like that of chapter 75, which is something of a puzzle, as the original two-storeyed stoa must have had them at some point.

Likewise the tomb of the saint has not yet been discovered. The burial that came to light in RS XII before an entrance into the church, which might otherwise have qualified, contained

the principal burial of a man who was not more than 25 years old and so cannot have been St Nikon. Nevertheless there are sufficient burials of the right date and type for a monastery church, and so far only the innermost NW corner of the church proper has been uncovered. It is more likely that the tomb of the great man will have been situated further S, underneath the surface of the still unexcavated field of Andrakakos.

To sum up and conclude. There does seem to be a strong likelihood from the archaeological, architectural, and textual evidence that the Roman stoa was the site chosen for the church and monastery of St Nikon. The evidence is by no means totally conclusive, but the topography and the architectural details do seem to fit, much better in any event than is the case for the basilica church on the higher acropolis. That appears to be of earlier design than the time of Nikon, and is more likely to be the central church where Nikon gathered together the people of Sparta before leading them off to found his new dedication. The only sure answer to the question lies in further excavation. If the field of Andrakakos is one day available for investigation, we shall know for certain whether we have the site and remains of the monastery and church of St Nikon.

## 9. Conclusions: The Place of the Roman Stoa in the Topography of Ancient Sparta

The difficulties that beset any attempt to understand the topography of ancient Sparta in relation to the landscape of the modern city are well known.[117] Despite the detailed account by Pausanias (iii. 11. 1–18. 5) of the buildings and monuments of the ancient city as they existed *c.* AD 160, and despite more than one hundred years of systematic or rescue excavations carried out by American, British, and Greek archaeologists, the locations of only three or four of the buildings mentioned by Pausanias are known for certain, and it is still not possible to formulate a proposal for the overall layout of the city that meets with general approval.[118] The problems arise mainly from the failure to locate the ancient market-place or agora, which Pausanias visits and describes first (although he makes no attempt at all to relate it to the surrounding topography), and which he then uses as the starting-point for his several tours around the monuments and sights of the city.[119] A detailed review of the history of the study of Spartan topography has recently been published by Conrad Stibbe,[120] and there is no need to

[117] Cartledge and Spawforth, 127. These authors provide a useful account of what is known of the Roman city and its territory (pp. 127–42) and supply a catalogue of sites and monuments (app. 1, pp. 216–25).

[118] For Paus.'s date see Habicht (n. 5), 8–13. The monuments at Sparta mentioned by Paus. whose whereabouts have been ascertained are the sanctuary and temple of Athena Chalkioikos on the summit of the acropolis (iii. 17. 2–3), the theatre on the S slope of the acropolis (14. 1), and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Limnai (16. 7–11). The remains of the sanctuary of Lycurgus (16. 6) may also have been located on the W bank of the Eurotas, just downstream from the modern bridge: *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 295–302.

[119] Paus. iii. 11. 2–11, for his account of the agora. He then sets out on four separate journeys, apparently visiting each quarter of Sparta in turn: (i) 12. 1–9, along Aphetaïs St. to the quarter Mesoa somewhere in the S of the city; (ii) 12. 10–13. 9, probably to the quarter known as Kynosoura, also likely to have been in the S part (whether SE or SW is not known); (iii) 14. 1–15. 9, past the theatre towards the quarter of Pitane in the NW; (iv) 15. 10–17. 1, taking in the NE quarter of Limnai. (v) A final journey is then made to the acropolis and the area of Alpeion to the N (17. 1–18. 5). Stibbe makes a valiant attempt to follow P.'s route (see esp. his fig. 3 on p. 67), but his somewhat eccentric location of the agora causes him to introduce a rather confusing 'intermezzo' between (iii) and (iv). If Mesoa were situated in the SE of the city and Kynosoura in the SW (and not the other way round, as Stibbe places them), P.'s visit would be in an orderly clockwise sequence, revolving around the agora and culminating in the acropolis.

[120] Stibbe, 61–99.

rehearse the arguments here, although it may be noted that the solutions offered by Stibbe find almost no common ground with the proposals put forward in a still more recent commentary on Pausanias by Musti and Torelli.[121] What is attempted here is much more modest. Some conclusions will be drawn concerning the form, function, and location of the Roman stoa, and a few suggestions will be made about the implications for the topography of Roman Sparta, particularly with regard to the whereabouts of the agora, although the solution to this must ultimately be sought in further excavation.

The chief point to emphasize concerning the Roman stoa that has emerged from the recent excavations is its impressiveness as a building. Although it has sometimes in the past been dismissed simply as a row of shops or a terracing of the hillside,[122] it was in fact an imaginatively designed, solidly constructed, and expensively finished marble stoa, built on a gigantic scale that can scarcely have been exceeded anywhere in Roman Greece. From its location it was clearly intended to articulate and lend grandeur to two important areas of central Sparta, the higher plateau of Palaiókastro to the north and the lower ground to the south that sloped down to the main residential areas of the city. From the evidence of stratigraphy beneath the foundations of the stoa in trenches RSC and RSW, there is little doubt that it was constructed in the first half of the second century AD, and there is a reasonable presumption, both from its architectural style and from the concomitant reshaping of the Round Building nearby, that this took place during the later part of Hadrian's reign, *c.* AD 130, perhaps under the dominant, local patronage of C. Iulius Eurykles Herculanus. We are dealing, therefore, with one of the largest and most impressive buildings of Roman Sparta, which must have been in existence, probably some twenty-five to thirty years old, at the time of Pausanias' visit, whether or not he chose to refer to it in his account.

There is clear evidence from beam-holes at the SE corner that the Roman stoa was colonnaded, not only on the long S side, but also around the shorter E-facing return. A colonnaded corner carries with it the implication that there were adjacent streets or thoroughfares intersecting at right angles, one running E–W along the S edge of the acropolis hill, the other running N–S, almost exactly aligned on the ancient bridge by which travellers approaching Sparta from the N crossed the river Eurotas. In fact the E–W street has been proven to exist by excavation behind the stage building of the theatre, and if one allows for the projection of the colonnade along the S front of the stoa, it could have run in a perfectly straight line from the stoa to the theatre, passing the podium façade beneath the Round Building, which was slightly off-line compared with the street. So important was this route that it was incorporated within the walls of late Roman Sparta, where it must have served as one the principal internal lines of communication, a function it may still have retained in the medieval city. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that one of the city-planning functions of the Roman stoa in the Hadrianic reshaping of Sparta was to lend emphasis to this main artery along the S side of the acropolis, and at the same time to supply a square shape to the plateau N of the stoa. Given that this main E–W street leads to the back of the theatre's stage building, it is hard to believe it was not the one followed by Pausanias when he headed W

[121] Musti and Torelli (n. 5) esp. introduction, x–xvi; commentary, 191–233. See also M. Torelli in M. Gnade (ed.), *Stips Votiva: Papers Presented to C. M. Stibbe* (Amsterdam, 1991), 225–32.

[122] The Roman stoa as a row of shops or *tabernae*: Stibbe, 77. As substructure for a terrace: Musti and Torelli (n. 5), xi; 192–3, developed further by Torelli in Gnade (n. 121), 225–6.

from the agora and came soon afterwards to the theatre.[123] This does not necessarily imply that the Roman stoa was on some part of the agora, although, given the scale and magnificence of it, it is perhaps a reasonable inference that it was.

Before examining this question in greater detail, there are grounds for supposing that another principal street ran S from the W end of the Roman stoa, roughly on the line of the present visitor's approach to the acropolis area. Here was the gateway which guarded the principal entrance to Sparta from Amyklai in the medieval period, and from the evidence of trench RSC 3 it seems that a still more grandiose entrance was located here at the time that the late defensive wall was built *c.* AD 400. It is a fair supposition that this represented a fortified version of an earlier gateway which led through the line of the Roman stoa to give access to the higher plateau and acropolis. If this did not exist, the acropolis area would have been cut off at this point, since the N wall of the stoa in trench RSW is continued right up to and over the crepidoma of the Round Building. If this street ran parallel to the N–S street E of the Roman stoa, it would have further contributed to a grid-system of main arteries for the N part of Sparta which seems to be picked up by the evidence of lesser streets revealed by recent rescue excavations.[124]

Turning to the question of the implications of the Roman stoa for the location of the agora of ancient Sparta, we are frankly not much further advanced than the 'topographical conclusions' drawn by Dickins in 1906.[125] There remain today, as there were then, two favourite locations for the agora, neither of which can be conclusively proved: either the flat ground S of the Roman stoa, mostly located outside the late defences and under the modern football and athletic stadium, or the higher-level plateau of Palaiókastro N of the Roman stoa, contained within the eastern part of the late fortification walls. Dickins argued strongly in favour of the former, noting the large numbers of official inscriptions evidently derived from the agora that were built into the late defensive walls along the southern stretch from the SE angle to W of the Round Building. He even went so far as to suggest that the Roman stoa was a late restoration of the Persian stoa mentioned by Pausanias, noting that such a building 'is most naturally accounted for in the Agora'.[126] We know now, from the recent excavations, that if the association with the Persian stoa is made, the Roman stoa has to be the version of it seen by Pausanias, and not some subsequent restoration as Dickins supposed. This is possible, of course, as discussed above, but again it cannot be conclusively proved, and is best left out of the present discussion. Stibbe, too, favours a site for the agora S of the acropolis hill, but divorces it completely from the Roman stoa, placing it mainly under the modern stadium and orientating it almost onto the alignment of the modern street plan of Sparta, neither of which seems very likely.[127] The case for the agora being S of the Roman stoa has not been assisted by such excavations as have taken place in this area. Limited excavation undertaken by the British School in 1949 prior to the levelling of the stadium revealed the remains of residential rather than public building,[128] and similar results were obtained by Woodward in the region S of the theatre, where it is known there was also at least one bath building.[129]

[123] Paus. iii. 14. 1. This interpretation, a key factor in attempting to understand the topography of ancient Sparta, has been accepted by most previous commentators, e.g. Dickins (below, n. 125), 433–4; Musti and Torelli (n. 5), 192.

[124] Evidence of a street line running N–S on a house plot on the N side of Odos Irakleidou, exposed to view on 27 Apr. 1992.

[125] Dickins, *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 431–9.

[126] Ibid. 433.

[127] Stibbe, 65–7, marked no. 1 on his fig. 3 (p. 67).

[128] R. V. Nicholls, *BSA* 45 (1950), 282–98, esp. 289; Cartledge and Spawforth, 223 no. 56.

[129] *BSA* 12 (1905–6), 405–6; 26 (1923–5), 118; Cartledge and Spawforth, 130, 219 no. 23.

The alternative location for the agora, on the Palaiókastro plateau N of the Roman stoa, was favoured by Leake and Curtius and has recently been supported by Torelli.[130] This is a very large area, some 200 m square, which must have contained many important buildings and was considered significant enough to be enclosed within the late defensive walls. We can deduce from Pausanias that it was not counted part of the acropolis of Sparta: that was restricted to the 'hill that rises highest into the air', on which was the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos.[131] Dickins suggested that the Palaiókastro plateau was not a suitable location for the agora, on the grounds that it was too elevated to be compatible with the phrase 'going down into the agora' used several times by Plutarch.[132] His argument, however, has been undermined by the excavations of Christou in 1964 to the N of the Round Building, which are still left open today.[133] These revealed the SW corner of a large *plateia* with rooms or offices contained within an impressive retaining wall of polygonal masonry, and a floor level more than 4 m below the modern surface. In the angle where the two walls met, a bronze statue of a third-century Roman empress was discovered, and stamped roof-tiles suggested the buildings were for public use. The wall on the S side of this *plateia* runs eastward on an alignment nearly parallel with that of the presumed north portico of the Roman stoa, and there is every reason to suppose, therefore, that the open space of which this formed the corner may have occupied most if not all of the ground within the eastern part of the late fortification walls. If so, it would be hard to find a more suitable location for Sparta's agora: there will have been plenty of space for the temples, altars, and public buildings mentioned by Pausanias, and room enough in addition to have accommodated the four thousand men whom Xenophon says were able to congregate there.[134]

Whichever location turns out to be correct, it is likely that the Roman stoa formed part of the agora, either delimiting its northern side or serving to extend its southern perimeter in the Hadrianic period. Conceivably it may have served a dual role, effecting a transition from a higher to a lower agora. It could be argued, perhaps, that for Pausanias to go from the agora westwards towards the theatre, the agora would need to extend to a point south of the Roman stoa and the Round Building. In this case the road along the south side of the acropolis hill would have represented the southern limit of the agora. Whether the Roman stoa represents a Hadrianic reconstruction of the Persian stoa is impossible to be sure. Its scale and finish would allow this to be so, as discussed above, and the text of Pausanias implies that the Persian stoa had been extended and refurbished.[135] That the Persian stoa is the only large stoa mentioned by Pausanias need not be conclusive, since he states at the outset that he intends to be selective in his description of Sparta. Clearly it would be rash to make such an identification given the poor state of knowledge of the Palaiókastro area. The best hopes of elucidating this and other problems of Spartan topography rest, as always, in future excavations.

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*University College London* J. J. WILKES

[130] W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), i. 170; E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii (Gotha, 1852), 230; Musti and Torelli (n. 5); Torelli, in Gnade (n. 121), 225–6. For L.'s travels see now J. M. Wagstaff, 'Colonel Leake in Laconia', in J. M. Sanders (n. 73), 277–83.

[131] Paus. iii. 17. 1–2.

[132] Dickins (n. 125), 433. The refs. in Plut. are *Ages.* 29; *Lyc.* 25; *Agis*, 12.

[133] Christou (n. 75 *ter*).

[134] Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3. 5. Cf. Stibbe, 66.

[135] Paus. iii. 11. 3. See above, §5 for discussion.

(a)

(b)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
(*a*) Aerial view of SE acropolis area looking E, showing Roman stoa and late fortification wall. (Photo: R. Anderson.) (*b*) Roman stoa: vaulted compartment RS XVI, actual state.

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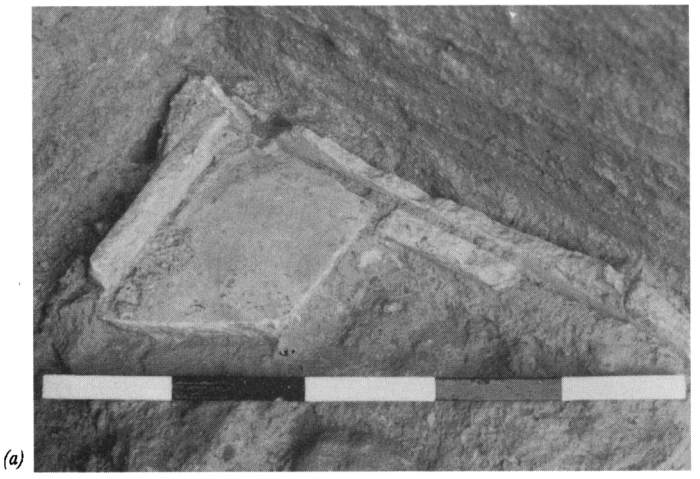
PLATE 54

(a)

(b)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
Roman stoa. (*a*) Apsed compartment RS XII. (*b*) SE angle with ashlar masonry.

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
Roman stoa: apsed compartments RS XI and XII at completion of excavations.



(a)

(b)

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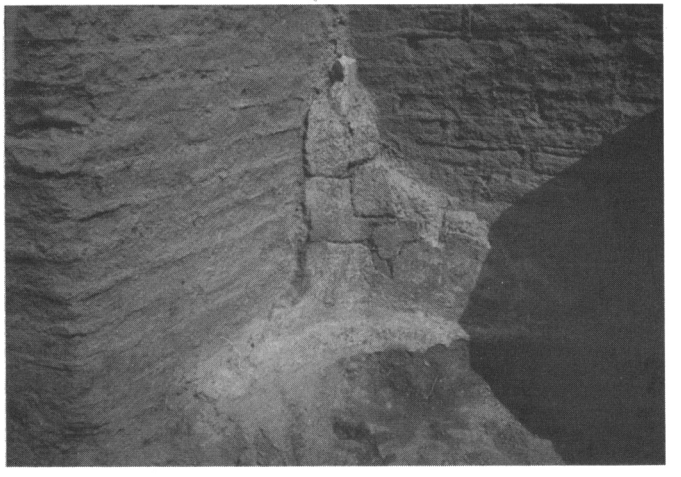

(d)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

Marble decoration. (*a*) Veneer in rectangular niche of RS XII. (*b*) Revetment on apse ledge of RS XII. (*c*) Veneer in semicircular niche of RS XI. (*d*) Veneer beneath overlay of plaster in NE angle of RS XI.

(a)

(b)

(c)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*) Detail of marble veneer and plaster overlay in NE angle of RS XI. (*b*) Marble plugs in brickwork of RS XI, which secured retaining clamps of marble veneer. (*c*) Church structures in SE area of RS XII.

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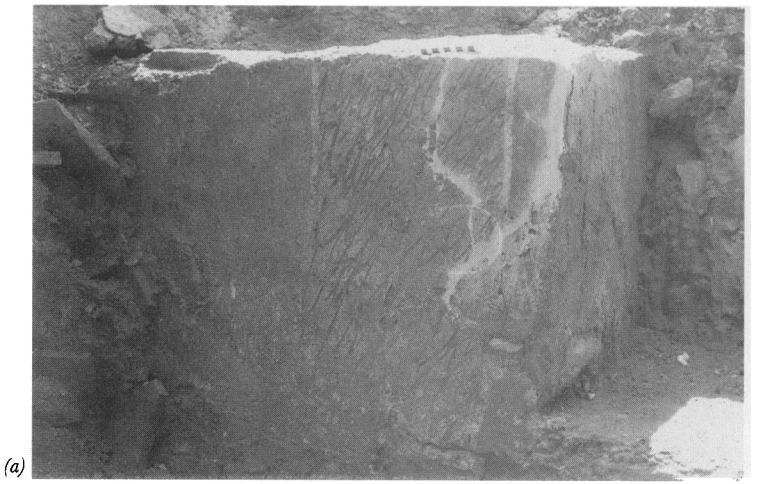


(a)

(b)

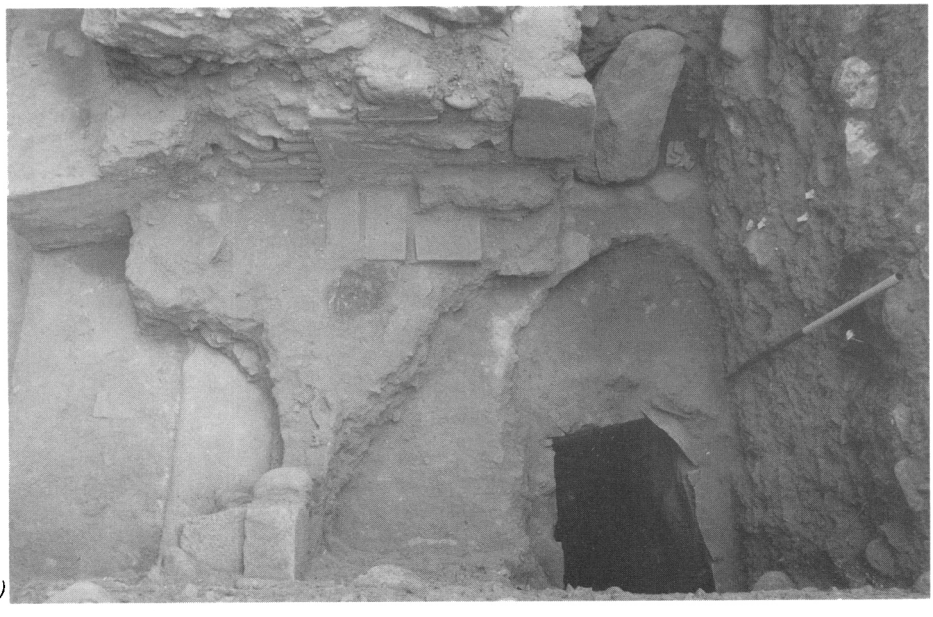
(c)

(d)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*), (*b*) Byzantine decorated wall-plaster: (*a*) at NW angle of church, (*b*) on reused brick pier of stoa. (*c*), (*d*) Byzantine bronze hanging bowl: (*c*) *in situ*, (*d*) after cleaning.

(a)



(b)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
(*a*) Loose fragments of painted wall-plaster within NW angle of church. (*b*) Byzantine tomb-burial in SW area of RS XII, *after opening*.

PLATE 60

(a)

(b)

(c)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
Tomb-burial in RS XII. (*a*) Interior. (*b*) Bronze finger-ring with radiate head. (*c*) Bronze finger-ring with inscription.

(a)

(b)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
(*a*) Doric capital and other blocks in RS XI. (*b*) Doric capital.

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(a)

(b)

(c)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*) Board game in marble block in RS XI. (*b*) Human burial within floor of apse of RS XII, from above. (*c*) Latest occupation phase of RS XI, with reused architectural blocks.

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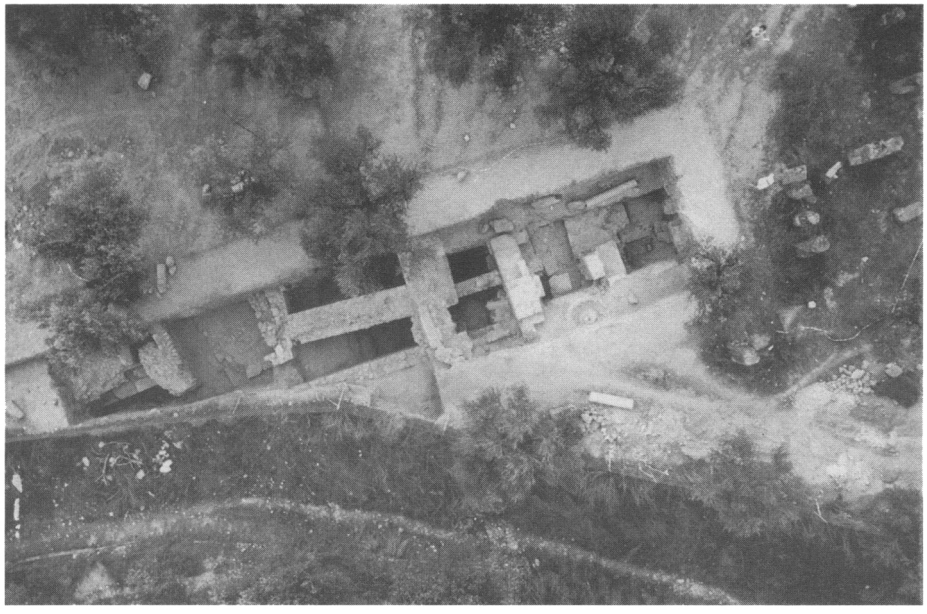
(a)



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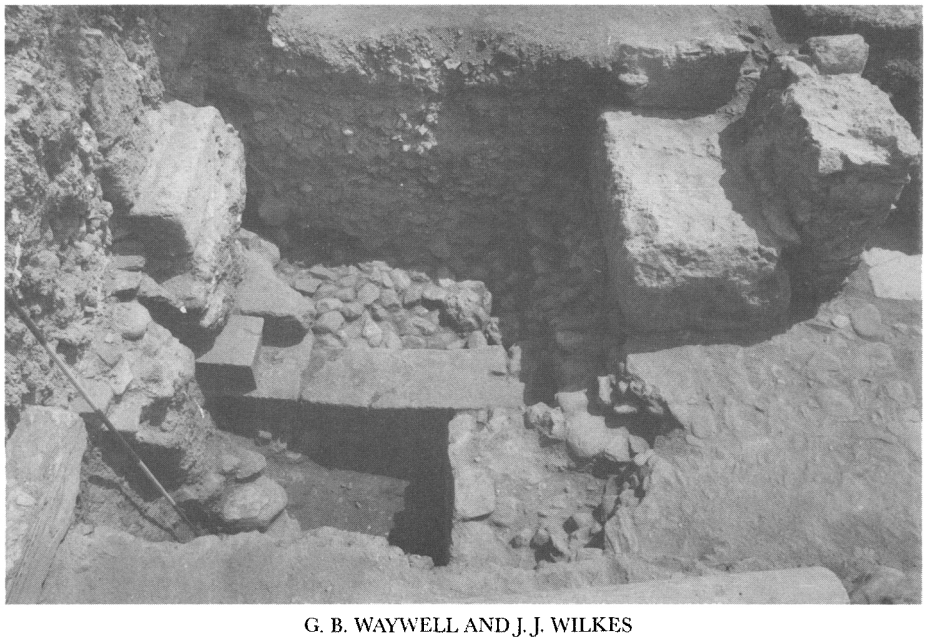

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
(*a*) Aerial view of RSC 1–3. (Photo: R. Anderson.) (*b*) Early ashlar wall (pre-stoa) in RSC 1.

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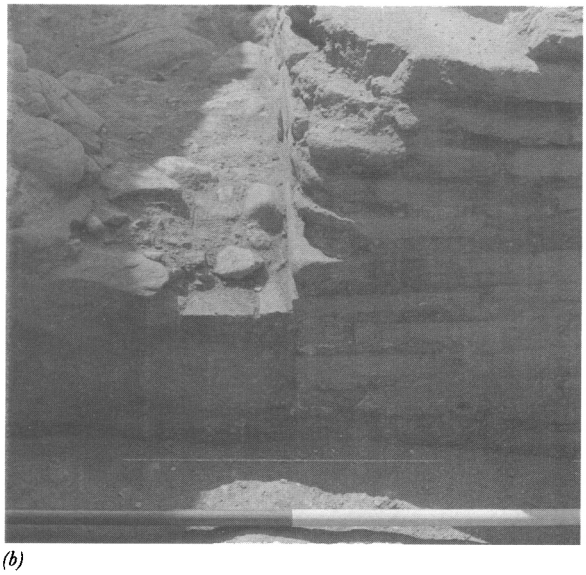
# Plate 64

(a)



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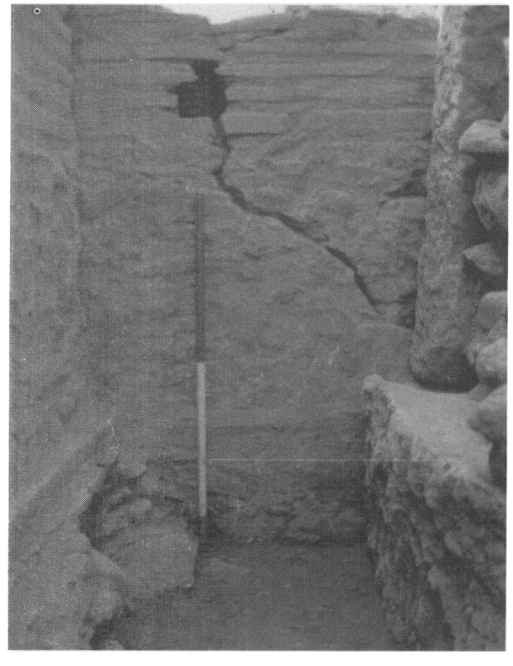
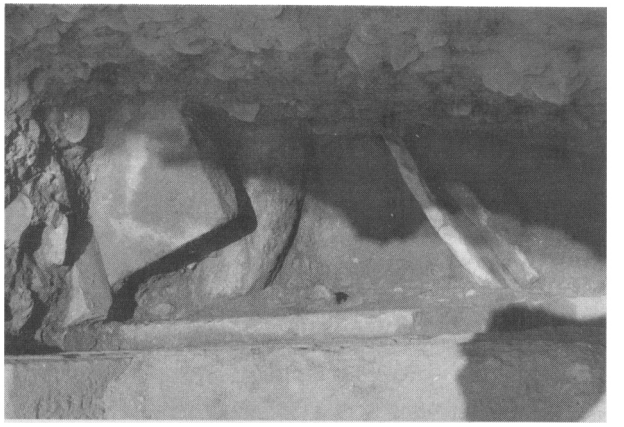


(c)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*) General view of stoa remains in RSC 2–3, looking N. (*b*) Blocked S opening of RS XXIV, from N. (*c*) Inner face of S wall of stoa in RSC 2, showing fracture-line.

(a)



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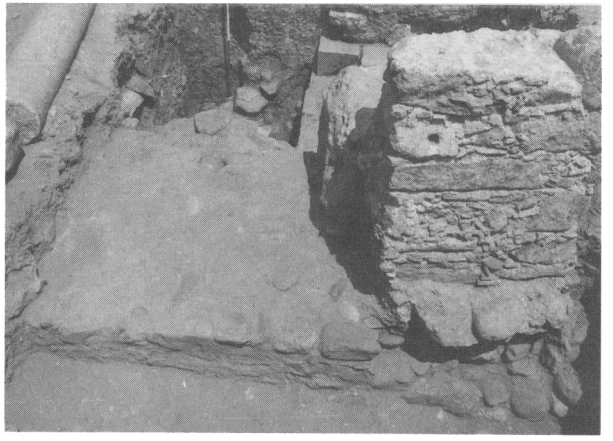


(c)

(d)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*) Footings of stoa walls in RSC 2. (*b*) Architectural debris beneath foundations of late Roman wall in RSC 3. (*c*) Cobbled foundation platform for stoa in RSC 1. (*d*) Middle wall of stoa in RSC 1, from N.

PLATE 66



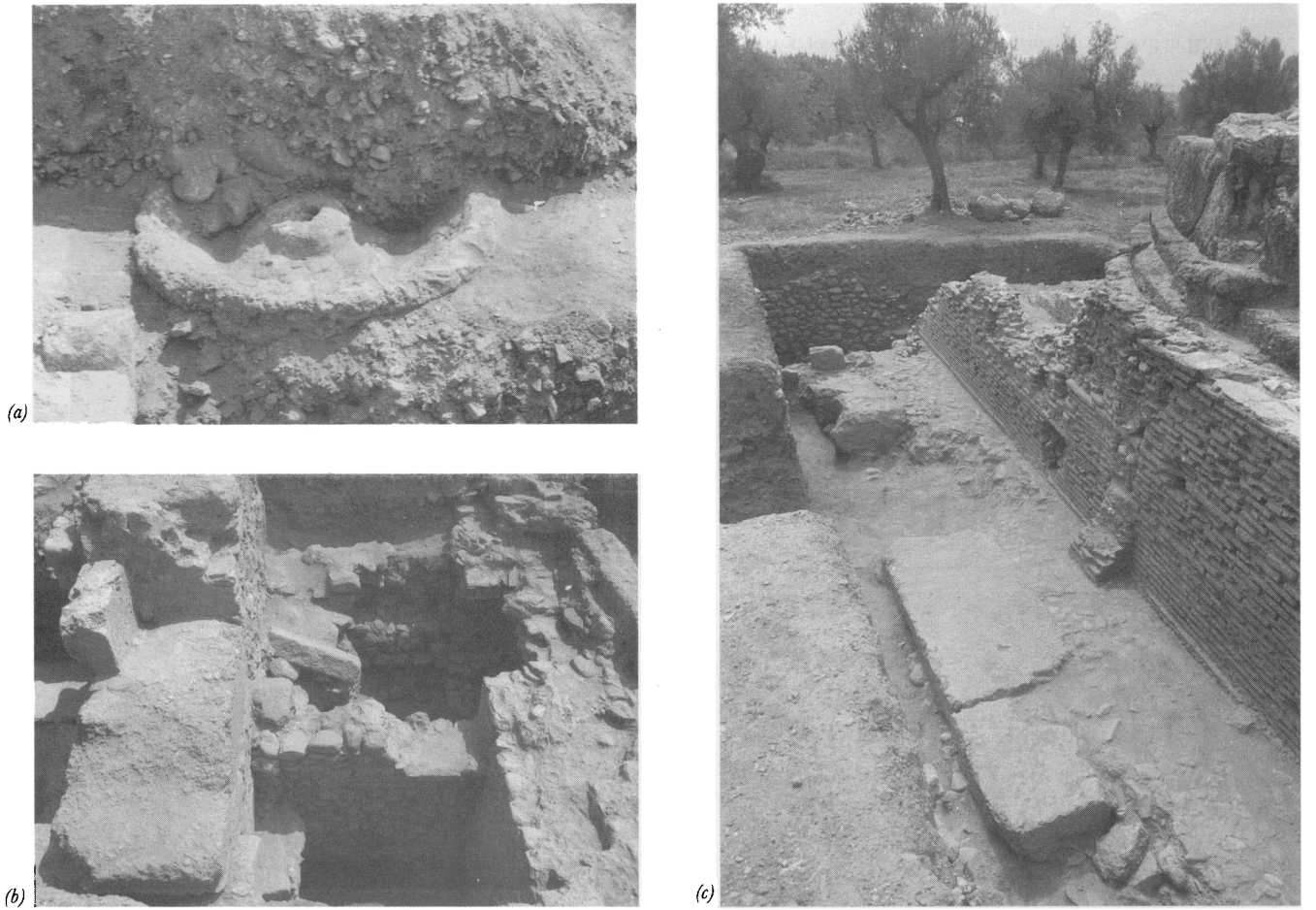
(b)



(a)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*) Architectural spolia in E face of late Roman wall in RSC 3, including inscribed block no. 10 (cf. PLATE 76 *c*). (*b*) NW angle of RS XXIV in RSC 2, showing medieval reuse.

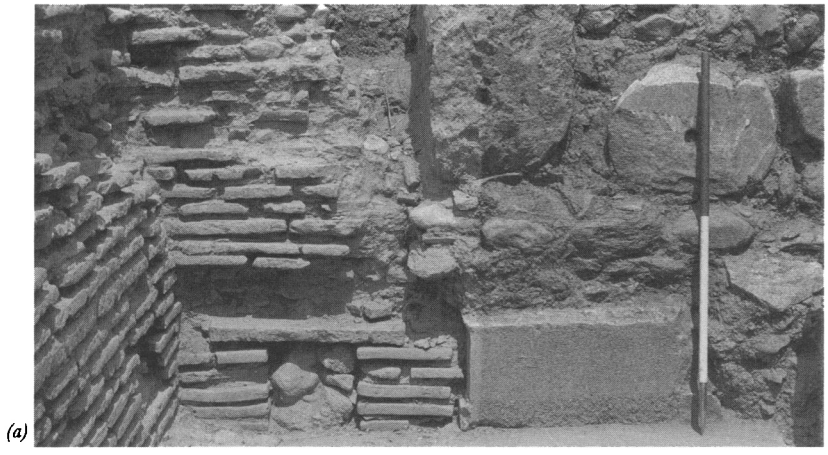


G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
(*a*) Olive-crusher in RSC 1. (*b*) Medieval cutting through stoa wall, with associated structures in RSC 1. (*c*) General view of RSW 3, looking S.

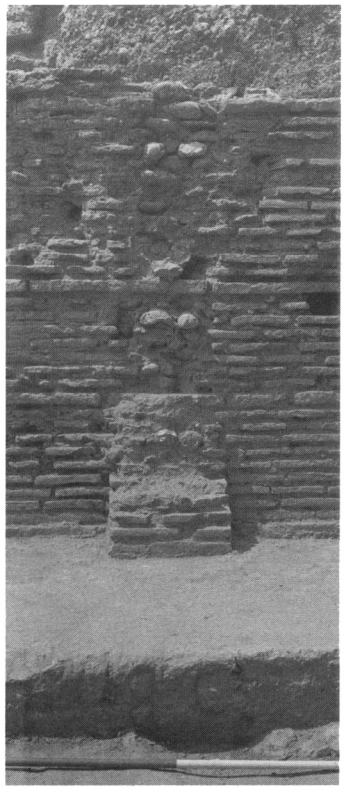
(a) (b)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*) Crepidoma and podium of Round Building with early wall (pre-stoa) in RSW 3, looking W. (*b*) Stoa platform and end wall in RSW 1–3, looking N.



(a)



(b)

(c)

G. B. WAYWELL AND J. J. WILKES
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(*a*) NW angle of stoa in RSW 1. (*b*) Central pier on E face of end wall, RSW 1. (*c*) Stoa platform with inset ashlar blocks in RSW 1–3, looking N.

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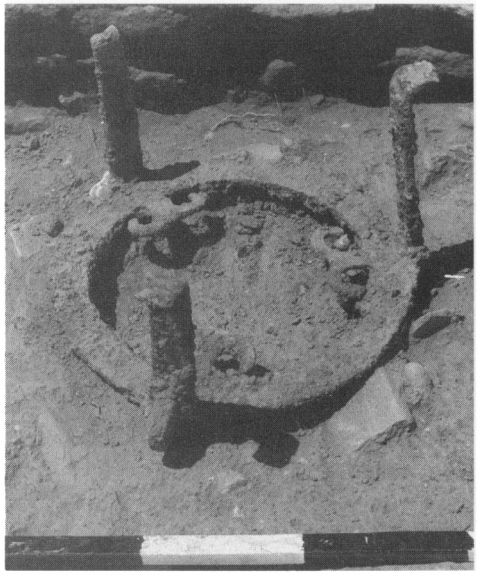
(a)

(b)



(c)

(d)

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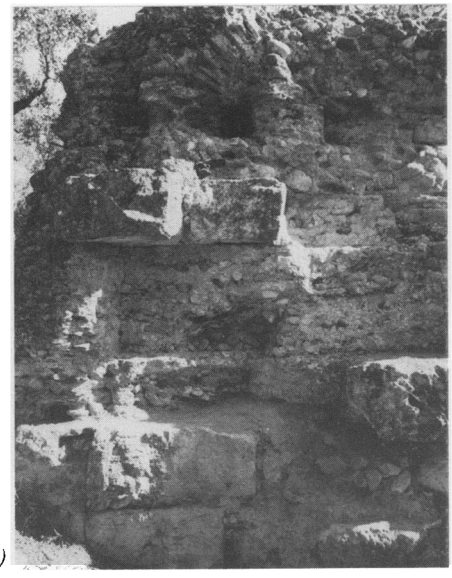
SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*) RSW 2 looking W, showing medieval walls. (*b*) RSW 1, later walls, looking S. (*c*), (*d*) Three-legged medieval iron stand: (*c*) *in situ*, RSW 1; (*d*) after cleaning.

(a)

(b)



(c)

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SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA

(*a*) East front of stoa, showing beam-holes for roof timbers. (*b*) South front of stoa at E end, showing ashlar facing and beam-holes for roof timbers above. (*c*) General view of Round Building, looking NW.

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SPARTA, THE ROMAN STOA
(*a*) Aerial view of Round Building, trenches RSW 1–3 (below, r.), and SW angle of *plateia* (above). (Photo: R. Anderson.)