

# THE THEATER AT STOBI

RESULTS OF THE JOINT  
US-YUGOSLAV ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
INVESTIGATIONS, 1970-1981



ELIZABETH R. GEBHARD





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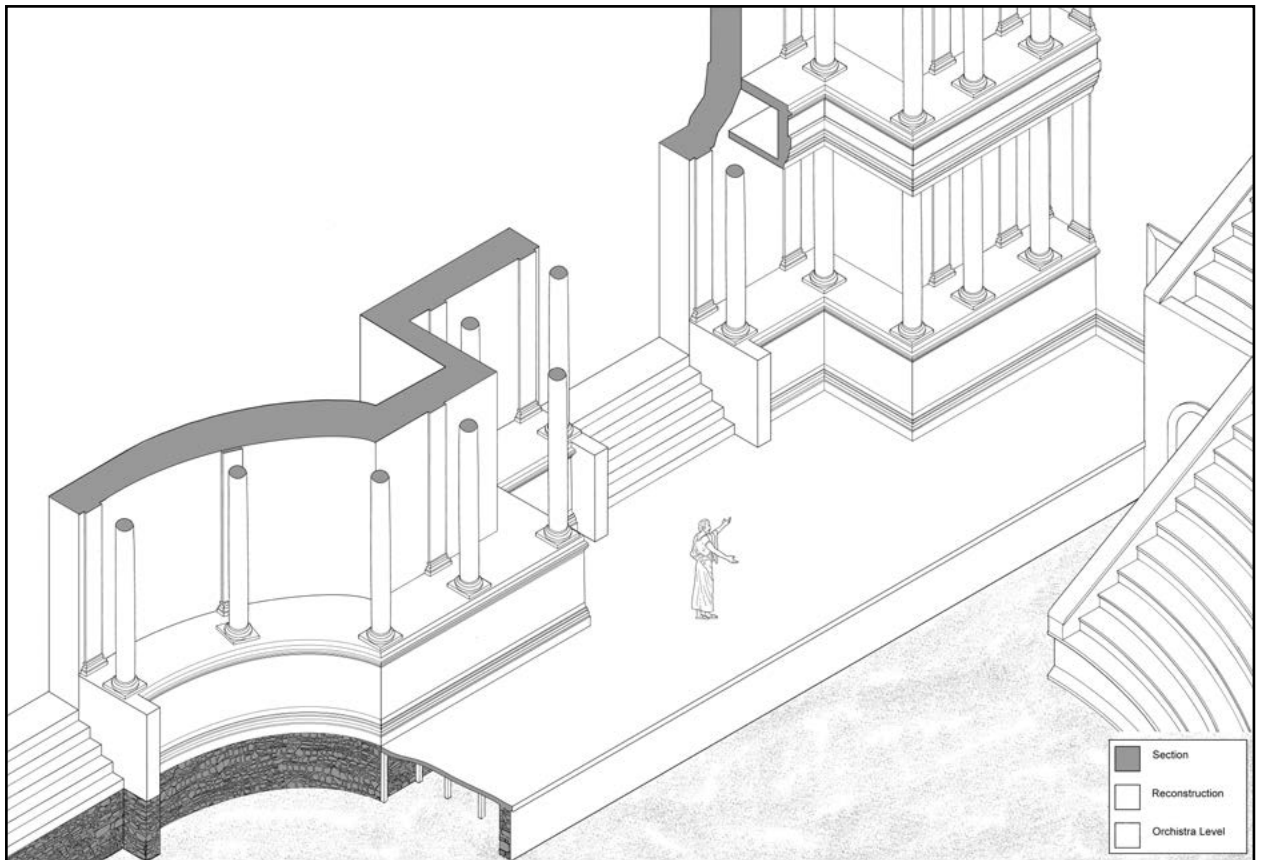
Cover: Aerial view of the Theater (2018); west half of seats, looking southwest



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*This book is for my children,  
Paul R.S. Gebhard and Sophia Gebhard, and their late father Paul Gebhard  
who gave up so very much for its completion.*



Restored facade of Phase I. Drawing by Jonathan Stevens.



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## SUMMARY

The Theater at Stobi was first excavated between 1924 and 1928 by Balduin Saria of the National Museum in Belgrade, who published his results in an overall publication in 1938. Saria uncovered the west half of the cavea and the scene-building, establishing the first chronology of the structure. The theater was the subject of systematic excavations once again in the 1970s, during the American-Yugoslav project, directed by James Wiseman of Boston University, Djordje Mano-Zissi of the University of Belgrade, and Blaga Aleksova of the University of Skopje. The task of excavating the theater and revising its chronology was appointed to me, and this first volume of monograph “The Theater at Stobi” publishes the results of the 1970s excavations. A new project for excavation and conservation of theater has been initiated in 2009 by the National Institution Stobi and it is still ongoing today. The results of the new excavations are published in the second volume of the monograph, written by Goce Pavlovski.

The Theater at Stobi, first constructed around 100 AD, was initially designed according to the model of the Roman theater described by Vitruvius, commonly found in Italy and the western Roman provinces. However, the plan also included elements from amphitheater architecture in order to respond to meet the city’s need for a venue that could also host gladiatorial and animal spectacles. The semicircular cavea was attached to a long and narrow scene-building, and the orchestra was surrounded by a podium. The scaenae-frons had three doorways, with a curved niche for the central one and rectangular niches for the doorways on each side. The doors were flanked by four porches with columns, and there was possibly a pulpitum. At both ends, the scene-building had large rectangular rooms known as basilicae. At the ends of the cavea, vaulted corridors called *aditus maximi* ran parallel to the scene-building and led from outside of the cavea, under the seats, and into the orchestra. Another corridor like this ran along the central axis of the auditorium and finished with a central room before reaching the orchestra. A central box of honor was located above this room and it was accessed through two lateral rooms with stairs, built close to the orchestra end of the corridor. Construction was halted after the walls reached varying elevations, with some exceeding three meters at the east end of the cavea. For some reason, the theater was never completed in the western Roman style.

The unfinished walls of the scene-building were dismantled and the design was altered to resemble the theaters usually found in Asia Minor. The scene-building was lowered, and the new plan included a rectilinear scaenae-frons with five doorways and six porches with columns. Five flights of stairs from the doors led into the orchestra, and a permanent pulpitum was omitted. Additionally, the colonnade on the porches featured curved bays at each end. A larger than a semi-circle cavea outlined the orchestra with a podium. Open *parodoi* were set at an angle to the scene-building, bordered by new marble *analemata*. The *aditi maximi* were blocked with the orchestra podium, and transformed into radial corridors that enabled access to the first rows of seats.

Following a devastating earthquake around 300 AD, the theater was reconstructed and the orchestra was completely transformed into an arena. The *parodoi* were closed with gates and a wall was built in front of the scene-building. Refuges were incorporated into the podium on each side, with the central room converted into a refuge. A solid wall was built on top of the orchestra podium, curtailing the first few rows of seats. A shrine to Nemesis, featuring a large inscription and statues of the goddess, was found in the center of the scene-building. The shrine might have been there before the earthquake and it was remodeled after. The entrance appears to have been at the east end, where a large entrance hall was also constructed. The excavations of the 1920s revealed extensive wall decorations, which have since disappeared. The theater’s final use seems to have occurred at the end of the 4th century, after which it was mined for materials to build other structures, and small houses were constructed over and within the corridors.

## РЕЗИМЕ

Театарот во Стоби бил првпат истражуван помеѓу 1924 и 1928 година, од страна на Балдуин Сариа од Народниот музеј во Белград, кој ги објавил резултатите во сеопфатна публикација во 1938 година. Сариа го открил западниот дел од кавеата и сценската зграда, утврдувајќи ја првата хронологија на објектот. Театарот повторно бил предмет на систематски ископувања во 1970-тите години, за време на Американско-Југословенскиот проект, под раководство на Џејмс Вајсман од Универзитетот во Бостон, Ѓорѓе Мано Зиси од Универзитетот во Белград и Блага Алексова од Универзитетот во Скопје. Задачата за истражување на театарот и ревидирање на неговата хронологија ми беше доверена мене, а овој прв том од монографијата „Театарот во Стоби“ претставува публикација на резултатите од ископувањата во 1970-тите. Во 2009 година, Националната установа Стоби започна нов проект за истражување и конзервација на театарот и тој е сè уште во тек. Резултатите од новите истражувања се објавени во вториот том од монографијата, под авторство на Гоце Павловски.

Театарот во Стоби, првично изграден околу 100 година од нашата ера, бил дизајниран според моделот на римскиот театар опишан од Витрувиј, кој обично се среќава во Италија и западните римски провинции. Меѓутоа, планот исто така вклучувал елементи од архитектурата на амфитеатрите за да одговори на потребите на градот за објект во кој може да се одржуваат и гладијаторски борби и спектакли со животни. Полукружната кавеа била споена со долга и тесна сценска зграда, а оркестрата била опкружена со подиум. *Scaenae frons* имала три врати, со заоблена ниша за централната и правоаголни ниши за вратите од двете страни. Вратите биле фланкирани со четири тремови со столбови, а веројатно постоел и *pulpitum*. На двата краја, сценската зграда имала големи правоаголни простории познати како базилики. На краевите на кавеата, се протегале засводени коридори наречени *aditus maximi* кои биле паралелни со сценската зграда и воделе од надворешноста на кавеата, под седиштата, директно во оркестрата. Друг ваков коридор се протегал по централната оска на аудиториумот и завршувал со централна просторија, непосредно пред оркестрата. Централна почесна ложа била лоцирана над оваа просторија, а пристапот до неа го овозможувале две странични простории со скали, изградени блиску до крајот на коридорот кон оркестрата. Изградбата била прекината откако ѕидовите достигнале различни височини, а некои од нив, на источниот крај на кавеата, надминувале три метри. Поради непозната причина, театарот никогаш не бил завршен во стилот на западноримските театри.

Недовршените ѕидови на сценската зграда биле урнати и дизајнот бил изменет по моделот на театрите кои обично се наоѓаат во Мала Азија. Сценската зграда била спуштена на пониско ниво, а новиот план вклучувал праволиниска *scaenae frons* со пет врати и шест тремови со столбови. Пет низи на скали се спуштале од вратите во оркестрата, а перманентниот *pulpitum* бил изоставен од планот. Дополнително, тремовите со столбови на двата краја завршувале со заоблени ѕидови. Оркестрата била опкружена со подиум и кавеа поголема од полукруг. Во однос на сценската зграда, под агол биле формирани отворени пародоси кои биле ограничени со нови мермерни аналеми на спротивната страна. Коридорите *aditi maximus* биле блокирани со подиумот околу оркестрата и на тој начин трансформирани во радијални коридори кои овозможувале пристап до првите редови на седишта.

По разорниот земјотрес од околу 300 година од н.е., театарот бил реконструиран и оркестрата била целосно трансформирана во арена. Пародосите биле затворени со порти, а пред сценската зграда бил изграден ѕид. Во подиумот биле вградени засолништа на двете страни, а исто така и централната просторија била претворена во засолниште. На површината од подиумот околу оркестрата бил изграден ѕид, скратувајќи го погледот од првите неколку редови на седишта. Во средината на сценската зграда било откриено светилиште на Немеза со голем натпис и скулптури на божицата. Светилиштето можеби било таму и пред земјотресот, но било обновено потоа. Се чини дека влезот бил на источниот крај, каде што исто така бил изградена голема влезна сала. Со ископувањата во 1920-тите е откриена обемна ѕидна декорација, која не е сочувана денес. Последната употреба на театарот се чини дека се случила на крајот на 4-от век, по што објектот бил користен како извор на материјал за изградба на други објекти, а мали куќи биле изградени во и над неговите коридори.

# INTRODUCTION

## History

Stobi of the Paeonians lies at the confluence of the Vardar and Crna Rivers, the ancient Axios and Erigon, some 50 miles north of the modern border between Greece and North Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> The population and size of the city expanded early in the Imperial period, and by 69 when it began to mint its own coins, it had received the status of *municipium*. Construction of a city theater followed not long after, a sign that the city had achieved a status and a degree of prosperity that warranted such a public facility for its festivals and celebrations of communal events. Its initial construction belongs to the end of the first or beginning of the 2nd century and it was completed in the middle of the century. Prosperity at Stobi continued for several decades with architectural expansion and a material culture that included imported goods from the eastern and western provinces of the Empire.

The 3rd century brought changes to Stobi as to many other cities of the Empire, and by the end of the century a number of buildings had been damaged or destroyed. Natural disasters took their toll: flooding of the Erigon River drove inhabitants from the lower town and an earthquake about 300 severely damaged the theater. In no time, however, not only were repairs undertaken but the scene-building was remodeled and embellished. It is evident that there were both the desire and the means to improve on the older building and not merely to stabilize the damaged structure.

Under Diocletian the province of Macedonia was partitioned and the smaller region to the north, including Stobi, was named Macedonia Salutaris. Sometime before the early 5th century, perhaps c. 386, Stobi appears as the capital of Macedonia Secunda. The festivals for which the theater had served were no longer celebrated, and the new Christian liturgies were held in the city's churches, the largest of which was built immediately adjacent to the theater. It was shortly after the partition of the province that the theater went out of use.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, XLV.29.13. The history of Stobi is included in Wiseman 1986.

## Topography<sup>2</sup>

The theater lay close to the edge of the city, 37m from the fortification wall (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Although the wall may be as early as the time of Augustus, urban development apparently had not reached the outlying areas by the end of the 1st century.<sup>4</sup> In the numerous trenches in the theater that were carried to sterile soil, deposits that contained cultural material predating the building were at the north side of the orchestra where graves of Hellenistic date were disturbed during construction of the cavea (Trench XIV, Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Too little of the city plan is known for a discussion of the theater's relation to the street grid and other major buildings, but there is no indication that the cavea was adapted to a rectilinear system of city blocks. It follows the natural contours of the area.

The Erigon River (modern Crna Reka) flows about 220m from the theater. From the river the terrain rises gently (elevation from 136.46m to 137.32m above sea level) towards a ridge that runs northeast by southwest through the city. Today's impression of seats resting on a steep hillside was created by rises in the surrounding area from the 2nd to 4th centuries. After the first phase of the theater, floors within the scene-building and the orchestra show little variation in elevation. The cavea rests on radial walls with a rise of about 6m.<sup>6</sup> After the theater went out of use and the upper tier of seats was removed, the apse of the Episcopal Basilica of the 5th century rested on the foundations (Fig. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Although the cavea opens toward the southeast in the direction of the Crna River and the low hills beyond, for ease of description, it will be assumed that the cavea faced south. All dates are in the Common Era unless designated otherwise. Elevations are taken with reference to sea level.

<sup>3</sup> Amphitheaters were regularly placed at the edge of the town, near the wall or outside it, as at Pompeii, Corinth, and Salona (Welch 2007) as well as Italica in Spain (Garcia y Bellido 1960).

<sup>4</sup> Wiseman 1986, p. 39; see also introduction to Anderson-Stojanović 1992.

<sup>5</sup> Trench XIV, Deposits I.8-10. Blazhevskaja and Pavlovski 2018 summarize the 15 Hellenistic graves discovered at Stobi.

<sup>6</sup> The rise of c. 6m is only to the first level of vaults of the summa cavea substructure; a second one supported the seating. The maximum elevation of 20m of a wall with radial disposition could be at both ends of the cavea since the terrain was the lowest here (Pavlovski, pers. comm.). Probes to construction levels: (a) interior floor of the first skene, elevation 137.35-137.63; (b) surface south of the skene, elevation 137.45; (c) surface with mortar next to walls 3 and 4 at the east end of the East Porch, elevation 137.57-137.63; (d) top of the footing trench for wall 3, elevation 137.50-137.68. The nave of the 4th-century basilica constructed behind the cavea while the theater was still in use lay at an el. of about 143.31 (Wiseman and Mano-Zissi 1976, pp. 274-291, pl. 15). Saria 1938, pp. 83-85 assumed that there was a natural rise in the ground beneath the cavea as he did not know of the early church.

## History of Excavations

The location of the city was first recognized independently in the 1850s and 1860s by J.G. von Hahn and Leon Heuzey during their travels and research in the region. In 1902 Anton von Premerstein and Nikola Vulić recorded a number of inscriptions, but it was not until 1924 that systematic excavations began under the direction of Balduin Saria and Rudolph Egger.

The location of the theater was marked by a horseshoe-shaped depression immediately south of the Episcopal Basilica, and the presence of reused seats and stairs in the Basilica and other structures gave a sure sign of its location nearby. When Balduin Saria began systematic excavations at Stobi in 1924, he chose the theater as his starting point, sinking the first trench at the west edge of the depression that marked its site. He continued clearing the building complex during seasons in 1925 through 1928, but his efforts were hampered by his departure from the National Museum in Belgrade in 1926. Lack of funds brought the project to a halt after only one-third of the lower half of the auditorium had been laid bare and two-thirds of the scene-building. A brief return to the site in 1932 with the Danish architect Einar Dyggve enabled Saria to make a preliminary study of as much of the building as had then been uncovered, and in 1937 he published his findings in a monograph (in Serbian) supported by the Museum of South Serbia in Skopje. A somewhat shortened version was published in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Archaeological Institute in 1938.<sup>7</sup>

Saria was unable to continue his study of the theater after the Second World War. In 1965 and 1966 the Conservation Institute of Macedonia, under direction of Saržo Saržoski, cleared the remainder of the building, removing some six and a half meters of soil. The east and west parodoi and adjacent areas remained unexcavated. On the periphery of the seats small trenches were opened in an attempt to define the outer circumference of the cavea.

In 1970 the University of Texas at Austin and the National Museum of Titov Veles, with the sponsorship of the Smithsonian Institution, began a new series of annual excavations directed by James Wiseman and Dj. Mano-Zissi. In 1973 Boston University became the American sponsoring institution. As part of the Stobi Excavation Project from 1970-1981, at the invitation of James Wiseman, I undertook limited excavations to establish an accurate plan of the building and to establish a reliable chronology based on archaeological materials in stratigraphic sequence. The only building known at the time was the large marble theater that Saria had discovered (our Phase II). In 1973 foundations were brought to light that revealed an earlier theater (our Phase I) of a type radically different from the later building (Fig. 4). The plan resembled that found in Italian theaters and stood in sharp contrast to the Greco-Roman type adopted for the Phase II theater that was popular in Asia Minor. The discovery opened a new dimension in the history of the building, beginning at least a half-century earlier than had been recognized (late 1st century or very beginning of the 2nd century). While a plan of the Phase I theater could be restored by the time our project ended in 1981, important information about the early building only became available after the east and west parodoi were excavated by the Conservation Institute of Macedonia (1995-2001) and east half of the cavea by the National Institution Stobi (2009-2023).

The presence of the Phase I theater, the plan of which resembled contemporary theaters in Italy, added a new phase to the architectural history of the city and opened interesting questions concerning relations with Italy at that time. Chapter I is devoted to the Phase I theater, while in Chapters II and III are set out the remains of Phase II, which still dominate the site. After what appears to have been a major earthquake, placed about 300 by associated deposits, the cavea and scene-building were repaired and remodeled, and the orchestra was enclosed as a permanent arena. Chapter IV sets out the remains of this Phase III. Chapter V is devoted to the planning of Phases I and II and a summary of the building.

Conservation of some of the walls in the scene-building was undertaken by the Conservation Institute in 1995-2001. In 2009 Stobi entered a new phase with the National Institution Stobi under the direction of Silvana Blaževska. Excavation in the theater since 2009 has been directed by Goce Pavlovski. I am greatly indebted to both directors for their hospitality and generosity in allowing me access to their excavations and the opportunity to include information from parts of the theater that were revealed between 1981 and 2023. Publication of the remains, primarily in the cavea, uncovered by the new project is under the care of Goce Pavlovski and will appear as a separate volume.

<sup>7</sup> Saria 1938, with references to previous publications. After the war, Dyggve published two articles in *Revue Archeologique* (Dyggve 1958a, 1958b). While they grew out of his work in the theater at Stobi, they are primarily concerned with the use of theaters in the Late Empire. Dyggve suggested moving the construction date of the theater (our Phase II, the only building of which he was aware) from the period of Hadrian to the early 3rd century. However, the deposits from our excavations support a construction date in the middle of the 2nd century (see Chapters II and III). Dyggve placed the final remodeling in c. 325, which is probably also too late. Contextual material associated with the phase supports a date at the beginning of the century (Chapter IV).

## System of Recording

### Architecture

The blocks that are not in place are listed in tables throughout the text and most of them are represented in drawings and photographs. Some walls and blocks were finished with great precision, such as the façade and marble analemata, while in other parts of the building the quarry finish was never removed or only partially cut away. The work appears to have moved from west to east, since in the cavea and scene-building the western half is more complete and the work better executed than in the east side. Numerous instances of the difference in standard are discussed throughout Chapters II and III.

Some measurements are also converted to Roman feet (e.g., 24 RF) using a foot measure of 0.294m. The length of the Roman foot used here is based on the assumption that the orchestra, measuring 29.40m, was planned with a diameter of 100 Roman Feet.<sup>8</sup> Arriving at the precise length of any foot used in a building is notoriously difficult and the result often uncertain and confusing. The foot of 0.294m suggested here is slightly longer than the usual Roman Foot of 0.293m. Nevertheless, when it could be tested on a well-preserved block belonging to one of the basic planning units, such as the lower diameter of the first-story columns, a foot of 0.294m seemed to fit more closely than the shorter measure. Citation of dimensions in two scales of measurement, perhaps confusing, is an attempt to show to what degree of accuracy a specific block may have been cut with reference to the architect's specification. A future study may present arguments for a different foot.

Elevations are given in terms of height above sea level. Saria's architect, Einar Dyggve, used the modern ground level as his datum point, but so much excavation has taken place since the first study that it is difficult to use his figures. Dyggve's elevations can, however, be converted to elevations above sea level when the earlier numbers can be checked against sea level using the same identifiable feature, such as the marble threshold for West Door II and the rear door in West Room II. By such correlations, Dyggve's datum point as marked on his drawings and plans was 141.86m above sea level.

### Deposits

The composition of soils related to the construction, use, destruction, abandonment, and later use of the building are described and their contents listed in the Deposit Lists. Included are descriptions of soil with reference to the overlying and/or underlying deposits,

fauna, glass, roof tiles, and bricks. The term 'deposit' is used here for any kind of formation and transformation process, whether natural or cultural.<sup>9</sup> Artifacts found within these units form the basis for our understanding of the history and architecture of the structure. To preserve a complete record of this material within its original context, all objects recovered in the excavations of 1970-1981 were saved and grouped according to lots. A lot ideally represents a single episode of deposition, i.e., soil laid down at the same time and by means of the same activity. In this way the material which had been laid down at the same time in antiquity was identified by the same designation or lot number. The lot is also the storage unit for any material that was not catalogued and may include pottery, lamps, glass, metal, faunal material, and industrial debris. Because the same deposit may have been excavated in different seasons and in areas not contiguous, however, it may be represented by a number of lots. Lots representing a single context have been combined into individual deposits.

The deposits are grouped according to the structural phases, e.g., construction, use, abandonment, destruction, and are numbered consecutively according to chapter: a Roman numeral for the chapter, followed by an Arabic numeral for the deposit: e.g., Deposit I.3 refers to Deposit 3 in Chapter I. Location is given by the trench number and reference to a section drawing. Elevations are maximum for the top and bottom of the deposit; sherd counts represent total numbers.

Virginia Anderson-Stojanović has provided the short summary of the range of pottery in each deposit, followed by a more detailed statement concerning the latest pieces.<sup>10</sup> The vases helpful for dating or intrinsically interesting appear in a catalogue following the deposit summary.<sup>11</sup> The imported wares present in the theater are well known in the Mediterranean area, and in the catalogue the standard published type series will be used to identify the forms of the various wares. Although most of the pottery from the theater can be dated only with a century or half century, and more rarely, to the quarter century, the ceramics are the best chronological indicator in the absence of inscriptions and the relatively small number of coins. Eastern Sigillata B2 is the most common imported ware in theater deposits and most examples belong to types dated by John Hayes to the second quarter of the 2nd century, and thus provide support for the proposed chronology of the construction of the theater.<sup>12</sup> A

<sup>9</sup> Schiffer 1987.

<sup>10</sup> For a study of pottery at Stobi, see Anderson-Stojanović 1992.

<sup>11</sup> Within the catalogue entry the first number is the Stobi Project inventory number for the object. Those items that were not inventoried are identified by their lot number. Pottery and other objects listed in the deposits are fragmentary unless otherwise noted.

<sup>12</sup> The term Italian Sigillata is used to describe Arretine and related Italian wares when the attribution is not certain. Type or form numbers come from Hayes "Corinth" (Hayes 1973), Hayes EEA 2

<sup>8</sup> The diameter was measured on the lower edge of the base molding of the orchestra podium, which is largely intact.

full description of Stobi local wares, including Color-Slipped, Plain Wares, and Cooking Wares may be found in *Stobi I*, Chapter 2, and the Lists of Deposits and chronological framework for the local typology in Chapter 4 of the same volume. Local wares may be identified by chronological period (ER, MR, LR) and form number. The typology for Macedonian Gray Ware may be found in *Stobi I*, Chapter 3.

Munsell color designations for fabric are given only for pieces whose classification or ware is uncertain.

References for those catalogue items published in *Stobi I* appear at the end of each entry. Publication references are also included in the list of inventoried items at the end of each deposit.

### Acknowledgements

I owe James Wiseman a great debt of gratitude for inviting me to undertake this study of the Stobi theater. Little did he know in the summer of 1969 that it would take 55 years before the manuscript was published. His vision of its completion and his support, encouragement, and patience along the way have made it possible to continue with the project in spite of the many delays brought about by the vicissitudes of personal life and professional obligations from other projects. Delay in publication, while regrettable, has in fact resulted in a more complete exposition of the first phase of the building and a better understanding of the destruction caused by the earthquake responsible for the rebuilding in Phase III.

My second debt is owed to the three architects with whom I worked so closely during every phase of the study, the late William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., the late Frederick P. Hemans, and Jonathan Stevens. Their plans, sections, and reconstructions brought the stones to life, and the reconstruction proceeded through a dialogue between us concerning every

part of the building. Fritz Hemans and I first realized the extent and significance of the first theater while working on the final drawings in Boston in 1980. In the last years since 2009 Goce Pavlovski has contributed greatly to refining and checking the sections of the manuscript devoted to the cavea and parodoi.

Study of the pottery on which almost all of the chronology of the theater depends is the work of Virginia Anderson-Stojanović. I am immensely grateful for her ceramic catalogue included in the description of deposits. We both owe a large measure of thanks to John Hayes who visited Stobi several times and helped greatly in the early stages of our chronological analysis. His enthusiasm for excavation pottery and his knowledge of the wide range of wares found at Stobi contributed immeasurably to our understanding of the deposits.

My heartfelt thanks are also due to Professor Helmut Kyrieleis, then director of the German Archaeological Institute, for a fellowship in 2000 in Berlin where I greatly benefitted from the excellent library and support of the staff. I am deeply indebted to the many assistants who have worked over the years on the inventories, photographs, typing, and collating of data in the time before electronic means were readily available, especially my son, Paul R.S. Gebhard, my daughter, Sophia Gebhard, granddaughter Jessica Gebhard, their late father, Paul G. Gebhard; Margaret Farwell Goes, Eric Sorensen, and students in the Archaeology Department of Boston University who scanned the hundreds of negatives from the 1970s excavations. Katherine Dunbabin was a sympathetic and patient traveling companion as we visited many of the theaters in Asia Minor; Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones made useful suggestions concerning the dedication to Ultrix Augusta in the Nemesium of the scene-building. To the many others who have typed, catalogued, and encouraged me through the years, I shall remain forever grateful.

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(Hayes 1985), Hayes *LRP* (Hayes 1972), Moevs 1973.

# CHAPTER I

## THE FIRST THEATER (PHASE I)

### Introduction

The well-preserved marble theater that Balduin Saria uncovered in 1924 was thought for many years to be the only theater in the city. The plan and simple style resemble the Hellenistic-Roman theaters of Asia Minor: a large orchestra, surrounded by a podium, entered through uncovered parodoi lying at an angle to a rectangular scene-building with porches supporting a columnar façade (Fig. 5, Fig. 6, Fig. 7, Fig. 8). The seats were reached through arched doorways at the foot of the analemata. They opened into the east and west radial corridors from which a short flight of steps led to the first row of seats. Around the outside of the cavea spectators entered through arches leading to radial and then circular corridors. Stairs mounted to openings in the diazoma, then to the summa cavea. So much was evident at the close of Saria's excavations. He based his detailed monograph on the remains from his first seasons; the architect Ejnar Dyggve came to make the plans for the project in 1932.<sup>1</sup>

Following Saria's initial campaign, the remainder of the cavea, orchestra, and scene-building, but not the parodoi, were uncovered to the present ground level by Saržo Saržovski (c. 1965-1969). From 1970 to 1981, as a member of the joint Yugoslav and American excavation project directed by Djordje Mano-Zisi and James Wiseman, I opened a series of deep trenches to virgin soil to explore the history of activity in the building. Concurrently, William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. and Frederick Hemans prepared block by block documentation of all remains with detailed plans and sections augmenting those published by Saria.

Unexpectedly and near the end of our excavations, remains of an earlier scene-building were uncovered in deep trenches numbered I-III (Fig. 2). They revealed a predecessor with a different plan and built at a lower elevation; much of it was destroyed or incorporated into the later building.<sup>2</sup> The depth of fill, however, prevented a full excavation of the area by the end of the project in 1981, and the conclusions reached at that stage remained tentative.<sup>3</sup> Some 20 years later, when the parodoi, the east half of the scene-building, the radial and circular corridors of the ima cavea, and the central room in the

cavea were excavated, further evidence for the first theater emerged (Fig. 10).<sup>4</sup> The National Institution Stobi, led by Silvana Blazevska, initiated new large-scale excavation and restoration campaigns of the site in 2009, including the theater. Goce Pavlovski is responsible for the still ongoing theater excavation and restoration.<sup>5</sup> The reconstruction of the first theater as discussed in this volume owes much to Goce Pavlovski's excavations and his help and advice on all aspects of the study.

### Remains of the First Theater

The first sign of an earlier theater appeared in Trenches I and II that uncovered walls at the southwest corner of the scene-building that obviously did not belong to the second theater; they are labeled walls 1 and 2 (Fig. 10, Fig. 11).<sup>6</sup> The two walls were bonded. Initially walls 1 and 2 will have formed the corner of an earlier building that was not as wide, north to south, as the later scene-building. Traces of the bond with wall 1 show as a rough surface on wall 2, characterized by jagged bits of stone with gaps in the mortar (Fig. 12). We might consider the patch of broken surface the "ghost" of wall 1. Similar irregular sections on other walls of the second building provide clues to the location of earlier walls that were demolished and are now covered below the surface of Phase II.

More remains of the earlier scene-building appeared in the center where Trench III uncovered a stretch of the rear wall, wall 1, and the foundation for the façade of the first scaena. The section (Fig. 13) illustrates the walls of the scene-building in Phases I, II, and III, and the broad foundation beneath the façade that had been laid in Phase I and subsequently reused in Phase II. The view of Trench III from above (Fig. 14) shows wall 1 in the foreground and a center passage through the foundation of the façade. A deposit of virtually sterile soil raised the floor of the second building by about 1m and covered the early remains (labelled unexcavated below Floor 2 in Fig. 13).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Saria 1937. A German summary appeared the next year (Saria 1938).

<sup>2</sup> The earlier or first theater belongs to Phase I, the later or second theater belongs to Phase II. Phase III included some rebuilding to the orchestra, cavea, and scene-building.

<sup>3</sup> See Gebhard 1981a, 1981b.

<sup>4</sup> Vaska Kaleova excavated the west parodos in 1998-2001 under the National Institute for Protection of Monuments of Culture. Zika Vincic conserved the walls in the scene-building in the 1990s.

<sup>5</sup> Pavlovski 2018a.

<sup>6</sup> For a short account of the discovery of the first theater see Gebhard 2018.

<sup>7</sup> For the fill, see Deposit II.1.

## Plan of the First Theater

The plan of the first theater has been restored through tracing the bonding and other features of the standing masonry. A restored plan of the first scene-building is shown in Fig. 9; the early walls are labeled 1-11. Other plans (Fig. 10, Fig. 15) combine the walls of the early scene-building with those of the Phase II building (cf. Fig. 5 and Fig. 8 of Phase II).<sup>8</sup>

## Orchestra

The first theater included a large orchestra surrounded by a podium. The depth of the orchestra from the podium to the stage front would have been about 16m, and its width equal to the diameter, 29.40m. Using measurements taken at 1m intervals along the base course of the podium, Fritz Hemans and I determined that the orchestra had a diameter of 29.40m.<sup>9</sup> Laid out with a foot of 0.294m, the diameter of the orchestra, the planning circle, would have been 100 RF.<sup>10</sup>

The orchestra and podium are contemporary, with the line of the podium's bedding roughly following the curve of the orchestra. The base course of the podium included a packing and bedding for a course of orthostates, evident at the east end (the orthostates and base course are missing) (Fig. 16). The first stretch consists of a band of mortared rubble encrusted with gray marble chips of the same stone as the seat blocks, which would have been packed behind the orthostates when they were in place. The packing is about 0.35m high, that is, the same height as the base course of the podium, and it is preserved for 2.24m (Fig. 16, Fig. 17). Excavation in 2013 revealed that the bedding runs south under the base course of the podium, continuing under the final block left in place.<sup>11</sup> The bedding, composed of small stones set in mortar, is exposed for 2.86m with a total width of 0.80m, of which 0.50m lies beyond the band of mortared rubble. The association of the packing with Phase I is shown by the fact that it is bonded to the analemma of the east aditus maximus, wall 9 (Fig. 17).<sup>12</sup> The following sequence is evident:

bedding for podium was laid, blocks of base course were set, mortared rubble put behind at the same time as wall 9 was under construction; marbles were being prepared in the area.<sup>13</sup> Thus, at least the east end of the base course, probably with orthostates, was set in place by the end of Phase I. It is not certain, however, that the circuit was completed by the end of the first theater. A deeper foundation for the bedding of the base course was revealed in the center in Trench XIV, located at the east side of the doorway to the center room (Fig. 18, Fig. 19).<sup>14</sup> The orthostates and perhaps the rest of the base course could have been placed there in Phase II.

Deposits and surfaces relating to the orchestra floor were examined in Trenches XII and XIV. There is a clear division in the stratigraphy. The separation occurs at the top of the scene-building foundation at elevation 137.50-137.60 (Fig. 20, top of no. 5) and at the north edge of the orchestra (Fig. 19, top of no. 4; Tr. XIV).<sup>15</sup> Although no definable floor surface was recognized, the separation seems to mark the level in use during Phase I, the period of the first theater. At the north side of the orchestra, the presence of human bones mixed with those of animals and pottery belonging to the 1st century BC to 1st century AD suggests that the builders of Phase I disturbed earlier graves in the area (Deposits I.8-10 = 5 on Fig. 19; Fig. 20).<sup>16</sup> At the south side of the orchestra hard, light soil covered the bedrock (Deposits I.11-12 = 5, 7 on Fig. 20). These layers contain chips of white marble that should be associated with construction of the first theater.

No evidence for a drain in the orchestra was found in the 1970-1981 excavations, although terracotta pipes uncovered in more recent excavations under the circular corridor may have been connected to a system of drainage for the orchestra.<sup>17</sup> It may be that one was planned at the beginning of Phase I, but never carried very far. Under the center door in the rear of the scene-building an opening was reserved in the foundation of

23. The packing is 0.30 to 0.42m thick along the top and 0.65m at the base. The top surface is thickly encrusted with chips of white and gray marble of the type used in the seat blocks.

<sup>13</sup> The description during excavation in 1975, when more of the packing and the refuge walls were intact, confirmed the construction sequence. As reported from the 1975 excavation, the space above the mortared rubble, between the podium and the first annular wall, was filled with a mass of uncut sandstone, brown soil, and many pebbles.

<sup>14</sup> Excavation here was carried to an unexcavated layer at elevation 137.22, while the orchestra floor was at elevation c. 137.50. As far as we know at present, the foundation for the base course uncovered in 2013 lies at approximately the same elevation as the orchestra.

<sup>15</sup> Saria 1938 does not report a floor surface in the small segment he cleared at the southwest side of the orchestra: col. 103, and n.2, see fig. 1 and the section in fig. 2, test tr. VII. He mentions "a lump of golden sand" over a bed of coarse gravel at el. 137.36m but we found nothing comparable. Saria refers to opening his tr. VII in 1924 but apparently it was partially refilled when Dyggve came in 1930 to make the drawings.

<sup>16</sup> Hellenistic burials were found elsewhere at Stobi under the House of Peristeria and Domus Fulonica. See Blazevska and Pavlovski 2018.

<sup>17</sup> A full discussion appears in Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>8</sup> Walls of the first theater are given Arabic numerals; walls of the second building are named according to their place in the building (i.e., wall 2 = west wall of West Room II of the second scene-building).

<sup>9</sup> Greater precision was not possible because of shifting and damage to the blocks, but it is unlikely that the error is greater than +/-0.05m.

<sup>10</sup> The 0.294m foot is applicable in the hypothesis for designing the cavea (Pavlovski 2018b), as well as the interpretation of the masons' marks (red color lines and Roman numerals) on the walls of the theater (Pavlovski 2020). A foot of 0.294m was used in Ionia: the best example is the temple of Athena at Priene (begun 340 BC); and the architect Pythius wrote a book on the building that was later used by Vitruvius (Dinsmoor 1973, pp. 221-222, note 2). Cf. Adam 1984, pp. 42-43, for a variety of foot rules represented on Roman monuments, 0.2925-0.298m for Greek feet, see Broneer 1971, pp. 174-181; Broneer 1973, pp. 63-64.

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Goce Pavlovski for the photo and information from 2013.

<sup>12</sup> See field notebook 93, July 1975, Tr. XXII, including photo 75-143-

the rear wall of the first scaena (wall 1). The channel reached to 1.06m below the floor; its full width was not exposed. The opening did not continue to the north or south, and the center portion was filled with the same fine silt as the early water course (Deposit I.1), seen from above (Fig. 14).<sup>18</sup>

### *Cavea*

The cavea followed a pattern usual in most Roman theaters where the seating was free-standing, supported on radial walls that were built on level ground. The outer wall of the cavea (wall 7), uncovered at the west end (Trench XXVII), in the center (Trench XXVIII), and in five other places, was supported on piers joined by arches.<sup>19</sup> In the center of the cavea, two rooms opened off the central corridor and held two staircases leading to the box of honor.<sup>20</sup> On the east and west sides of the cavea, a vaulted aditus lay beneath the seats and ran parallel to the stage.

The cavea remained largely unfinished before construction on it was halted, although the level of completion varied across the auditorium. The perimetral wall with piers and arches, the radial and circular walls, and the foundation for the podium at the edge of the orchestra seem to have been begun in the initial phase and were reused in the following period.<sup>21</sup> The bedding for the seats was not finished, nor all the podium: the crown course of the podium could not have been set before completion of the seat foundations that it overlaps. Red-painted lines and numbers, identified by Goce Pavlovski as guides for the masons in Phase I, can be seen on walls in both the cavea and scaena.<sup>22</sup> They, as well as a change in the construction technique, give an indication of how far construction had progressed in various areas. Thus, the plan of the cavea belonged to

<sup>18</sup> Saria 1938, col. 103 indicated that the central passage represented a drain beneath the scene-building that emptied toward the south; he did not excavate south of the façade.

<sup>19</sup> The pier at the northwest end of the west parodos = west radial corridor in Phase II (Fig. 21). Further remains of the outer piers appear in the center and at the east side where five probes were opened in the 1960s. Others will undoubtedly be uncovered in the ongoing excavations by National Institution Stobi.

<sup>20</sup> Pavlovski 2018a, pp. 165-169, 177; Pavlovski 2018b, p. 414. Pavlovski is certain that the lateral rooms of the radial corridor were established in Phase I because there is a red line at the lowest level on all the walls that form the rooms. Part of the line on the radial walls and the line on circular wall I was covered by the construction of the stairway. If no stairs were planned, then the function of the rooms is unclear. Since there are no vomitoria in the ima cavea, it is hardly likely that the seats of honor were only reached from the diazoma. There must have been a planned approach to the lowest rows of seats. Were there steps at the orchestra end of the aditus maximi that led to the top of the podium? Cf. the theater at Philadelphia: Sear 2006, pp. 314-315 and plan 301: "small staircases at ends of aditus maximi run up to podium."

<sup>21</sup> The cavea was constructed entirely in masonry. As discussed in Chapter II, walls 5, 8, 6, and 9 were reused in Phase II for east and west radial corridors, the central corridor was finished and wall 7 continued as the outer analemma. See Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>22</sup> Pavlovski 2020.

the first phase of the theater and the lower section was completed before construction was brought to a halt. A basic elevation of completion is the height of the dado along the inner circular corridor, average elevation 139.45m. The red lines of the masons occur as high as elevation 141.55m. The front wall of the scene-building (wall 3) still stands behind the east and west porches, to an elevation of about 143m, c. 5.25m above the orchestra, showing that the building will have reached at least the first story (discussed below).

About the same elevation, 142 to 143.00m, was reached by the vaults of the aditus maximi. The remains of the vault on the east side are shown in Fig. 22 and on the west side in Fig. 24. The western aditus of Phase I (walls 5, 7, and 8=west radial corridor) is virtually intact from its eastern end to its junction with the center circular corridor. The foundations for walls 5, 7, and 8 have been partially exposed at the end of a deep trench that runs across the junction between the aditus and the outer circular corridor (Tr. XXVII; Fig 23, Fig. 24). The broad masonry footings and well-cut blocks above as seen in the photograph (Fig. 24) and section drawing (Fig. 25) looking east, were designed to carry the weight of the seating. The first great pier for the outer wall of the cavea (wall 8) stands at left, and the beveled string course on the corridor wall (5) is seen at right. The footing for the pier projects 0.52m from the blocks above while the foundation of wall 5 projects only 0.26m. The blocks were outlined by a pointed tool in the wet mortar. At the top of the foundations is a course of large, regularly cut sandstone blocks that formed a base for the upper part of wall 5. The top edges of the blocks were beveled and the wall was set back 0.13m. Fig. 24 shows the circular corridor opening at the left side, and the floor of the radial corridor is seen in the center.<sup>23</sup> In the passage, the surface of the ground sloped down gently to the south and southeast, close to bedrock.<sup>24</sup> Later, the floor was raised about 1.40m at the west end (el. 138.94) and 0.83m on the east (el. 138.33).<sup>25</sup>

In the eastern aditus, Pavlovski recently uncovered walls 6, 7, and 9, generally comparable to walls 5, 7, and 8.<sup>26</sup> The large blocks in wall 6 at the point of juncture between the east aditus and the inner circular corridor are finished like those of wall 5 to the west (Fig. 26). Importantly, the packing behind the orthostates of the

<sup>23</sup> The upper walls on four sides of the trench belong to a structure of post-theater date.

<sup>24</sup> The information on ground level comes from the western corridor, Trenches XXVII and VI at the west and east ends of respectively, Figs. 23, 25, 27.

<sup>25</sup> Evidence for the change in level is discussed in Chapter III, west radial corridor (cf. Deposits III.1 and 2). Study of the deposits suggests that the filling of the west end of the passage had been begun at the end of Phase I but did not reach the east end before construction stopped.

<sup>26</sup> See Pavlovski 2023.

podium bonds with wall 9, indicating that the cavea and orchestra are contemporary.

In the west corridor, a terracotta pipe (0.25m in outer diameter) laid along the length of the corridor (Fig. 23) is contemporary with the construction of walls 5, 7, and 8.<sup>27</sup> The stratigraphy is illustrated in Figs. 25 and 27. At the west end (Tr. XXVII) a trench about 1m deep was cut into the hardpan to receive the pipe. Farther east (Trench VI) the pipe rests on bedrock and is covered with a layer of mortar (Fig. 28). The pipe was wheelmade, slightly ovoid in section. Its walls are 0.007m thick. In the portion that could be examined the pipe was made in sections about 0.67m long. The small end of each segment fitted inside the larger end of the next, and the joints were carefully secured with a fine, white water-tight cement. There is no evidence that the pipe had ever been exposed or disturbed after it was put down, nor are there signs that it connected to a water supply or was ever put into service. When a section of it was removed in Trench VI to explore the contents, virtually no sediment or calcium deposit was found (Figs. 24 and 28, before removal). The interior opening of 0.208-0.224m shows that it was designed to carry a large amount of water, and the gentle decline of 0.14m in 22m would have avoided excessive pressure in the system. The terminus appears to have been inside the orchestra. The water may have been intended for flooding the orchestra for spectacles or to provide water for sparsiones. However, there is no indication of provision for waterproofing the orchestra at any period and no indication of waterproofing on the blocks of the podium.<sup>28</sup> No trace of a pipe came to light in the center of the orchestra (Tr. XXIII).<sup>29</sup>

### Scene-Building

The scene-building in Phase I included a scaenae-frons with rectangular porches framing side doors and a center door recessed in a curved niche. A colonnade likely extended across the façade, while stairs from the three doors led down to a stage. Porches and basilicae to east and west flanked the façade. Remains include the foundation of the rear wall of the scene-building

(wall 1), the façade (wall 3), and the basilica (walls 2 and 4), as well as portions of the scaenae-frons and porches that were reused in the theater's second phase.

### Scaenae-frons

The façade was supported on a high foundation that has been traced for its entire length; at the ends it is preserved to its original height 1.40 above the orchestra (2.40m above virgin clay, el. 139.34). When complete, the foundations would have comprised an enormous stretch of masonry, 53.60m in length (53.61m = 182 1/3 RF), 5.20m at the ends, and extending to a maximum thickness of 6.30m in the center (Fig. 4).<sup>30</sup> The entire platform would have been 2.60m high above bedrock, which is c. 1.80m above the orchestra of the period. It would have comprised about 727.376 cubic meters of solid masonry (Fig. 29). Now preserved below the sandstone course, the foundation was carefully made of small blocks, closely fitted, with joints troweled along the north face.

Small sections of the foundation below orchestra level were uncovered in Trenches V (Fig. 30), XVI (Fig. 29), XII (Figs. 20, 31), XX (Fig. 32), and XXV (Figs. 14, 33). Trench XXXII (Fig. 34) exposed a footing trench 0.60 to 0.70m wide along the face of the foundation, ensuring that the masons had room to work. Trench XXV uncovered a well-defined construction sequence that shows bonding of the east end of the foundation with wall 4 (Figs. 35, 36): six courses for the platform were laid to a height of c. 0.80-0.85m above sterile soil, then the concrete core was poured, exterior joints troweled, and the footing trench filled with soil (Deposit 1.7 = Fig. 29, no. 5).<sup>31</sup> Next, the trench for wall 4, abutting the face of the foundation, was opened and concrete poured directly into the trench (Fig. 36). A thin ridge of mortar spilled onto the floor at the side of the wall (at left in Fig. 36).<sup>32</sup> Above the floor, wall 4 was bonded to the scaena foundation and above that to the core of the east porch. Recent excavations have exposed the foundation and remains of wall 4 where it met the analemma of the first theater (wall 6).<sup>33</sup> In Phase II removal of wall 4 left a jagged surface on the face of the foundation and on the core of the porch in the area of the bond (Figs. 37, 38). The same type of rough surface appears at the west end of the west porch where wall 2 had been bonded to the porch and then removed (Figs. 39, 40). The jagged surface left from the removal of wall 2 continues above

<sup>27</sup> Remains of water pipes came to light recently also in the east aditus. See Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>28</sup> Traversari 1960 collects evidence for aquatic events in Roman theaters. The earliest example, the theater at Daphne outside Antioch of the late 1st century, is equipped with an elaborate water system leading to an opening in the center of the orchestra: see pl. 4. The original arrangement was composed of underground channels that led to a vertical shaft (diameter 0.40m) which in turn rose to a circular base in the center of the orchestra. When the shaft was closed, a later system employing terracotta pipes was connected to the same outlet in the center of the orchestra. Dimensions for the pipe are not given, but from the photographs and the size of the outlet (diameter 0.37m) it seems comparable to the pipe at Stobi. Cf. Wilber 1938, pp. 68-69.

<sup>29</sup> Excavation was carried to a depth of 136.20; Deposit III.8. If the slope noted inside the aditus continued, the top of the pipe would be at el. 136.56, about 1m below the orchestra floor.

<sup>30</sup> Compare the massive foundation beneath the early Roman scene-building in the theater at Taormina (Sear 2006, pp. 192-194, pl. 48; Bieber 1961, p. 183, pls. 636-637) and Minturnae (Sear 2006, pp. 125-126 plan 14; Bieber 1961, pp. 653-654); an example very similar to Stobi occurs at Salona (Rendić-Miočević 1981b, Sl. 6 and 9; Sear 2006 p. 256 plan 220) and Scupi (Jakimovski et al. 2017, pp. 36-53).

<sup>31</sup> For the south face, cf. Tr. III (Fig. 33).

<sup>32</sup> Before excavation, this surface (el. 137.75+), floor 1 in Fig. 29, extended unbroken to the face of the platform.

<sup>33</sup> Pavlovski 2018b, pp. 417-418.

the core of the west porch to the point where it met the front wall (wall 3, Fig. 39).<sup>34</sup> Trench III uncovered the center and south side of the scaena foundation (Figs. 13, 14, 33). A passage 1.10m wide was reserved through the foundation, placed slightly west of the north-south axis of the cavea (Figs. 5, 14, 33). It connected the interior of the scene-building with the area under the stage (hyposcaenum) and probably with the orchestra. A ramp led down to it from a rear door in wall 1, its surface embedded with small river pebbles.<sup>35</sup> The hard, compact floor bears witness to a considerable period of use (floor 1, Fig. 13; views in Figs. 14, 33). Since the foundation was originally much higher, what remains is the lower portion of the corridor. In Phase I when the foundation for the façade was complete, the passage would have had an interior height of perhaps 2.74m.<sup>36</sup>

The entire facade was probably finished to a certain extent when construction was halted. The degree of completion is signaled by the fact that the front wall (wall 3) today rises above the core of the east and west porches to an elevation over c. 143m (Figs. 41, 42). Since it was common practice to lay out a wall as a unit and to raise it by working progressively on the entire wall and not on separate segments, the façade throughout would have been finished to approximately the same height.<sup>37</sup> For general views see Figs. 37, 40. As discussed above, the center corridor of the cavea and the *aditus maximi* were finished to approximately the same elevation.

The side doors of the scaenae-frons were rectangular, while a semi-circular niche framed the center door. Some evidence for the shape of the niches of the first façade is preserved adjacent to the east and west porches (discussed below) although the second phase builders attempted to conceal all trace of them. At the

inner face of the porches the wall originally would have turned south to form one side of the first niche of the scaenae-frons. A small portion of that return is preserved at the west end with a section of the porch core on which the original stylobate had rested. The remainder of the core, 0.75m long with the original surface covered in mortar (elevation 141.51m), is shown in the foreground of Fig. 43. Mortar from the surface is visible beneath the finished face of the return, showing the line of core where it was cut away to be covered by the curved screen wall during the remodeling, see restored section on Fig. 44. More of the return was preserved in 1974 before excavation of the west parodos: seen in a view from the south, Fig. 45, and after excavation in Fig. 46 (in 2010), looking north. The return of the front wall (3) is c.1.30m thick, and the joints of the facing were originally troweled (Figs. 43, 45, 46). When complete, the section of the porch with colonnade and the front wall that is preserved today would have formed a right angle with the front wall of the façade, showing that the niches at the ends of the scaenae-frons were rectangular. See the restored plan Fig. 10; cf. 45, 46.<sup>38</sup> What remains of the return is a portion of a green sandstone course with a width of only 0.08-0.13m, reduced from an original width of about 0.45m, as shown by blocks that are preserved beneath the screen wall (Fig. 37 (east porch), Fig. 48 (west porch)).<sup>39</sup> The concrete core was left standing almost to the edge of the reduced sandstone course.<sup>40</sup> In Phase I the porch and colonnade would have returned to the east along the rear of the first niche (Fig. 50).

On either side of the central passage the south edge of the masonry extends diagonally southward for a total of 6m on the west side and 7.40 on the east (Trench III (Figs. 2, 5, 14). Such an extension of the foundation would not have been necessary if the wall above was straight. Thus, it very likely would have supported a curved niche in the middle of the façade framing the center door.<sup>41</sup>

A block of gray-veined white marble measuring 3.05-3.076m long, 1.60-1.68m wide, and 0.44-0.455m high found in Trench III belongs to the fill that raised the floor of the second scene-building (Fig. 47, shown during excavation close to the floor of the second scene-building). The surface of the block was left with a

<sup>34</sup> At the east end of the façade, the comparable wall standing above the core of the east porch is not original to Phase I but belongs to a rebuilding after the earthquake of c. 300 (cf. Chapter IV).

<sup>35</sup> The floor inside the passage sloped down towards the orchestra a total of 0.50m over 1.80m, a descent of about 1:4. Beneath the floor was a sandy deposit above sterile soil (deposit 5; Figs. 13, 14, 33). Saria saw only the north end of the opening as it appeared beneath the center stair; he naturally identified it as a drain (Saria 1937, pp. 28-29).

<sup>36</sup> The elevation of the floor inside the passage is 136.91m. The height of the floor above would have been at least 2 meters higher than the ramp. Passages through the scene-building below the level of the stage are a common feature in Roman theaters, e.g., the Odeum at Corinth, with a height in the second period of 2.70m (Broneer 1973, pp. 56-59), Taormina (Sear 2006, pp. 192-194, pl. 48; Bieber 1961, pl. 635), Termessos (de Bernardi Ferrero 1969, p. 22, pl. II), and Salona (Sear 2006, p. 256). In Phase II the passage was blocked by the fill brought in to raise the floor of the scene-building.

<sup>37</sup> I owe this observation and many others to the experienced eye of William Dinsmoor, Jr. The integrity of the wall depended on the cohesiveness of its concrete core with the facing serving mainly as a framework for the core during construction. That other walls of the early scaena reached a considerable height by the end of Phase I is shown by the elevation of the walls to which they were bonded: e.g., walls 1 and 2 were bonded to an elevation of 140.43; walls 3 and 4 reached a height equal to wall 1 on the basis of their bonding to walls 2 and 3 respectively (Table I.1).

<sup>38</sup> Fig. 45 illustrates the remains in 1974. In a restoration of 1998 some bricks were replaced with new ones, seen in Fig. 46.

<sup>39</sup> The return of the green sandstone thus had been narrower than the course along the front of the porches, which is 0.51 to 0.54m wide on the east, 0.47 to 0.53 on the west.

<sup>40</sup> Further sign that the course was reduced in width is found where, in the joint opened between the two blocks along the east face, anathyrosis shows on the top but not at the outer (east) side (Fig. 49).

<sup>41</sup> As the theater at Merida with a similar pattern of a curved center niche framed by rectangular niches at the side doors. Cf. Sear 2006 p. 86, figs. 14, 21, plan 230, pp. 264-265, restored pl. 79; Mérida 1915, fig. 1.

roughly picked quarry finish.<sup>42</sup> The only distinguishing feature is an incised circle on one of the long sides, which may be a mason's mark. In shape and proportions, it most closely resembles the threshold of the center door in Phase II (2.85m by 1.20m by 0.298m) but larger. It seems too large for the architectural program of Phase II. Allowing for removal of the outer layer, its finished dimensions would have been appropriate for the threshold of the porta regia in Phase I. Although it could have been cut down, its placement in the center of the scene-building suggests that it had originally been brought for use in the building and it was convenient to leave it there as fill (Deposit II.3).<sup>43</sup>

### *Porches*

Porches to the east and west flanked the façade of the scene-building. Wall 3, the remains of the front wall, stands behind two steps of masonry (section in Figs. 29, 44): one step of standing masonry rises to a height of c. 1.76m above a green sandstone course (Figs. 40, 41). These steps of masonry can be identified as remains of the porches that stood on the level of the stage of the first scaenae-frons. The course of green sandstone marks the base of the porches, and the masonry core would have been revetted with marble slabs resting on the sandstone, similar to the porches of Phase II.<sup>44</sup> The crown course and stylobate for the colonnade would have stood on the porch core, while the orthostates and base molding would have rested on the course of green sandstone below.<sup>45</sup>

The original facing of the core, small, roughly cut rectangular blocks, is partially preserved on the east porch (Fig. 37); the upper section on the west porch has largely fallen away, leaving a gap of c. 0.50m above the present surface of the west porch and the bottom edge of the front wall (wall 3) (Fig. 40). Thus, the original elevation of the core would have been c. 141.50 (Fig. 51).<sup>46</sup> The elevation of the east porch would have been

<sup>42</sup> Blocks were quarried to a standard measure. A block of precisely the same length (10 1/2 RF = 3.08m) and similar proportions was delivered from the quarry for the reconstruction of the Forum at Pompeii after AD 62 but it was never used: Adam 1984, p. 38, fig. 59. See also Ward-Perkins 1981, pp. 38-43.

<sup>43</sup> A change in color scheme in the second theater with rose marble being adopted for thresholds, door jambs, and columns might explain why it was rejected for the second scaena, although why it was not re-cut and used elsewhere is puzzling. Could it have been left as a token commemorating the first construction?

<sup>44</sup> The course is 0.29m to 0.31m high, of which about 0.25m was intended to be seen above the orchestra floor. The surface of the green course varies only a centimeter or two in elevation between the east and west sides of the building: el. 139.32 at east end; 139.36 west, cf. Fig. 19, 29, 44. The blocks, finished with a fine-picked surface, are 0.27-0.29m high and about 0.72m deep with an exposed surface c. 0.50-57m wide. The length varies: 1.62m, 1.56m, 1.32m on the east; 1.93m, 1.56m, 1.12m on the west.

<sup>45</sup> The sandstone course was cut off with the rest of the porch, although some remains of it are probably still preserved behind the curved wall of Phase II. Tentative restoration in Fig. 51.

<sup>46</sup> Facing blocks vary from 0.15 by 0.22m to 0.85 by 0.18m.

the same.<sup>47</sup> The depth of the porch core, front to back, is c. 1.50 to 1.55m (as seen in the restored section Fig. 51). The surface below the sandstone course on the porches has an elevation of 139.61m, while the orchestra floor remained at an elevation of 137.50 to 137.90m throughout the history of the theater (Fig. 29).<sup>48</sup> The difference in elevation makes it clear that remains of the first façade will be at a higher level. This mass of masonry towers over the two ends of the theater scene-building today, having been left as "parascaenia" in the second theater.

Marble facing on the porches would have consisted of a base course, orthostates, crown course, and stylobate (perhaps resembling the facing of West Porch I in Phase II, Fig. 52).<sup>49</sup> There is a question of whether the marble facing was actually put in place on the first porches, however. Small marble chips in construction deposits confirm that marble blocks were being finished at the site during the first period (Deposits II.4-6). It is not impossible that the marble slabs used in the second facade had been prepared for the earlier building and subsequently were re-cut to fit the later, lower porches.<sup>50</sup> Traces of mortar for a facing of some kind are preserved on the surface of the sandstone course. The mortar at the outer ends of both porches (Fig. 53 (west), Fig. 54 (east)) bears the imprint of the final block of what was probably a base molding. Further indication that facing blocks were installed is a raised lip of stone (0.03m wide and 0.20m long) along the edge of the third block from the west end of the west porch. It shows that a block was set back c. 0.03m from the front of the porch. Since the surface of the core was uneven (some stones protruding as much as 0.09m, Fig. 55), a thick layer of mortar would have been applied behind the revetment. On the basis of impressions in mortar on both porches, the marble orthostates would have had a thickness of 0.40-0.45m.<sup>51</sup> The same practice of delivering marble blocks for use in Phase I but then reusing them in Phase II seems to have been the case in the orchestra podium. The orthostates retain their quarry finish although they were set in place in Phase II, as discussed in Chapter III.

In summary, the east and west porches formed one side of a rectangular niche at either end of the first scaenae-frons. If marble facing for the porch is restored with the

<sup>47</sup> Only the west end of the front wall (wall 3) is intact; the east end of the wall was damaged in the earthquake of c. 300 and rebuilt in Phase III.

<sup>48</sup> Red line on the northwest corner of the west porch of the first scaena has an elevation of 138.59. Pavlovski 2020.

<sup>49</sup> The use of green sandstone at the base of the porches in both periods suggests that they shared a similar design. Examples of polychromy in the second scene-building and in the caeva are noted in Chapters II and III.

<sup>50</sup> Such reuse of valuable stone must have been common in ancient architecture, but it is difficult to trace changes in design between an unfinished predecessor and a later building.

<sup>51</sup> Compare the thickness of the marble facing slabs on the porches of Phase II.

base course, orthostates, crown course, and stylobate similar to that of the later porches, the length of the stylobate along the front of the porch would have been about 7m. The original width of the sandstone is seen in a complete block at the rear of the course, shown in Fig. 48. The return was thus cut back approximately 0.294m (= 1 RF) during the remodeling for Phase II. The original length of the return of the stylobate along the inside of the porches would have been c. 4.20m from north to south (14 Roman feet = 4.189m) (Fig. 9). It would be hazardous to restore the colonnade without more precise dimensions for the stylobate and the diameter of the columns. A tentative restoration for the east and west porches is given in Fig. 56.<sup>52</sup>

### *Basilicae*

The Vitruvian description of a Roman theater included walls (*versurae*) at either end of the stage that projected at right angles from the front wall and abutted the *analemmata* (*aditus maximi*) (V.vi.8). Beyond the walls were rooms often referred to as *versurae* but, as Frank Sear points out, they should be called *basilicae*.<sup>53</sup> Remains of the *versurae* (walls 2 and 4, Fig. 10) abutted the porches at the outer ends of the green sandstone course. The easternmost block on the east porch is set in 0.28m from the end of the porch. A bedding 0.01m deep at the end of the block with anathyrosis on two sides and rough picking in the center would have received the continuation of the sandstone course set into wall 4 at right angles to the porch. Fig. 38 shows the bedding in the sandstone course with the remains of wall 4 in Trench XXV below. At the corresponding point on the west porch the final sandstone block is similarly shorter than the rest and it is set about 0.30m from the end of the porch. The surface is too worn to show a bedding for the return of the course in wall 2 (Fig. 39). The northern extension of *versurae* 2 and 4 would have bordered the stage with the sandstone course visible along the surface (Fig. 50).

Wall 10 to the west and wall 11 to the east formed the outer walls of the *basilicae*. Wall 10 ran north to meet wall 5, the west *analemma* of Phase I, while wall 11 met wall 6. A division in the masonry of wall 1 suggests that the south wall of the *basilica* was completed after the end of Phase I (Figs. 5, 9, 11).<sup>54</sup> At the west end of the room, wall 10 was partially cleared in 1974 in Trench XI B. North of the marble *analemma* only the surface could be excavated at that time due to post-theater

constructions (Fig. 5, 57). Further excavations in 2020 revealed the threshold of a door in wall 10 (el. 139.83m) where it crosses the *parodos* (Fig. 58). A small section of wall 11 at the east end of the *basilica* bears marks of red paint, located on the masonry under the north side of the gate to the east *parodos*. The red marks which belong to construction practices of Phase I place at least the northern stretch of wall 11 in Phase I. It was raised to an elevation of 139.11.<sup>55</sup> The southern extent of the wall extended 9.83m on the inside to the southeast corner of the east *basilica*. The north wall of the east *basilica* was formed by wall 6 which was the *analemma* of Phase I.

On the east side of the scene-building, Trench XIII uncovered a small section of wall in the line of the rear wall of the second *scaena*. It is bonded to the east wall of the scene-building which was rebuilt after the earthquake in Phase III. To the east, excavations in 2010 by the National Institution of Stobi under Goce Pavlovski uncovered remains of a wall that, by its position, would have been the south wall of the eastern *basilica* in Phase I. The wall is 1.00m thick. It is bonded at the southeast corner to wall 11.

Since excavation in the other areas of the east and west *basilicae* did not continue to the level of the foundations, it is difficult to trace the complete sequence of construction. That the construction of the west *basilica* belongs to Phase I is shown by the bonding of walls 1 and 2 at the southeast corner to an elevation almost 3m above the ground floor of the first *scaena*. On the east, the northeast end of the east *basilica* (wall 4) was uncovered by Goce Pavlovski where it met wall 6 (east *analemma* of Phase I) at an elevation of 141.50m (at the top of the second course of orthostates of the marble *analemma*). Thus, it appears that the east *basilica* had been raised to the same extent as the rest of the scene-building in Phase I. The west *basilica* very likely had the same history. In any case, the *basilicae* as planned had an interior dimension of 17.30m east to west and 13.50-13.80m north to south.

### *Interior of scene-building*

The main floor of the building was very likely a few feet higher than the stage (discussed below). The division of the interior space is unknown. A projection in the foundation behind the west porch may have been intended for an interior wall, as shown on the restored plan (Fig. 9).

A small doorway in the center of the rear wall led to the ground floor. The doorway, 1.10m wide, sat slightly to the west of the center passage (Figs. 9, 14). No threshold or beddings for door jambs remain. The opening would

<sup>52</sup> With thanks to Jonathan Stevens.

<sup>53</sup> Sear 2006, p. 9 and note 173 for epigraphical confirmation of the term in a theatrical context.

<sup>54</sup> Note that the extension of wall 1 on the west side had progressed to a height of about 2.85m above the ground floor of the first *scaena* (el. 137.63 in Trench I) before construction was halted. The wooden floor above is estimated at about el. 140.75m, about 1.35m above the stage.

<sup>55</sup> Pavlovski 2020, p. 475.

have given access to the ground floor of the scene-building and from there through the passage to the hypocaustum and orchestra.

The ground floor inside the scene-building, uncovered in Trenches I and III, was of beaten earth. At the west end (Trench I) the surface is marked by a thin stratum of crumbled mortar (el. 137.57-137.63m), and above the floor the faces of walls 1 and 2 were finished with mortared joints (Fig. 12). In the center of the building (Trench III), the slightly lower floor is composed of a compact layer of sand and small marble chips (el. 137.35m; Deposit I.16; Fig. 13). A hard-packed surface leads from the doorway to the beginning of the ramp entering the central passage (Floor 1; Figs. 33, 59). The ramp, embedded with small river pebbles, descended a total of 0.50m in a distance of 1.80m, a slope of about 1:4 (Fig. 13). At the side of the ramp the surface slopes up to the west a maximum of 0.35m. It is evident that there was considerable traffic between the south door and the passage, perhaps during the period of construction. The space may have been used as a working/storage area.

The main floor would have been of wooden boards supported on rafters running between the front and rear walls. Since both walls were demolished to floor level in Phase II, there is nothing to show that the floor was actually put in place. It would have been higher than the stage (el. c. 139.30/40), to allow access to the central passage on the ground floor. If the passage was roofed with stone slabs similar to those covering the remaining portion of the passage beneath the porches in Phase II, thickness up to 0.25m (Fig. 13), the total height of the passage would have been about 2.74m (roof at elevation about 139.65m or more). The wooden floor above it would have been higher. The center threshold in the restored isometric construction is shown at a height of 1.35m above the stage (el. 140.75m) (Fig. 56). Interior stairs may have been planned.

The characteristic plan for the interior of a Roman scene-building included a long narrow hall behind the façade. Such a space is restored in Fig. 10, with an interior width of 3 m (10 RF = 2.94m) and length of 51.40m (175 RF = 51.45m), which is 1 3/4 times the diameter of the orchestra. It is likely, on analogy with other theaters, that the hall was divided into rooms entered from the three doors in the facade.<sup>56</sup>

### South Terrace

<sup>56</sup> In the Odeum at Corinth where the scene-building had slightly deeper proportions, width to length, the long hall was 4.60m wide by 61.60m long: Broneer 1932, p. 33, plate III. See also the large theater at Pompeii (Roman period), the Theater of Marcellus, the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, the theaters at Herculaneum, Timgad, Aspendus, Selge, and Termessus. For the form of the Roman scene-building see Fiechter 1914, pp. 75-97, figs. 67-77 and Sear 2006, pp. 25-30.

At the south side of the scene-building, outside the south door, Trench III uncovered a surface contemporary with the first building (Fig. 13, 59, seen at left under the foundation for the statue base in the Nemeseum of Phase III). Composed of marble chips mixed with sand it appears to be an extension of the interior floor. Immediately below the surface, several construction layers were formed when the foundation for wall 1 was laid. The east end of the terrace was uncovered at the same elevation in a probe in the southeast corner of East Room II (Trench XIII, Fig. 2). It is evident that the surface outside the scene-building was fairly level during Phase I. The same surface was in use when the foundations for the rear and the interior walls of the second scene-building were poured a few years later.<sup>57</sup>

### Stage

The level of the stage is indicated by two steps of sandstone masonry immediately before wall 3. On the hypothesis that Phase I was designed according to the plan of a Roman theater, as seems to have been the case, the porches and doors of the façade would have opened onto a raised stage. The theater at Merida provides a good example.<sup>58</sup>

Although no remains of a stage have been found in the excavations, its basic outline can be inferred from the Vitruvian plan of a Roman theater (Figs. 9, 10). The platform would have stretched between the *versurae* (walls 2 and 4) and its front wall would have bisected the center of the orchestra. At the end of our excavations Trench XXIII was opened in order to check for a stage wall, but unfortunately it was not extended far enough to the south to uncover the full thickness of the stage front, nor was excavation carried to bedrock. The unusual depth of fill encountered at its south end is an indication of some construction at that point. Deposit III.8 was carried to an elevation of 136.20 without reaching virgin soil.<sup>59</sup> The green sandstone course at the base of the east and west porches marks the level planned for the floor of the stage (el. 139.62 east and 139.70 west), which would have been 2.1m above the orchestra (el. 137.50). Although Vitruvius (V.vi.2) suggested a maximum height of 5 feet (= 1.47m) for the stage in a theater where the seats of honor were at orchestra level, at Stobi the seats were raised on a podium and a higher stage would have been appropriate.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> See Chapter II, Construction. Some of the material from the terrace may be represented in Deposit I.24.

<sup>58</sup> Sear 2006, fig. 21 restored elevation and plan of the scaenae-frons, plan 230, pl. 79, pp. 264-265.

<sup>59</sup> The elevation is 1.05m below the level of bedrock in Trench XII, 3m to the south.

<sup>60</sup> The podium with an el. of 139.55-139.62 is c. 0.10m lower than the stage floor indicated by the green sandstone course (el. 139.62-139.70). A stage of 1.575m in height was inserted in the theater of Dionysos at Athens in the time of Nero without raising the *proedria*,

## Construction

The foundations for walls in the scene-building, rear wall 1, and the *versurae* (walls 2 and 4) as shown on the actual state plan (Fig. 10), consist entirely of mortared rubble poured into a footing trench cut in virgin clay.<sup>61</sup> The mixture contains a higher percentage of mortar than the core of the walls above ground. The wide foundation for the *façade* (wall 3), however, was built with smaller stones in the same manner as the upper walls but with greater care in terms of consistency in the size of the facing-blocks and the precision with which they were cut and set (Fig. 60). Further details of construction are discussed below.

The foundations of the walls of the west *aditus maximus* (walls 5 and 8), exposed in Trench XXVII at the west end, were built by pouring mortar and irregular stones in a trench. The foundations protrude 0.15-0.20m from the wall courses above, which are composed of large ashlar blocks.<sup>62</sup> The final pier of the outer *analemma* at the southwest corner, wall 7, is constructed in the same way (Fig. 24, 25). Similarly, massive blocks appear in wall 6 of the eastern *aditus maximus* (Fig. 26). Materials and construction techniques used in the lower levels of radial and annular walls are similar to those found in the scene-building, but a change in the style of masonry in the walls at elevations of about 140.22 to 141.75m signal the end of the first building phase.<sup>63</sup>

Above the foundation, the walls of the *scaena* are faced with small, roughly rectangular pieces of sandstone and limestone arranged in uneven courses set in lime mortar over a concrete core (Trench III, Fig. 13). The best preserved examples are the blocks of masonry at the ends of the *façade* (*Saria's parascaenia*, identified below as the east and west porches of the first *scaenae-frons*) and wall 3 above the west porch (east porch Figs. 37, 38; west porch Figs. 40, 42).<sup>64</sup> The joints were originally troweled smooth, although much of the mortar has fallen away. The coursing is often interrupted by large, irregular blocks or by a section of smaller stones. The stone faces were built first and served as forms for the concrete core that consisted of fist- to head-sized

chunks of stone and small pebbles.<sup>65</sup> No pieces of cut stone or terracotta have been observed in masonry of this period. The walls were built up in segments, and after six or seven courses the surface was leveled with a thin layer of mortar (perhaps with the use of a string line). Each segment may be the product of a day's work or simply a convenient stopping point.<sup>66</sup> On the east and west porches pairs of holes (c. 0.20m square and extending into the wall at least 0.75m) probably held horizontal supports for scaffolding.<sup>67</sup> It is not clear whether the upper parts of the walls were continued in brick, as was the case in Phase II. At the west end of the building, the front wall (wall 3) stands to an elevation of 142.96m (about 5.50m above the orchestra) without any sign of brick work. The faces of the walls would have been finished with plaster.

The thickness and preserved elevations for the walls of Phase I are listed in Table I.1. The top of the foundation is the elevation of the surface from which the footings were poured.

## Comparanda

A *façade* with two rectangular niches at either end belongs to a type of aedicular screen found in Italian theaters, in Spain and North Africa as well as in the Roman Colony of Corinth. The central niche is either rectangular or curvilinear, framing the center door (*porta regia*); at the sides the *hospitalia* are likewise set within niches of rectilinear or curvilinear plan.<sup>68</sup> The theater at Mérida with a similar pattern of a curved center niche framed by rectangular niches at the side doors provides a model for the reconstruction in Figs. 10 and 50.<sup>69</sup>

but at Termessos the podium is 1.65m high with a stage of 2.36m. For an overview, see Sear 2006, pp. 33-34.

<sup>61</sup> The foundation for wall 4 was exposed in Trench XXV (Fig. 35).

<sup>62</sup> G. Pavlovski (pers. comm. May 2023).

<sup>63</sup> Pavlovski 2020, p. 483, table 7.

<sup>64</sup> The mortar varies in color from gray to a gray-pink hue. The same construction techniques were used in the walls of Phase II although the material is largely sandstone. The stone is found today in the neighborhood, and in antiquity it was probably quarried close to or within the city. In modern road-cuts, layers of limestone and sandstone are some 20 to 30 centimeters thick. From similarity in thickness of the facing blocks the stone appears to have been quarried in large slabs that were then broken or cut into blocks. At the east end of the scene-building the masonry of the front wall includes reused materials that signal a later rebuilding; see below Chap. IV.

<sup>65</sup> See Adam 1984, chapter 5, figs. 287, 288.

<sup>66</sup> Fritz Hemans pointed out parallels in the construction of the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi. Divisions between the layers are particularly clear on the south face of wall 3 behind the west porch. For construction of this type, see Adam 1984, pp. 137, 149-150, pls. 287, 288, 324; Taylor 2004, pp. 78, 102-106.

<sup>67</sup> The holes can be seen in the north face of the foundation of the east porch (Fig. 38), in the north face of the west porch foundation, and in the south face of the front wall behind the west porch. Many occur in the *cavea*: cf. Pavlovski 2023. See Adam 1984, pp. 86-90, pls. 182, 190. In the construction scene on the Tomb of Trebius Justus on the Via Latina (4th c.) the horizontal supports of the scaffolding are attached at both ends to vertical posts; Adam 1984, pl. 181; see also Sear 1990, p. 72, pl. 39.

<sup>68</sup> Discussions of the early Roman theater *façade* include Courtois 1989; Gros 1987; Gros 1996, pp. 272-307. A number of examples are usefully collected by Small 1983, although his method of deriving their plan seems unlikely; see Chapter V; Stillwell 1952, pp. 99-105; cf. Sturgeon 2004; Sear 2006, pp. 392-393, plan 419.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Sear 2006, p. 86, figs. 14, 21, plan 230, pp. 264-265, restored pl. 79; Mérida 1915, fig. 1. I am grateful to Walter Trillmich for allowing me to read his unpublished manuscript on the theater at Mérida. The remains of the front wall in the *façade* of the Theater at Salona provides a good parallel for the diagonal direction of the foundation at Stobi, although the central passage is wider; cf. Sear 2006, p. 256, plan 220.

The relative size and shape of the niches find a parallel in the nearby theater of Scupi, outside modern Skopje.<sup>70</sup> The foundation of the façade resembles that at Stobi, especially at the rear of the center niche. Scupi, however, lacked a stage, which is restored for the first phase at Stobi. The central passage through the scene-building at Scupi is a large and impressive gangway connecting the area behind the theater to the orchestra.<sup>71</sup> The highly ornamented architectural fragments of Ionic cornices with consoles and architraves at Scupi are very unlike the remains from Phase II at Stobi, and nothing of the entablature from Phase I from Stobi has been preserved. The columns of the two theaters seem to have been similarly made of rose brecciated marble.<sup>72</sup> Additional points of resemblance include the general plan of the scene-building with basilicae in Phase I and lack of a stage in Phase II. The diameter of the cavea at Scupi is larger and the seats are supported by a complex substructure of circular and radial walls connected by vaults. However, the plan of the substructure varies considerably from the auditorium at Stobi, which also is supported on radial and circular walls.<sup>73</sup> The theater at Scupi is dated to the Hadrianic period on the basis of the style of architectural decoration. Vulić suggests that it was built in commemoration of an imperial visit when the town was named Colonia Flavia Aelia Scupi. The same date is suggested for the finalization of the building by the excavators from the most recent project led by Jakimovski. Based on numismatic and pottery finds, as well as the initial urban planning of the colonia Scupi, Jakimovski et al. argue that the construction of the theater had begun in the time of the Flavians and it was completed in the time of Hadrian.<sup>74</sup>

Closer parallels are found in Dalmatia, especially in the theater of the provincial capital, Salona, where Dyggve conducted excavations in both the theater and amphitheater and noted similarities with the theater

at Stobi.<sup>75</sup> The points of resemblance that he had in mind must have been the architectural details such as moldings, since the existence of a scene-building at Stobi with a plan comparable to the one at Salona was unknown at the time of his excavations. It is evident now that the façade of the first scene-building at Stobi was in fact similar to that at Salona in that the central curved bay was flanked by rectangular niches framing the side doors, although the side niches are shallower at Salona. Another point of similarity is a passage beneath the central bay leading directly to the hyposcaenum. Enough remains of the stage at Salona to leave no doubt about its construction or plan. The threshold of the side doors was a few steps higher than the stage. The stairs leading to the three doors were flanked by columns, as in other examples of the type.<sup>76</sup> The small orchestra with passageway at the side distinguishes it from Phase I at Stobi where the podium was part of the original design. The theater at Salona has been variously dated between the mid-1st century and about 170. The time of Trajan is perhaps the most likely period for its construction.<sup>77</sup> The well-preserved theaters at Orange (Arausio) and Merida (Augusta Emerita) provide further details of the type of columnar screen. They have been used in restoring the plan in Fig. 10.<sup>78</sup> At the northern end of the Adriatic a very similar scaenae-frons probably of Augustan date, remodeled under Trajan, is found in the theater at Tergeste (Trieste).<sup>79</sup> At Pola (the Colonia Iulia Herculeana Polentia) the large theater has disappeared, and the façade of the small theater resembles neither that at Tergeste nor the eastern type. It seems rather to represent an early attempt to vary the straight line of

<sup>70</sup> See Sear 2006, p. 257; plan 222. Nikola Vulić excavated the theater between 1935-1937 and later published the results in Vulić 1961, esp. pp. 1-23, 87-91. Further work done in 1959-1961 is summarized by Rendić-Miočević 1981a. Unfortunately, the documentation was lost in the earthquake of 1963. The plan of the foundations (Vulić 1961, fig. 1), reveals the basic outline of a large semi-circular niche in the center and deep rectangular niches at either side. The Scupi theater was almost completely excavated between 2013 and 2017, see Jakimovski et al. 2017.

<sup>71</sup> In particular, Vulić notes that the bottom part of the façade was revetted with slabs of multicolored slate. He places the three wide corridors that lead from the street to the orchestra beneath the niches. As noted above, the first phase at Stobi would have had a stage, and there is no sign that the foundation beneath the east and west porches was intended to be visible. The narrow center passage is not comparable to the corridors at Scupi.

<sup>72</sup> Vulić 1961, pls. 10-35, 45. The entire scene-building at Scupi was 92.4m long by 15.65m wide without the basilicas, and 22.9m wide with the basilicas. The scaenae-frons was 54m long with a center niche of 15.02m in diameter, measured by of the outside wall. Jakimovski et al. 2017, pp. 36-53.

<sup>73</sup> The theater at Scupi could accommodate 6,500-7,000 persons if there were 32-34 rows of seating area. Pavlovski 2017, pp. 132-133.

<sup>74</sup> Vulić 1961, p. 90; see also Papazoglu 1957, pp. 24, 46, 87, 132, 205; Papazoglu 1979, pp. 302-369. Jakimovski et al. 2017, pp. 102-104.

<sup>75</sup> Excavation of the theater was part of a Danish archaeological project directed by J. Brønsted, F. Weilbach, and Dyggve in the 1920s and published in *Récherches à Salona*, of which Vols. I and II appeared in 1928 and 1933, and at least two more were planned. Vol. IV was to include the report on the theater which unfortunately never came out: Dyggve, Brønsted, and Weilbach 1928, pp. 24-25; 1933, Avant Propos. Rendić-Miočević 1981b presents a summary, with the restored plan done by Dyggve in 1931 (fig. 9); Suic 1976, pp. 170-171, pl. 111, reproduces a semi-restored actual state plan also done by Dyggve. Sear 2006, plan 220, p. 256.

<sup>76</sup> Dyggve noted that the theater at Orange is larger but otherwise very similar to that at Salona: Dyggve, Brønsted, Weilbach 1928, p. 24 (cf. Sear 2006, p. 256, plan 220; Bieber 1961, p. 200, fig. 675), although the raised doorways do not appear there. See rather the theaters at Merida, Dugga, and Palmyra.

<sup>77</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1981b, pp. 81-82 summarizes the discussion, also notes 9, 13, 14. The evidence consists largely of a dedication to the Nymphs left by a centurion of the I Belgian cohort posted to Salona c. AD 100, wherein he refers to himself as *curagens theatri* (CIL III 3096). This, together with the architectural details of the building, support a date in the first half of the 2nd c.; cf. Gabricevic 1952, pp. 158-162. See also Suic 1976, p. 170. Dyggve, leaning toward a date in the mid-1st c., argues that the centurion could have been responsible for repairs in the theater (Dyggve, Brønsted, Weilbach 1933, Avant Propos). He had originally thought it was contemporary with the amphitheater, c. 170, on the basis of similarity in architectural detail (Dyggve, Brønsted, Weilbach 1928, p. 24).

<sup>78</sup> For L'Orange (Arausio) see Formigé 1914, pp. 25-90, figs. 1-18, pls. I-IV; Grenier 1958, pp. 754-765; Sear 2006, pp. 246-247, plan 208. Comparable Spanish theaters are well-illustrated in Ramallo Asensio and Santiuste de Pablos 1993.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Scrinari 1951, pp. 99-105; Anti 1959, pp. 272-273; Sear 2006, p. 180, plan 95. Verzar-Bass 1990, pp. 433-435.

the façade by means of a central recess. Only the center door is inset, flanked by porches on either side. Thus, while there is a center niche, rectangular in plan, the two side doors are not recessed. An inscription from the theater mentioning the curators of the theater, construction of the portico, and decoration of the door, has been dated to the time of Augustus. The theater may belong to the early years of the colony after the battle of Actium in 31 BC.<sup>80</sup> Farther south on the Adriatic coast the theater in the ancient Corinthian colony of Buthrotum, now in Albania, was remodeled to include a scaenae-frons similar to the façades at Salona and Tergeste, but all niches are rectilinear.<sup>81</sup>

### Planning

As discussed above the cavea was planned along the lines of a Roman theater as outlined by Vitruvius: radial walls, circular corridors, and vaulted parodoi beneath the seats.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, the vaulted passages beneath the seats and running parallel to the scene building are indications that the first theater was planned according to the Vitruvian model of a Roman theater (V.vi.1-9), which is a type that is usually found in Italy and the western provinces. The plan of a Roman theater (Fig. 61) included a scaenae-frons with curved and rectangular niches, a colonnade, and porches. Three doorways led to a stage. The orchestra is small with an arc of 180 degrees. The vaulted entrance passages under the seats were joined to large rooms (basilicae) at either end of the scene-building, and thereby the auditorium was connected to the scaena (Fig. 9).<sup>83</sup> The planning circle for the cavea and scene-building was 29.40m = 100 RF.

### Summary

On the basis of ceramics in the construction deposits of the first theater, the initial building project can be placed at the end of the 1st century or in the first years of the 2nd century (Deposits I.4-15).<sup>84</sup> A coin of Vespasian (AD 69-79), recovered during the recent excavations in a first phase fill between the radial walls of the imacavea, provides a terminus post quem for the initial construction.<sup>85</sup> Work in Phase I ended within the first quarter of the 2nd century (Deposits I.19-24). Building of the second theater began during the first half of the 2nd century, probably near the middle of the century (Deposits II.1-9 and Deposits III.1-9).<sup>86</sup> Thus, the time between the two phases does not seem to have been long. No deposits can be assigned to a period of abandonment. For the most part, the same materials and construction methods were employed in both theaters.<sup>87</sup>

In summary, wall 1 formed the back of a long, shallow scaena; walls 2 and 4 closed the ends of the building and continued to the north. In the Vitruvian plan of a Roman theater the walls belong to the sides of the basilicae and are called *versurae* (Figs. 10 and 61).<sup>88</sup> When there was a stage, the *versurae* closed the ends of the platform. In the east parodos wall 4 which was excavated in Trench XXV (Figs. 36 and 38) is comparable to wall 2 (unexcavated) in the west. The plan of the façade from Phase I can be partially recovered from the remains of the foundations, from the reused masonry of the east and west porches, and a small portion of the front wall that was incorporated into the new scene-building of Phase II. Rectangular porches framed the side doors, and the center door was recessed in a curved niche. Stairs from the three doors would have led to the stage. The façade was supported on a high foundation that has been traced for its entire length; at the ends it is preserved to its original height 1.40 above the orchestra (2.40m above virgin clay, el. 139.34). The profile of the porches is restored on analogy with the porches of Phase II, on the premise that the marble facing had a similar profile. Restoration of the center section of the façade remains largely conjectural. The interior of the building may have been divided into small rooms. The scene-building had an interior length of 51.75m (51.74m

<sup>80</sup> Sear 2006, p. 179; Mlakar 1981, figs. 2-4. The scene-building is 47m long.

<sup>81</sup> Sear 2006, pp. 410-411. Ugolini 1935, pp. 85-93, figs. 4, 5, 7. No date for the remodeling is given. Sear 2003, pp. 181-194.

<sup>82</sup> See Vitruvius VI.iii-v; on types of theaters, see Sear 2006, pp. 24-29.

<sup>83</sup> Knell 1985, pp. 128-142. Tosi 1994, pp. 171-185, figs. 1-11. For a general summary of Roman theater design, see Sear 2006, pp. 24-36, fig. 1 for terminology; Gros 1996; Moretti 1991, pp. 7-38. To the western type of Roman theater found in Italy and the western provinces and the eastern theaters of Hellenistic-Roman Greece and Asia Minor, Sear adds a Levantine type for buildings in the provinces of Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and Crete that combines features from the others. Although a strict geographic division is not sustainable, the term western façade will be used here for a design employing curvilinear niches and a colonnade, while eastern façade implies a rectilinear scaenae-frons. See Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, pp. 375-377; Arias 1934; Sear 2006, pp. 83-84. See the discussion of Roman theater design below in Chap. V. The development of the Roman scene-building under the influence of theaters in Augustan Rome can be traced progressively northward during the 1st century AD, as discussed by Verzar-Bass 1990, pp. 411-440; Sear 1993, pp. 687-701 argues against Small 1983, pp. 55-68.

<sup>84</sup> Cultural deposits and the material included in them are discussed in the Introduction to this volume. There seems to have been virtually no layer of topsoil over bedrock when work on the theater began.

<sup>85</sup> Pavlovski 2018a, pp. 159-161. Coin M-12-283, discovered between radial walls 15 and 16. Deposits excavated by Pavlovski in connection with walls of Phase I in the cavea produced ceramics similar in date to those in Deposits I.4-15.

<sup>86</sup> A coin of Plotina (M-12-363), dated AD 98-117 was discovered in the stones and soil packing behind the podium below the first circular wall, in the segment in line with radial walls 14 and 15. Pavlovski 2018a, p. 178.

<sup>87</sup> Pavlovski notes that limestone and sandstone blocks of irregular shape were used in the first theater, while sandstone was preferred in the second. The mode of applying mortar to the joints also changed.

<sup>88</sup> For basilicas, see Sear 2006, pp. 92-93.

## THE THEATER AT STOBI

= 176 RF), measured from the inner faces of walls 2 and 4, and an interior width of 11.20m (11.17m = 38 RF). The basillae at either end of the scene-building had interior dimensions of 19.25m (19.26m = 65.5 RF) by 15.70m (15.73m = 53.5 RF) as defined by walls 2, 10, and 1 on the west and walls 4, 11, and 1 on the east.

On the basis of the foundations for the porches at either end the original plan apparently included a raised stage about 2.1m high. The scene-building may have remained incomplete. No surface is preserved for the orchestra floor, but a change in deposits at an elevation of 137.50 suggests that as the use level for Phase I.

## CHAPTER II

# THE SCENE-BUILDING (PHASE II)

### Introduction

Construction on a new scene-building and scaenae-frons, following a radically different plan, began soon after work on the first theater was halted. Significant changes to the cavea, parodoi, and orchestra also occurred in Phase II, and are presented in Chapter III. The construction date for Phase II seems to be close to the middle of the 2nd century.

In the scene-building the design and plan of Phase II abandoned the curvilinear façade of the first phase and adopted one that was severely rectilinear. The basilicae at either end became open courtyards, the building was shortened, and the depth was increased by replacing the rear wall with one farther south. The changes requiring the most effort on the part of the builders were probably the removal of the stage, rebuilding the façade and rear walls of the scene-building, and lowering the entire scene-building to orchestra level.

The outside length of the new scene-building was 53.80m (183 RF) and its depth, including the façade, was 11.90m (40 1/2 RF). Expression of the dimensions in Roman feet focuses on the planning process in the hands of the architect in contrast to the dimensions as built by the masons. The differences between planned and cut are especially clear in the large marble blocks of the façade. A catalogue of blocks not in situ is given in Tables II.1-4.<sup>1</sup>

The interior was divided into five rooms, with three small chambers in the center and a large hall at either end.<sup>2</sup> From each room a large door opened onto a stairway of five steps that led directly to the orchestra. Between the stairways and at either end of the façade were porches supporting the ten columns of the scaenae-frons. At the rear of the building two small doors opened onto a terrace. The proportions of the building were 1:4.5, which are deeper and shorter than the first theater. The plan appears to have been

influenced by Hellenistic theaters<sup>3</sup> while the scaenae-frons is based on the standard pattern for an aedicular façade in Roman theaters of the eastern Empire.<sup>4</sup> Fig. 63 shows Section A-A taken through the center of the theater looking west (1981) and Fig. 64 is section through the cavea looking east (2013).

### Reused Walls from Phase I

When the plan was changed the scene-building appears to have been virtually if not entirely complete to the level of the first story. The earlier and later walls can be distinguished largely on the basis of their location in the building since materials and construction techniques were very similar. As discussed in Chapter 1, the rough surface on a wall face, left after attached masonry had been removed, is often the only clue to the location of the earlier walls.<sup>5</sup> The actual state plan (Fig. 10) includes the walls of Phase I; see also the restored plan (Fig. 8).

At the east and west ends of the building the cores of the final porches were retained as parascaenia. The front wall (wall 3) behind the porches was incorporated into the new structure. At the west end it is preserved to an elevation of 143m, today almost 6m above the orchestra and more in antiquity. The east end of the wall was rebuilt after the earthquake of c. 300 (Chap. IV). Walls 2 and 4 that had belonged to the inner walls of the basilicae were reused as the end walls of the scene-building. Extensions were added to connect them with the new south wall that lay well south of its predecessor. The northern portions of the walls lay in the path of the new diagonal parodoi, and they were dismantled and covered by the parodos floor (Figs. 10, 38).

Remains of walls from the west basilica have been found collapsed in the west parodos after the earthquake of c. 300. Thus, the walls stood through Phase II, enclosing

<sup>1</sup> For the study of the façade I owe much to William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., who drew most of the blocks and worked out many details of the restoration. He later considered some of the same problems concerning the relationship between design and execution in his study of the Classical Propylaea on the Athenian acropolis (Dinsmoor 1984).

<sup>2</sup> All features of the scene-building are designated with Roman numerals relating to their position with respect to the center room: the first room, door, and stair to the east = East Room I, East Door I, East Stair I; the second room, door, stair to the east = East Room II, East Door II, East Stair II, and so forth.

<sup>3</sup> Ephesos: 1:4.2 (Bieber 1961, p. 116, fig. 442; Sear 2006, pp. 334-336); Priene: 1:3.46 (Bieber 1961, fig. 420; Sear 2006, pp. 349, 350, plan 354); Epidauros: 1:3.67 (Von Gerkan 1961, pl. 13; Sear 2006, pp. 396, 397, plan 423).

<sup>4</sup> Its closest parallels are found in the theaters of southwest Asia Minor, e.g., Sagalassos (de Bernardi 1969, pp. 41-57; Sear 2006, pp. 374-375, plan 396), Termessos (De Bernardi 1969, pp. 11-33; Sear 2006, pp. 378-379, plan 403), and Selge (De Bernardi 1969, I, pp. 43-53; Sear 2006, p. 376, plan 400) in Psidia; Perge (De Bernardi 1969, III, pp. 148-157; Sear 2006, pp. 372-373, plan 392, pls. 129, 130) and Side (De Bernardi 1969, pp. 136-143; Sear 2006, p. 377, plan 401) in Pamphylia; Nysa (Sear 2006, pp. 345-346), and Hieropolis (Sear 2006, pp. 338-339, plan 334) in Phrygia. Cf. Fiechter 1914, pp. 88-97. Further discussion of the planning of the façade occurs in Chap. V.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., the corner between walls 1 and 2, and between 3 and 4. Large parts of the early building remain unexcavated.

an open area at the end of the second scene-building. The east-west wall that later closed north side of the courtyard is a much later addition (see below Chapter IV).<sup>6</sup>

In the cavea the marble analemma of Phase II was added to the outside face of wall 6 (Fig. 65), which was retained as the south wall of the east radial corridor (Fig. 10). The vault of the corridor ends c. 5m before the end of the passage, stopping short of the doorway in the marble wall. It is evident that the original plan did not include the doorway. A short stretch of masonry was added to wall 6 at the end of the vault to connect with the doorway (Fig. 66). On the opposite side of the passage there is a similar addition of masonry to connect the vault with the marble stairway leading to the seats in Phase II (Fig. 67). On the west side where the radial corridor is preserved as far as the central circular corridor, the same two phases are evident. The two walls of the corridors are similarly constructed of large ashlar blocks, as wall 6 in Fig. 26 and wall 5 in Fig. 24.

Where changes in Phase II's plan prevented such reuse, as in the case of wall 1 and the greater part of the façade, the earlier walls were demolished below the floor level of the new building. The massive platform that supported the first façade and colonnade, the top of which had an elevation of 139.30/.40, was retained at the ends for the parascaenia, but over much of its surface it was taken down to orchestra level (c. el. 137.50m on east end, 138.05m on west). The new front wall and porches are bedded on the reduced surface of the platform. Only at the west end of the building (uncovered in Trench II) was a small portion of the original, high surface of the platform retained (el. 139.36m; Figs. 11, 45). The builders in Phase II made use of the platform to support the second pier from the west side of West Room II. The outline of the lower block of the pier is clear, and a section of the demolished east-west return of the front wall was flattened to receive its north face, as seen in the photograph (Fig. 45). To the east of the bedding for the pier, the south edge of the foundation is finished and indicates the line of front wall 3 where it had continued to the east along the front of the building before being demolished. It seems that the rough break marks the easternmost extent of the platform after wall 3 was taken down at this end of the scene-building. At a distance of 0.90m to the north stands the finished face of the new front wall of Phase II, composed of stone facing topped with bricks.<sup>7</sup> The new wall thus stood less than a meter north

of its predecessor but its foundations, together with the marble-faced porches, rested on the lower surface of the platform that had been reduced to orchestra level (Fig. 13). The cross walls and porches are bedded on the lower surface of the platform (Tr. III).

## New Construction in Phase II

### Façade

The inner corners of the porches, at either end of the façade, are covered by curved bays of masonry (Figs. 8, 41). Excavation down to the foundation on both ends of the building revealed that the bays were built onto the surface of the foundation when they were added to the façade; see northwest corner of the east porch, Trench XVIIE (Figs. 68, 69). Trench XXXII uncovered a similar situation at the inner (northeast) corner of the west porch (Fig. 42).<sup>8</sup> The porch core and green sandstone course were cut back to receive the curved masonry (Figs. 42 (west), 69 (east)). Further confirmation that the facing was an addition to the porches is the contrast in color and finish and the absence of bonding. The applied facing is 0.25-0.40m thick and a single course deep. Since much of the two curved walls remains in place, it was only a collapse of masonry on the west side that uncovered the join between the core of the porch and the additions of Phase II and made further analysis possible. The sequence of construction appears to have been as follows: during the remodeling for Phase II the porches were stripped of their marble facing (if it had been set in place) and the inner faces of the concrete core with the sandstone course below it were cut back, as seen on the west side (Fig. 48). The curved walls were then applied to the inner faces of the porches and extended to the new façade with the apparent purpose of concealing the earlier masonry (Fig. 42). The curved walls thus formed a smooth transition between the marble scaenae-frons and the remaining cores of the old porches, now presented as parascaenia (Fig. 7, Fig. 37 (east), Fig. 70 (west)).

was higher.

<sup>6</sup> Tr. XVIIE was excavated in 1975. The identification of the standing masonry as the remains of earlier porches was clarified and more detail about the remodeling followed excavation of the west porch and the west parodos in 1998-2001. Opening Tr. XXXII in 2010 with the kind permission and assistance of Silvana Blazevska and her team confirmed the change in design since the remains are comparable on both sides of the theater. The trenches uncovered the foundation where it had continued towards the center of the scaena beyond the point where the east and west porches had been cut back. The surface of the foundation was lowered to orchestra level and covered by a hard strosis (el. c. 137.55m on east side). Beneath the strosis along the north side of the east porch was a setting trench 0.50m wide (Fig. 29). The top of the foundation on the east side had an elevation of 137.53 and at west it was about 0.50m higher. Soil in the footing trench contained sherds from the second half of the first century and into the second century (Tr. XVIIE, Fig. 29, no. 5; Tr. XXXII, Lot 2098; Basket 11 (2010)). Bedrock was reached at el. 136.88 in both trenches.

<sup>6</sup> Pavlovski 2023. The excavations of 2020 in the west parodos by Goce Pavlovski uncovered the remains of wall 1, identified by the direction of collapse and brick courses in the debris.

<sup>7</sup> The photo in Fig. 45 represents the situation in 1974 when the masonry and bricks of the front wall were exposed. They were better preserved and there had been no attempt at restoration. The views in Figs. 43 and 46 were taken in 2012 when the surrounding ground

The new porches were not as deep as their predecessors, and a 1.40m wide strip of the platform was left along the north side where it was covered by the orchestra floor (Fig. 8). The curved bays at either end have no apparent parallel in Roman theaters, and they seem to have been an invention of the Stobi architect in order to connect the remains of east and west porches with the new façade that stood farther back from the orchestra, as discussed in Chapter I.<sup>9</sup>

### *Doorways to the Scene-Building*

The scene-building was served by seven external doors, five monumental openings in the façade between the porches, and two smaller entrances at the rear of East Room II and West Room II. The façade doorways are discussed below with the scaenae-frons. The two rear doors were uncovered by Saria and their thresholds appear on his actual state plan.<sup>10</sup> At present, the door in East Room II is covered, but that of West Room II was partially laid bare in Trench II (Fig. 71). The threshold is composed of a single white marble block, 2.12m long, with a raised lip along the outside and the two ends. Round sockets, 0.10m in diameter, received the pivots of double-leafed doors which opened inward. Thin wooden jambs would have rested on the raised lips at the sides. The surface of the sill (el. 139.36m) corresponds with the floor inside the building and the terrace behind. Sometime later the door was blocked with masonry. The rear wall of the Center Room is not preserved to a sufficient height to reveal whether there was once a south entrance as there was in Phase I.

### *Walls of the Scene-Building*

Today the porch core of the north-south return reaches almost to the outer edge of the rectangular sandstone block course on both porches, but signs of uneven chiseling along the inner faces indicate that the rectangular sandstone course on both porches was originally wider. It was cut back with elimination of the colonnade and covered by the curved screen wall described above (Fig. 72 (east), Fig. 42 (west)). On the east porch, the sandstone course now extends only 0.08m from the porch core (Fig. 72). The same trimming occurs on the west porch (Fig. 42).<sup>11</sup> Evidence for the original width of the course comes from a single green sandstone block on each porch that was covered by the curved screen wall and thus remained untrimmed (Figs. 48, 72). The two blocks are almost identical, each

preserving the rough picking on the upper surface and finer picking on the outer side. They project 0.37 (east) and 0.358m (west). Taken with the remaining 0.08m of sandstone course on both porches, the original width of the rectangular sandstone course would have been c. 45m. The width of the course preserved along the front (north) of the porches is c. 0.52-0.53m.<sup>12</sup>

The footing trench of South Wall II reveals that it reached a depth of 0.90m (el. 136.74) at the west end, while farther east it cut through a deposit of sterile gravel (Tr. XXVI, Deposit I.24) to elevation 136.90, close to bedrock. Above the trench-built foundation of rough stones and mortar, the joints were troweled smooth. There is no sign of reused pieces of marble or terracotta tiles.<sup>13</sup> The construction, here and elsewhere in Phase II, followed the same pattern as walls of the first theater. Leveling courses of mortar were laid at intervals and particular care was taken in setting the next course to ensure that the stones of the faces were approximately uniform. Such a leveling course is visible in the west wall of the Center Room, at floor level (Fig. 73) and on the south face of the platform beneath wall 3. At the level of the outside terrace, the south wall is inset 0.05m. The coursing is more regular above that level. Thickness of the walls varies: the front and rear walls are 1.20m thick, the east and west walls 1.10m, and the interior walls only 1.00m.

So little remains of the upper parts of the building that it is impossible to say where stone continued to be used and where brick was employed.<sup>14</sup> The interior walls that were partially standing at the time of Saria's excavations were built of brick, as shown in his photograph (Figs. 74, 75).<sup>15</sup> The three small sections of brick that remain today extend through the thickness of the wall: (a) in the rear wall of East Room I (Fig. 76), (b) the front wall west of West Door II (Fig. 46), and (c) the south extension of the west wall of West Room II (Fig. 11). In the rear wall (a) four courses remain with a total height of 0.30m to 0.37m. The bricks measure c. 0.335m by 0.405m and they are 0.053-0.063m thick, set in mortar 0.025-0.030m thick.<sup>16</sup> In the front wall (b) there are four courses with mortar 0.043m thick,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> 0.51-0.54m on east side; 0.47-0.53m on west.

<sup>13</sup> The reused material visible in the faces and in the core of the east parascenion comes from repairs undertaken in Phase III.

<sup>14</sup> Saria 1938, col. 105. See Adam 1984, pp. 156-163, for a good summary of Roman construction in brick.

<sup>15</sup> Saria 1938, abb. 12, 13, 15, 17. Up to seven courses of brick stood on the interior piers (Fig. 74); the brick portion of the interior walls of the center room stood almost a meter high. They appear to have been of opus latericium, that is, made entirely of brick, rather than of opus testaceum, brick facing on a concrete core; see Ginouvés and Martin 1985, pp. 99-100 and note 124 with references.

<sup>16</sup> The dimensions do not correspond with examples from Italy or Greece, neither in palms nor Roman feet. See Ginouvés 1975, pp. 217-245, appendix on bricks; Lugli 1957, pp. 585-630. They do, however, appear to represent a local brick measure of 4 1/2 palms by 5 1/2 palms = 0.331m by 0.404m using a Roman foot of 0.294m.

<sup>17</sup> The bricks that are conspicuous in the front wall in the aerial

<sup>9</sup> It is difficult to understand why the architect retained this portion of the old scene-building after he had demolished so much of the center section unless for reasons of design.

<sup>10</sup> Saria 1938, cols. 104-105.

<sup>11</sup> Further sign that the course was reduced in width is found on the West Porch where the joint between the two blocks along the east face has opened to show anathyrosis on the top but not at the outer (east) side, Fig. 49.

and in the west wall (c) one course. The brick courses begin at different heights above the floor (0.48m above in the west wall, 0.64m in the south, and 1.24m in the north), so that brick construction does not seem to have been uniform throughout the building. It should be noted also that no bricks appear in the walls reused from Phase I. The introduction of brick in Phase II is especially clear in the new west wall where the first course of brick begins immediately where the addition joins the earlier section of the wall (Phase I, wall 2).

### *Ceiling and Roof*

Vaulting for the roof was supported on square piers that line the interior rooms of the scene-building (Figs. 76, 77, 78). Each pier rested on a stone socle about 1.60m high and is composed of two courses of green sandstone or conglomerate blocks, 0.75m square (2 1/2 RF = 0.735m) and about 0.53m high, set without mortar. The 10 piers along the north side of the east and west rooms rested on the platform of Phase I, while separate foundations were provided for the final piers at each end of the building which stood outside the limits of the platform. A probe at the north end of Trench I exposed the foundation of the westernmost pier, which reached bedrock about 2.75m below the floor of West Room II. The concrete foundation was poured after the floor and walls were in place.<sup>18</sup> Above the stone socle the piers were continued in brick some of which was intact at the time of Saria's excavations, as shown in his photograph reproduced here in Fig. 74.<sup>19</sup> The upper block of each pier contains a large lewis hole c. 0.135m long by 0.025m wide and 0.13m deep, used for setting the block in place. The upper course was doweled to the block below.<sup>20</sup>

The piers will have supported the vaulting, as their heavy construction and careful doweling show. Saria, on the basis of their arrangement in pairs, suggested that they supported groin vaults, and this seems a reasonable interpretation.<sup>21</sup> In the two smaller rooms the piers form two bays with a clear space of 2.85m by 4.15-4.35m, while the larger rooms had three bays, 4m by 6.35m.<sup>22</sup> A small segment of brick vaulting was found in the destruction debris covering West Room II, but it was too small to show its original form. Bricks from the

photo (Fig. 11) are modern.

<sup>18</sup> The piers stood against the south wall of Phase II that was built at that time. In East Room I and II the tops of the pier foundations have been exposed at floor level or just below.

<sup>19</sup> Saria 1938, abb. 13. The elevations of the stone socles of the piers on the east side of the building vary between 140.30 and 140.36, and on the west side between 140.36 and 140.44. Thus, all piers were contemporary.

<sup>20</sup> The dowel hole is visible in the pier in the northwest corner of West Room I. The stone courses of three piers in that room and at least one pier in East Room II are missing. Three piers remain unexcavated. One sandstone block (A-75-13) is not in place.

<sup>21</sup> Saria 1938, col. 105.

<sup>22</sup> See Lugli 1957, pp. 685-686.

curve of the vault with wedged-shaped mortar clinging to them were recovered in all of the destruction deposits.

Perhaps related to the construction of the roof are two rectangular post holes built against the northwest pier in West Room II, 0.21 x 0.245m and 0.15 x 0.19m. They are both 0.50m deep and set at a 45-degree angle to the floor, sloping upward towards the east (Fig. 79). The holes may have held posts that served as braces for the scaffolding over which the vaults were laid.<sup>23</sup> In the Center Room Saria explained the absence of piers as evidence of a barrel vault covering the space.<sup>24</sup>

The interior of the building was probably divided into two stories corresponding to the divisions of the façade (Fig. 63), although no evidence for interior or exterior stairways has been recovered. Wooden stairs are possible, but I think it likely that the second floor had only a limited if any use.

Remains of the roof in the destruction debris (Deposits IV.42, 45) include a large number of simple Laconian and Corinthian pan tiles. There was also a great quantity of mortar bearing the imprint of the tiles (Fig. 80). The roof of the first theater, if completed, may have had Corinthian tiles, since both pan and covers of a light buff fabric were found in the dumped fill that raised the floor inside the second scene-building, Deposit II.4.<sup>25</sup> Alternatively, they may have come from some other building in the area. They are probably products of local kilns during the latter part of the 1st and early years of the 2nd century. No antefixes were recovered in the theater or elsewhere at Stobi, and it appears that they were not used in the city.

### *Interior of the Scene-Building*

Four interior doors linked the rooms of the scene-building, but they are poorly preserved, perhaps because of rebuilding after the earthquake in c. 300. The only example now exposed lies between the Center Room and West Room I. The opening of 1.80m seems to be original, but otherwise it was considerably modified in Phase III (Fig. 81; see Chap. IV).

The lowering of the façade to orchestra level changed the interior of the scene-building. The wooden floor was removed, and the building was filled with clean soil to the height of the platform that had supported the first façade (el. 139.30/.40m). This fill was excavated in areas within Trenches I and III (cf. Fig. 13, Trench III; Fig.

<sup>23</sup> I owe this suggestion to William Dinsmoor, Jr. Cf. scaffolding used in the reconstruction of the marble court in the gymnasium at Sardis: Yegül 1986, fig. 404.

<sup>24</sup> Saria 1938, col. 105.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Laconian and Corinthian tiles used in graves in the West Cemetery: Wesolowsky 1973, pp. 97-126; figs. 64, 75.

47). The total soil will have amounted to some 750 cubic meters. From the high concentration of marble chips in the upper layers it is likely that some of the fill came from the immediate area of the theater where blocks had been trimmed for the first construction phase and were being worked or reworked for Phase II.<sup>26</sup> Domestic pottery and other objects were very fragmentary, presumably coming from nearby refuse dumps.

A new floor was established at elevation 137.30/.40m, which is level with the original surface of the platform beneath the first façade. As described above, some of the platform was left standing to its full height at the north side to serve as a support for one of the piers in West Room II. Further terracing was required at the back of the second scene-building to provide access to the higher floor inside the building.

Portions of the original floor of the second scene-building were exposed in West Room II (Trenches I and II; Deposits II.10-13; Deposits IV.9-11). The surface was formed simply of compacted soil with no trace of plaster. At the west end of the room the floor slopes slightly down to the south (el. 139.45 north, el. 139.30 south). The fabric was 0.12m thick in the center of the area. It overlay a construction level (el. 139.23) which was marked in several places by mortar spills. Below, on top of the dumped fill that raised the level of the scene-building in Phase II, were other signs of construction activity such as lumps of lime, unfinished pieces of white marble, and clay. The deposit appears to have been formed during construction and early use of Phase II (Deposit II.10). Material from the floor fabric spans the entire period of use in Phases II and III (Deposit IV.9).<sup>27</sup>

In the northwest corner of West Room II a thin masonry foundation lying along the south side of the pier probably marks a narrow partition wall that closed off a corner of the room (Figs. 5, 11). The space may have been used as a storeroom during Phase III, because many large pieces of contemporary pottery,

some complete bowls, and roof tiles were found there (Deposit IV.33). The hard-packed floor, so distinct in the rest of the room, is not found at the north end, a fact that points to the space having been kept separate for some time.

In the Center Room the upper deposits were removed by Saria or his successors. In his description there is no mention of a floor.<sup>28</sup> Two small probes in East Room II (Trenches XXVI, XIII) revealed no distinct floor surface, and the late Roman material that accumulated after the abandonment of the theater simply rested on the surface of the dumped fill.<sup>29</sup> The largest object in the fill within the building was a white marble block in the Center Room (Deposit II.3, cat. no. 12; Fig. 47). A block of this size, one of the largest in the theater in any phase, is not easily moved or casually discarded, so it is curious how it found its way to the inside of the scene-building during construction of Phase II. To judge from the sloping disposition of the strosis, filling of the Center Room was done from the north side. It had progressed to 0.89m above floor level at the south end and 1.30m at the north when the block was laid down, presumably also from the north. On the basis of its shape and size, it could have been intended for the threshold of the center door in Phase I. If it had been put in place, it was removed when the front wall was demolished and buried during construction of Phase II.

Also in the Center Room Saria uncovered architectural remains, most of which belong to a remodeling of the space in Phase III when the goddess Nemesis received a statue with a dedicatory inscription in Latin.<sup>30</sup> An inscribed monument, however, with letter forms of the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries is included here.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See Deposits II.1-9. The earth brought in to raise the floor of the scene-building furnished the major body of material that can be associated with construction of Phase II. At approximately the same elevation the deposits show considerable similarity in soil and contents, but they were very likely deposited in each room after the walls had been completed at least to the height of the new floor because the joints below floor level are troweled smooth. Deposit II.1 in West Room II was put in from the east end and the Center Room was filled from the north, Deposits II.2-7. The entire filling cannot have taken very long. There is no material later than the second quarter of the 2nd century.

<sup>27</sup> "Fabric of the floor" is used for the hard layer of the surface. In some places, small stroses representing a buildup over time can be detected (cf. orchestra, Deposit III.7). At the time the westernmost pier was constructed the floor had an elevation of 139.27. The level of the threshold in the rear door (139.36) points to a final elevation of about 139.27 to 139.30 when the building was finished. Earthen floors tend to rise over time if they are not swept, and the west end of the scene-building may not have received much attention.

<sup>28</sup> A floor elevation of 2.39 (= el. 139.47m) is shown on his plan of the Nemeseum (Saria 1938, pl. I.1), but in 1970 the surface was 0.27m lower. Saria must have cleared the center of the room to about el. 139.18 because his photo (Fig. 74) shows the bottom of the base that held the Nemesis monument. The level at the sides of the room was left at an elevation of 139.47. See Chap. IV, Nemeseum floor, and Deposits IV.13-14, for deposits relating to the floor.

<sup>29</sup> The deposits in this area, Deposits II.8 and 9, might have been disturbed after the earthquake when south wall III was built, although no later pottery was recognized in them.

<sup>30</sup> Wiseman 1981, no. 579. Saria also recovered two other inscriptions to the goddess and numerous fragments of statues to her that appear to have filled the shrine in the final days of the theater. Although the style of these dedications places them in Phase II, their fragmentary condition makes them difficult to date. Because they were found in the shrine when it was embellished at the beginning of Phase III, they are presented in Chapter IV. See the summary in Düll 1977, pp. 121-123, cat. nos. 221-224, with full bibliography. Düll did not see the objects, but assigns the Greek dedicatory inscriptions to the end of the 2nd century and places the sculpture in the second half of the 2nd century without discussion. The Greek inscriptions in the Nemeseum are discussed by Wiseman 1981, nos. 580-581; Babamova 2012, p. 27, no. 15.

<sup>31</sup> The monument was uncovered by Saria with the later dedications in the Nemeseum, Saria 1938, col. 106, and pl. 18 (our Fig. 82), blocks A, B, C, and G; and Saria 1937, fig. 22, a photograph of the pediment; see Saria 1940, pp. 11-12, no. 2. For the inscription, see Wiseman 1973, pp. 159-161; Wiseman 1981, no. 580; Düll 1977, cat. no. 224; Babamova 2012, p. 26, no. 14.

Although it could have been moved into the chamber at a later time, in all likelihood the Center Room was dedicated to Nemesis in Phase II. A small inscribed stele with a relief of Nemesis may also belong to the same period.<sup>32</sup> The goddess was at home in theaters during the Middle Empire, especially those in which gladiatorial combats and wild animal hunts took place, as at Stobi.<sup>33</sup>

The inscribed monument to Nemesis was composed of three thin orthostates resting on a base (Fig. 82, blocks A-C). The surfaces are finely finished. Saria believed that they formed the base of an aedicula to which he assigned a sandstone pediment that had disappeared by 1970.<sup>34</sup> This type of monument calls for columns at the sides resting on a horizontal floor above the orthostates, but without more pieces, restoration is uncertain. On the front, inscribed in Greek, was a dedication to the goddess Nemesis by Titus Mestrius Longus according to a vision.<sup>35</sup> The slab, 0.70m high and 0.85m wide, bears a small dowel hole on each end of the top and beddings on the back for the attachment of orthostates at the sides of the monument. The base is finished only on the front where it is beveled; the sides were more roughly cut and the rear was not finished at all (Fig. 83).<sup>36</sup> On the top are shallow beddings for the side slabs and two pry holes for setting the front. The length on top is 0.87m and the width 0.78m. The unfinished back shows that the base was set against a wall, possibly in the center of the shrine before the larger dedication of the Augustales took its place.

### *Scaenae-frons*

The five doors of the scene-building opened onto stairways that led directly to the orchestra (Fig. 78), without an intervening pulpitum or stage. The two-story façade that framed these doorways included columned porches (see the restored perspective in Fig. 7). On the first story, Ionic bases supported columns with Corinthian capitals, which in turn supported an Ionic architrave-frieze and cornice. The entablature was set into the front wall over the doors. The same arrangement was repeated in the second story except the porches were surmounted by pediments. Niches, traces of which are partially preserved, were set into the front wall behind the two center porches, and they

probably also existed at the back of the other porches.<sup>37</sup> A cuirassed statue found in the soil in the orchestra in 1968 may well have been set in one of the niches.<sup>38</sup> No other decorative feature of the scaenae-frons has survived, although the niches undoubtedly held statues.<sup>39</sup>

The façade gives the impression of classical simplicity, with white stone and plaster predominant but relieved by marbles of contrasting colors.<sup>40</sup> Ionic jambs and lintels of rose marble framed the doors, and the thresholds, stylobate, and columns of the first story utilized the same stone. In contrast, a fine white marble was employed for the Corinthian capitals, and a white marble veined with gray for the simple Ionic architrave-frieze and cornice. The second story columns were made of a darker, gray-green marble with veins of rose, which may be an indication that they were replacements in Phase III.<sup>41</sup> The architraves, friezes, and cornices lacked the sculptural embellishment that is usually found on the more sumptuous buildings of Rome and the Greek cities of the eastern Empire.<sup>42</sup>

The blocks of the façade are listed in Table II.1-4.

### **Construction**

#### *Foundation*

The broad platform that supported the façade of Phase I, dismantled to orchestra level, was used as the foundation of the façade of Phase II (Fig. 13, 84). Where necessary to level the surface, two to three courses of masonry were added before the porches were built (Fig. 30).<sup>43</sup> The total rise in elevation was 0.50m. Along

<sup>32</sup> Düll 1977, cat. no. 222; Wiseman 1981, no. 581.

<sup>33</sup> Saria 1938, col. 115, note 1, and Düll 1977, p. 121, and notes 1 and 2 refer to the small relief of Nemesis in the theater at Philippi and a dedication to her from the theater at Thasos. Nemesis as protector and patron of the games is discussed by Herter 1935, col. 2372 and by Wiseman 1981, in the commentary on no. 579.

<sup>34</sup> The pediment might not after all belong to the aedicula because it is 0.62m deep while the base of the aedicula is 0.78m. Saria did not recover the side slabs.

<sup>35</sup> Saria 1937, fig. 21A; Wiseman 1981, no. 580; Babamova 2012, p. 27, no. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Saria 1937, fig. 21B.

<sup>37</sup> The lower part of the west niche was preserved at the time of Saria's excavations when the wall was standing about 1m above the porch: Saria 1938, abb. 11, 17. It is 1.35m wide and 0.90m deep. It has now been removed during the conservation.

<sup>38</sup> However, the fill in which it rested was well above the orchestra: Sarzo Sarzovski, pers. comm.

<sup>39</sup> Characteristic of aedicular façades; cf. Fuchs 1987, pp. 128-149, 166-193.

<sup>40</sup> Colored marbles were frequently used in similar façades, e.g., the bath-gymnasium complex at Sardis (Yegül 1986, pp. 141-142) and the great bath on the Lechaem Road at Corinth (Biers 1985, pp. 14-29).

<sup>41</sup> Discussed in Chap. IV. It should be noted, however, that colors in the marbles of the scene-building and cavea vary to such an extent that in some samples the contrast between white veined in gray and green and rose veined in white and gray and green is much less clear than in others. Any conclusion based on color of marble must remain tentative.

<sup>42</sup> E.g., the libraries in the Forum of Trajan (Nash 1989, fig. 555); the theater at Nysa (de Bernardi 1970, pp. 129-130; Sear 2006, pp. 345-346); Perge (de Bernardi 1970, fig. 169; Sear 2006, pp. 372-373, pl. 130); and Aspendos (de Bernardi 1970, pp. 170-171; Sear 2006, pp. 366-367, plan 383). In the bouleuterion at Nysa in the niches of the scaenae-frons were statues of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and the two Faustinae rebuilt AD 160.

<sup>43</sup> On the east side a thin layer of carbon can be seen on the surface of the foundation, which, together with carbon flakes and ash in the lower deposits of the artificial fill in the Center Room and in the east parodos, point to a fire, not necessarily large, on the east side of the building between Phase I and Phase II.

the front of the porches a portion of the foundation projected and was later covered by the orchestra floor, but during construction, the projecting masonry provided a convenient base for scaffolding set up to erect the colonnade. Five of the post holes that were carved out of the concrete have been cleared (Fig. 30). They are described in Chapter III.

The euthynteria was composed of green sandstone blocks, 0.29 to 0.31m high (Figs. 13, 84).<sup>44</sup> The front of the course was smoothly finished for 0.25m below the marble; below that band the sandstone face was left rough and would have been covered by the orchestra floor (Figs. 85, 86).<sup>45</sup> The lowest step of the stairs, which is white marble, lies in the same course as the euthynteria. In each stairway the sandstone has the same band of finished surface along the top with a rough surface below. To the spectators, the base of the façade would have appeared as a band of alternating green and white stone along the orchestra floor.

### **Porches**

Porches framed the doorways. The core of each center porch was composed of mortared rubble. On three sides it was faced with white marble orthostates that rested on a molded base course of the same stone (Fig. 52 (West Porch II), Fig. 87 (East Porch II)). Its top was finished with a crown molding, and the stylobate lay above (Figs. 84, 88). The masonry core, as seen in West Porch II where the orthostates have fallen away, and at the top of East Porch I and East Porch II, is composed of fist- to head-sized pieces of sandstone, loosely bonded with mortar. The surface is covered with a thin layer of white and rose-colored marble chips, some of which are 0.20m long, probably from finishing the façade.

The blocks of the base molding were 0.93-2.45m long, 0.40-0.52m deep, and 0.30m high (Figs. 13, 84). Some surfaces were left unfinished, as on East Porch I and East Porch II where the molding on the return was merely blocked out in three planes. On East Porch III the eastern return is completely unfinished.<sup>46</sup> The moldings were evidently cut after the blocks were set in place. The increasing lack of finish as the east end was reached suggests that the work had begun at the west and was never finally finished. A similar lack of finish occurs on the crown course, although the edges of the blocks were cut before being set into the porches.

The base molding consists of a lower band 0.08-0.10m high, followed by a torus, cyma reversa, and scotia.

Two narrow taenias (0.014m high) separate the cyma reversa from the torus and scotia (each about 0.06m high (Figs. 85, 87)). The surface of the torus and taenias was finished with a broad chisel and the rest was fine-picked. At the sides the return of the moldings meets the riser of the second step. To avoid concurrence of vertical joints the second step abutted the base course, and a projecting portion of the base continued the tread of the step. At the back of the base course a small piece of marble was inserted to complete the tread.<sup>47</sup> The first step was curtailed 0.24m by the projection of the base molding.

Arrangement of the orthostates, which is consistent throughout, can be seen on East Porch I, East Porch II, and West Porch II, where portions of the crown course are missing (Figs. 52, 87). Three long slabs lined the front of the porch and a single slab stood at each side (1.00-1.50m long, about 0.23m thick, and 0.74m high). The slabs are fastened at the top with iron hook clamps (0.25-0.27m long by 0.02-0.028m wide) set in lead, and many of the beddings and clamps are intact. The orthostates were cut with anathyrosis (0.04m wide) at the joints and were set without mortar. The workmanship, as shown by the careful cutting and fitting of the blocks, is of a high order. Throughout the porches the thickness of the slabs varies by only 0.021m. The surfaces are finely picked and at the edges is a band about 0.015m wide, cut with a flat chisel.<sup>48</sup>

Above the orthostates the porches were finished with a crown molding about 0.30m high, although the height of individual blocks ranges between 0.23 and 0.307m (Table II.1, nos. 4-18). Arrangement of the blocks is best observed on West Porch I (Fig. 84). The outer portion of the course consisted of four blocks: two set lengthwise across the front, a third turned with its long side to the stair on the east, and a shorter fourth block on the west side. The inner portion of the course was filled with irregularly shaped blocks, two of which are in place on East Porch II and one on West Porch II. The blocks were secured with iron hook clamps set in lead, most of which have been removed (Figs. 52, 89).<sup>49</sup> Three crown blocks (nos. 12, 13, 17) have been restored to their original positions on East Porches II and III.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> This procedure was followed on all porches and was part of the original design.

<sup>48</sup> Orthostates fallen from West Porch II are listed in Table II.1, nos. 1-3, with their dimensions. The remainder are in situ. Cf. Saria 1938, abb. 11, plan and elevation of the façade.

<sup>49</sup> The clamps are 0.26m long by 0.035m wide, with ends 0.055m deep. A clamp broken from the back of block no. 4 is inventoried as MF-74-270 and is shown on the detailed drawing in Fig. 90.

<sup>50</sup> Nos. 12 and 13 were found in the *via venatorum* by East Porch II; no. 17 at the east side of the orchestra. The location of the other crown blocks in Table II.1 was determined by the size and position of clamp cuttings, the line of weathering along the outer edges, the space to be filled on the porch, and location of the block at time of excavation.

<sup>44</sup> The blocks were probably planned to be 1 RF (=0.294m) in height.

<sup>45</sup> See Chap. III, Orchestra, regarding the elevation planned for the orchestra floor in Phase II.

<sup>46</sup> Martin illustrates the various stages of finish in base moldings and walls in the theater at Miletus (Martin 1965, pp. 298-299, pl. XXVII, 1-4).

The molding consists of an upper beveled edge with a *cyma reversa* below. Variation in the profiles is evident from the samples in Fig. 91. In some cases, the upper edge was not beveled; details of the carving also vary. Signs that the moldings were cut after the blocks were set in place appear on some blocks in the narrow, unfinished band of marble left at the joints and the upper edge that was left unbeveled with knobs of stone at the corners. The final cutting in many places was not carried out.<sup>51</sup> The following observations show the stages of finishing: (1) on West Porches I and II the protective strip was cut away at the joints; (2) beveling of the top edge was completed on West Porches I, II, III, East Porch III, and the front of East Porch II; (3) beveling was begun on the front of East Porch I but not completed; (4) no beveling was done on the sides of East Porches I and II. As with the base course and elsewhere, the finish of the east side was not as complete as on the west. It may indicate construction of the roof from west to east.

The stylobate for the columns covered most of the crown course with the exception of a band at the front and both sides. The strip of exposed stone, about 0.17m wide along the front and 0.11-0.14m wide at the sides, was heavily weathered (Figs. 89, 92). The stone was also polished by hand wear, probably during Phase III of the theater when the space in front of the porches became a *via venatorum* used by performers in the orchestra (Chap. IV).<sup>52</sup>

At the two ends of the façade, the porches were made with a single orthostate block of white marble on which stood the crown course and stylobate. The orthostates vary slightly in size: West Porch III is 0.877m wide by 1.255m deep; East Porch III is 0.905m wide by 1.33m deep (Fig. 86).<sup>53</sup> The outer faces are rough-picked; the inner faces are rougher still, presenting an example of the steps taken in finishing a block after it reached the building site. On the inside faces only the edges were drafted and a smooth bedding prepared to receive the steps (Fig. 92). The way in which the porches were joined to the curved bays varies. On the west side the base of the bay projects 0.25m from the front wall. The blocks of West Porch III were cut to accommodate the projection, making it evident that the curved facing was built before they were set in place. In the east bay there is no projection at the foot, and there is a gap of 0.30m between the curved facing and the top of the porch that was probably filled with small stones and mortar (Fig. 92). Furthermore, the curved facing overlaps the

ends of the euthynteria (sandstone) and the uncut base molding, showing that the porch was in place before the curved facing was built or repaired (Fig. 93). The difference in construction between the two ends of the building may be a further sign that the east bay was repaired in Phase III after the earthquake (Chap. IV).

### Stairs

Between the porches are five flights of stairs of five steps each that connect the scene-building and orchestra (Fig. 94). All are intact and exposed to view with the exception of West Stair I, which, although excavated by Saria, is now covered by an earthen ramp. The steps were made of the same white marble veined in gray-blue that was used for the porches and the *cavea*, and they were cut and finished in the same manner as the porches. The top surfaces, especially the center stair, are heavily worn. The front face of the first step in each stairway was finished for the upper 0.25m and the lower part was left rough to be covered by the orchestra floor, in the same manner as the sandstone euthynteria. The dimensions of the steps are approximately the same in each stairway, except for the center stair that is wider.<sup>54</sup> The first step is given prominence by a projection of 0.05m from the sandstone euthynteria on either side.

In several stairways small rectangular holes were cut into one or two of the steps. On East Stair II three small cuttings appear on the top surface of the fourth step at the rear.<sup>55</sup> On East Stair I, a single rectangular cutting is found in the center of the fourth step at the rear.<sup>56</sup> Two identical cuttings occur in the fourth step of the center stair, located 0.11m from the back of the step.<sup>57</sup> On the west side, West Stair I is now covered and West Stair II has no cuttings. It is possible that the holes held a light metal grill that protected the doors before the façade was closed from the orchestra by the heavy arena wall of Phase III.

### Construction Sequence of the Porches and Stairs

On the basis of the remains described above, the following sequence of construction is suggested for the porches.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the mausoleum at Belevi (Martin 1965, pl. XXVI.3; pp. 298-299). This practice is in contrast to that used in the base molding that was cut after the blocks had been set.

<sup>52</sup> That the smooth surface is a result of natural weathering and wear is shown by its appearance in places where the marble broke during antiquity and the fractured edges exhibit the same glassy smoothness as the unbroken surface.

<sup>53</sup> The widths are exclusive of the quarry finish that is 0.03-0.05m thick on both sides.

<sup>54</sup> The first step (beginning at the bottom) is 2.33m wide, 0.37m deep, and intended to be 0.25m high; the second step is 2.33m wide, 0.342m deep, and 0.262m high; third step 2.57m wide, 0.35m deep, and 0.257m high; fourth step 2.57m wide, 0.35m deep, and 0.254m high; and the fifth step 2.57m wide, 0.327m deep to the front of the threshold, and 0.258m high. The first two steps of the Center Stair are 2.62m wide and the three above widen to 2.86m.

<sup>55</sup> 0.07 by 0.06 by 0.012m deep, 0.05 by 0.04 by 0.012m deep, and a third the same size as the first, proceeding from east to west.

<sup>56</sup> 0.08 by 0.06 by 0.023m deep.

<sup>57</sup> 0.07 by 0.06 by 0.03m deep.

- (a) The front wall of the scene-building was completed at least to the height intended for the porches and the stairs (cf. Figs. 13, 63).<sup>58</sup>
- (b) The masonry core of the stairways was poured.<sup>59</sup>
- (c) The sandstone euthynteria for the porches and the first steps was set.
- (d) The base molding and orthostates of the porches were set and clamped.
- (e) The masonry core of the porches was poured behind the marble facing.<sup>60</sup>
- (f) Steps two through five and the thresholds of the doors were laid. The blocks about the base moldings and the orthostates at the sides of the porches.
- (g) The crown course was set. A bedding for the rear corner of this course was cut into the surface of the top step, and the front corner of the threshold was roughly notched to accommodate the crown. The crown was thus the final course to be laid before the stylobate.

### *Stylobates, Plinths, and Pilasters*

The final course on each porch was the stylobate. That the course was intended to be of rose-colored marble in contrast to the white marble of the porches is seen from the use of rose stone for the blocks at the outer edges. The stone, however, seems to have been in somewhat short supply because the rest of the course was finished in white marble. On West Porches I and III the stylobate is complete (Figs. 77, 84) and five blocks remain on West Porch II. On the other porches the course is missing, but five fragments of stylobate blocks were recovered in the excavations (Table II.1, nos. 19-23).

The stylobate is 0.18m high, 4.19m long (east-west), by about 1.60m wide (north-south) on the large center porches, while it is 0.85m long and 0.85m wide on West Porch III. On East Porch III the weathering lines on the crown course show that the stylobate was 0.90m long and 0.80m wide (Fig. 92). The outer blocks of rose-colored stone are fairly rectangular and are fastened with clamps, while the inner ones are irregular and no clamps are used. The stylobate was heavily worn on the front and sides of the porches; there is less wear on the center and back portions.

On West Porch I un-weathered sections of the stylobate show where the column bases stood at the northeast and northwest corners (Fig. 84). From the fine-picked

bedding on the east side the base is shown to have been 0.83m square; on the west side it was 0.87m square. Shifting notches (0.08 by 0.013 by 0.02m deep) occur at the rear edges of the bedding. Traces of bedding are found also on blocks no. 21 and 22 (Table II.1). No bases have been recovered, but they would have been of the Ionic order and very likely similar to others of the same period.<sup>61</sup>

At the rear corners of the stylobate there is a shallow rectangular cutting aligned with the column in front. The cuttings have one sloping side, usually at the back.<sup>62</sup> On West Porch III the cutting is turned so that the long dimension runs east-west and the sloping side is at the east. The cuttings very probably were used to hold blind dowels for pilasters set against the wall, one behind each column, as was customary in columnar façades.<sup>63</sup> The pilasters appear to have been removed at some time during the use of the theater, probably at the end of the second phase, because the surface of the stylobate is heavily worn over and around the cuttings.

### *First Story Columns*

Many fragments of the monolithic columns from the first story survive, nos. 1-22 in Table II.2A. The restored height is derived from three fragments of no. 11 that join to produce a shaft of 4.69m (16 RF = 4.704m; Figs. 96, 97).<sup>64</sup> The lower diameter of the columns, a basic unit in the planning of the façade, is preserved on nos. 11, 12, and 13 in Table II.2; 0.662, 0.658, and 0.660m respectively (2 1/4 RF = 0.6615m). The diameter at the top of the three preserved examples is 0.562, 0.560, and 0.591m (nos. 5, 11, and 18 respectively). In the lower story the shafts had a total diminution from between 0.068 and 0.095m; in the upper story it was slightly greater, between 0.061 and 0.103m. The column shafts of both stories exhibit some entasis. Those of the first story are of rose-colored marble and of the second story are a dark gray marble veined in green. The unfluted shaft had a simple torus molding at the bottom and a narrow

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Temple E at Corinth, second phase (Stillwell, Scranton, and Freeman 1941, p. 186), the Theater of Dionysos at Athens (Fiechter 1914, pp. 40-41), and the discussion by Meritt 1969. Saria 1938, p. 123, abb. 27 reports having found one Ionic base, but it has since disappeared.

<sup>62</sup> Dimensions: West Porch I, 0.17 by 0.09 by 0.038m deep; West Porch II, 0.11 by 0.18 by 0.04 m deep; West Porch III, 0.24 by 0.16m by 0.06m deep.

<sup>63</sup> The dowel would first have been set in the upper stone member, which was then suspended over the lower cutting while hot lead was poured in. Finally, the stone with its dowel was lowered into place. Blind dowels are found on the Athenian acropolis, the Middle Stoa in the Athenian agora, and elsewhere. Cf. Dinsmoor 1976, p. 231, note 20; Adam 1984, p. 58. Pilasters behind the columns on the porches appear in Saria's restoration (Saria 1938, abb. 32).

<sup>64</sup> I am indebted to Fritz Hemans for help in restoring the single column. Saria and Dyggve restored the first story on the basis of a restored column belonging to the second story. It is 0.13m less than the actual height of the two fragments that join, no. 12 in Table II.3B.

<sup>58</sup> At this point (el. 139.30), there is a rough leveling course that can be seen on the inside face of the north and west walls of the Center Room. See Fig. 95.

<sup>59</sup> The mortared rubble core of the steps presumably abutted the front wall, but the joint is not visible.

<sup>60</sup> In West Porch II the orthostates left their mark on the fresh mortar of the concrete core that was poured against them. The same procedure was used in the cavea where concrete was poured behind the podium orthostates. See Chap. III.

fillet and torus at the top. It is a type characteristic of columns in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

### *First Story Capitals*

Three Corinthian capitals were recovered in the theater. A similar example, but with different details and thus probably not from the theater, was found reused in the Central Basilica.<sup>65</sup> The capitals are made of fine-grained white marble, carved with unusual care, nos. 23-25 in Table II.2A (Figs. 98-103).<sup>66</sup> Several small pieces of leaves and volutes were recovered from the debris in the via venatorum (Table II.2A, nos. 26-28). Nos. 24 and 25 are 0.633m and 0.650m high respectively, no. 23 is 0.593 m. The lower diameter (0.510m) is preserved only on no. 25. The bottom was cut with a relieving surface 0.468m in diameter that corresponds to the top diameter of columns nos. 5 and 11.<sup>67</sup> Single dowel holes were cut on the top and bottom surfaces of the capitals.<sup>68</sup> The full width of the capitals can be restored to about 0.69m.

The capitals are decorated with two rows of acanthus leaves, six leaves in the first row and eight in the second. A third row is formed by six stocks ending in leaves from which the volutes spring. A thin stem arising from the center leaf of the second row ends in a flower carved on the abacus on each face. No. 25 varies slightly from the other two in that the spirals are more tightly curled, the stem for the flower has more pronounced curves, and the volute stems are a slightly different shape with crisper carving throughout (Fig. 103). The variations, however, are such as would arise from greater skill on the part of one of the craftsmen, and they do not warrant suggesting a different source or date. Several of the best-preserved flowers from nos. 23 and 24 are shown in Figs. 99 and 100.

A Greek letter is inscribed on the bottom of each capital: gamma on no. 24, delta on no. 25, and lambda or alpha on no. 23. The letters may have functioned here, as they did elsewhere, as a guide for placing the blocks.<sup>69</sup> If so, the gamma on no. 24 signified that it was to be placed third from one end of the façade, and the delta marked no. 25 as fourth. If construction progressed from west

to east, as argued above in regard to the porches, no. 24 belonged to the column at the northeast corner of West Porch II, and no. 25 at the northwest corner of West Porch I. The two capitals were in fact found together in the orchestra not far from this location. The letter on no. 23 appears to be a lambda, but it was more likely meant for an alpha since the cross bar of the alpha was often omitted in inscriptions and lambda could not have been used in a series of only 10 columns.<sup>70</sup> Capital no. 23 would have then belonged to the single column on West Porch III.

### *First Story Architrave-Frieze Course*

The frieze, which is without decoration, is finished at the top with a simple quarter-round molding and at the bottom with a sloping surface, not finely picked, leading into a taenia 0.03m wide. Below the taenia there is a cyma reversa and then an Ionic architrave with three fasciae, 0.075, 0.13, and 0.17m wide (Figs. 104-108).

The epistyle across the front of the large center porches was 3.80m long, and across the smaller ones 3.54m long. The end porches were each covered by a single block.<sup>71</sup> The depth of the porches at this level was 1.30m from the front face to the return over the doors. The interaxial spacing of the columns was 3.265m on West Porch I and 3.228 on East Porch I (11 RF = 3.234m), and 2.997 m for the two smaller porches (10 2/10 RF = 2.999m).

The blocks from the architrave-frieze course of the first story are listed as nos. 29-32, 35-37, 39-41, and 43-45 in Table II.2B (Figs. 104-126; cf. Fig. 127). The course was arranged with three blocks over the four large center porches, and one over the end porches. Where the course returned over the doors, one block was set into the front wall of the building. The location of 14 of the original 19 blocks in the architrave-frieze course can be restored on the basis of the clamp-cuttings and the shape of the joints (Fig. 127).<sup>72</sup> A further indication of their original position is the place of discovery. Some blocks appear in Saria's photographs; others he had uncovered but had not moved before the cleaning and excavations of 1968.<sup>73</sup>

The architrave-frieze blocks were made from the same fine-grained white marble as the capitals but with less care devoted to the detailed carving and a lower level of finish overall. The faces that were exposed to view were finely picked with drafted edges, while those at the top

<sup>65</sup> The capital in the Central Basilica is comparable to the others in height (0.640m), but it has a smaller bottom diameter and no dowel hole in the top. Although the general style is similar to the other three capitals, in details it departs from the other examples to a greater extent than they are different from each other.

<sup>66</sup> Table II.2A, nos. 23-25. Saria found nos. 23 and 24 in the west side of the orchestra, near the west refuge (Saria 1937, p. 42). In 1970 no. 25 was lying on West Porch I, but its excavation and location are not recorded. In the restored drawing of no. 24 some details have been supplied from better-preserved portions of the other capitals.

<sup>67</sup> On column no. 4 the top diameter is slightly larger, 0.504m.

<sup>68</sup> 0.03-0.04m square by 0.06m deep, with a single pour channel on top. The absence of a corresponding cutting on the architraves shows that a dowel was not used at the top.

<sup>69</sup> For the use of letters to mark the position of blocks, see Martin 1965, pp. 225-231.

<sup>70</sup> I am grateful to James Wiseman for this suggestion.

<sup>71</sup> Although neither of the two architrave-frieze blocks from the end porches of the first story has been recovered, both corresponding blocks from the second story are preserved. They show that the moldings and fasciae were carried around the outside of the porch to the front wall of the scene-building (Fig. 128).

<sup>72</sup> The restoration was made and drawn by William B. Dinsmoor, Jr.

<sup>73</sup> Personal communication from the excavator, Sarzo Sarzovski.

and rear remained rough-picked. The joints have well-cut anathyrosis.<sup>74</sup>

The course ranges in height between 0.778 and 0.815m, designed perhaps as 2 2/3 RF or 2 3/4 RF.<sup>75</sup> In width it varied between 0.666 and 0.899m. The dimensions of the blocks are given on the drawings (Figs. 109-126). One long block stretched across the front of the porches and a shorter block completed each side (Fig. 127). Only one of the long blocks (no. 43) is completely preserved, although broken in two pieces. It has a total length of 3.56m (12 RF = 3.528). The short blocks at the sides of the porches are 1.458-1.621m long. Of the three blocks that were set into the front wall no. 49 is complete with a length of 1.485m (5 RF = 1.470m). Nos. 47 and 48 were cut for that position since they lack a soffit molding and have a reduced width, front to back. Traces of mortar on the top surfaces show that the course projected 0.12m from the face of the wall. One end of no. 48 bears a clamp cutting that corresponds with the cutting on no. 36 of East Porch I (Fig. 127). No. 49, however, looks like an end block for one of the porches, but its thickness of 0.435m is that of a wall block and consequently the rear beam cutting is very shallow. These features, together with the fact that all the blocks at the ends of the porches are preserved, show that no. 49 was cut originally for the end of a porch, but it was then modified and used in the wall.

Towards the inside of the porch the architrave is finished in the same manner as on the front, but in place of the frieze there is a large rectangular cutting that runs the length of the block (Fig. 108). The cutting, approximately square in section, received beams supporting the ceiling of the porches.<sup>76</sup> The bearing surfaces in the cuttings are so rough and uneven that the beams or coffers were very likely made of wood.<sup>77</sup> The top of the course was cut with a relieving surface in the same fashion as the tops of the capitals, and there are shifting notches for the next course.

On the bottom face of the architrave between the columns, the recessed molding was composed of a simple, undecorated half round (Figs. 105, 109-122). On the blocks at the front of the porches, the molding is 1.88m long by 0.10m wide; it ended about 0.24m from

the place where the architrave would have rested on the capital. Only on some of the blocks (e.g., no. 37) is the resting surface distinguished by finer picking. At the sides of the porches the length of the recessed molding shows considerable variation, 0.67-0.82m, seemingly without regard for the pilasters standing behind the columns. When the architraves were in place, the soffit molding on some blocks would have ended 0.04 to 0.088m from the wall; on others it would have reached the face of the wall and the pilaster capital would have overlapped it. From the variation it appears that the molding was cut before the blocks were put in place, and no great importance was attached to the sides of the porches where it would have been out of sight.

The blocks were secured with hook clamps of the same size and shape as those used on the porches, and they were set at the outer part of the chamfered joint cut at a 45-degree angle to the face of the block. All clamps and most of the lead have been removed.

The architrave across the front West Porch I (no. 40; Fig. 118), preserved only for its west half, bears traces for the attachment of metal letters, probably bronze. The five small rectangular cuttings are located just before the break at what would have been the center of the porch (Fig. 106). Unfortunately, the rest of the block is missing and with it very likely the other cuttings for the inscription. No similar cuttings appear on the corresponding block (no. 37) over East Porch I.

### *First Story Cornice*

The five surviving blocks of the cornice are of the same marble and finish as those of the architrave-frieze course (nos. 33, 34, 38, 42, 46 in Table II.2B; Figs. 116-126, 128-135). The design required six types of blocks: two of unequal length covering the front of porch, one for the inside corner at each side, one over the end porches, and probably five long single blocks set into the front wall between the porches. None of the last is preserved, but there would have been two blocks of c. 2.16m in length over the side doors and one 2.45m long over the center door. For the cornices over the end porches, we must depend on the one cornice block from the second story (Table II.3C. no. 28, Fig. 136), as with the architrave-frieze course. When complete, the entire cornice would have been comprised of 25 blocks: 10 covering the porches, 10 at the inside corners between the porches and the scene-building, and five set into the scene-building wall.

Clamp cuttings are found on all joints with the exception of the east end of no. 46. On nos. 34 (Fig. 134) and 42 (Fig. 120) there is a shallow recess that received the inside corner of the block behind. Joints were cut with anathyrosis. On the top surface of nos. 33 (Fig. 135), 42

<sup>74</sup> The quality of stone cutting is higher than that seen on some comparable façades in Greece at this time, e.g., the Library of Pantainos in Athens (Thompson and Wycherley 1972, pp. 114-116), odeum at Corinth (Broneer 1932, pp. 87-91), Theater of Dionysos at Athens (Fiechter 1914, pp. 25-27). Some blocks of these buildings have unfinished sections.

<sup>75</sup> 2 2/3 RF = 0.782m; 2 3/4 RF = 0.808m.

<sup>76</sup> Rather roughly cut, it varies in height 0.24-0.322m, in depth 0.21-0.353m.

<sup>77</sup> Saria believed that the coffers were of stone, although no fragments of them were found in his excavations. A white marble slab from the bed of the Vardar River recovered in 1927 with other material from Stobi was identified as perhaps coming from the theater; Saria 1938, abb. 28 and col. 125. The piece went missing in 1970.

(Fig. 120), and 46 (Fig. 123), a rectangular surface was prepared for the pedestals of the second story columns (Figs. 137, 138).

The cuttings for the pedestals vary 0.71-0.87m in width and 0.67-0.73m front to back, and they are about 0.025m deep. Shifting notches for the pedestals occur in two of the beddings, nos. 38 and 42. With the exception of the areas prepared for the pedestals, the top of the cornice was left rough. The northwest corner of no. 42 was repaired with a small patch (Fig. 120). Before no. 34 was finished, a large flake of stone peeled off the top along a vein in the marble, but this did not disqualify it for use in the cornice (Fig. 133).<sup>78</sup> Saria recorded a large patch of red mortar on the top of no. 42, about 0.70m wide and reaching to the rear of the block, which has since disappeared.<sup>79</sup> At least one of the blocks may have been reused from Phase I.<sup>80</sup>

All faces except the top exhibit a high degree of finish, and all the moldings are completely cut through. Only in the width of the dentils did some variation occur, and that was not more than 0.005m. The height of the blocks, however, varied between 0.37 and 0.43m, with the higher blocks belonging to the outer porches.<sup>81</sup>

### Second Story Pedestals

Cuttings on the tops of the cornice (e.g., no. 42) show that the columns of the second story stood on pedestals. Although none of them was recovered in the theater, two examples of appropriate size, profile, and marble were reused elsewhere (Table II.3A, nos. 1 and 2). One was found at the entrance of Room 2 in the Theodosian Palace (Figs. 139, 140); the other forms part of the base of the Central Fountain, now partially obscured (Fig. 137).<sup>82</sup> Their widths, 0.65m and 0.67m, correspond to the beddings for pedestals cut into the surface of the first story cornices, 0.71m, 0.76m, and 0.79m wide (nos. 38, 42, and 46, respectively).

<sup>78</sup> I have noticed that the top surfaces of the cornice blocks from the Basilica Ulpia in Rome are finished in much the same manner as those at Stobi, including the very rough surface, patches, flakes of stone, beddings for pedestals, and small rectangular areas that were picked, apparently for use in leveling the block at the time it was set into the façade. I am grateful to James Packer for arranging my visit to the Forum of Trajan.

<sup>79</sup> Saria 1938, abb. 24E, 29.

<sup>80</sup> A rectangular cutting at the southwest corner of no. 47 (0.29 by 0.15 by 0.25 in maximum depth) must have been for some other use because that portion of the cornice was set into the scene-building wall.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Hammond 1965, p. 48.

<sup>82</sup> Restoration of the Central Fountain was undertaken by Zivojin Vinčić for the Conservation Institute of Macedonia, and he kindly supplied photographs of the pedestal before it was included in the restored monument. Only 0.47m of its height is now visible, but a total dimension of 0.59m is likely on the basis of the moldings. Its depth could not be measured.

### Second Story Columns

Fragments belonging to columns of the second story are listed in Table II.3B, nos. 3-19 (Fig. 141). The marble is dark gray veined in green and dark red. Although it is the same stone as that used in the cavea, the veins are heavier, making it appear darker. The color seems a strange choice for the second story since it does not blend well with the rose marble of the columns below. They may well have been replacements for originals brought down in the earthquake of c. 300 (Chap. IV). The shafts and taenias have a slightly rougher, less careful finish than the lower columns.<sup>83</sup> Since the second story architrave-frieze blocks and cornices are comparable in stone and finish to those from the first story, it is difficult to suppose that the columns alone are replacements after the earthquake. It is possible that the second story was rebuilt from the existing material.

The height of the columns can be restored as 3.54m on the basis of two joining segments (no. 12, Table II.3B). It appears to have been designed as 12 RF = 3.528m.<sup>84</sup> The lower diameter is preserved on nos. 6, 7, and 12: 0.480 to 0.483m (1 2/3 RF = 0.488m). No. 9 has a smaller diameter of 0.461m. The top diameter, preserved on nos. 5 and 18 is 0.425m; on no. 19 it is 0.025m smaller.<sup>85</sup> The unfluted columns have the same profile as those of the first story. A dowel hole with a single pour channel occurs on the top of each shaft and another in the bottom of the shaft.<sup>86</sup>

### Second Story Capitals

The case for a replacement set of capitals belonging to the second story is stronger than that for the shafts. Saria recovered one example in the orchestra, and it is listed in Table II.3B, no. 20 (Figs. 142, 143). It is, however, of such a different style and material from the capitals of the first story that, if from the theater at all, it would have been a replacement. It is discussed in Chapter IV. For Phase II it is reasonable to assume that the upper story capitals were Corinthian and similar in style to those of the lower story.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Consistency either of material or quality of workmanship among the parts of the theater is not close as to support a chronological separation between the two sets of columns.

<sup>84</sup> Saria assigned nos. 3 and 4 to the same column with a height of 3.44m, and Dyggve used that figure to restore both stories. According to our measurements nos. 3 and 4 do not join and the correct column height is 3.54m. See Saria 1938, abb. 31A, B; col. 127.

<sup>85</sup> On the seven columns preserved, the diameter at the bottom of the shaft, measured above the apophyge, varies 0.405-0.433m. The diameter for the top of the shafts on four columns has a wider range, 0.347-0.389m. The variation is only 0.026m for seven examples of the bottom diameter, while it is 0.042m on four examples of the top diameter. It appears that the bottom of the shaft was more carefully cut with respect to a planned dimension than was the top.

<sup>86</sup> On no. 1 the dowel hole measures 0.042 x 0.014 x 0.06m deep and those on the other shafts are comparable.

<sup>87</sup> The Corinthian order is usual for the second story in an aedicular

### *Second Story Architrave-Frieze*

The same design for the architrave-frieze was used in the second story as the first. The six blocks remaining from this course are listed in Table II.3C, nos. 21 to 26 (Figs. 144-147). The height of the course varies between 0.586 and 0.608m. The architrave is 0.334m high and the frieze 0.263m.<sup>88</sup>

Of the six fragments, three belong to the long blocks that stretched across the front of the porches.<sup>89</sup> A fourth fragment, no. 26, may have come from the wall because the rear face does not appear to have a beam cutting. The other two pieces, no. 21 and 24, came from the end porches. Both examples are badly damaged and incomplete, the front and inside portions having been broken off in each case. On the basis of the cornice block from West Porch III (no. 28) it is possible to restore a width of 0.525m and a depth of about 1.50m for the single architrave-frieze block (no. 24). It was finished on three sides with the back set 0.41m into the front wall.<sup>90</sup> The rear of the block was cut with a chamfer and fitted with a clamp to join the return of the course that was set into the scene-building wall. The soffit was finished with a molding similar to those on the first story, although little remains of it. A line of small holes drilled close together is evidence of an attempt to break the block apart for reuse in post-theater times. No. 21 belonged to East Porch III and is comparable to no. 24. On both blocks the absence of a finished surface on the frieze where it met the scene-building wall may be because there was a crown molding on the curved wings. It could also be another example of incomplete workmanship, although all other surfaces on the façade were finished.

### *Second Story Cornice*

The two blocks from the cornice are listed as nos. 27 and 28 in Table II.3C (Fig. 128, no. 28). Saria found them

façade, cf. Side (Mansel 1963, p. 134) and the theater at Corinth (Stillwell 1952, p. 102).

<sup>88</sup> Saria reported the discovery of numerous small fragments of the second story architrave-frieze course and one complete block with a height of 0.58m (Saria 1938, col. 128). He presented drawings of two blocks from this course in abb. 31, C and F; F is certainly our no. 25. Block C appears to be his single complete example with a width of 1.64m, but of the six blocks now available, none has a complete width and the preserved dimensions are about half of that. Either the block Saria recorded disappeared before 1970, or there is an error in his record. In support of the latter, there are numerous discrepancies in measurement between the drawings in Saria's publication and the blocks, compare the blocks in his abb. 24, 25, 31 with those listed in Tables II.2-4. As far as it is possible to check, the plans in Saria's report are more accurate than the drawings of individual blocks. There is some indication that Dyggve prepared the final drawings before Saria had finished his text.

<sup>89</sup> See the arrangement of the first story in Fig. 127. There is no reason to suppose that the position of blocks in the second story was different.

<sup>90</sup> The rear section is preserved, roughly picked. The frieze on what would have been the west face of the block was unfinished.

resting on top of the arena wall at its west end.<sup>91</sup> No. 28 is assigned to West Porch III on the basis of design and location at the time of discovery. Its original depth would have been almost 2m, of which about one third is preserved. Block no. 27 was broken off the end of a long block finished with anathyrosis which joined a second block along the front of one of the large porches. The bottom face shows that about 0.50m of the cornice rested on the course below; the overhang of the crown molding was about 0.32m, giving a maximum depth on top of about 0.82m. The top surface of both blocks was left rough, providing no clues about construction above the cornice.

In terms of material, design, and finish, the blocks are identical with those from the story below, as are the blocks from the architrave-frieze course, leading to the conclusion that they belonged to the original construction of the façade in Phase II. Not enough are preserved, however, to rule out the possibility of replacements after damage from the earthquake of c. 300.<sup>92</sup>

### *Pediments*

One block can be assigned to the tympanum of a pediment over one of the porches, no. 29 in Table II.3C (Figs. 148, 149). The long side of the triangular block (side A) would have rested on top of the cornice, with side B toward the center of the pediment. Side B is cut with anathyrosis and would have joined a center block, now missing. If block no. 29 represents one-third of a tympanum, the total length would have been about 3.50m, appropriate for East Porch I or West Porch I. The height at the apex would have been about 1.07m, giving a pitch of 1:1.75. A beam cutting is found in the rear face of the block.<sup>93</sup> On the restored elevation (Fig. 96) the scene-building behind the porches is restored with a simple sloping roof. As discussed above, the roof was tiled.

### *Niches and Doors*

In the wall at the back of West Porch I are the remains of a niche that was well-preserved at the time Saria uncovered it and it is still discernible today although removed by the Conservation Institute (Fig. 84). A comparable niche should be restored at the back of East Porch I, and niches may well have been located behind East Porch II and West Porch II (Fig. 7), although the wall is not sufficiently preserved. The niche at the

<sup>91</sup> Saria 1938, abb. 16, shows the discovery; his abb. 31e represents block no. 28.

<sup>92</sup> It is hard to imagine that there would be no trace of repair or resetting of blocks if the columns of the upper story had been replaced in Phase III.

<sup>93</sup> Beam cutting in rear face: 0.22 x 0.15 x 0.14m deep. Saria did not see no. 29. In 1970 it was lying near the center of the orchestra.

center of West Porch I is 1.35m wide and 0.90m deep, with its floor about 0.12m above the stylobate of the porch. Its original height would have been about 2.50m, as restored in the perspective drawing (Fig. 7).<sup>94</sup> In the absence of traces of marble revetment, the niche was probably finished with stucco like the rest of the façade. One of the central niches may well have held the cuirassed statue found in the orchestra and discussed below.

Between the porches were five monumental doorways opening into the scene-building. Graduated in size, they were framed in rose-colored marble and had thresholds of the same material. Fragments of door jambs and two blocks that may have belonged to the lintels are listed in Table II.4 (Figs. 150-158). Those that Saria shows standing in situ are included for the sake of comparison.<sup>95</sup> Although the door jambs in the Episcopal Residence and in the Episcopal Basilica are very similar to the theater jambs, only one complete jamb, re-used in the second phase of the Episcopal Residence, was identified in 1981 as definitely belonging to the theater.<sup>96</sup>

The door frames are Ionic, bearing a cyma reversa at the outer edge and three fascias decreasing in width toward the opening.<sup>97</sup> The lintels appear to have been treated the same as the jambs with a simple 90-degree joint at each end.<sup>98</sup> The frames were of two widths: the Center Door 0.37m, and the four side doors 0.30m.<sup>99</sup> Block no. 3 from West Door I shows an opening 2.68m high, while no. 1 from West Door II reveals a height of 2.38m. If we apply the difference of 0.30m between the two west doors to that between West Door I and the Center Door, the center opening was 2.98m high (Fig.

7). The width of the Center Door is shown by marks on the threshold to have been 1.86m. Similar wear on the threshold of West Door II reveals an opening 1.81m. For East Door I, its sill is so close in size to that of West Door II that the opening would have been the same, 1.81m.<sup>100</sup> The ratios, width to height, from the center opening to the sides, were 1:1.60, 1:1.48, 1:1.30.

The front and inner faces of the jambs were carefully finished and their surfaces polished, a finish seen only on the columns of the first story. The backs of the jambs, facing the inside of the building, were left roughly picked and would have been covered by a wooden frame. A pair of pin holes for attaching the wooden member appears on nos. 1, 3, 6, and 9.<sup>101</sup> On the rear face of lintels 12 and 13, one hole for securing the upper part of the wooden frame is preserved.

The thresholds were made of the same rose marble as the door frames. The Center Door, East Door I, and West Door II thresholds are open to view (Figs. 78, 95).<sup>102</sup> For the pins of the double doors each slab was provided with two round sockets, 0.06m in diameter, set immediately behind the jambs. On the center threshold the cuttings are 2.06m apart measured from the inside edge. Inside each socket was an iron plate on which the pivot rotated, and these are preserved in the center threshold and in one socket of East Door I. The stone edge of the socket is worn around one side, showing that the heavy door wobbled on its pivot.

The center threshold is furnished with two holes in the middle to receive the bolts that held the doors when shut. The holes are the same diameter as the pivot sockets and 0.05m deep. The west leaf of the Center Door was further secured by a small vertical bolt attached to its outer face and let down into a smaller, rectangular cutting 0.035 by 0.015 by 0.015m deep. The alignment of the pivot sockets with the center pin holes reveals that the doors were about 0.06m thick, and the leaves of the great Center Door would have been about 1.05m wide and 2.975m high. The path of the door's swing is marked by a series of grooves worn by the pins at the bottom of the leaves. The greater number and depth of the grooves cut by the eastern panel, as well as the increased amount of wear around the eastern

<sup>94</sup> Saria saw the niche in better condition (Saria 1938, abb. 17, col. 123).

<sup>95</sup> Saria 1938, abb. 16, 17 shows the jambs of West Door II in place, as well as the west jamb of the Center Door and pieces of two jambs of East Door I. It is not clear whether he found the jambs standing in place, which seems unlikely considering the condition of the scene-building and the ease with which they can be toppled over, or whether he simply set them up near where they were found. By 1970 all of the jambs were lying on the stairs, in the *via venatorum*, or lying on the thresholds. The jambs of West Door III and the west jamb of the Center Door were set upright in 1973; in 1981 the two broken jambs of East Door I were lying on the threshold where they fell sometime after Saria's photograph was taken.

<sup>96</sup> I owe the discovery of the intact jamb in the Episcopal Residence to Fritz Hemans. Saria 1937, pp. 25-27 notes that door jambs from the theater were used in the threshold of the *Porta Heraclea*.

<sup>97</sup> Vitruvius IV.vi.3.3-4 describes the decoration and proportions of a standard Ionic door frame.

<sup>98</sup> Nos. 12 and 13 in Table II.3B. One end of no. 12 is preserved, showing a chamfered joint. The tops of nos. 1, 5, 8, and 9 retain all or a portion of a chamfered joint. No. 13 appears to have been a lintel because of its height, surface finish, dowel hole in the rear, and its material, but it was so altered for a secondary use that it cannot be certainly identified.

<sup>99</sup> The dimensions given in Table 4 for the width of jambs and the height of the lintel are maximum values that reflect the uneven surface of the outside faces. The actual widths of the exposed face of the jambs shows a greater consistency, as seen in the drawings; see Figs. 150-158.

<sup>100</sup> The threshold of East Door I is covered by fallen jambs and that of West Door I is beneath the earth ramp to the orchestra. Most of the sill of East Door II has been broken away.

<sup>101</sup> The holes are approximately 0.04 or 0.05m square and 0.05m deep, and they are spaced about 0.08m apart in the center of the rough jamb (Figs. 150-158).

<sup>102</sup> Saria found the threshold of East Door II intact (his fig.14); that of West Door I appears never to have been excavated. The remaining sills are 0.30-0.33m high. The width across the front of the two smaller ones is 2.38 and 2.39m, while that of the Center Door is 2.62m. Because of the notches for the crown moldings on the porches, the full width of the sill can only be seen at the back, 2.65m for the Center Door and 2.485m for East Door I. The rear of the sill of West Door II is covered. The thresholds are 1.215-1.225m deep.

socket, show a marked preference for that side. Similar grooves do not appear on the thresholds of West Door II and East Door I, but signs of wear leave no doubt that the doors were used. The other thresholds are covered or broken. The side doors closed against a rebate at the rear of the sill rather than being fastened with pins in the center of the opening.

### Sculpture

The niches at the back of West Porch I and East Porch I and perhaps behind the lateral porches and in the second story very likely held sculptures, although none were found in the immediate context of the architectural elements.<sup>103</sup> Their absence may be due to the period of abandonment towards the end of the 4th century when the decorations could have been removed from the exterior of the building, although some sculpture remained in the Nemesium (Chapter IV).<sup>104</sup>

The sole example of a statue that may have occupied one of the niches was found about 2m above the floor of the orchestra.<sup>105</sup> The marble figure, wearing a cuirass and with a crouching barbarian at his side, belongs to a long series of such representations of imperial power in many cities of the Roman world (Figs. 159, 160). Since the statue was not among the architectural debris of the scene-building, it may have come from somewhere outside the theater.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, cuirassed statues are not unusual in theaters, and this example is of appropriate scale and workmanship to have adorned one of the niches in the façade.<sup>107</sup> The white, veined marble appears on visual inspection to be the same as that of the scaenae-frons and cavea. The lack of detail and rougher finish of the back shows that it stood against a wall (Fig. 160). At some time, however, before being buried it was fully exposed to the elements. Brown stains, especially on the upper folds of the palludamentum point to weathering from above, and the original high polish of the surface is preserved in only a few protected places, such as the neck above the tunic, the chest below the pectoral muscles, and on the legs. Thus, bearing in mind that its association with

the theater is not beyond question, it will be useful to consider its iconography and date.

The cuirassed type has been the subject of major studies and the variety of its forms is well-documented, but the Stobi figure does not easily find a place in the series.<sup>108</sup> The missing head was cut in one piece with the body; both legs are broken just below the knee, also the right arm at the shoulder and the left above the elbow. The preserved height is 1.33m, width across the chest 0.40m, and thickness front to back 0.32m. When head and legs are restored, the proportions are unusually elongated. The raised right arm was supported by a strut, the lower end of which remains on the cuirass. On the left arm the top of a sheathed gladius is visible. The paludamentum is held on the right shoulder by a clasp, passes across the chest where both edges are fringed, around the back in a roll, and loops around the left shoulder, then over the left arm and falling to the base. The ends of the folds are preserved at the left side of the support, behind a kneeling barbarian whose head is attached to the bottom of the skirt.<sup>109</sup> The small head wears a pointed cap (*pilus*) and wispy beard. Not enough of the figure is preserved to restore the pose, but the head and beard are almost parallel with the ground and suggest a kneeling or crouching pose, as the cuirassed statue of Trajan (?) from the Library of Pantainos in Athens and on a statue of a Severan prince in Florence.<sup>110</sup> The tunic worn beneath the cuirass appears in a narrow band at the neck, upper arms, and below the skirt. The cuirass ends with a double row of overlapping, identical tabs (*pteryges*), undecorated and bordered by a flat fillet molding of the shape on statues of Hadrian. Later, they tend to become shorter and rounder.<sup>111</sup> Peculiar to the Stobi cuirass is clothing on the upper arm. Where we

<sup>103</sup> See the comprehensive study of theater decoration in Fuchs 1987. Examples of sculptures from the scaenae-frons include those from Merida, Butrint, Trieste, Corinth, Aphrodisias. See especially Sturgeon's study of the sculpture from the scene-building at Corinth (Sturgeon 2004).

<sup>104</sup> Statuary has been discovered not far to the east of the theater, around the temple of Isis and Serapis and in the subterranean chamber, all in secondary context, see Blaževska and Radnjanski 2015. The period of abandonment before the building became ruinous appears to have lasted for some time on the basis of wind-deposited silt above the floor of West Room II; Chapter IV, Deposit IV.33.

<sup>105</sup> Excavated in 1965 in a deposit of "plain soil" 3m in front of the façade, slightly above the level of the porches. I am grateful to Sarzo Sarzovski who supervised the excavations for this information.

<sup>106</sup> See Sokolovska 1981, pp. 97-98.

<sup>107</sup> For cuirassed statues in theaters: Fuchs 1987, pp. 169-180; Niemeyer 1968, pp. 33-34.

<sup>108</sup> See Stemmer 1978, which includes a catalogue and illustrations of 202 statues and a list of 401 other examples. Also see Vermeule 1959, 1964, 1966, 1974, 1978. Stemmer did not have Vermeule 1978. In 1980 Vermeule published a concordance relating his catalogue to that of Stemmer, and a series of photographs (Vermeule 1980, pp. 1-21; 39-154). The Stobi cuirass is Stemmer 1978, no. VIII 9a, pp. 103, 106. taf. 71,1; Vermeule 1978, no. 179 D; Vermeule 1980, p. 21 (illustrated on the front and back cover). I am indebted to Drs. Vermeule and Stemmer for helpful discussions on the Stobi cuirass. Several aspects of the enigmatic figure do not follow established patterns and identify the figure as a provincial work. Some questions about its source and iconography remain open.

<sup>109</sup> The barbarian figure attached to a cuirassed statue appears as early as the Flavian example from the Metroon in Olympia (Stemmer 1978, III 4, Flavian; Vermeule 1959, no. 204 places the statue later, in the later Hadrianic-early Antonine era). Other instances belong to the 2nd century: Stemmer 1978, III 21a from the Athenian agora (Trajanic); Stemmer 1978, VII 23 from Pola (later Hadrianic), Stemmer 1978, IV 3 from Kisamos, Crete (Hadrianic or Antonine; Vermeule 1959, no. 182), Hadrian from Hierapytna, Crete, Stemmer V 21 in Florence (c. 200, Stemmer; early Antonine, Vermeule 1959, 1964, no. 213).

<sup>110</sup> Trajan: Shear 1973, pl. 75c. Stemmer (Trajan) 1978, III 21a; taf. 25, 2-5; Vermeule (Hadrianic) 1974, no. 194 B. Severan Prince in Florence: Stemmer 1978, V 21, taf. 42.3. The figure seems virtually complete. It resembles the Trajanic barbarian in Athens in garments and crouching pose with hands tied behind his back, placed against a tree support.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Vermeule 1980, figs. 76-78, 82-84, 87, 90-91, 93.

would expect one or two rows of leather strips over the sleeve of the tunic, there is a row of s-shaped, flat strips above a wide, plain fillet. Below the fillet a double row of tabs (pteryges) is inserted above the leather strips. The tabs properly belong at the bottom of a cuirass and their transfer to the upper arm is without parallel in published examples of the type. The arrangement may be the invention of a local artist who was unfamiliar with the details of a cuirass.

The small figure represented in low relief on the center of the breastplate also wears a cuirass. He raises his right hand towards what may be a wreath above his head and in the left hand he holds a sheathed sword. A cingulum binds the center of the breastplate, and above is a Gorgoneion. The paludamentum is gathered on the left shoulder and wrapped around the left arm, as in Stemmer's Scheme VII.<sup>112</sup> The figure wears high boots decorated with leopard heads that are now largely broken off. He is without parallel among other devices on breastplates. The surface is damaged but what may have been a flower placed above closely bunched leaves of an acanthus calyx is represented below the figure. Simple tendrils emerge at each side of the acanthus to provide a ground line for winged victories who hold something, probably a wreath, over his head. In their left hands are palm branches. The image resembles the more familiar device of victories crowning a trophy or Palladion.<sup>113</sup> Workmanship on the Stobi cuirass is not of the highest order, which may account for the wooden poses of the victories and the schematic rendering of the acanthus calyx and tendrils. The small cuirassed figure almost certainly represents an imperial personage, since the emperor in cuirass crowned by one or two victories occurs frequently in scenes of *adventus*, triumphs, and apotheosis.<sup>114</sup> In the course of the 2nd century the position of the emperor as military leader and absolute

victor over his enemies is increasingly emphasized.<sup>115</sup> What emperor the small figure represents is difficult to determine, since the face is largely broken away. At the left side two tightly wound curls and the top of the beard can still be seen, and some beard is visible near the ear on the right. The hairstyle and beard would be appropriate for Hadrian or perhaps Geta.<sup>116</sup>

The small head of the barbarian who was crouching at the emperor's left side is of an eastern type, as shown by his pointed hat (*pilum*), row of curls, pointed beard, and wispy mustache. The eyes are rolled up with bags underneath, and the forehead furrowed by a single line; the mouth is closed. Modeling is simplified without use of the drill. The motif of the crouching, supplicating barbarian with outstretched hands at the foot of the emperor is familiar from scenes on the Column of Trajan.<sup>117</sup> One or two captives with hands bound behind their backs are placed at the base of trophies on the breastplates of cuirassed statues from the time of Claudius, while such a figure at the foot of the cuirassed statue itself appears on an early Flavian example from the Metroon at Olympia.<sup>118</sup> From the Severan period is the statue of a prince in Florence (c. 200).<sup>119</sup> A contemporary relief panel in Warsaw presents a combination of the themes common to the cuirassed type: Caracalla in cuirass crowned by Julia Domna as Victoria holding the customary palm branch and at the left a trophy with two bound barbarians at the foot.<sup>120</sup> Not enough is preserved to show whether the Stobi barbarian was bound. Although of inferior quality in carving, the face and hat are similar to those of the Dacians on the Great Trajanic Frieze.<sup>121</sup>

In summary, the modeling of the cuirass and leather straps on the skirt with little undercutting at the edges and almost no use of the drill is minimal, dry, and hard. For the acanthus calyx the leaves are outlined with the chisel and five holes were drilled into the edges to give the effect of a leafy mass. The treatment of the drapery and fringe is also flat and simplified. The statue was probably made by a local sculptor who was unfamiliar with the details of cuirassed statues or indeed actual cuirasses. If the representation on the breast plate is Hadrian, as suggested by the tight curls and slight beard, then the statue may belong to the years at the end of his rule or more likely in the

<sup>112</sup> Cf. the Hadrian from Thasos, Stemmer 1978, VII 21, taf. 60, 1-3. The small relief echoes in a simpler style the handsome imperial figure.

<sup>113</sup> Tropaeum: e.g., Stemmer 1978, VII 27 (Trajanic from Argos); Vermeule 1964, no. 140A; Stemmer 1978, VII 15 victories present arms, bound man, and infant at foot of trophy (late Flavian, Rome), Vermeule 1959, no. 141; Stemmer 1978, VII 5 including two bound barbarians (Claudian, Zagreb), Vermeule 1959, no. 44; Stemmer 1978, I 9 victories present shields, two bound barbarians at foot (Flavian, Paris), Vermeule 1959, no. 101; Stemmer 1978, II 3 victories present shields (Claudian, Minturno), Vermeule 1959, no. 30; Stemmer 1978, II 4 victories present shields (Antonine, Athens), Vermeule 1959, no. 203; Stemmer 1978, III 8, each Victory holds a crown in both hands (Late-Flavian-Hadrianic? From Aigeira), Vermeule 1959, no. 70. Palladion: Stemmer 1978, VII 11 (Flavian, Boston), Vermeule 1959, no. 112. More complex is Dea Roma or a Palladion standing on the Lupus Romana above an acanthus calyx and crowned by victories. E.g., Dea Roma: Stemmer 1978, IV 1 (Hadrianic from Knossos), Vermeule 1959, no. 185; Palladion: Stemmer 1978, III 13 (Hadrian, Heracleion, Crete), Vermeule 1959, no. 186; Stemmer 1978, III 14 (Hadrian, Tunis), Vermeule 1959, no. 345 or 191bis; Stemmer 1978, IV 2 (Hadrian, Athenian agora), Vermeule 1959, no. 183; Stemmer 1978, IV 3 (late Hadrianic-early Antonine from Kiasmos, Crete), Vermeule 1959, no. 187; Stemmer 1978, X 2 (Hadrian, Olympia), Vermeule 1959, 1974, no. 181; Vermeule 1959, no. 182 (Hadrian, Istanbul).

<sup>114</sup> For the role of victories in Roman official art, see Hölscher 1967 (*adventus*, pp. 48-67; triumph, pp. 68-97).

<sup>115</sup> Hölscher 1967, pp. 166-167 and note 1058; Pirson 1996, pp. 139-179. Beginning with Trajan the distance widens between military and civilian leader.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Hadrian in Thasos, Stemmer 1978, VII 21; Vermeule 1966, no. 179A. I owe the suggestion of Geta to Dr. Stemmer.

<sup>117</sup> Settis, *La Regina*, Agosti, Farinella 1988, e.g., figs. 91, 128, 129, 222.

<sup>118</sup> Stemmer 1978, III 4; dated late Hadrianic-early Antonine by Vermeule 1959, no. 204.

<sup>119</sup> Stemmer 1978, V 21, Vermeule 1959, 1964 no. 213.

<sup>120</sup> Dated to 215-216 by Picard 1966, pp. 603-617, figs. 1, 2; cf. Vermeule 1980, pp. 25, 28.

<sup>121</sup> Touati 1987, pp. 70-74, pls. 33, 35, 36.

early Antonine period. The pteryges are closest in shape and arrangement to examples from that period. On the other hand, the handling of the barbarian and the modeling in general make the statue look later, although not after the Severans.<sup>122</sup> The eccentricities of the mantle and the garments on the upper arms seem more the result of the sculptor's misunderstanding of the model than a reflection of an historic development in imperial dress. The unique representation on the cuirass is closer to scenes on the Hadrianic statues than anything found on later cuirasses, although the motif of victories crowning the emperor is ubiquitous, and especially popular among the Severan emperors. If the statue did indeed decorate the façade of the theater in one of the niches, it could have been placed there any time during the latter part of the 2nd century.

### Conclusion

The plan of the second theater at Stobi with its open, slanted parodoi and rectilinear façade belonged to a type of theater similar to the Greco-Roman theaters of Asia Minor. In most eastern theaters a high platform took the place of a proscenium or low stage. Peculiar to the new marble theater at Stobi, and in common with others in the vicinity (i.e., theaters at Heraclea Lyncestus and Scupi) the stage was eliminated and the entire scene-building stood at orchestra level.<sup>123</sup> Due to the radical changes in design the only remains left of the first façade are the tall blocks of masonry that stand at either end of the scene-building, together with the broad foundation that remained beneath the later façade (Figs. 9, 10, 37 (east), 70 (west)). That the first phase continued to influence the architect of Phase II appears in the fact that the floor of scene-building in Phase II, after the lower floor of the first scene-building was filled in, was established at an elevation equivalent to what had been the top surface of the platform, 139.30/.40 and the planned height of the stage.

Phase I had an aedicular façade, a form that was created in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, where it appears in the theaters of Italy and especially of Rome.<sup>124</sup> The type

<sup>122</sup> Stemmer 1978, pp. 103, 106 suggests a similarity with a statuette in Ostia (V 23), perhaps of the period of Diocletian, in respect to the treatment of the upper arms. While it is true that pteryges appear at the arm holes of the cuirass above the straps on the Arch of Constantine (Vermeule 1980, no. 100, pp. 145-147), they do not in fact resemble the forms on the Stobi cuirass. Stemmer's dating to the 3rd century may be correct, but it should remain in the early years of the century because the differences that take place in later imperial representations outweigh a slight similarity in detail. There is, of course, the possibility of an archaizing copy, but it would be very strange. Cf. Vermeule 1978, no. 179D, who stressed the provincial quality of the work and placed it in the late Hadrianic or early Antonine period. Later he noted that "if late, it would be a most unique revival" (Vermeule 1980, p. 21).

<sup>123</sup> For the Theater at Heraclea Lyncestus, see Janakievski 1987 and Sear 2006, p. 417 plan 442; for Scupi see Jakimovski et al. 2017 and Pavlovski 2017.

<sup>124</sup> An early example of columns on podia arranged in two stories to

became a popular scheme for a variety of buildings, including fountains, the more elaborate nymphaea, basilicas, libraries, and the marble courts of baths. Interest in a plastic treatment of the wall produced a façade of curved and rectangular bays in varying combinations with the porches and their entablatures. Ever more complex in architectural design and decorative ornament the type found its apex in the great theaters of Italy, North Africa, Gaul, Spain, Syria, and Roman Greece.<sup>125</sup> Highly decorative effects were achieved in buildings such as the great nymphaeum at Miletus and the marble courts in the bath-gymnasia at Ephesus and Sardis.<sup>126</sup> In Phase II the façade in the theater at Stobi does not follow this line of development, however, but belongs rather to the type of façade that maintained the straight line of the wall behind the colonnade. The effect was one of a classical simplicity that is found also in the Neronian façade in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens, the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, and in some of the theaters of Psidia, Pamphylia, and Phrygia. Geographical location did not determine the type of façade chosen for a particular theater, nor was there a linear development of architectural form since both the curvilinear and rectilinear types existed together throughout most of imperial period. Perhaps the architect presented the city councilors and/or donor(s) with a choice of façade and degree of ornamentation for their approval. Factors of economy as well as taste undoubtedly played a role in their decision. Discussion of theater design follows in Chapter V.

decorate the front of a scene-building appears in a terracotta relief from San Angelo in the Naples Museum, between the 4th and 1st c. BC: Bieber 1961, p. 130, fig. 480; Fiechter 1914, p. 104, fig. 98; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, pp. 167-169. The model has recently been identified as a city gate: Bacchielli 1984, pp. 79-87, accepted by Sear 2006, p. 53, note 42. The two-story colonnatio was adopted in the remodeling of the scene-building at Pompeii shortly after 80 BC: Bieber 1961, p. 172, figs. 607-608 (after Maiuri) with references; La Rocca 1976, p. 152; see Sear 2006, pp. 130-131, plan 22. Richardson 1988, pp. 79-80 places the first columnar façade in the time of Augustus. Literary accounts of theaters in Rome from the second half of the 2nd century BC abound in columns, rich paintings, and hangings that seem to foreshadow the later tradition of colored marbles and sculpture: Lauter 1986, pp. 418-422. A sumptuous wooden theater built by M. Scaurus in 58 BC included three stories adorned with marble columns on the first, glass (mosaic?) ones on the second, and gilded columns on the third, with bronze statues between them; Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXIV.36; XXXVI.5, 50, 113-115, 189A) with considerable exaggeration. See the good summary in Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, pp. 168-169. Three years later on the basis of drawings from the theater of Mytilene, Pompey built the first permanent theater at Rome, for which Dinsmoor 1973, p. 310 suggests the first scaenae-frons was invented. If so, the design would have been greatly influenced by the temporary scene-buildings that had come before.

<sup>125</sup> Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, pp. 403-406 (the columnar façade as a decorative element); 248-252 (Nero); 375-376 (curvilinear scaenae-frontes). Theater of Dionysus (Athens) Sear 2006, pp. 388-389, pl. 138.

<sup>126</sup> Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970 in the preceding note; Yegül 1986, pp. 6-7, 134-139; Stročka 1981, pp. 25-30; figs. 44-62. I am grateful to Fikret Yegül for drawing my attention to the decoration of the marble courts in the bath-gymnasium complexes of Asia Minor.

## CHAPTER III

# CAVEA, PARADOI, AND ORCHESTRA (PHASE II)

### Introduction

Along with rebuilding the scene-building and the scaene-frons in Phase II came significant changes to the cavea, paradoi, and the orchestra. These changes are treated here in a separate chapter as the architecture and excavation history stand apart from the scene-building.

### The Cavea

The cavea rising above the flat alluvial plain of the Crna River appears to be supported on a slight natural slope, but in the 2nd century the seats were in fact supported by the characteristic substructure of a Roman auditorium: circular and radial walls connected by barrel vaults. Above, a diazoma separated the two tiers of seats in the cavea, and at the rear a second podium bordered the summa cavea.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known about an upper passage behind the highest row of seats, but on analogy with other theaters there very likely was one.<sup>2</sup> Eight stairways divided the ima cavea into seven cunei, while above the diazoma there would have been 15 stairs and 14 cunei, as shown on the restored plan and section (Figs. 8, 63, 64).<sup>3</sup> Sixteen of the original 18 rows of marble seats belonging to the ima cavea are all or partially preserved in the western half of the auditorium.<sup>4</sup>

The theater seats, podium, and analemata are made of a course-grained white marble, veined in gray and rose. Blocks of a darker blue-gray marble were used for the first four rows of seats. In a few places white marble blocks were used for repairs.<sup>5</sup> The same use of polychromy, as noted in connection with the green sandstone base course for the porches in Phases I and II and the rose marble of the colonnade and door frames

in Phase II, appears here in the choice of a darker stone for the lower seats.

The rose marble very likely came from the nearby quarries at Markov Stap and Debrešte; the white from the quarry of Sivec near Prilep.<sup>6</sup> At Markov Stap cuttings in the rock and a great number of ancient blocks can still be seen, and visual comparisons suggest it is very likely the source for the seat blocks, analemata, and the orchestra podium and diazoma podium. The rose and gray stone in the Debrešte quarry has similar grain size and petrographic characteristics; it probably supplied stone for the diazoma parapet, as well as the columns and door jambs of the façade.

The walls were constructed in the same manner as those in the scene-building although with larger stones in the facing. The lower sections of the radial corridors were covered with brick vaults made in two segments following the slope of the seats. The vaults are intact on the west side and in the center and remains are preserved at the lower end of the eastern corridor. In Phase I brick was used to line the sides of the central corridor; in the two end corridors the stone facing was left bare. In the construction of the brick vaults cement was first laid over wooden forms, of which traces are well-preserved in many places. In the radial walls two brick-faced arches have been uncovered, but they are not related to the circular corridors.<sup>7</sup>

### Plan and Construction

#### *Adaptations from Phase I*

The ground plan of much of the cavea seems to have remained substantially unchanged from Phase I, and where it is possible to check them, the walls of the earlier theater were incorporated into the second building. The cavea of the second phase had the same basic organization of space and features as the first phase, including a podium, center room, three radial

<sup>1</sup> The lower podium bordering the orchestra and the upper one along the diazoma have the same profile.

<sup>2</sup> Passage at top of cavea: see Fig. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Restoration of the upper cavea is based on the assumption that its rows were the same height and depth as in the lower section. This is warranted because no significant variation in dimension occurs on any of the seat blocks not in situ, although none of them can be definitely assigned to the upper cavea. The number of stairways has been doubled minus one, following Vitruvius (V.vi.2) and normal theater design. The upper diazoma is not attested by any of the remains, but it is probable on analogy with other theaters and the requirements for proper circulation between cunei.

<sup>4</sup> Seventeen rows are restored in the drawings (Figs. 8, 64). Numbering of the cunei, stairways, and other features of the auditorium begins at the west side. Row 1 of seats is the first row above the orchestra podium. Saria designated the podium as row 1; our row 1 = his row 2.

<sup>5</sup> Two blocks in rows 1 and 2, south of stairway 2, and the steps in rows 2 and 3 of stairway 3.

<sup>6</sup> Fritz Hemans collected samples from the quarries. Macroscopic analysis in 2013 by Blažo Boev from the Geology Institute at the Goce Delčev University in Štip confirmed that the white marble came from the area of Sivec and Chashka near Prilep and the pink brecciated marble came from the area of Markov Stap and Debrešte.

<sup>7</sup> One arch lies in the east wall of the center radial corridor, just south of its junction with the inner circular corridor. The other is in the third radial wall east of center, at the north side of the inner circular corridor. These openings may have led to auxiliary rooms, or they could simply be part of the wall construction. It was unsafe to explore them further.

corridors, four circular corridors, and a box of honor reached through stairs from behind the center room.

An indication of the state of construction in the cavea at the end of Phase I is most easily observed at the east end of the east radial corridor where it joins the inner circular corridor. The lower section of vaulting was finished for a distance of 2.43m, rising beneath the slope planned for the seats. At elevation 142m, the vault flattens and continues for 2.65-2.70m to meet the circular corridor (Fig. 161).<sup>8</sup> The vaults were finished to an elevation of at least 142.85m, the highest point of construction in the cavea during Phase I. In a similar manner the vaults over the center and west radial corridors were built as far as the inner circular corridor.<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the highest of the red lines used as guides in the first phase of construction is marked on circular wall III at the far east end, at an elevation of 141.76m.<sup>10</sup> Thus, at least the lower halves of the three radial corridors with their vaults were finished before the end of Phase I. In terms of the remainder of the cavea only the foundations were laid.

The first (lowest), second, and third circular walls of the cavea were laid in Phase I.<sup>11</sup> The outer perimeter of the cavea is largely unexcavated, but the piers that have been uncovered follow the usual pattern, each pier opposite a radial wall and connected by arches. Excavation has shown that these were laid out and construction was completed at the east and west ends during the first phase of the theater (see Chap. I). The arch of the fourth opening east of center and the final pier at the west end have been partially cleared (Trench XXVII). Excavations by Goce Pavlovski between 2009-2023 uncovered further remains of the substructure in the east half of the summa cavea (Fig. 5).<sup>12</sup>

When the cavea of Phase I was adapted to the new plan of Phase II, entailing the closing of the aditi maximi at either side, the podium was extended as far as the new analemmata. The vaulted aditi of the first theater had ended about 5.10m from the edge of the orchestra (Fig. 10). In the new design, in order to meet the marble analemmata, the podium and seating were extended towards the south for some four meters. On each side a small anteroom was formed beneath rows 3-5, roofed by the seat blocks and entered on the south through an arched doorway from the parodos through the marble analemma. Where the podium and seating were extended, stairways were added to the lower ends of

the east and west corridors to give spectators access to the radial corridor and seats in the ima cavea (Fig. 162).

Along with these changes, the aditi became the east and west radial corridors of Phase II and the parodoi were reoriented with new analemmata. At this time, demolishing the stage (if it had ever been built) included removal of the north half of walls 2 and 4. The massive walls 5 and 6, which were the analemmata of Phase I, received a new facing of large ashlar blocks of marble (backed by a thin wedge of rubble masonry) that created a diagonal orientation for the analemmata with respect to the scene-building (Fig. 10). The triangular insert of masonry and the marble facing as applied at the east to wall 6 are seen from above in Fig. 162. The marble analemmata remain the most conspicuous feature of the theater today (Fig. 6). They are preserved for their entire length on both sides of the theater. The new walls served largely to alter the orientation of the parodoi; the original analemmata, walls 5 and 6 of Phase I, still supported the cavea.

### **New Construction**

#### *The Orchestra Podium*

As a result of closing the original parodoi and adding new analemmata in Phase II, the podium at the foot of the seats was extended at each end and its profile continued into the parodoi along the marble facing as far as the arched doorways. When completed, the first row of seats rested on the podium's crown course, and the remainder of the surface was used by spectators as a walkway. Although it was made of the same marble and in the same manner as the retaining walls of the analemmata, the surface finish varies.

The three elements of the completed podium include (1) base course with a vertical lower edge, sloping center portion, and vertical upper edge; (2) orthostates; and (3) crown course that repeats the profile of the base in reverse and with a greater projection at the top (Fig. 163). The total height is 1.60-1.69m.<sup>13</sup> Of the three elements, the crown and base courses were more precisely cut while on some of the orthostates the quarry surface was never removed. It might be supposed that some of the orthostates were repairs added after the earthquake in c. 300, but a close examination reveals that was not the case (Fig. 164). Possibly the orthostates were ordered for the first theater and were simply used in the condition in which they arrived from the quarry.

<sup>8</sup> Pavlovski 2018a, pp. 169-171.

<sup>9</sup> The upper end of the west radial corridor and its junction with the inner circular corridor is intact. A comparable elevation was attained by the walls of the scene-building behind the east and west porches of Phase I, see Chap. I (Fig. 40).

<sup>10</sup> Pavlovski 2020, pp. 476 and 483, table 7.

<sup>11</sup> See Chap. I for construction of the wall at the east end and bonding with wall 9 and the podium foundation (Fig. 17, 26).

<sup>12</sup> Pavlovski 2018a, pp. 173-175 and Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>13</sup> Since the orchestra never reached its final elevation (discussed below), the effective height of the podium was 1.85-1.94m. Elsewhere, podia generally range in height between 1.20m (Philippi) and 1.76-1.87m (Miletus), and these examples have a profile and construction similar to the one at Stobi. Golvin 1988, pp. 354-355 provides a table of podia.

Of the total height of the podium the base course comprises 0.30-0.40m, the orthostates 0.92-0.96m, and the crown 0.30-0.33m.<sup>14</sup> The length of the blocks varies. In thickness the base course is 0.95m, the orthostates are about 0.70m, and the crown 0.85-0.90m. At both ends where new orthostates were added in the second phase, the thickness was reduced by one-half and a heavy packing of stones and mortar was placed behind to support the top step of the stairway that connected the top of the podium with the radial corridor (Fig. 165).<sup>15</sup> Elsewhere behind the podium, there is a soft packing of crumbled mortar and stones put in after the blocks were in place (Fig. 19).<sup>16</sup> Lifting bosses appear toward the bottom on several of the orthostates, and in two instances there are two on a single block (Fig. 166).<sup>17</sup>

According to observations made by Goce Pavlovski, there appears to have been an alteration in the design of the podium. Orthostates at the foot of stairways 3, 4, 5, and 6 are noticeably thinner than elsewhere and the base moldings show signs of recutting (cf. podium at stairway 3, Fig. 167).<sup>18</sup> Initially, the stairs of the cavea may have been intended to continue through the podium to the orchestra. It is difficult to know whether the scheme was actually completed, but further excavation in the orchestra to expose the foundations of the podium might shed light on the question.<sup>19</sup>

On the surface of the podium there are two types of cuttings (Figs. 168, 169). One series is composed of small holes grouped in pairs with a single cutting between each pair. The holes, some square and some round in plan, are located at the outer edge of the podium toward the orchestra and spaced 1.00-1.50m apart. They are 0.02-0.03m in width and depth. Their small size and arrangement suggest that they received the uprights of a metal grill that was made in segments with each piece having three pins.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The nearby theater at Heraclea Lyncestis had a similar profile but higher and thinner orthostates (Janakievski 1998, p. 31; drawing 5; Sear 2006, p. 417, plan 442). At Stobi it is likely that the crown and base courses were each planned to be 1 RF foot high with orthostates of 4 1/2 or 4 3/4 RF.

<sup>15</sup> At the west and east ends the orthostates are 0.425 and 0.45m thick respectively. In other places the three courses of the podium are aligned in the back. This may be a case where the blocks ordered for Phase I were used in Phase II. See Chap. I.

<sup>16</sup> The packing behind the podium near the center room was disturbed in the remodeling of Phase III, and thus appears as Deposit IV.7.

<sup>17</sup> For lifting bosses on the skene, see Chap. II. None appears on the east analemma; two are found on the west analemma. Those on the seats are discussed below.

<sup>18</sup> See Pavlovski 2018a, pp. 163 and 190, fig. 10.

<sup>19</sup> Pavlovski suggests two possibilities: first that the smaller orthostates cover the places where the stairs were designed to run into the orchestra, such as at Lychnidos, Dion, Philippopolis, and theaters in Asia Minor; and second, which he considers less likely, that the smaller blocks may have been markers to locate the direction of the stairways during construction.

<sup>20</sup> A similar series of cuttings occurs on the outer edge of the podium at Aphrodisias. They are unrelated to the larger holes on the podium that correspond to other cuttings for ropes (Erim 1974, p. 162, fig.

The holes in the second series of cuttings on the podium are larger and deeper (Fig. 170). In the first three cunei 14 cuttings are preserved, numbered 1-14 beginning at the west end: #1-5 in cuneus 1; #6-10 in cuneus 2; and #11-14 in cuneus 3.<sup>21</sup> They vary in their dimensions and in the care with which they were made, some being very carefully done and almost square in plan (#10-11), and others rectangular and more carelessly cut. In size they range 0.15-0.24m in length, 0.12-0.14m in width, and 0.11-0.15m in depth; and they are set back 0.13-0.16m from the edge of the podium. There is no doubt but that they were meant to hold some kind of upright. The size of the cuttings is too small, shallow, and irregular for stone uprights,<sup>22</sup> and too large for metal ones, which makes it probable that the posts were of wood. If the uprights were reasonably uniform in size, they would not have been larger than 0.12-0.15m and they were probably smaller to allow for wedges to be inserted at the sides to steady them, as shown in the restored drawing in Fig. 171. Their height could not have been more than 1.85-2.00m. The sloping profile of the crown prevented the cuttings from being made deeper to hold larger posts (Fig. 171).

It seems likely that the iron grill and wooden posts did not occupy the podium at the same time, because, in the case of posts #8 and 13, only 0.01 or 0.02m separates the holes. Although in no instance is coexistence actually impossible, the posts would have been higher and, with a screen between them, they would have constituted a more formidable barrier than the grill. Note, moreover, the tendency in the history of the Stobi theater to enclose the orchestra/arena with ever higher and more durable barriers culminating in a wall in Phase III.

Behind each post hole there is one, and in some cases two, small circular cuttings, and several of them hold lead beddings (behind posts #6-13) (Figs. 168, 169). In the first row of seats, corresponding to the lead bedding and post hole, channels have been cut diagonally through the top edge of the seat. There is one channel for each post hole although they are not always in exact alignment. Two sets of cuttings are shown in detail in Fig. 171.

A layer of mortar behind post #12 covered the lead bedding and preserved the iron eye bolt ending in a ring that was set into the lead (Fig. 169). The ring has an inside opening of 0.02 by 0.04m and the loop is 0.009m

242). I am greatly indebted to the late Professor Kenin Erim for allowing me to study the theater on a visit to Aphrodisias in 1983. Sear 2006, pp. 328-329, plan 320, pls. 112, 113.

<sup>21</sup> Two more holes of this series can be seen on the single crown block in place in cuneus 5. They have a clear spacing of 1.35m. It is interesting to note that another hole with a narrower spacing was outlined on the block but not cut.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the theater at Perge, where the stone barrier was made to look like a wooden latticed screen held up by posts (de Bernardi 1970, p. 153, fig. 163; Sear 2006, pp. 372-373, plan 392, pl. 129).

thick. In other places the lead beddings hold the straight end of a bolt but the rings have broken off. It is likely that the rings were used to secure ropes attached to the wooden posts to secure them in the relatively shallow cuttings on the podium. A possible arrangement is shown in the restored drawing (Fig. 172). In many instances the shallowness of the lead bedding, nowhere more than 0.065m deep, meant that the eye bolt was not securely fixed in the lead and under pressure it pulled out. The presence of two beddings side by side, behind posts #6 and #9, one with lead remaining and the other without lead, shows that in two instances the first bedding was replaced.<sup>23</sup> In the case of the fixtures behind posts #9, 11, and 13, the ends of two eye bolts occur in the same lead bedding. The bolts seem to have broken off or been pulled out repeatedly and they were replaced either by a new ring in the same bedding or by a completely new fitting. In some cases two rings may have been used behind a single post.

The channels cut through the seats behind the posts and rings seem to have been connected to the same system of rope supports. At their narrowest point the channels were about 0.035m in diameter and they widened to about 0.08m at the bottom. The workmanship is generally quite rough, but in each case the marble has been worn smooth on the inside at the top of the channel. This wear shows that some object passed through the cuttings, almost certainly a rope, which was then secured around the edge of the seat (Figs. 169, 172).<sup>24</sup> The cuttings were placed directly behind posts #10, 11, and 12, and, to someone standing in the orchestra facing the podium, they occur to the left of posts #5, 9, and 14, and to the right of posts #6, 7, 8, and 13. The posts with channels directly behind them are those where there is the narrowest interval between the posts. Where the space is wider, the rope holes were placed to the right or left. In some cases, the top opening of the channel was cut through the inscription on the seat block (behind posts #3, 4, 10, 12), while in others the inscriptions were carefully inscribed around the hole (#5, 11) (Fig. 168). Therefore, the channels were made some time during the use of Phase II, after the initial seat designations and before the first row of seats was blocked by the heavy wall that covered the podium in Phase III.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> At post #6 the two beddings overlap. The one now filled with lead seems to have been made after the other one, but while the original pin was still in place. The original fitting was thus reinforced before the second fitting was added.

<sup>24</sup> The inner wear and abrasion that was first noticed by James Wiseman is evidence of friction and precludes their having been made for drainage through the wall built on the podium in Phase III, as suggested by Saria 1937, pp. 8-9. They were later blocked by the wall. Saria assigned the post holes on the podium to the securing of the marble parapet that is here assigned to the inner edge of the diazoma (Fig. 170). See also Fig. 171.

<sup>25</sup> For seat inscriptions, see Wiseman 1981.

Thus, when the rings failed to hold, channels through which to secure the ropes were cut through the seats behind. The iron rings were almost certainly the original fastenings. They were the most expensive of the two fixtures, and it is clear that when they repeatedly pulled out they were replaced. The second method of securing the ropes would have been more satisfactory because the angle between the post and its guy was wider and thus more stable.<sup>26</sup> Both sets of ropes are shown in the restored drawing (Fig. 172), but they were not necessarily in use at the same time.

In summary, the posts on the podium supported a barrier between the spectators and the arena that could be removed when it was not needed. This is a key feature for a system that would have been awkward to handle. The post holes could indeed have been made for a wooden fence, but removal and resetting would have been even more time consuming. It is more likely that a heavy trapper's net was strung between the posts, such as the nets used to capture wild animals for use in the arena. They appear in scenes of capture where, typically, hunters are driving wild animals into a net supported on posts.<sup>27</sup> A net of this type is restored in Fig. 172.<sup>28</sup> The posts are shown with a short cross arm at the top, with a strut for support. The stability of the system would have also depended on securing both ends of the net to the podium. The guy ropes would have helped to hold the uprights in their sockets, and their slant toward the orchestra would have increased the tension on the ropes so the net could have withstood pressure from the orchestra side.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> In the theater at Aphrodisias rope holes were cut diagonally through the outer edge of the podium itself and behind them there is a series of long, narrow cuttings (about 0.13 by 0.03m); Erim 1974, fig. 242. The same system is found on the podium at Miletus where the cuttings are 0.10m by 0.025-0.03 by 0.10-0.12m deep (Krauss 1973, pp. 68-75). An additional set of rope holes, corresponding to those on the podium, was cut into the second row of seats. The long beddings must have received some kind of upright, a different shape from the posts at Stobi. See also Welch 1998.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the villa at Bone (Hippo Regius), where a heavy net attached to wooden posts is arranged in a horseshoe shape and camouflaged with bushes while lions and leopards are driven into the trap; Dunbabin 1999, p. 55, pl. XIV, 29, other examples in pl. XV, 32, XIX, 43 XXII, 54.

<sup>28</sup> Reconstruction of the post and net barrier in Fig. 172 was made by William Dinsmoor, Jr. and Fritz Hemans with assistance from Caroline Hemans.

<sup>29</sup> The combined height of the podium and net would have been about 3.70-3.94m above the orchestra. The podium in the Colosseum in Rome was 3.60m high (Lugli 1975); in the theater at Corinth it was c. 3.50m in height (Stillwell 1952, pp. 84ff, fig. 73); at Tyndaris it was 3.52m high including the parapet (Bulle 1928, pp. 131ff, pls. 33, 34; Sear 2006, p. 194 plan 117; Wilson 1990, pp. 71-72). To contain carnivora and other animals, Jennison suggests "a strong, solid wooden fence 6 feet high (1.83m) with nets fastened to the top and overhanging the arena to a maximum height of 11 to 12 feet (3.66m)" (Jennison 1937, p. 156). The arrangement restored at Stobi fits his specifications, although it is unlikely that hunts in the theater would have included the lion represented in our Fig. 172. Toynbee notes that local shows in small towns usually featured only a few savage bears and some grass eaters (Toynbee 1973, pp. 19-20, notes 27, 28).

Some type of post-and-net barrier lay behind Calpurnius Siculus's description of a temporary amphitheater at Rome, very likely erected in the early years of Nero's reign (*Eclogues* 7). He mentions a golden net suspended on a series of elephant tusks that projected into the arena. It was used in conjunction with cylinders covered in ivory that were fastened on the edge of the podium to prevent animals from getting a foothold.<sup>30</sup> In the Colosseum, heavy posts were set into the arena floor in front of the podium.<sup>31</sup> In the theaters at Philippi, Thasos, and Heraclea Lyncestis, a regular sequence of post holes on the podium (but no related rope holes) shows that some kind of post-and-net system was in use.<sup>32</sup> Temporary barriers may well have existed in other theaters without leaving any trace.

A podium around the orchestra is a sign that the first theater at Stobi was very likely planned to be used as an arena.<sup>33</sup> In some places, such as Dodona, Philippi, Tyndaris, and Stobi in Phase III (discussed in Chapter IV), a wall was added in front of the scene-building to complete the circuit. In most theaters, however, there was no permanent barrier other than the podium, and a temporary fence would have been erected when necessary. At Stobi there may also have been such an arrangement across the front of the porches. A series of large post holes is found along the northern edge of the foundation beneath the porches. Although the foundation belonged initially to Phase I, they could also have been made later for use with posts to support a temporary barrier along the south side of the orchestra.<sup>34</sup>

#### *Diazoma, Diazoma Podium, and Parapet*

The upper and lower sections of the cavea were separated by a diazoma which was removed, together with the upper cavea, probably after the theater had

gone out of use.<sup>35</sup> The bedding for its floor was revealed (el. 146.54) in a test trench just west of stairway 4 and more recently by Goce Pavlovski. Originally there would have been a surface of some kind, but only the foundation remains and there is no evidence for the precise width of the passage. It has been restored at 2.25m on the basis of the space required for 18 rows of seats in the lower cavea and 17 in the upper with an additional ambulatory 1.90m wide at the top of the auditorium (Fig. 170).<sup>36</sup>

Of the diazoma podium 16 blocks were recovered by 1980, nos. 1-16 (Figs. 173-183), and four blocks by 2022.<sup>37</sup> The profile and composition are the same as the orchestra podium although the upper podium was higher, about 2.10m, and the orthostates were considerably thinner.<sup>38</sup> The top of the crown was used as a passage, 0.875-0.965m wide, and there is heavy wear on its surface. Orthostate no. 5 bears the Greek letters ΠΟΝ at what would have been its upper right-hand corner when in place (Fig. 176).<sup>39</sup>

Entrances to the diazoma from the radial corridors beneath the seats of the summa caeva were provided either below every other stairway as restored in Fig. 63, 64 or possibly only at the two ends and in the center. One block from the base course of the diazoma podium, no. 2 (Fig. 174), belonged to a corner of one of the entrances. There is a recess at the back of the block, 0.48m wide, to receive a plinth from one side of the passage. On the top is a bedding for the orthostate that lined the passage. The fragment of a crown, no. 7 (Figs. 180, 181), reveals that the entrances were covered by a shallow arch cut into the bottom and front of the crown course, as shown in the restored drawing in Fig. 170.<sup>40</sup> The lintel was carefully cut and finished with a claw chisel, while the rest of the blocks of the podium were finished with a point. In general, the diazoma podium was made with a precision that is absent from the orchestra podium and generally from the rest of the cavea. The moldings of the diazoma podium show a variation in height of only 0.01 to 0.02m, and all of them are completely finished,

<sup>30</sup> For the early Neronian date and setting, see Townend 1980; Gebhard 1975, p. 46.

<sup>31</sup> Lugli 1946, pp. 331-332, fig. 98 restores a metal grating ending in revolving wooden cylinders, but he does not include a net.

<sup>32</sup> For Philippi, Collart 1928, pp. 114-123, Collart 1937, pp. 371-388, figs. LVII, LX. The situation at Thasos is less clear, but there is evidence that heavy gates were added to close the parodoi in the 1st c. AD when gladiatorial combats and venationes were held in the theater (Daux 1968, pp. 50ff, fig. 17). At the end of the 2nd c. a certain Heragoras erected a marble parapet in front of the podium, 1.71m high that is reported to have cuttings for an iron grill at the top (Daux 1923, pp. 26ff, pls. 7, 8). Traces of metal brackets on the rear of the parapet show that heavy posts were inserted, but whether they held an awning (Daux 1923; Graefe 1979, I, p. 136) or a protective barrier (Collart 1928, p. 118) is not certain. For Heraclea Lyncestis see Janakievski 1987, pp. 30-31, drawing 5, plan 3.

<sup>33</sup> Pavlovski believes that besides the podium of the Stobi theater, the arrangement of the central radial corridor running from outside of the theater directly into the orchestra and the two lateral rooms before the exit of the corridor into the orchestra, enabling approach to a central box of honor above the exit, are also features taken from the amphitheater architecture. Pavlovski 2018b, p. 414.

<sup>34</sup> They may have originally held scaffolding for the first scaenae-frons.

<sup>35</sup> It is not impossible that the upper seats were damaged in the earthquake of c. 300 and dismantled in Phase III.

<sup>36</sup> If Vitruvius's directions were followed, however, the passage would have been a little narrower. He says its width should not exceed the height of the adjacent podium, which in this case, was 2.10m high (Fig. 170). See Pavlovski 2023 for results of recent excavations in the cavea.

<sup>37</sup> In 1970 the blocks were lying on the seats of the cavea and in the orchestra. Presumably they were found there in 1965-1966 or in the fill nearby. Saria does not mention them. Three blocks from the base course of the podium and one block from the crown were discovered during the new excavations: see Pavlovski 2018a, p. 171 and Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>38</sup> The orthostates are about 0.44m thinner and 0.40m higher than their counterparts in the orchestra podium.

<sup>39</sup> No. 571 in Wiseman 1981.

<sup>40</sup> A lintel with a similarly shallow arch cut into its underface covered the entrances to the middle diazoma in the theater at Miletus (Krauss 1973, pl. 34, 1d).

as are the surfaces of the plinths and orthostates. In dimensions that did not affect the appearance of the podium, the plinths varied in thickness 0.48-0.54m (1 2/3 RF=0.488m; 1 3/4 RF=0.514m); the orthostates 0.255-0.285m (1 RF=0.294); the crowns 1.02-1.095m (3 1/2 RF=1.029m; 3 3/4 RF=1.102m). In length the blocks range between 0.745-1.53m. The heavy wear on the top of the crown blocks and on the face of the base course (no. 2) attests to a long period of use.

Small stairways very likely led through the diazoma to the upper cavea, but no blocks that can be certainly assigned to such a feature have been identified. In the restored plan of Phase II (Fig. 8) and section (Fig. 63), the steps are arranged in a single flight and have been placed at the foot of stairways 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, and 15 in the upper cavea.<sup>41</sup>

At the west end of the diazoma two notches in the crown block were cut to receive thin posts, block 15. The cuttings show that the upright members were 0.62m apart, and they were not more than 0.06m wide by 0.03m thick. Square beddings behind each post may have held rings for guys of the kind that held the posts on the orchestra podium. There are no similar cuttings on the other nine crown blocks.

Additions or repairs to the diazoma podium have left roughly cut notches in orthostates 5 and 6 at their lower left and upper left corners respectively (Figs. 176, 177). The openings extend through the thickness of the blocks and are 0.19 by 0.24m (no. 5) and 0.24 by 0.25m (no. 6). On no. 6 it is difficult to see how the cutting could have been made while the crown was in place, and the upper edge of the stone, including the notch, is worn. Thus, part of the crown was evidently removed and something was added to the podium that required rather heavy horizontal supports, perhaps a new and larger stairway to the upper cavea. Alternatively, the cutting and wear belong to a secondary use.

Eleven blocks from a low parapet about 0.86m high have been found, some built into constructions of the final phase (nos. 17-21; Figs. 184, 185).<sup>42</sup> The parapet was evidently removed after the earthquake at the end of Phase II and portions of it were reused. With a rounded top and a flared base on one side, this is the type of low barrier that is commonly found in Roman theaters behind the seats of honor or between the cavea and the orchestra.<sup>43</sup> At Stobi the podium separated the orchestra

and cavea, and there is no evidence for a barrier behind the first rows of seats that formed the proedria. Thus, the parapet is best restored at the top of row 18 where it would have provided a back for the seats in that row and a lining at the edge of the diazoma.<sup>44</sup>

The parapet blocks are made from pink brecciated marble. The front, which would have faced the top row of the ima cavea, flares out at the bottom and is smoothly finished with a claw chisel. The back was more roughly cut using a point, and signs of wear occur on the lower surface where it bordered the diazoma. The parapet was 0.275-0.31m thick at the bottom (nos. 20 and 17, respectively) and it narrowed to a little over 0.16m at the top. The one complete block, no. 20, has carefully cut anathyrosis at both ends; no clamp or dowel cuttings appear on any of the preserved examples. Blocks 18 and 20 were reused in the third phase; Saria reports that he found no. 21 "in a late Byzantine building above the cavea," but the block has since disappeared.<sup>45</sup> Blocks nos. 17 and 19 were lying in the orchestra in 1970. Four of the five blocks bear inscriptions on their front face relating to divisions for seating in the rows below.<sup>46</sup>

#### Stairs

Our excavations and study of interior circulation during the new excavations have shown that a number of stairs and passages between walls connected the upper and lower tiers of seating.<sup>47</sup> For example, spectators sitting in the summa cavea gained their seats from the diazoma through doorways in the podium (Figs. 63 and 170). Stairs will have led through the diazoma podium, but few traces are preserved.<sup>48</sup> The foundation for an inner stairway just east of center was partially excavated in 1974 (Fig. 186) and three other places with stairs between the radial walls of summa cavea have been uncovered in the new excavations.<sup>49</sup>

at Lyon, and Salona.

<sup>44</sup> Saria suggested two locations for the parapet, on top of the orchestra podium or on the diazoma, but he preferred the former because he thought the rectangular post holes were made for dowels: Saria 1937, p. 9. He saw only part of one slab (no. 21). Because the bottom was missing, he did not know that there are no dowel holes on the bottom of the parapet blocks. In some Roman theaters the uppermost row of the lower cavea was made as a continuous bench with a back rest, the rear of which lined the diazoma, e.g., the odeum at Pergamon, the second diazoma in the theater at Ephesos, the center diazomata at Sagalassos, Termessos, Aspendos, and Perge. In size and profile, the parapet at Stobi resembles the back of a seat and it would have served a similar purpose.

<sup>45</sup> Saria 1937, p. 9, fig. 7B contains an elevation and section.

<sup>46</sup> One block includes the ΑΠΠΟΛΩΝΙ inscription (no. 20). Two blocks with inscriptions were found in 2012 in the west lateral room, one with ΣΤΡΑΤΩ and the other with monogram ΤΡΚ or ΠΡΚ. See Pavlovski 2018a, p. 171. One block from the two blocks found in 2019 has inscriptions ΟΝΟΠΑΤΟΥ, ΑΤ or ΣΑ. See Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>47</sup> Pavlovski 2018b, pp. 415-416 and Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>48</sup> Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>49</sup> Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>41</sup> A straight flight of steps through the podium (as at Larissa and Aphrodisias) is not as common as a flight arranged parallel to the podium (Selge, Sagalassus, Termessos, Aspendos, Perge, Side). For results from recent excavations, see Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>42</sup> Five blocks were discovered in the 1970s, another five blocks were found during the new excavations, and one block is built in the Old Episcopal Basilica, see Pavlovski 2018a, p. 171 and Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>43</sup> E.g., in the small theater at Pompeii, in the theaters at Timgad, Merida, Sabratha, Dougga, Lepcis Magna, Aspendos, the large theater

The dimensions of the marble stairs vary widely. They seem to have been intended to be 0.80-0.85m wide (2 3/4 RF=0.808m) with treads about 0.35m deep (Fig. 187). The height of the lower riser is about 0.21m and that of the upper 0.15m. Examples of steps that may be replacements are found in stairway 2, rows 1-3, and stairway 4, rows 6 and 7, because the treads and risers are especially roughly cut and the blocks could have been inserted without disturbing the seats.<sup>50</sup> In rows 1-3 of the cavea some of the steps are white marble, while others appear to be repairs. In the rest of the rows, they are made from darker blue marble. The same unfinished condition occurs on many other steps, e.g., stairway 3, rows 1-5, 12, 13, which are cut in the same block as the seats and where there is no sign of alteration or replacement. In the partially finished examples, which number 14 of the 55 steps preserved, the tread is only roughed out and, in some cases, not over the entire area designated by the incised guide lines. The surface, while uneven, is nevertheless heavily worn. The slope of the marble as it was left would have been dangerous for spectators.

A set of cuttings in stairway 1 are found along the west analemma, but their use is not readily apparent. They occur on the lower treads in rows 3, 4, 6, and 10. Roughly square in plan, the first two are about 0.14m on a side and the second two are 0.17m. In section they are triangular, 0.045m deep in the front and sloping up to nothing at the back in the case of the first two; the second pair are 0.02m deep in back. Beginning with row 3 they are 0.14, 0.095, 0.125, and 0.14m from the analemma and 0.10-0.14m from the front of the tread. There is considerable wear and discoloration of the stone around the edges. In form they resemble the dowel cuttings at the rear of the porches on the scene-building where pilasters have been restored, but it is difficult to see a similar use for these. A possibility is that they held supports used in connection with awnings, for which the iron pins on top of the analemma may also have served, although the beddings are very shallow.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, they should not be considered an unimportant feature because a similar series occurred in stair 8 at the east side, represented by a single example cut into the step at the back of the arched lintel for the analemma door (no. 22; Fig. 188).

### Seats

The marble seats had virtually no decoration (e.g., nos. 33-38). The front of the seat ended in a flat taenia that was carried down in a wider strip next to the stairways (Figs. 167, 171).<sup>52</sup> The seating area along the front of the block was not differentiated from the footrest at the rear. Only on the bisellia in the first two rows was the space allotted to each spectator delimited by a line. The depth of the rows varies between 0.65-0.78m (0.716m on average; 2 1/2 RF=0.735m). Of the 16 rows preserved, nine are 0.70-0.73m deep. The blocks themselves have a total depth of about 0.88m (3 RF=0.882m) with a band of unweathered surface at the back where the next block rested on the one below. In length the individual blocks vary greatly, between 0.90m and 3.53m. The rows are 0.340-0.438m high (0.398m on average; 1 1/3 RF=0.391m).<sup>53</sup> The surface of the seats has been smoothed by long wear and weathering, but originally the blocks had a medium picked finish, not as fine as that on the scaenae-frons. The front face was more finely done, but few of the seats were cut and finished with the same care as that devoted to the façade of the scene-building or to the blocks of the diazoma podium. A number of factors will have contributed to the uneven finish on the seats: repairs during use and after the earthquake of c. 300, the quality of the marble (soft and heavily veined), unfinished work at the time of construction, and others not recorded.

The soft stone of the seats cracked easily along its many veins, and the blocks were repaired in antiquity with clamps (stairway 2, row 20), patches of mortar (cuneus 1, row 10 south; cuneus 4, row 9), and lead (cuneus 2, row 7 center). In some places the broken area simply continued to be used as it was and the fractured surfaces were worn smooth (cuneus 1, rows 10 and 12; cuneus 2, row 6). In modern times the blocks in cuneus 1, rows 6-8, which lie over the lower part of the radial corridor, have been reset in concrete (1960s).<sup>54</sup>

A series of 26 bosses were left on the vertical faces of the first four rows of seats and an additional two occur on the fifth row (Figs. 164, 167). They are too shallow to have had any practical function, and their concentration in the first four rows points to a decorative intent. They catch the light and create pockets of shade in such a

<sup>50</sup> Of the 55 steps that are preserved, 13 have the joint within the stair; in 19 cases they are cut in the same block with one or two seats; and in 23 instances the step occupies most of the block. Some of the last type may be replacements for the original treads.

<sup>51</sup> The area of the cuttings is comparable to beddings for posts to support awnings in small theaters, but they do not have sufficient depth. A thorough study of the evidence for awnings in Roman and Greek theaters and amphitheatres is presented by Graefe 1979.

<sup>52</sup> The fillets at the front edge are 0.07-0.11m high, and they project about 0.04m. At the stairs the vertical bands are 0.14-0.23m wide.

<sup>53</sup> For the height of seats in Roman amphitheatres see Golvin 1988, table 44, p. 356. They vary between 0.44m (Myra, Aizanoi, Balbura) and 0.36m (Kaunos). In the theater at Miletus the seats are 0.368-0.395m high and 0.783-0.788m deep (Krauss 1973, pl. 27).

<sup>54</sup> At the time of Saria's excavation, the seat blocks had begun to fall into the corridor (Saria 1938, abb. 2). He reset them with new mortar. The Conservation Institute of Macedonia added a vault of reinforced concrete on the inside of the corridor. In cuneus 2, row 3, at the side of the stairway, a broken seat block has been set sideways into the row. There are also small holes bored into marble on each side of a break for wires to secure the stone (Saria 1938, p. 86).

way as to enliven the surface of the stone. The fact that bosses also appear on the porches and stairs of the scene-building, on the base course of the analemata, and on the orthostates of the orchestra podium further supports the assumption that they were an intentional feature of the design.

#### *Divisions for Seating*

The first two rows served as the proedria and were divided into 64 seats larger than those normally allotted to spectators in a theater. Saria identified them as bisellia, the double seats awarded to local dignitaries and benefactors who then took the title of bisellarius.<sup>55</sup> The seats are generally about 1.05m long (3 1/2RF=1.029m), and they are marked off by small lines cut into the top of the row at the front edge. Each cuneus was divided into six bisellia per row, with the exception of the end cunei (1 and 7) where there are only three and cuneus 4 where the box of honor would have taken the place of four bisellia in each row.<sup>56</sup> In cuneus 3 towards the center of the auditorium greater care was devoted to marking the seats. A consistent size was achieved by adding a marker at the ends of the rows next to the stairs, which was omitted in cunei 1 and 2. Evidence that the divisions are not original with the cavea may be seen most readily in the few names inscribed without regard to the lines marking the bisellia, and which were later partially inscribed over by the occupants of the bisellia.<sup>57</sup>

Behind the proedria the lower cavea was divided into 21 sections, three in each cuneus, for seating the Stobaeans according to their tribes.<sup>58</sup> The divisions are generally indicated by inscribed lines at the front of each row that extended down over the front taenia so that they could be seen from the front of the seats as well as from above. In cuneus 1 the markers take the form of a T with the cross bar facing the back of the row; in cuneus 2 they are a simple vertical line; in cuneus 3 they are + shaped. The relation of the divisions to tribes is evident in several places, e.g., in cuneus 1, row 3, vertical face, where the marker comes at the end of a tribal name ΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ, and is closely followed on the other side by

<sup>55</sup> A detailed discussion of the proedria and the families connected with it is given in Wiseman 1981 in connection with his study of the inscriptions. The title of bisellarius is not uncommon in commemorative inscriptions for local benefactors.

<sup>56</sup> This is on the assumption that the same division prevailed in the missing rows of the east half of the cavea. At the west side of the box the one block remaining in row 2 shows a seat division mark, which means that there were two bisellia at each side of the box in each row, eight in all for cuneus 4. See below for a discussion of the box of honor.

<sup>57</sup> Wiseman 1981, inscriptions 1, 6, and 32. He also discusses the phases of the proedria on the basis of the inscriptions and their nomenclature.

<sup>58</sup> There is no evidence for these divisions in the upper cavea, but they may have existed, unless the size of the tribes did not warrant additional seating.

the designation ΦΥΛΗΣ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΣ.<sup>59</sup> The inscribed lines are fairly consistent throughout the rows. In cuneus 3, as was noted in the case of the proedria, greater care was devoted to cutting the markers and aligning them. Also, like the proedria bisellia dividers, the tribal divisions are not contemporary with the original use of the cavea. Note that in inscription 267, which is accompanied by a bull's head, the initial μν of the cognomen first was written to the left of the tribal marker and later a smaller μν was squeezed into its proper place to the right of the marker.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Seating Capacity*

The cavea could have accommodated about 7,400 persons in the ordinary seating, with the proedria and box of honor bringing the total close to 7,500. This figure is based on the generous allowance of 0.41m per common seat, allowing 967.08 linear meters of seating in the lower cavea, excluding the stairways and the proedria, and the 2,076m in the upper cavea.<sup>61</sup> How many persons actually occupied each bisellum cannot be determined, nor do we know how many seats were provided in the box of honor, but there may have been about a hundred dignitaries in these areas.

#### *Box of Honor and Center Room*

The box of honor was located in the center of cuneus 4, extending probably to the back of row 4, but it has disappeared with removal of the seat blocks. The two stairways that led from rooms off the center corridor gave access to it (Fig. 189). The ceiling of the center room beneath the box of honor, projecting above the first three rows of the cavea, would have formed the floor of the box (Fig. 190).

The interior space of the center room measures 2.10m (east-west) by 2.90m (north-south), from the rear of the podium to the entrance of the center radial corridor. A section looking west appears in Fig. 19, and a plan and section looking north with an elevation of the corridor are given in Figs. 191, 192. Another section looking east, Fig. 193, includes the lower portion of the radial corridor. Large white marble blocks standing on a base course of green sandstone lined the walls (Figs. 194, 195, 196). The green sandstone for the base echoes its similar use beneath the porches of the scene-building in both

<sup>59</sup> Wiseman 1981, inscriptions 100 and 122.

<sup>60</sup> No. 267 in Wiseman 1981. Line drawings of people and animals, including a peacock and the head of a gladiator are not unusual in theater seats, e.g., the theater at Aphrodisias, personal observation.

<sup>61</sup> The basic calculations of seating capacity were made by William Dinsmoor, Jr. The rather large seat size of 0.41m is a conservative figure, based on the Theater of Dionysos in Athens (Dilke 1950, p. 22). The seats in the theater at Pompeii were only 0.39m wide (Maiuri 1951, pp. 19-26), in the theaters at Nimes and Arles they were 0.40m (Formigé 1914, p.8). See Golvin 1988, I, table 44 for a comprehensive survey of seats.

Phases I and II. One of the marble slabs is preserved on each side. At the back of the room the brick facing of the corridor overlapped the sides of the room. The room must have been finished before the corridor. The marble was carefully cut and finished with a point; a notch appears at the top corner of the eastern slab (Fig. 195).<sup>62</sup> The base course is complete on both sides, and on its top surface a mortar bedding preserves the impression of the missing slabs that were presumably comparable to the two that remain.<sup>63</sup> Anathyrosis on the rear of the podium orthostates shows where the side slabs abutted. The base course sloped down gently toward the orchestra, a decline of 0.20m in 2.16m, a ratio of 1:9. The original floor presumably followed the same slope to the top of the original threshold (Fig. 193), and the concrete foundation for the green sandstone would not have been visible (when the room was converted to a refuge in Phase III, the threshold and floor were lowered). At the entrance to the radial corridor the sandstone course extends into the corridor for 0.40m on the east side and 0.70m on the west. Although the eastern extension was cut down in Phase III, the western one retains its original elevation of 138.74, marking the floor level at that period. There was very likely a low step at the entrance to the corridor. In both the center room and the radial corridor, the floors would have been of beaten earth.

The room was entered from the orchestra through a door in the podium whose threshold was c. 0.40 to 0.50m above the orchestra (Figs. 19, 193). Although most of the sill was removed in the following period when the entrance was lowered, a portion survives on the east side where it was covered by a later jamb. A cutting for the door pivot is preserved at the east side of the opening, 0.11 by 0.125 by 0.08m deep (Fig. 191). The original doorway would have been 1.90m wide, very likely closed by a double-leaf door.<sup>64</sup>

Although the ceiling of the center room is not preserved, the radial corridor was 2.08m (7 RF=2.06m) high, which is probably a reasonable height for the chamber as well. The ceiling would have been built at the level of the fourth row of seats. The beams, probably of marble, would have been about 2.60m long, running east-west. An analogous arrangement can be seen at the east end of the west radial corridor, below the stair, where a

simple seat block in row 3 covers the corridor, allowing the same clearance of 2.08m that is suggested for the center room (Fig. 23). Another similarity between the lower end of the west radial corridor and the center room is the use of marble facing slabs.

The center room, in its initial phase, appears to have been a rather fine place, possibly for dignitaries or performers to gather before appearing in the orchestra. A room of that size and decoration and in a similar location beneath the cavea next to the orchestra is unparalleled as far as I know. Its proximity to the stairs to the box of honor may be a sign that the orchestra at Stobi was also used for public ceremonies conducted by officials for whom such a room would have been convenient and appropriate.

Some aspects of the center room provide details about the box of honor above it. The doorway to the box of honor was probably about the same height as the room, c. 2m. Above the lintel, there would have been a platform at the same elevation as row 4; its width would not have greatly exceeded the size of the room. A seat block in row 2 on the west side shows that the platform would not have extended more than 0.36m beyond the center room; the total width of the platform would have been about 3.28m. Its depth cannot have exceeded c. 3.50m, measured from the podium to the front of row 5. Removable chairs, benches, or thrones with some kind of barrier at the edges are all that would have been needed to accommodate the sponsor of the games, highest magistrate, priest, or visiting governor.

The arrangements at Heraclea Lyncestis, Nysa, and in the Asclepieion at Pergamon are probably close to what existed at Stobi: a flat platform lined with orthostates on the back and sides, with a bench for the dignitaries; the box occupied four rows of seats and usually stretched the full width of the center cuneus.<sup>65</sup> Golvin suggests that a box of honor was adopted from the architecture of the amphitheater.<sup>66</sup> Although it was a later addition to the theaters at Aphrodisias, Miletus, Termessos, and Priene, at Stobi the box appears to have been a feature of the first phase of the theater.<sup>67</sup> Roouché points out that the city's high priest of the imperial cult presided

<sup>62</sup> The eastern block is 0.203m high, 0.67m wide, and 0.20m thick. The notch in its upper corner is 0.12 by 0.21m deep. The corresponding block on the west side is 0.70m high, at least 1.22m long, and 0.25m thick. They are of the same type of marble. The east block is finished with a narrow drafted edge, similar to the scene-building façade and the analemata. Each slab is cut with anathyrosis on its southern face.

<sup>63</sup> The eastern blocks were 0.12m thick and the western ones were 0.20m thick by 0.50, 0.64, and 1.07m in length.

<sup>64</sup> The orthostate and base course at the west side were recut in Phase III, but the original surface survives at the back and marks the line of the first entrance.

<sup>65</sup> For Heraclea Lyncestis (Janakievski 1987, pp. 27-29, figs. 13, 15, pl. 2); Nysa (personal observation), Asclepieion at Pergamon (Ziegenaus and de Luca 1975, pl. 68). At Aphrodisias the box was located just above the podium and it was reached by two small flights of steps, while another stair led down to the orchestra (Erim 1974, pp. 79-81). See Roouché 1991, pp. 99-103. Boxes of honor were also added to Greek caveas in the Roman period, as at Priene at the end of the 1st c. BC where a single bench without a back occupied the middle of the fourth and fifth rows in the center cuneus (de Bernardi 1970, pp. 14, 18, fig. 3). At Pergamon a larger and more elaborate box, 9.87m long and five rows deep, held movable seats (de Bernardi 1970, p. 27, fig. 22).

<sup>66</sup> Golvin 1988, pp. 237ff.

<sup>67</sup> Pavlovski 2018a, p. 177 and Pavlovski 2023.

over gladiatorial contests and wild beast hunts as part of the celebrations of the imperial cult.

#### *Radial Corridors*

Three radial corridors extend from the orchestra podium to the outer circular corridor at the west, center, and east. Large portions of the radial corridor on the west with its vault are standing to the point where it meets the inner circular corridor, and the same is true of the center radial corridor although it is not as well preserved. The only corridor that has been excavated for its entire length is the west radial corridor. In the center radial corridor at the time of our excavation the vault at the back of the marble room was found to be unstable and work was halted in 1974 after clearing the first 2.80m of the passage. The east wall in the center corridor was traced for another 1.70m, almost to its juncture with the inner circular corridor, as shown in Fig. 193.

Since 2012 Goce Pavlovski has excavated or conserved the center radial corridor to its junction with the inner circular corridor. To the north of the center room, Pavlovski revealed an arched doorway at either side of the passage. The doorways open onto rooms in which a flight of stairs lead up to the box of honor in the center of the cavea, which is now missing (Fig. 190). The stairs were removed from the east room at some point but the foundations for them are intact in the west room.<sup>68</sup> At the north end of the corridor another portion was revealed with excavation of the Episcopal Basilica, but the depth of accumulated earth was so great that only a small area could be uncovered. Where the center radial corridor and the circular corridor meet has also been cleared and conserved. In the east radial corridor, the National Institution Stobi under Goce Pavlovski has excavated from the lower end of the vault to its intersection with the inner circular corridor.<sup>69</sup> Section B-B through the west radial corridor looking north is given in Fig. 23; section D-D of the center corridor, looking east is in Fig. 193. For the purposes of this account, the description of the architecture is based on the work done in the 1970s.

Each radial corridor has a total length of 30.60m (104 RF = 30.58m) and narrows as it approaches the orchestra. The west radial corridor is 2.80m wide at the outer circular corridor and 2.50m wide after crossing the inner circular corridor. The addition of marble slabs at either side of the stairway at its east end narrows it to

1.35m. A similar pattern is evident for the east corridor. The center corridor is slightly narrower, beginning at the outer circular corridor with a width of 2.60m and narrowing to about 2.10m at the inner circular corridor. Beyond the inner circular corridor it has a short stretch 2.80m wide, and after a distance of 3.40m it contracts abruptly to 1.46m, where it enters the center room (Fig. 196).

The height of corridors decreases as they descend, following the slope of the seats. A height for the center corridor just below the outer circular corridor can be estimated at about 5.50m; at the other end where it enters the center room, it is 2.08m high (Figs. 64, 193). The west radial corridor is 2.98m high where it leaves the inner circular corridor and a little over 2m at the east end.

Below the inner circular corridor the pattern of vaulting in each corridor is similar, shown in Figs. 23, 193. There are two short segments of barrel vault made of bricks, with a jog between them where the lower vault abuts the upper. In the center corridor the jog occurs at the back of row 9, in the west corridor after row 10; both vaults end at row 5. The vaults are made with bricks radially disposed across the corridor in the manner of voussoirs. At the time of construction a bed of mortar was laid over a wooden form and the bricks were set upright into it. Now, much of this mortar bedding has peeled off leaving the ends of the bricks exposed, most of which are broken.<sup>70</sup>

In the west radial corridor the brick vaults rest on the masonry walls of the corridor. The lower vault below the inner circular corridor is flattened in the same way as in the center corridor, and the upper vault inscribes an arc of 180 degrees. In this radial corridor and in the east radial corridor there is no brick facing over the walls. In the center radial corridor the lower vault was rather flat (Fig. 192). Only here was the brick construction of the vault continued down at the sides of the corridor.<sup>71</sup> The coursing of the brick follows the incline of the sandstone base course. As far as can be seen at present only the south end of the corridor was faced in brick. Just above the jog in the vaulted ceiling, a portion of the east wall can be seen to be made of masonry with a brick arch set into it (Fig. 189). There may have been auxiliary rooms in the spaces between the radial walls, or arches may have been used to reduce the building material needed for the walls.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Pavlovski 2018a, drawing 3 shows the stairs in plan without the vault; see also figure 17 and 18 looking north; figure 19 view from above shows the steps, also figure 26.

<sup>69</sup> Conservation and reconstruction have been done in the east and central radial corridors and in the circular corridor between them in preparation for reconstruction of the cavea. Pavlovski 2018a, drawing 45, section through central corridor looking west.

<sup>70</sup> All bricks in the barrel vaults throughout the theater were broken on the end towards the inside of the vault, apparently to aid their adherence to the mortar bed into which they were set.

<sup>71</sup> The bricks are 0.315m high by 0.418m by 0.06m thick. The mortar between them is 0.02-0.04m thick.

<sup>72</sup> A similar arch was built into the side wall just above the inner circular corridor.

In the west radial corridor, west of the junction, the top portion of the corridor was destroyed with the upper cavea. The lower part has been excavated to its original floor level at the west end, Trench XXVII. The stones facing the walls are set in a pinkish gray mortar with many dark pebbles, similar to the mortar used in the curved bays in the Phase II façade. It is likely that the walls, while begun earlier, were completed in Phase II. The joints were troweled smooth and the stones outlined by a line inscribed in the wet mortar. This technique is most commonly found on walls of Phase III, but there is no evidence for construction or repair here at that time. In post-theater times several small structures were built over and into the corridor, perhaps while the vault was still intact. The latest of these buildings, however, was bedded on the theater walls after the upper cavea had been removed (Fig. 197).

At the west end of the west radial corridor, the south wall continues to the outside of the cavea and opposite it stands a pier, the final one in a series of piers that supported the outside of the cavea (Fig. 24, in left foreground). The openings between the piers would have been spanned by arches, and, although most of the perimeter lies deeply buried, the fourth arch to the east of center has been exposed. Part of a pier at the east side of the center radial corridor has also been cleared. As discussed in Chapter I, the arrangement for the outside of the cavea belonged initially to Phase I, but it was completed in Phase II.

When the original parodoi were converted to the east and west radial corridors the floors were raised.<sup>73</sup> In Phase I the parodoi had been on the same level as the orchestra floor (elevation *c.* 137.25; Figs. 20, 25). Walls 5 and 8 were set on virgin clay without a foundation trench, and the area must have been open since their joints were finished with mortar to the bottom of the wall. In Phase II the west end of the west radial corridor was raised 1.75m (el. 138.94).<sup>74</sup> Over the dumped fill a layer of compacted soil formed the floor (el. 138.94 to 138.90). The floor was plastered in Phase III (Figs. 24 (center), 25).<sup>75</sup> At the east end of the corridor, the floor was raised only 1.50m (el. 138.30). The floor thus declined, from west to east, a total of 0.64m in a space of 30.60m.<sup>76</sup> In the center radial corridor, a later clay floor

rises more steeply than the floor of the center room, 0.50 m in 2.00m (Fig. 193).

The junction of the west radial corridor and the inner circular corridor is reasonably well preserved and it reveals how the crossing of the two corridors was arranged. It is highly probable that the same design was used for the other two passages. There was a considerable difference in height between the vault of the inner circular corridor and the vault of the west radial corridor above and below their intersection because the vault of the radial corridor followed the slope of the seats and the circular corridor corresponded with the height of the cavea at a fixed elevation. On the outer (west) side of the intersection there is only the beginning of the heavy brick arch in the inner circular corridor wall. The bricks are 0.42m high and the total arch was 1.12m deep (equal to the thickness of the inner circular corridor wall), made with two layers of bricks, the east layer being 0.46m deep, the west 0.64m. The bricks in this case are trapezoidal in section, about 0.077m thick on the top and 0.065m on the bottom; the mortar between is 0.02-0.03m thick. The vaulted ceiling of the inner circular corridor was at a much higher level. At the east side of the junction the vault of the radial corridor supports the inner circular corridor inner wall, on which rests the concrete vault of the circular corridor.<sup>77</sup> The apex of the circular corridor was 1.92m higher than that of the radial corridor immediately to the east of it. The bricks in the lower arch of the junction are the same width and thickness as those in the upper arch but they are 0.50m high instead of 0.42m.

The intersections between the outer circular corridor and the radial corridors are largely unexcavated, and the upper portions have been destroyed. At its north end, however, a part of the center radial corridor was excavated where it joined the outer circular corridor. The radial corridor is 2.65m wide and it is spanned by a large, brick-faced arch that remains intact (Fig. 198). The arch is a full semi-circle, similar in construction to the arch over the west radial corridor in the outer wall of the inner circular corridor, though larger.<sup>78</sup> The elevation at its top is 145.08, which is somewhat lower than the probable height of the corridor south of it. The radial walls bond to the fourth circular wall and

<sup>73</sup> That this was so in the west radial corridor is evident in places where our excavations were extended to bedrock (Figs. 24, 25, 27, 28), and it was probably the case also on the east.

<sup>74</sup> See Fig. 25; Deposits III.1-2. There were no significant divisions in the deposit that would suggest that more than one period of activity is represented.

<sup>75</sup> Since the plaster floor was excavated together with the earth floor beneath, both are combined in Deposit IV.28.

<sup>76</sup> At the east end of the corridor the slope became steeper (Fig. 23). Deposit III.3 belongs to the original dumped fill to raise the floor. Above it lay Deposit III.4, a layer of sandy soil heavily mixed with marble and sandstone chips and containing a flat stone at the same level as the top of the first step. From the disposition of the fill and the fact that some of the chips were wedged under the first marble

step, the deposit seems to be contemporary with construction of the steps. It may be that the builders decided to omit the first step after the initial filling of the corridor had been completed, so they added another layer of fill (Deposit III.4). There is no datable material in the latter deposit, but the pristine condition of the marble on the surface of the first step suggests that it was covered as soon as it was laid.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the vault at the lower end of the center radial corridor where the bricks are only about 0.30m high and of an equal thickness throughout.

<sup>78</sup> The undersurface of the arch is flush with the circular wall and not merely set into it, as was the case with the arch over the west radial corridor.

the arch is actually in the fourth circular wall. The bond shows that the walls were built at the same time and they do not abut the circular wall.<sup>79</sup>

At the inner ends of the east and west radial corridors, a small anteroom was situated beneath rows 3-5 (Fig. 8). Each anteroom was roofed by the seat blocks and entered on the south through an arched doorway from the parodos through the marble analemma. The anteroom on the west side is intact beneath the seats. On the east side where the seats are missing it is visible from above (Figs. 22, 162). The pattern of blocks is the same on both sides. The space was entered from the parodos by a small passage through the analemma. On the east side the passage was lined by a marble orthostate (0.87m high, 1.12m wide, 0.525m thick) turned towards the opening, with a stretcher and second orthostate above. The block is set back 0.16m from the end of the base course below where a pry hole is visible (Fig. 199). The threshold here seems to be a later replacement. The concrete masonry including what may be part of a seat block facing the west side of the passage is a sign of repair, probably in Phase III after the earthquake of c. 300 (Chap. IV).

Access to the podium was provided by a flight of marble steps (Fig. 200 (west); Fig. 65 (east)).<sup>80</sup> These stairways in the east and west radial corridors are the only interior entrances to the proedria. The stairs are rather narrow and the steps show little wear in comparison with others in the theater. It seems likely that they were reserved primarily for dignitaries and persons occupying the seats of honor.

In the east radial corridor, the stairway of four steps is flanked by marble orthostates, three slabs on the north side (total distance 3.40m), and two (?) on the south. A short stretch of masonry (0.92m long) was inserted at the end of the northern orthostate to fill the gap at the end of the vault (Fig. 67 (bricks of the vault seen behind)), which suggests they belong to a repair in Phase III.<sup>81</sup> On the south side of the corridor another short stretch of masonry was added to wall 6 at the end of the vault, behind the marble facing of the analemma and forming part of the passage from the parodos (Fig. 66).

In the west radial corridor, five steps and the slabs on either side (stringers) are made of white marble, carefully cut and finished, similar to the stairs in the façade of the scene-building. The top step (no. 5) leads to the top of the orchestra podium where spectators could walk in front of the first row of seats. The treads are 1.27m long and 0.23m high; steps 1 and 5 are 0.52

and 0.50m deep, steps 2-4 are 0.36-0.38m deep. In Phase III the arena wall effectively blocked the stairway, but it did not prevent people from using the steps. The south stringer next to step 5 was roughly cut back to allow access from cavea stair 1. The stringer on the north side was cut down in the same way. Both of the cut surfaces are heavily worn, as people frequently must have climbed over them.

The marble stringers are arranged in two courses. At the west end they are roughly equal in height, 1.27m and 1.205m. In length the blocks range 0.53-2.96m, and they are 0.39-0.42m thick.<sup>82</sup> They rest on a marble base course that projects 0.03m from the face of the wall. In the east radial corridor the slabs on the north side continue eastward for 1.60m beyond the steps. The marble slabs faced the portion of the wall that was seen through the door from the parodos, and it would have provided a nicely finished appearance from the outside (Fig. 201). The facing is clearly something, together with the stairway, that was added when the entrance corridor of Phase I was rebuilt as a radial corridor.<sup>83</sup>

The stairway was covered by the marble seat blocks in rows 3, 4, and originally 5 that rested on the stringers. The notch for the seat block of row 5 is preserved in the stringer of the east radial corridor (Fig. 201). The original height of the corridor at the foot of the steps was planned at 2.15m, but when the floor was raised to the level of step 2, the clearance was reduced to 1.90m. The design, construction, and proportions of this area resemble those of the center room.

#### *Inner Circular Corridor*

The inner circular corridor is the best-preserved corridor in the theater because of its position under the lower cavea which is still reasonably intact. On the other hand, the vault and walls have been so weakened by earthquakes and the gradual decay of the mortar that it was not safe to excavate it further than 2m below the vault or to sink probes near the walls. In 1970-1975, before the current project, a section was cleared for a distance of 6m north of the west radial corridor, and we opened another small area 7m east of the center axis where the vault had collapsed.

The corridor walls were made in the same fashion as the other walls of the theater. The construction and materials used in the vault can be seen where some of

<sup>79</sup> G. Pavlovski (pers. comm.)

<sup>80</sup> The steps are 1.35m long (4.5 RF), 0.43 wide (1.50 RF), and c. 0.25m high. There are signs of wear in the center. The corridor with the steps is 1.42m wide.

<sup>81</sup> Included in the masonry are three bricks and three reused blocks.

<sup>82</sup> The west face of the first course on the south side remained unfinished. The end of an iron pin is set in lead at the outside end of the south side, perhaps the remainder of an eye bolt.

<sup>83</sup> Modern cement added to the surface of the addition creates the impression that it belongs to the repairs done by the Conservation Institute of Macedonia in 1968. The fact that the dumped fill continued undisturbed against its foundation below floor level shows that the addition was made in Phase II (Deposit III.7, Tr. IV, VII).

the vault has collapsed. The vault was made by laying mortar about 0.20m thick over a wooden form.<sup>84</sup> Small, thin pieces of sandstone were then set on end, radially disposed to the curve of the vault. In the portion shown in Fig. 202, the inner layer of mortar has fallen away, leaving exposed the sandstone slabs. The stone peels off naturally into pieces of this size and shape, c. 0.05-0.10m thick. Their use in the inner circular corridor and perhaps the outer circular corridor as well, may have been dictated by economy. They were probably less expensive to produce than baked brick and they could be used in the same way. The concrete of the vault where it is exposed behind the seats consisted of sandstone and white marble chips in a gray-white mortar. The vault is c. 0.50m thick, the same thickness as the brick vaults of the radial corridors. The concrete bedding for the seats lay on top of the vault.

At its west end the corridor had an inside height of 5.90m (20 RF = 5.88m), a height that probably remained consistent throughout the corridor. The floor of the inner circular corridor has not been exposed, but its elevation can be reconstructed as 138.70, because, where it crossed the west radial corridor, the floor surface on both sides of it is preserved.

Illumination for the inner circular corridor came from a series of 21 narrow windows or light shafts that were cut through the concrete vault and through the seat blocks in rows 14 and 15. They appear in section A-A (Fig. 63).<sup>85</sup> Three shafts were cut in each cuneus, evenly spaced about 3.00m apart and 1.40m long. Stone slabs line the opening where it passes through the vault; the inside dimensions are 0.39m wide by 0.26m high. On the outside the shafts were designed so that the bottom surface was cut into row 14 and the top into the face of row 15.<sup>86</sup>

#### *Outer Circular Corridor*

Most of this corridor lies deeply buried. Along the outside was a series of piers connected by arches, a common feature in Roman theaters and amphitheaters. On analogy with better preserved examples such as the Colosseum in Rome, it is likely that the same

construction was repeated in the second story. The one arch in the series that has been excavated and survives intact lies 17m east of center (Fig. 202). It is made with large sandstone voussoirs set in mortar and has a span of 2.65m (9 RF). Short flanges at each side of the pier reduce the practical opening to 1.25m; flanges do not appear in the first opening at the west end or in the center opening. The outside perimeter of the theater can thus be restored with a series of 31 arches (Fig. 8).<sup>87</sup>

Parts of several piers have been exposed; the first one at the west end was excavated to bedrock on the south side. The pier, above its foundation and base, is 1.85m (6 1/3 RF = 1.86m) wide, and the same dimension occurred on the other side of the first pier at the east end, thus demonstrating that the piers were square. They stand opposite the radial walls with a space of 2.65m (9 RF) between the walls and piers, the same as the opening between the piers. There would thus have been a square bay opposite each opening in the corridor, covered by a barrel vault.<sup>88</sup>

The earthen floor at the west end of the outer circular corridor lies at an elevation of 138.94 (Fig. 23). In the center of the corridor no floor was found, but a heavy concrete foundation that looks like a threshold lies between the two piers of the center opening (Figs. 64, 203).<sup>89</sup> Its surface has an elevation of 140.52 and its south edge is very worn. If, however, this was at or near the floor, the floor level would have been over 1.50m higher here than it is at the west end, which is unlikely. It may be that the concrete construction was not a threshold, which is doubtful also on the basis of its material, but something that was inserted later. Such a sequence would also explain the absence of a floor surface in the deposit immediately south of it, which contained soft, dark earth.

#### *Internal Stairway*

Our excavations revealed only one of the internal stairways that linked the two stories of the cavea,

<sup>84</sup> The impressions left in the mortar by the planks of the form reveal that their size varied considerably. Of the 13 boards that were measured, their widths fall into two main groups, 0.15 to 0.18m (four examples) and 0.275 to 0.32m (six examples). Two others were 0.09 and 0.24m wide. Only four full planks were measured, showing lengths of 1.255, 1.645, 1.660, and 1.855m. Cf. Broneer 1932, p. 18; Adam 1984, p. 195, fig. 432.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Saria 1938, col. 98, abb. 7.

<sup>86</sup> Such windows are a familiar feature of a cryptoporticus; cf. the agora in Thessalonike, Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, Odeum of Agrippa in Athens (Thompson 1950, pp. 76-77). For the cryptoporticus in general, see Etienne 1973. Windows are found in a number of theaters to illuminate the inner circular corridor, e.g., at Aspendos (Lanckoronski et al. 1890, p. 96), Side (Lanckoronski et al. 1890, p. 148), the Theater of Marcellus (Fidenzoni 1970, p. 141).

<sup>87</sup> Arches are found in the outer perimeter of free-standing auditoria in Roman theaters, amphitheaters, stadia, and circuses, e.g., the theater of Marcellus (Fidenzoni 1970, p. 36), theaters at Ostia (Calza 1927, pp. 20-24, restored figs. on pp. 27, 31), Side (Mansel 1963, p.130); amphitheaters at Verone, Pola, Arles, and Nimes (Lugli, II, 1957, pls. XXXIII-XXXIV); amphitheater at Salona (Dyggve et al. 1933, pp. 49-63), stadia at Perge (de Bernardi 1970, p. 152) and Aphrodisias (de Bernardi 1974, p. 165). Good photographs of amphitheaters are found in Hönlle and Henze 1981, pp. 119-182; see also the plates in Golvin 1988, II. For circuses see Humphrey 1986, especially the well-preserved example at Lepcis Magna, pp. 25-55, fig. 10.

<sup>88</sup> Pavlovski 2023. The width of the inner circular corridor was also 2.65m (9 RF) which appears to have been a key unit in the theater's design.

<sup>89</sup> The small wall at right angles to the pier was put in at a later date to block the opening. Note that the floor at the inner end of the center radial corridor is 0.68m higher than that of the west radial corridor, where both ancient surfaces are preserved. The total rise in the west radial corridor is 0.34m.

located immediately east of the center corridor. The concrete foundations may be seen in Figs. 63 and 186. The treads would have been of stone. There were 11 steps in this section, the highest at an elevation of 146.43, the lowest at 145.05. Each one of the concrete beddings is 0.13-0.14m high and about 0.30m deep, although some of them are in better condition than others. There is no sign of there ever having been stone revetment on the side walls. The presence of a flat surface in the masonry at the top of the stair makes it likely that a landing occurred at that point, and there must have been a second flight to bring the stair to the upper circular corridor.<sup>90</sup> Excavations directed by Pavlovski discovered the remains of three other stairways, two which lead from the outer circular corridor to the diazoma and one which leads to the second story of the outer circular corridor.<sup>91</sup>

#### *Foundations for Seats*

The seat blocks of the cavea were laid on a bedding of small stones and mortar that in turn rested on the sloping barrel vaults between the radial walls, the usual type of construction in many Roman auditoria (Fig. 204). At a lower level the radial walls are bonded to a circular wall 1.70m behind the orchestra podium up to the level of a red line applied on the south face of the circular wall.<sup>92</sup> The wall is one of the most carefully constructed in the theater, with the stones of the facing being unusually regular, carefully cut and set.

The radial walls beneath the seats in Phase I were made in a slightly different style of masonry from Phase II.<sup>93</sup> The joints of the facing were carefully smoothed with a trowel, and in some cases, outlined with a point. To the sharp eye a graffito showing a palm branch can still be seen between walls 16 and 17, scratched into the wet mortar by a workman perhaps anticipating the victories that would be won in the newly completed theater.<sup>94</sup> It appears that all of the spaces between the walls were filled with soil before they were covered by concrete barrel vaults. Such a fill was excavated behind and to the northeast of the east refuge (Trench XVII), where the vault was removed to procure a sealed

deposit that was contemporary with construction of the cavea, Deposit III.5. The vaults were made with a heavy aggregate of fist- to head-sized stones in a gray mortar. In many places the foundations for the seats have been excavated by Pavlovski.

#### **The Parodoi**

With the new analemata in Phase II came new, slanted parodoi that were uncovered and located outside the cavea in the Greek manner. Passages now bisected the large rooms at the ends of the first scene-building, crossing walls 10, 11, 2, and 4 of Phase I (Figs. 9, 10). Wall 4 was dismantled and the parodos floor passed over it (Fig. 205). The ends of the parodoi also crossed the foundations of wall 3, much of which had been demolished to virgin soil inside the bays at the ends of the new façade. Where the large platform was removed, the area beneath the floor was filled with crumbled mortar, light soil, and chips of white and some red marble (Deposit III.9; Fig. 29).

The massive marble-faced analemata of Phase II are preserved for their entire length on both sides of the theater. The new walls served largely to alter the orientation of the parodoi; the original analemata, walls 5 and 6, still carried the major thrust of the cavea.<sup>95</sup>

The foundations for the marble facing were made of uncut pieces of sandstone and limestone, bonded with lime mortar (Figs. 206, 207). Where revealed in Trenches XXV and Test Trench 1, the foundations of the east analemma are 1.25m deep and project a maximum of 0.27m beyond the south face of the wall. The north end of wall 4 where it lay under the analemma was incorporated into the foundation. In the western parados more of the foundation was revealed by recent excavations by Goce Pavloski.

The masonry of the analemata is pseudo-isodomic with alternating high and low courses, the latter of which project slightly (Figs. 207, 208). There is no molded base course.<sup>96</sup> The courses run horizontally. The blocks are carefully cut and finished with a point,

<sup>90</sup> It is usually the case in theaters and amphitheaters that the outer circular corridor on the ground floor carries one or two similar corridors above it, but there is no direct evidence here for the position or arrangement of the upper story. The height of the outer circular corridor (Fig. 63) is based on the fact that none of the existing masonry preserves the trace of a vault. The vaults, then, must have sprung above el. 146.23 (or 146.43). If the vault had a height half its width, the top would have been about el. 148.00. A good example of such construction is seen in the theater at Side. Construction of the upper auditorium is well illustrated in the amphitheater at Verona, Salona (Dyggve et al. 1933, pp. 49-63), and Pola; cf. Lugli 1957, I, p. 662.

<sup>91</sup> Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>92</sup> Pavlovski 2020, p. 475, red line of group 5.

<sup>93</sup> Pavlovski 2018a, pp. 159-161.

<sup>94</sup> Further graffiti were uncovered by Goce Pavlovski in his excavation of the cavea (Pavlovski 2020).

<sup>95</sup> At the close of Saria's excavation, the west parodos remained filled with earth to the sixth course of the wall. In 1963-1964 fill in the west end was reduced to the fourth course. In 2020 the National Institution Stobi under Goce Pavlovski completed the excavations begun in 1996. He uncovered the parados to the floor at the foot of the marble analemma. See Saria's Trench XIII. No levels are given on his ground plan (Saria 1938, pl. I.1) but the elevation drawing on the same plate shows the full extent of the wall beginning at the base course. Saria had earlier revealed the foot of the wall in a small trench 9.25m from the west end of the parodos. The east analemma was fully exposed after 1996-2001.

<sup>96</sup> For this style of masonry in Greek architecture, see Martin 1965, I, pp. 400-406. The Roman version of it as found at Stobi is used at Sagalassos (de Bernardi 1969, p. 41; Sear 2006, pp. 374-375); Balbura (de Bernardi 1969, p. 81); Alabanda (de Bernardi 1969, p. 209; Sear 2006, p. 326); Nysa (de Bernardi 1970, p. 118; Sear 2006, p. 346); and Miletus (Krauss 1973, abb. 171; Sear 2006, p. 343-344).

and the edges have a narrow drafting made with a small, straight chisel. The joints between blocks in the same course were finished with anathyrosis. No clamps, dowels, or mortar appears to have been used. The weight of the blocks was to ensure their stability. They remained in place for some one hundred and fifty years until the earthquake of *c.* 300. In the lower courses some blocks were left with a rough taenia along the top, 0.04m high and projecting 0.02 to 0.025m, and occasionally a similar band occurs at the bottom of the base course. The bands were left after the protective surfaces had been removed in the final finishing of the wall, apparently as a form of rustication to enliven the surface.<sup>97</sup> The slight projection of the low courses 0.04-0.06m beyond the surface contributes to the same effect. Another variation to relieve the simple wall surface is the random alternation of longer and shorter blocks in the high courses.

The total thickness of the walls varies between 1.50 and 1.70m. The high courses of the facing ranged in thickness 0.43-0.47m (1 1/2 RF = 0.441m) and in height 0.88-0.90m (3RF = 0.882m), with the blocks coming in long and short sizes.<sup>98</sup> The low courses are 0.80-1.00m (2 3/4 RF = 0.809m, 3 1/3 RF = 0.979m) thick, and they are 0.35-0.37m (1 1/4 RF = 0.367m) high. The blocks are 1.16-2.72m long. The height of the base course varies 0.375-0.395m, and in both analemmata its bottom edge towards the orchestra is very uneven and heavily worn.<sup>99</sup> The masons maintained a constant elevation between corresponding courses in the two analemmata, with a maximum variation of 0.02m.<sup>100</sup>

The faces of the walls were left without further elaboration or decoration. A niche appears on the east side, 12m from the east end of the wall (Fig. 209). It is located in the sixth and seventh courses and is well made with finely picked surfaces and drafted edges throughout, apparently part of the original construction. On the inside it measures 1.115m high by 0.069m wide and 0.46m deep. The body of the opening lies between two blocks in the sixth course and its top in the seventh course is formed by a flat arch with its inside surface sloping down 0.045m toward the interior. There is no indication of a setting for statue or relief.

No niche appears in the west wall. There are instead two notches in the eighth course, one 14m from the west end and the other 3.06m to the east of it. They are roughly cut and may be later additions.<sup>101</sup>

The top of each analemma was finished with a half-round coping made in a separate course doveled to the facing (Fig. 210). Where the blocks remain in place on the west side the dowels are visible, but no clamps were used. The last segment of coping at the lower end is cut in the same block with the course below and served as a stop for the blocks above. When it was shaken loose, very probably in an earthquake, the others slipped down behind it.<sup>102</sup> In the top of the coping are small rectangular cuttings with a worn surface at the east side only.<sup>103</sup> In two of the coping blocks not in situ (nos. 23 and 24 (Fig. 211)) the holes contain a lead bedding with the lower part of an iron pin. It appears that there were metal attachments, possibly pins with eyes, to which ropes could have been attached, perhaps in connection with an awning.

An elegant, arched doorway stood at the inner end of each analemma, but only the west entrance is complete. The doorway marks the division between the analemma and the orchestra podium and provided entrance into the radial corridor's anteroom. The small differences with the east entrance resulted from later alterations and repairs. In the doorway in the west analemma, the threshold and the blocks on the west side of the doorway follow the coursing of the analemma and those on its east side correspond with the podium (Fig. 210). The latter are lower and consist of a molded base course, orthostates, and crown with the same profile as the podium. At the east side of the doorway the base course drops 0.67m below the bottom of the threshold, following the slope of the parodos floor. Above the crown course two courses of irregularly shaped blocks finished the wall. The first is a large orthostate cut with a sloping upper surface and above it is a triangular block with a molding on top to match the coping (Figs. 207, 210). It was moved from its original position in the earthquake at the end of Phase II. The top of the doorway is formed by a single block that extends through the thickness of the wall and into the cavea where it formed part of the stairway. On its outer face the arch is decorated with two fasciae topped by a small cymation and taenia. The arch is slightly flattened, being 1.08m wide and only 0.43m high on its front face. The doorway has a total height of 2.02m toward the parodos, with a 0.09m slope toward the inside. The same slope was observed on a much smaller scale in the arched entrance in the east analemma. With a width of only 1.08m the doorway would not have accommodated a mass of people entering at one time. It is likely that its use was restricted to the privileged spectators who sat in the proedria. Pronounced wear on the west side of the threshold reflects a heavy flow of traffic from the west parodos (Fig. 212). The absence of pivot holes or other cuttings in the sill shows that the entrance had no door.

<sup>97</sup> Final finishing of wall blocks was usually done after they were set in place; cf. Adam 1984, p. 41, fig. 73.

<sup>98</sup> The longer blocks range 1.56-2.95m, the shorter ones 0.60-0.94m.

<sup>99</sup> The outer portions, however, remain unworn with sharp edges.

<sup>100</sup> In the first scene-building the variation in elevation of the courses of green sandstone in the east and west porches is maximum 0.06m.

<sup>101</sup> The first is 0.30 by 0.31 by 0.23m deep, cut into the lower west corner of the block; the second is 0.34 by 0.31 by 0.19m deep, also cut into a lower west corner.

<sup>102</sup> See Chap. IV.

<sup>103</sup> They average 0.06 by 0.07 by 0.08m deep. From east to west the holes are spaced 1.13, 1.36, 0.695, 1.47m apart.

The length of the short passage behind the arch leading to the west radial corridor is equal to the thickness of wall 5 plus the facing for the analemma, a total of 2.30m.

In the east doorway the arched lintel is missing, together with a large block in the fourth course on the west side of the opening (Fig. 201). The lintel at present is lying on the surface some 30m northeast of the theater, apparently where it was found during earlier excavations (no. 22; Fig. 188). The doorway itself seems to have suffered damage and to have undergone repairs in the final period (see Chapter IV). The shortened threshold block, 0.80m wide, compared with 1.08m in the west analemma's doorway, and the fact that it sits 0.11m lower than the base molding of the analemma on its east side point to its being a later replacement. Wear on the threshold is considerably greater than on the sill of the west entrance, suggesting that more spectators in the final phase entered the theater from the east, the main part of the city. Some displacement of blocks occurred at both sides of the doorway. The orthostate at the west side is roughly hacked off towards the opening, as is the capping course above it. This latter block was moved from its original position during use of the building since the rough surface of the stone beneath it is worn smooth, as is the broken end of the cap above it (probably by hands). Further signs of repair are found in the masonry flanking the west side of the passage beneath the seats, including three pieces of marble, one of which may be from a seat block (Fig. 213). The floor of the passage in the final period had risen about 0.25m from its original surface, covering most of the first step leading up to the seats (el. 138.37).<sup>104</sup>

The stratigraphy in the east parodos was revealed in Trench XXV (Deposits III.11, 12, 13; Fig. 206). The floor of the parodos at the east end of the scene-building over wall 4 originally lay at an elevation of 137.75/138.06 (Deposit III.11) and it extended on a generally horizontal plane to the orchestra (Deposit III.10; Fig. 29). The floor in this area seems never to have been as high as the base course of the analemma, and the foundation below would have been visible. In the outer half of both parodoi the floor undoubtedly continued at the same elevation, following the coursing of the analemma.<sup>105</sup>

During the years of Phase II, earth and small bits of debris, such as bones, fragments of pottery, carbonized wood, and ash, accumulated on the floor of the parodos and became compacted in the earthen surface. The

original floor surface appears to have been about 0.04m thick; later it reached a thickness of 0.20m in some places (Deposits III.11, 12, 14; Fig. 206).

## The Orchestra

### *Planning and Design*

The same planning circle that was used to lay out the theater in Phase I appears to have been retained for Phase II; cf. Chapter V. The overall extent of the orchestra, however, was much greater in Phase II through the removal of the stage and the contraction of the porches toward the south. The total depth of the orchestra, north to south, was increased to 23.20m, while its width east to west remained 29.40m, equal to the diameter of the planning circle. The new porches at each end of the façade, East Porch III and West Porch III, were so placed that the inner face of the porch was on a line tangent to the planning circle. The porches thus framed the orchestra and marked the entrances to the parodoi. The curve of the lower edge of the cavea in Phase II inscribes an arc of 197 degrees 56 minutes. This represents a little more than 17 degrees beyond the half circle that seems to have been the extent of the first orchestra, as discussed in Chapter I.

### *Floor*

There are distinct signs of a plan to raise the floor of the orchestra about 0.50m (to el. 138.00) in Phase II. However, whatever the intentions of the original architect were regarding the elevation of the orchestra floor, they were not realized: its surface remained always at an elevation of 137.50-137.60m.

The base molding for the orchestra podium was finished with reference to an orchestra floor with an elevation of about 138.00 (Figs. 23, 193). On the base course of the porches and the first step of the stairs the finished surfaces stop at elevation 138.02-138.08, on the side stairs at 137.94-137.97. One further sign that a higher floor was intended is the level to which the foundation for the original façade was demolished in the area of the new orchestra, 137.88 on the west side.

What actually happened in the orchestra, as opposed to what was planned, is revealed in some measure by the stratigraphy in Trenches XXIV, XIV, and XII, where a series of deposits reach from elevation 137.50 to 137.70-137.80 (Figs. 18, 19, 20). A layer of river pebbles (apparently not naturally deposited) at the northeast and center (Trenches XXIII, XXIV) must have been brought as part of the fill to raise the level of the orchestra.<sup>106</sup> A series of thin surfaces in front of the door

<sup>104</sup> Compare the same rise in the final floor surface in the west radial corridor.

<sup>105</sup> That the coursing was in fact horizontal throughout is attested by the lower portion of the west analemma that was revealed in Saria's test trench mentioned above. This is the only place the entire elevation of the wall can be seen beyond the end of the scene-building, but there is no doubt that the courses ran horizontally as far as the doors into the cavea.

<sup>106</sup> The pebbles begin at el. 137.60 and end at 137.92; Deposit IV.19 (includes surface from Phase III). Similar pebbles were encountered

to the center refuge (Trench XIV) reveal heavy traffic in that area during the construction period. Above them lies the hard-packed surface formed during the century and a half of Phase II.<sup>107</sup> A comparable deposit is found at the south side of the orchestra near the center stair (Trench XII).<sup>108</sup> Finally along the east half of the façade, inside what later became the *via venatorum*, a layer of marble chips and sand covered the old platform under the Phase I façade.<sup>109</sup> As noted above, the west side of the foundation had been left at a higher level. We can thus conclude that the work of bringing in fill to raise the level of the orchestra had been begun, but evidently was left unfinished after the floor reached an elevation of about 137.70-137.90.

In the center of the orchestra just south of the reused parapet block with the post hole belonging to Phase III (no. 20; Trench XXIII), a probe revealed that there is a cutting in virgin clay that reaches far below the level of bedrock at the north or south sides of the orchestra; Deposit III.8.<sup>110</sup> Not enough was excavated to reveal the bottom of the opening or its dimensions, but on the basis of its location opposite the *additus* of Phase I (east and west radial corridors), it is likely that the cutting was made for the front wall of the stage.<sup>111</sup> In Phase II the trench was then filled with large chunks of clay that probably came from the original excavation. There is no evidence that the stage wall was ever built.

A well-defined floor surface that can be assigned to the orchestra in Phase II has been found only at the north and south sides because of later disturbances in other areas; in both cases the floor was cleared with the deposit below it.<sup>112</sup> Most conspicuous is the floor in front of the center refuge (Trench XIV), mentioned above, which is 0.05m thick. Its elevation of 137.77 to 137.82 marks the level of the north side of the orchestra during Phase II (Fig. 19). At the south side of the orchestra inside the later *via venatorum* (Trench Vc) the earth floor is hard-packed, but not as thick (el. 137.78, Fig. 30; Deposit IV.15). The footing trench for the arena wall of Phase III was opened through this floor.

in the center of the orchestra (Tr. XXIII).

<sup>107</sup> The surfaces begin at el. 137.50 and end in a hard-packed floor surface at el. 137.80, Deposit III.7; shown in Fig. 19. The floor was not cleared separately, but it is shown in the section.

<sup>108</sup> Deposit IV.6; 4 in section Fig. 20. The composition and elevation of the deposit are comparable but it lacks the series of thin surfaces.

<sup>109</sup> Deposit IV.5; shown in Fig. 30; see preceding footnote. It begins at el. 137.50 and reaches to 137.72/137.82.

<sup>110</sup> Deposit III.8 ended arbitrarily at el. 136.20. Trench XIV, bedrock at el. 136.86; Trench XII at el. 137.08.

<sup>111</sup> See Chap. I, Stage.

<sup>112</sup> At the north the floor appears in Fig. 19, no. 2 although it was excavated with the deposit below, Deposit III.7, which belongs to the raising of the level in the orchestra. The same situation occurred at the south side, although the floor could not be isolated there because of later disturbances and should be considered as the surface of the artificial fill of Deposit IV.6.

## Conclusion

Adaptations were made to the *cavea* of the first phase to bring it closer to the form of the auditoria of Roman theaters in Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia in Asia Minor, where, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, Greek forms were combined with Roman structural features to create a Greco-Roman type.<sup>113</sup> The *analemmata* were made free-standing with open, unvaulted *parodoi* lying at an oblique angle to the scene-building. The design of the seats remained unchanged, with an arc of 194 degrees 51 minutes, larger than the traditional semi-circle of a Roman *cavea*. An element borrowed from the amphitheater and circus and introduced in Phase I is the high podium surrounding the orchestra. In the center, behind the podium, lay a small room that was entered from the orchestra and led to a corridor running through the auditorium to the street behind it (center radial corridor). The center corridor connecting the street and the arena is also a feature found in amphitheaters. A further feature borrowed from the amphitheaters is a box of honor above the center room.

The high podium that surrounded the foot of the *cavea* and separated it from the orchestra was a familiar feature in Roman amphitheaters where it formed an effective barrier between the spectators and events in the arena. In cities that lacked an amphitheater but where magistrates wished to produce gladiatorial contests and animal shows to celebrate their term of office or to honor the emperor, the city theater was often used. Some Roman imperial theaters were originally designed with an arena, especially in southwest Asia Minor, for example at Hierapolis, Sagalassos, Termessos, Aspendos, Side, and Selge.<sup>114</sup> In older theaters, both Greek and Roman, a podium was frequently added by removing the first rows of seats.<sup>115</sup> At Stobi the podium belongs to the plan of the first theater: its bedding was laid in Phase I at the east end, as discussed above. Completed in Phase II, the first row of seats rested on the crown course, and the surface was used by spectators as a walkway. When a podium did not afford sufficient protection for spectators, additional measures were taken that included a screen on top of

<sup>113</sup> A convenient collection of small-scale plans (1:1000) representing theaters of this type and others is given in de Bernardi 1974, pl. IV. The theaters at Selge and Side are similar to the theater at Stobi in plan, although they are larger. Sear 2006, pp. 376-377. See also Bieber 1961, pp. 219-220; Dinsmoor 1973, p. 315.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Hierapolis (de Bernardi 1966, pp. 57-67); Sagalassos (de Bernardi 1969, pp. 41-57); Termessos (de Bernardi 1969, pp. 11-33); Aspendos (de Bernardi 1970, pp. 161-174); Side (de Bernardi 1970, pp. 136-143); and Selge (de Bernardi 1966, pp. 43-53).

<sup>115</sup> E.g., the theater and odeum at Corinth (Stillwell 1952, pp. 84-98) and theaters at Dodona (Sear 2006, pp. 411-412, plan 433), Philippi (Sear 2006, p. 423, plan 450), Thasos (Sear 2006, p. 420, plan 446), Demetrias (Sear 2006, p. 418), Tyndaris (Sear 2006, p. 194, plan 117), Taormina (Sear, pp. 192-193, pls. 48-50, plan 115), Ephesus (Sear 2006, pp. 334-335, plan 329, pl. 114), and Miletus (Sear 2006, pp. 343-344, plan 342, pls. 118-119). Cf. Dinsmoor 1973, p. 315; Golvin 1988, I, pp. 237-247.

the podium or one anchored in the arena floor in front of it.<sup>116</sup> Arrangements for three successive barriers were placed on the podium at Stobi, beginning with what was probably a simple iron railing and ending in Phase III with a heavy wall.

The *summa cavea* was demolished at some point, possibly soon after abandonment of the theater or perhaps earlier in the period following the earthquake of c. 300 (Chap. IV). The marble seat blocks made excellent building material. They were used in the Episcopal Basilica for a string course in the east and north walls and for stylobates in the first chancel screen, in the base course for the post and screen barrier, and in the colonnades of the nave. Seat blocks are also found in the Episcopal Residence, in the Inner City Wall, above the

postern gate in the Porta Heraclea, the North Basilica, Via Sacra colonnades, the semi-circular court along the street northeast of the Episcopal Residence, and the steps of the Southeast Gate. As noted in Chapter II, the door jambs also found their way into the Episcopal Basilica and Episcopal Residence. Along with the upper seats, the supporting masonry was removed to a level that appears to have been that of the *diazoma*, and the facing stones of the radial walls and vaults were probably reused. Houses covered the entire theater. While most of these buildings above the orchestra and the *ima cavea* were removed by earlier excavators of the site, the remaining walls, especially in the northeastern section have been recently excavated by the National Institution Stobi.<sup>117</sup> Most of the houses were built and used in the 6th century.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>116</sup> See Gebhard 1975, pp. 43-63 with notes; Townend 1980.

<sup>117</sup> See Hemans 1986. Walls added to the theater after it ceased to be used as such are shown in Figs. 4, 214, 215. They were removed from the actual state plan of the theater in Fig. 5. Saria notes that much of the earth covering the *cavea* appears to have been deposited when foundations were opened for the Episcopal Basilica: Saria 1937, pp. 3-4. He found glass from the manufacture of mosaics and a variety of small objects (unspecified) that he construed as evidence for the theater having been used as a dump during the construction period. The deposits that covered the theater and *cavea* are shown in schematic sections: Saria 1937, fig. 2. Saria cleared only the first two *cunei* of the *cavea* and a small section of the orchestra and west *parodos* next to the seats. The remainder of the *cavea* and orchestra was uncovered by the Republic Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments in 1965-1966 under the supervision of Saržo Saržoski. Excavations of the post-theater remains in the east half and center of the *cavea* and in the east *parodos* and east end of the scene-building, beginning in 2009, were under the direction of Goce Pavlovski.

<sup>118</sup> The highest floors belong to the second half of the 6th century. There is medieval occupation above. I am grateful to Goce Pavlovski for this information.

## CHAPTER IV

### PHASE III

#### Introduction

The third phase in the theater's history is characterized by extensive repairs and rebuilding in the scene-building and cavea and conversion of the orchestra to a permanent arena. A restored plan of Phase III appears on Fig. 216. The original impetus for the reconstruction seems to have been repair of damage caused by an earthquake although a new architectural layout may already have been in the planning stage. While the failure of walls in the scene-building could have resulted from the natural settling of the subsoil, the lateral displacement of large marble blocks in the podium and analemma and damage to the seats in the westernmost cuneus is best explained by the rippling motion of an earthquake.<sup>1</sup> Details of the evidence follow below in the sections devoted to the scene-building and cavea.

Together with repairs and rebuilding, major changes in plan and design were introduced. When the orchestra was converted to a permanent arena, the upper ends of both parodoi were closed with gates, the wing at the west end of the scene-building was remodeled, the shrine to Nemesis in the center room was enlarged and embellished, and a large court was enclosed at the eastern end of the scene-building. A date at the end of the 3rd century or in the first years of the 4th century for the earthquake and subsequent rebuilding is provided by material in Deposits IV.1-8.<sup>2</sup> While many theaters were falling into disrepair and being abandoned in this period, at Stobi the building continued in use throughout most of the 4th century (Deposits IV.33-41). The theater apparently played a role in the 4th century city as Ine Jacobs points out in her study of the Classical city from 4th to 7th century AD: "The physical form of the city was determined by the thoughts, beliefs and expectations of inhabitants, especially elites who funded the project."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Robert Folk, William Rostoker, and Dusan Krcinovic for discussion on the forces produced by shifts in the earth's surface and their effect on masonry, and to Fritz Hemans for associating the damage with a seismic intensity of 9 or 10 on the Modified Mercalli Scale. Charles Williams, during his study of the Corinth Theater, noted similar effects on the seats and analemmata from such a tremor (pers. comm.); cf. Gebhard 1996. Pavlovski and Blaževska 2018. Cf. Gebhard 2024.

<sup>2</sup> Embedded in the concrete of the repairs in the central corridor was a coin of Constantius II, minted in Thessalonica between AD 326 and 328 (M-15-330), Pavlovski and Blaževska 2018, pp. 52-53.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobs 2013, p. 4. The theater at Aphrodisias was likewise remodeled and continued in use throughout the 4th century; Erim 1974. For other areas see the extensive discussion of the Classical city from the 4th to 7th century AD in Jacobs 2013.

Soon after events in the theater ceased, blocks began to be removed (Deposits IV.42-50). The scene-building, parodoi, orchestra, and cavea soon filled with soil and rubble, and small houses and workshops sprang up. The old theater was covered by a new urban landscape. Publication of the post-theater remains will appear elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

#### Scene-Building

##### *East End of Scene Building*

The extensive rebuilding in the east end of the scene-building consisted of a new rear wall in the east half of the building (south wall III) and rebuilding of the north and east walls of East Room II. New construction included remodeling the enclosure of an area at the east end of the building, named here the East Courtyard.<sup>5</sup>

The walls either collapsed or were so weakened in the east half of the building that the new south wall (south wall III) was built 1m inside (north of) the earlier wall, apparently to avoid contact with the failed wall. At the same time, the east wall of the building and the north end of the front wall above the east parascenion were rebuilt. Within the building, the interior walls separating East Rooms I and II and East Room II and the Center Room were taken down to floor level. The pilasters behind the columns on the porches may have been removed at the same time.

The new south wall stretched for 24.50m along the south side of the scene-building, in its eastern half (Fig. 5). Its thickness (1.25m) and depth of foundation (over 2.50m below floor level, Trench XIII) attest to concerns about the stability of the building. Along the back of East

<sup>4</sup> Excavation and removal of post-theater buildings began with Saria, from 1924-1928, and was followed by the Conservation Institute of Macedonia (1965-1969) and the National Conservation Center (1998-2001). Under the Stobi Excavations of 1970-1981, Late Roman structures were excavated in the East Parodos (1971-1972). From 2009-2023 Goce Pavlovski from the National Institution Stobi continued excavation on the east side of the theater, conserving and documenting the later structures. Conspicuous is a large kiln in the eastern courtyard built soon after the theater was abandoned. In the aerial view in Fig. 6 the kiln is covered by a protective roof. I am grateful to Goce Pavlovski for sharing information and photographs from his excavations prior to publication.

<sup>5</sup> In earlier publications a large room comparable to West Wing III is restored at the east end of the scene-building (Gebhard 1981a, b). Excavations during 1998-2011 revealed that in fact no wall existed along the south side of the parodos but only walls at the south and east forming an enclosed area, apparently unroofed, at the end of the scene-building.

Room I the new south wall merely reinforced the south wall of Phase II, which remained standing. Today both south walls and the piers between them are preserved to the same elevation (140.30m). Small extensions connect the south wall of Phase III to the piers, perhaps for structural reasons. The small space between the two south walls, Phases II and III, served no practical purpose (Figs. 76, 217). At the east end of the building, however, the earlier wall was apparently dismantled and the easternmost pier removed (foundations were uncovered in Trench XIII). Thus, at the southwest corner of East Room II the new outside wall (Phase III) continued eastward replacing the outside wall of phase II (Figs. 5, 216).

In the facing and core of the new walls, north, east, and south, reused material appears for the first time in any quantity: broken bricks, roof tiles, and pieces of worked stone. Blocks from parts of the theater, e.g., a coping block from the analemma, were found in Phase III's south wall, bearing witness to the extent of damage throughout the theater. The mortar is gray and in some places slightly pink, with an aggregate of river pebbles. Joints were troweled smooth and the stones outlined with a single line that in some places is doubled. The trench-built foundation of south wall III, exposed in Trench XXVI, was poured from floor level.<sup>6</sup> It is composed of concrete made with fragments of large bricks and pieces of sandstone mixed with mortar. Above the foundation both faces of the wall were laid in courses over a rubble core. The south (outside) face is inset 0.05m from the line of the foundation.<sup>7</sup>

What happened to the roof in the east half of the scene-building is unclear. If all the piers had withstood the earthquake, the vaults might have survived. The removal of at least the final pier at the southeast corner and probably the two adjacent to it at the west is a sign that the groins very likely failed. A replacement roof for the east end of the scene building in wood would not have been elegant, but, like many repairs in the later periods of buildings, it probably served its purpose.

Two interior walls (east and west walls of East Room II) were taken down to the level of the floor for most of their length.<sup>8</sup> That they had been irreparably damaged is attested by the fact that the architect did not allow

the new south wall to rest on their foundations. He inserted two small arches at floor level to carry the new wall over the earlier foundations, apparently thinking it safer to span the foundations than to rest his wall on them.<sup>9</sup> The location of the arches is marked on the restored plan in Fig. 216, and they are illustrated in Fig. 217 before restoration in 1995. The west arch is the smaller of the two with an interior span of 0.70m. Most of it was destroyed at the same time as the south wall, but its outline is preserved on the face of the masonry behind it to the south. The arch was made of bricks set radially to the opening. When it was intact, the opening rose to about 0.65m above the floor.<sup>10</sup> The larger arch (also conserved in 1995) spans the foundations that were left after the East Wall of Phase II was taken down, presumably due to its damage. The east wall was rebuilt after the new wall to the south; it abuts the north side of the arch. The arch is made with bricks in the same manner as the smaller arch, with an opening 1.32m wide and 0.62m high.<sup>11</sup> The mortar between the bricks is scored with double lines.

The newly built south wall ends in a large buttress that, perhaps more than any other feature, attests to the architect's worry about future shocks to the building (Fig. 218). The buttress extends 1.64m beyond the east wall, and, although at present it stands only 0.96m above ground level, it probably continued to the top of the wall.<sup>12</sup> The combination of arch and buttress is strange, however, and I have found no direct parallel for it.<sup>13</sup>

At the southeast end of the scene-building, Trench XIII exposed foundations at the corner of Phase II's south and east walls and the pier between them, all of which now lie at ground level (elevation 139.04-139.50, pier foundation 139.23m) (Fig. 5). The corner must have been so badly damaged that it was rebuilt. As noted above, the newly built east wall of Phase III abuts the arch (Fig. 218). The east wall was not fully uncovered until

<sup>6</sup> The foundation undoubtedly rested on bedrock although excavation ended at el. 136.90m. Bedrock farther west is lower, cf. the south end of Tr. III at el. 136.12m.

<sup>7</sup> Much of the east end of south wall III lies under a late Roman building. Aerial views in Figs. 4 and 76 show the east end of the scene-building before excavation of the southeast corner in 1975 (Tr. XIII). The northeast part of East Room II appears on Saria's plan (Saria 1938, pl. 1.1); north end of the east wall and the pier next to it are shown, but they were subsequently buried and partially re-excavated in 1996-2001.

<sup>8</sup> Conservation in 1996-2001 restored the interior walls well above floor level.

<sup>9</sup> The openings that were made in Trench VI at the sides of the west radial corridor as far down as the footings of the north and south walls belong to the same period and reveal the same concern for the integrity of foundations. Deposit IV.8.

<sup>10</sup> The bricks are 0.42 by 0.32 by 0.05m thick and they were laid in mortar 0.025m thick on the inside, increasing to 0.11m on the outside of the arch. The interior height of the span would have been about 0.33m. Conservation in 1995 has restored the interior cross wall in such a way that it appears to be later than the arch. In fact, as described above, the cross wall was dismantled before the arch and south wall III were built.

<sup>11</sup> In the Stobi Cemetery Basilica similar arches are used where a wall crosses a grave. Noël Duval kindly called my attention to similar relieving arches in the Basilica of St. Irene at Sirmium, also of the 4th century, where the walls cross earlier tombs.

<sup>12</sup> The amount of projection for the buttress is taken on the north side from the face of east wall III and it includes part of the arch. Beyond the arch the buttress is 0.90m wide.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the buttresses inserted against the analemma of the Roman theater at Corinth. Since they did not rest on earlier foundations, their configuration is different: Williams and Zervos 1987, pp. 23-24. Cf. Pfaff 2020.

1998-2001, and the lower portion is still unexcavated. In thickness it measures 1.23m and it is constructed in the same fashion as south wall III. A narrow doorway of about 1.11m gave access to the East Courtyard. The threshold remains unexcavated (Fig. 219).<sup>14</sup> At its north end the wall is bonded with the front wall of the scene-building that was likewise rebuilt after the earthquake (Fig. 220).

On the east side of the scene building, the earthquake brought an end to the front wall, which was subsequently rebuilt. The new front wall contains a considerable amount of reused material including fragments of bricks, roof tiles, and worked marble that are visible on the inside face and in the core where the facing has fallen away (e.g., behind the curved bay). The facing was filled in with courses of brick, a section of which, over 1m long and two courses high, occurs on the south face at the inside corner. There are smaller patches of brick in the same section of wall. A division between the Phase II and Phase III masonry is evident at the northeast end of the parascenion (Fig. 219, arrow).

In the columnar façade of the scene-building, signs of damage and repair are few. The absence of severe breaks or evidence of replacement among the 21 marble blocks that have been recovered from the epistyle of the first story suggests that most if not all of that story escaped serious injury, since the earthquake damage was farther to the east and south. From the epistyle of the second story only eight blocks survive, and the majority of them are too fragmentary to show whether or not they had been damaged prior to their final destruction. A capital that Saria found at the west side of the orchestra may be a replacement piece for the second story, although only its place of discovery associates it with the theater (Table II.3B, no. 20; Fig. 142). The design of the capital is Corinthian, but it is not in the same style, workmanship, or marble as the capitals of the first story. Hard and dry forms are carved in a dark-veined white marble,<sup>15</sup> in contrast to the delicate forms and careful rendering in an almost pure white, fine-grained marble on the lower story capitals. On each side of the anthemion an unusual pattern of tendrils forms a double loop, for which it is difficult to find parallels.<sup>16</sup> The odd design combined with uneven workmanship and darker marble suggest a date later than that of the capitals of the first story. If the capital was indeed used in the theater, a further point in favor of its being a replacement is the lower diameter which

is smaller than the average diameter of the top of the second-story columns. Although broken, the diameter of the capital seems to have been only c. 0.30m while the columns are 0.366m (Table II.3A, nos. 3-19). Saria dated the piece to about 300.<sup>17</sup>

That the columns from the second story might also be replacements is suggested by the darker color of their marble and their slightly rougher finish in comparison with shafts from the first story. On the other hand, the differences are not striking. The marble, though more heavily veined with gray and green, appears to have come from the same quarry as that used for the first story.

The one place in the façade where there is evidence of damage severe enough to have been caused by the earthquake is in the crown course of East Porch II at the southwest side (Fig. 89, Table II.1, 13). The block was broken in antiquity and the portion that lay beneath the stylobate was repaired with mortar that still clings to the broken surface. Where the break was exposed beyond the edge of the stylobate, the surface is heavily worn. On the same porch, a block of the stylobate seems to have been removed for the repairs, since a bedding for it was cut into the block below. This is the only place where such a bedding is found. The location of the repair is far enough back that it could have been made while the colonnade was standing.

On the other hand, the pilasters behind the columns appear to have been removed before performances ceased. They were originally secured by dowels cut into the stylobate (see Chapter II), but the heavily worn surface over and around the cuttings attests to considerable use after the pilasters had been taken down. Performance space was limited and removing the pilasters would have facilitated access to the center of the porches.<sup>18</sup>

In summary: The extensive rebuilding in the east end of the scene-building consisted of a new rear wall in the east half of the building (south wall III) and rebuilding of the north and east walls of East Room II. There was apparently a major failure of the masonry at the east end of the building. The hypothesis that an earthquake was responsible for the damage is supported by several features of the repairs in Phase III. Arches in the new south wall carrying it over the demolished foundations of the cross walls attest to the architect's concern about the foundations of the walls from Phase II. Furthermore, a buttress was added to withstand lateral thrust at the southeast corner. In the façade one or more capitals

<sup>14</sup> The threshold lies at el. of 139.74. The width of the doorway is 1.11m. Goce Pavlovski is uncertain about the identification as a doorway, and rather posits that this could be a window. The area needs further excavation to clarify.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter II for types of marble used in the theater.

<sup>16</sup> A capital with a similar design is on display in the courtyard of the Larissa Museum. Although its provenance is unknown, in all likelihood it came from Larissa or the vicinity.

<sup>17</sup> Saria 1938, col. 128; on the advice of Ernst Weigand.

<sup>18</sup> The stylobate on the two end porches was cut back in a notch at the inner, rear corner, possibly also for access behind the column. The space of 0.40m between pilasters and columns would have limited the mobility of anyone using the porches as a platform.

in the second story may have been replaced. Other changes, perhaps, but not necessarily, done at the same time are damage and repair of the crown course of East Porch II and removal of pilasters from the porches. Further damage that appears to be the consequence of an earthquake is discussed below in the section on the cavea.

### *Remodeling the Nemeseum*

The interior of the scene-building was remodeled at the same time as it was repaired with the aim, apparently, of enhancing the shrine to Nemesis in the center room.<sup>19</sup> The major architectural change comprises the introduction of a grand reception hall for the Nemeseum, created by joining the two eastern rooms (see plan, Fig. 216). The design belongs to the period of reconstruction or perhaps the new plan was already on the drawing board. In any case, two partition walls, probably damaged since the architect did not trust the foundations (see above), were taken down to floor level (el. 139.30) for a stretch of 4.70m between the northern row of interior piers and the new south wall (Fig. 221).<sup>20</sup> At the north and south ends both walls remained standing next to the piers.<sup>21</sup> It is not clear what effect the changes had on the roof. For the scene-building of Phase II Saria restored groined vaults supported on piers for the side rooms and a barrel vault over the central chamber (Chapter II). When a section of the east wall of the center room was removed in Phase III, some support for the barrel vault would have been needed, perhaps a wooden beam inserted to bridge the gap.<sup>22</sup> The sandstone piers would have continued to support the groin vaults. If the piers were removed, the roof would have been rebuilt.

The new door at the east end of the building seems small for a grand entrance to the Nemeseum (Fig. 219). The main doors to the building on the north side, formerly giving access from the orchestra, were blocked by the arena wall and the *via venatorum* (discussed below), and the south door of East Room II may also have been blocked although the area remains unexcavated. A door in the west wall of the Nemeseum led to West Rooms I and II. The east door in East Room II, however, appears to have been the principal means of access to the Nemeseum.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See Chap. II. Support for a shrine to Nemesis in Phase II comes from votive material and inscriptions that are earlier than the earthquake of c. 300.

<sup>20</sup> During conservation the interior walls were rebuilt.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Saria 1937, fig. 20. Stones of the west partition wall left their imprint in the mortar of south wall III. At the time of Saria's excavation, the masonry of the walls was better preserved, as seen in Fig. 74.

<sup>22</sup> Note that in Phase II, there had been a doorway c. 1.80m wide in the east wall.

<sup>23</sup> Goce Pavlovski suggests that the center doorway in the blocking wall in front of the scene building, 1.32m wide, would lead directly into the Nemeseum after crossing the *via venatorum*. It is wider

than the eastern narrow doorway (which he posits could be a window). Further, he suggests that entrance from the orchestra to the Nemeseum during a procession would be logical and that the statue and the inscription were set to be viewed when coming from the orchestra.

The doorway in the west wall of the room at some point received a new threshold. The east side of the opening is filled with a packing of small stones, broken roof tiles, and worked pieces of white marble and sandstone; the packing probably supported a stone sill at the height of the sandstone block at the west side of the doorway, elevation 139.63 (Figs. 13, 222). When Saria excavated the door, the bricks lining the opening were still in place (Fig. 75). A coin of Constantius II (346-360) was found on the surface of the packing during cleaning.<sup>24</sup> It is well worn and, if in its original context, it could belong to the period when the blocks were removed, presumably after the theater went out of use at the end of the 4th century.

Although there must have been some kind of floor in the shrine, the only surface that we encountered was a layer of clay in the northwest corner (Trench III, NW ext.). The clay was 0.05m thick and had a surface elevation of 139.33, sloping down to 139.21 at the east. It is impossible to know if it originally continued over the entire room (cf. Deposit IV.13). In the center of the room Saria either did not detect a floor surface or he removed it without comment. It is evident from his plans and photos (e.g., Fig. 74) that he excavated to the level of dumped fill associated with construction in Phase II (Fig. 13, floor 2).<sup>25</sup> The higher clay floor probably belonged to the first period of the shrine. It was laid before the new threshold in the west door was installed because the stone packing for the sill overlaps the floor (Figs. 13, 222).<sup>26</sup>

than the eastern narrow doorway (which he posits could be a window). Further, he suggests that entrance from the orchestra to the Nemeseum during a procession would be logical and that the statue and the inscription were set to be viewed when coming from the orchestra.

<sup>24</sup> Coin 81-160.

<sup>25</sup> In 1970 the floor surface of the room lay at el. 139.04 at the south end, 139.20 in the center and north side, and 139.46 along the west wall. Small test pits had been opened earlier at the center of the north side, and in front of the monument base. Although Saria does not give elevations in the text, the earth in the center of the room must have been about el. 139.18 at the close of his work because the entire front of the monument base is uncovered in his photograph (Fig. 74). An elevation equivalent to 139.29 above sea level is noted on his plan.

<sup>26</sup> The architecture in the room shows that the floor did not always remain at the same level. The threshold of the center door at el. 139.61, the block in the west doorway at el. 139.63, and the top of the base holding the inscription at el. 139.50, give an upper terminus for the floor. A lower terminus is given by the top of the concrete foundation for the cult monument, el. 139.14 (Fig. 13). At the north end of the room the threshold for the center door rests on a foundation at el. 139.26. Presumably the floor would have covered these foundations. What is more, the sides of the square sandstone base to the west of the cult monument were finished to el. 139.22. In the center of the room, however, the floor seems to have been lower at some period. The north end of the large white block in the dumped fill (construction of Phase II) was worn smooth in such a way that it must have protruded into the surface of the room. The worn portion lay at el. 139.13, sloping to 139.08 towards the south. Although it is probable that the floor surface originally covered the block, cleaning over time may have worn away the earth and exposed the stone.

In contrast, the earth floor in West Room II built up in a series of thin, hard-packed layers leaving no clear distinction between the floor of Phase II and that of Phase III.<sup>27</sup> The final surface lay at an elevation of 139.45 and the earliest began at el. 139.17. Another deposit in the room, perhaps representing a period of activity during Phase III,<sup>28</sup> rose to an elevation of 139.38. The coins in this layer show that the floor was in use until the last quarter of the 4th century when regular activity in the theater ceased. At that time a circular structure, perhaps an oven or kiln, was built in the east end of West Room II (Fig. 11). The roof was still standing until the end of the 4th century and wind-blown silt accumulated in the room (Deposit IV.33), but debris from the roof, dating to the first half of the 5th century (Deposit IV.42), soon covered it. Similarly, contemporary deposits of debris were found in the center room and East Room II (Deposits IV.43, 44), and in the via venatorum (Deposit IV.45, 46).

Remains of decoration were found in Saria's excavations, indicating that the walls were revetted in marble and decorated with stucco. He reports that in the east part of the center room there were many thin slabs of rose and white marble cut in a variety of geometric shapes (rhomboids, ovals, triangles) and long, narrow strips for borders.<sup>29</sup> In addition, there were remains of socles and moldings, pilaster capitals, and friezes in stucco with an egg-and-dart motif.<sup>30</sup> The same assortment of material was found in East Room I, including bases for wall pilasters and fragments of pilaster capitals. One capital from East Room I is decorated with a gladiator in relief (Fig. 223).<sup>31</sup> Its mate, similarly decorated,

was found in 1998 during conservation of the scene-building (Fig. 224).<sup>32</sup> Where the capitals were placed is not clear. There were few interior walls in the final phase; the marble revetment would have adorned the north, south, and perhaps east walls of the entrance hall, as well as the shrine itself. East Room II, when it is fully excavated, may also prove to have been richly decorated.

The following account of material from the shrine is taken from Saria's published photographs and descriptions because all major objects, architectural and sculptural, and most of the inscriptions were taken to the National Museum in Belgrade where they remain.<sup>33</sup> In the excavations of 1970-1981, two additional fragments of sculpture and a hoard of silver and gold coins were found buried beneath the floor.<sup>34</sup> The fragment of a second pilaster capital was discovered during conservation in 1998 (Fig. 224). Also during conservation, a second hoard of bronze coins was found in the northeast corner of East Room II, 0.50m below the surface.<sup>35</sup>

The most imposing monument added to the shrine was a statue of the goddess with a dedicatory inscription. Although the sculpture has disappeared, Saria discovered the inscription in situ against the south wall of the shrine, as shown in his photograph (Fig. 74). He reports that "a rubble wall ...still preserved to a height of 0.42m in some places" had been constructed on a socle of sandstone: "The wall was once plastered with mortar and painted red. A few traces of later repainting have been preserved. In the middle of the socle was an inscription with the dedication of an *Ultrix* statue."<sup>36</sup> Today the upper portion of the wall has disappeared, and the inscription is in the Archaeological Museum of Skopje (Fig. 225).<sup>37</sup> Still in place, however, is the large sandstone block that supported the inscription and the aediculum behind it.

<sup>27</sup> The floor in Trench I at the west end of West Room II began at el. 139.45 and continued down to 139.23 (Deposit IV.9). A slightly softer layer lay below with patches of clay and mortar continued to 139.17 (Deposit II.10; aerial view in Fig. 11). In Trench II a well-defined surface at 139.29 sloping to 139.18 at the west edge marks the floor that seems to have been in use during Phase II. A probe through the floor revealed that it is composed of a series of thin layers for a total thickness of 0.28m (Deposit IV.11). Below the floor lay the dumped fill for construction of Phase II; excavation stopped at that level.

<sup>28</sup> The surfaces are not as clearly defined as those in the layer below (Deposit IV.10).

<sup>29</sup> Oval slabs of white marble are 0.08m long, 0.035m wide. Saria 1937, p. 22: "These fragments resemble the remains of wall incrustation found in the Episcopal Basilica," which were doubtlessly brought from the theater.

<sup>30</sup> Saria 1937, pp. 20-22. Pieces of marble have appeared in the current excavations, especially in the east parodos, but most of them are very small; see Deposits IV.11, 13, 14, 22, 23 (16 frags.), 24 (16 frags.), 33, 34, 36, 37, 40 (18 frags.).

<sup>31</sup> The pilaster capital that Saria uncovered is in the National Museum, Belgrade; cf. Saria 1937, p. 27, fig. 31. It is 0.29m high, 0.05m thick, with a preserved width of 0.20m. The figure, moving left, wears short trousers with a broad belt, bands on legs and chest, and he holds a short sword in his right hand. The original paint still clung to the stone when it was uncovered; red on the trousers, straps, bracelets, and eyes; blue for the belt; chestnut brown on the hair. The capital is Corinthian with an acanthus leaf and a larger and smaller vine rising behind it at the preserved side; the opposite side is broken away. In the center of the top molding is a rosette. Its mate (A-98-1) is 0.285m high, 0.19m wide, and 0.05m thick. The left half of the capital is preserved, showing the left side of a gladiator, moving

right, with his right hand pulled back holding a knife or short sword. He is dressed similarly to the figure on the companion capital. No paint is preserved. Acanthus leaf and other decoration as above. The arrangement of leaves at the edge of the capital finds a parallel in the pilaster capitals in the Hanghause 2 at Ephesos, also of the 4th century (I am indebted to Charles Williams for the reference).

<sup>32</sup> I am grateful to Silvana Blaževska for the information and permission to include the capital in this publication.

<sup>33</sup> The most complete publication of this material is found in Saria 1937, pp. 20-27. Nos. 9 and 10 are included in Saria 1938, abb. 21-22.

<sup>34</sup> Further discussed below. The silver and gold coin hoard has been published by Hadži-Maneva 2001.

<sup>35</sup> 206 bronze coins from Constantine II to Julian II, the latest coin is AD 361. Note that the silver and gold hoard from the Nemeseum closed after AD 378. For a full description of the bronze coin hoard see Vinčić and Hadži-Maneva 2000.

<sup>36</sup> Saria 1937, p. 20. All translations are by Ruth Kolarik and Žika Radosivić.

<sup>37</sup> Saria 1937, pp. 52-53, fig. 54. Note that the inscription was complete, although cracked, when found and photographed in place. Today, the lower right-hand corner is missing. See Wiseman 2000 for a discussion of the inscription and its date; also Düll 1977, no. 221A and Babamova 2012, no. 15.

The inscribed slab is 0.86m high, 0.46m wide, and 0.20m thick, and made of the same rose marble that is used elsewhere in the theater. In large Latin letters it records that the Augustales Sextus Cornelius Audoleo, Caius Fulcinus Epictetus, and Lucius Mettius Epictetus gave [a statue of] Ultrix Augusta (Nemesis) to the god Caesar Augustus and the municipium of Stobi. The sandstone base (2.70m by 0.55m by 0.30m high), together with the concrete foundation behind it (seen in Fig. 226), would have provided the platform for an aediculum, measuring 2.40m wide by 1.20m deep (Fig. 227). It was built against the south wall of the room, shifted slightly to the west of the center axis.<sup>38</sup> Below floor level, Trench III exposed a foundation of rubble masonry, built in a style corresponding to that of south wall III, that extends for c. 2.75m to bedrock (as seen in Figs. 13, 227). The size and depth of the foundation supports Saria's suggestion that the upper part of the monument included "a small aediculum" for the cult statue, with the same depth as the niches on the façade of the scene-building (Fig. 84). Saria places a crown molding of white marble found in the shrine as the final capping block of the base. It is the appropriate size to have rested above the inscription.<sup>39</sup> The moldings on its front and side faces are finely carved and its top is roughly picked. Anathyrosis on one side and a clamp cutting attest to the presence of a second block on what would have formed the left side of the base as seen from the front.<sup>40</sup> He mentions a smaller aediculum apparently freestanding that was found nearby (Fig. 82, A, B, G). It consisted of a sandstone slab (0.70m high, 0.85m wide, and 0.12m thick), the upper part of which bore a Greek inscription to Nemesis by Titos Mestrios Loggos.<sup>41</sup> Recesses have been chiseled into the back of the slab, along its vertical edges (Fig. 82, A). In addition, holes have been bored near the upper, narrower edges of the slab, exactly through the middle of the recesses. The slab served as an orthostate at the base of the aediculum. The lateral slabs have not been preserved. A sandstone top belongs to the monument (Fig. 82, G).<sup>42</sup> Two column fragments of sandstone lay nearby (Fig. 82, C, D, F). They are too large for the smaller

aediculum but may have belonged to the larger cult monument.<sup>43</sup>

At the west side of the cult monument lies a large base (1.20m square) made with two blocks of sandstone (Fig. 226, foreground). The surface is finely picked; the vertical faces at the top are smoothly finished in a band 0.38m wide where the base was exposed above the floor. Two faint lines show that a second course was set back 0.18m from the north and west sides of the base. At the east and south sides, the second course stood against the cult monument and back wall respectively. The two-course base with a top of 1.02m square could have held a life-size statue.<sup>44</sup> Thus, there may have been two major sculptures in the shrine.

Nemesis was at home in Roman theaters and amphitheatres of the 1st to 3rd centuries as goddess of chance and of the gladiatorial contest. The enlargement and embellishment of her shrine in the last phase of the theater at Stobi is a sign of her continuing importance for the city as well as for those engaged in combats in the theater. The inscription is generally thought to have been cut about a century earlier than the rebuilding of the scene-building where it was erected as a part of the aedicule to the goddess. Whether the Augustales' dedication to her commemorated gladiatorial shows that they sponsored at some time before the renovations of c. 300 or the inscription was brought into the shrine from elsewhere, there can be little doubt that gladiatorial combats were flourishing in the final years of the theater.<sup>45</sup> The extensive changes made in the architecture of the scene-building and arena point to a central role for the cult and gladiatorial combats connected with it in the period beginning c. 300.

Saria recovered two cornice blocks of rose marble (nos. 1, 2; Figs. 228, 229). They are similar in material and profile, but do not join. He believed they were jambs for the door on the west side of the room. It is more likely they came from the lintel because block no. 1 belonged to the right-hand end of the course and the molding returned at the right side. The front and side faces are finely carved; the top and rear surfaces are rough-picked. The molding is composed of a taenia,

<sup>38</sup> Saria measured the shift as 0.20m and attributed it to the later addition of the statue to the room (Saria 1937, p. 27).

<sup>39</sup> The total height of the lower part (base, inscription, crown molding) would have been a little over 1.38m (1.396=4.3/4 RF). If this comprised 1/3 the height of the monument, the whole structure would have been about 4.20m high, which is appropriate for a room of about 6.76m in height (=23 RF). Cf. Figs. 63, 96. Two fragments of a sandstone column and an Ionic capital are published by Saria as coming from the Sacellum and he suggests that they also may have belonged to the cult monument (Fig. 82, D, F, H). They are no longer at the site.

<sup>40</sup> Saria 1937, fig. 21E.

<sup>41</sup> Saria 1937, p. 54, fig. 55; Babamova 2012, no. 15.

<sup>42</sup> Its lower surface is 0.80m long and 0.60m wide, and its largest dimensions are 1m long, 0.70m wide, and 0.25m high. Its lower part has a circular depression 0.42m wide and 0.48m long. All dimensions are taken from the drawings in Saria 1937, fig. 21.

<sup>43</sup> The upper diameter is 0.195, base diameter with molding, 0.255m. A small Ionic capital of sandstone was found, to fit a column with upper diameter of 0.18m (Fig. 82, H).

<sup>44</sup> When Saria lifted the blocks, he found "some broken and some complete oil lamps, a bone needle and other objects (unspecified)" (Saria 1937, pp. 26-27). He believed the blocks had fallen from their original position, but this seems unlikely because the weathering line on the surface continues across both blocks. The objects do not appear to have been inventoried by Saria, and he does not illustrate them.

<sup>45</sup> Full discussion of the inscription and bibliography in Wiseman 2000, pp. 1359-1370; Babamova 2012, no. 15. My thanks to the author for this reference. There is no evidence for the original location of the inscription.

cyma reversa, and taenia, the same profile as no. 2.<sup>46</sup> No. 2 will have belonged to the left side of the lintel. It is illustrated by Saria (Saria 1937, fig. 19B), where he did not distinguish between the two blocks but conflated aspects from the two of them. Blocks that may have been associated with statue bases in the shrine are nos. 6 and 7 (Figs. 230, 231). Block no. 6 is visible in Saria 1937, fig. 16, resting on the west wall, but neither block is mentioned in his text. The blocks are sandstone, smoothly finished on the sides and rougher on the top and back faces. No. 6 has a bedding on the left rear corner of the top, 0.52m long, 0.30m wide (front to back), and 0.04m deep. Whatever stood there would have been at most 0.52 long by 0.12m wide. On no. 7 a square hole, 0.125m on each side, is cut through the block, 0.36m from the front. A shallow bedding occupies the top of the block, ending 0.32m from the front.

#### *Sculpture Recovered by Saria*

Within the shrine Saria recovered fragments of statues and reliefs that seem to have belonged to the cult. The following descriptions are taken from his monograph with reference to his illustrations since I have not been able to see most of the material.<sup>47</sup>

1. Two fragments of legs wearing hunting boots. Fine white marble. Saria 1937, fig. 25 a-b. Their different scales indicate two statues.
2. Fragments of hands. Saria 1937, fig. 23 d-f. Two left hands and one right, as well as some smaller pieces of right hands. The larger left hand (d) still has traces of red color and holds an unidentified object in the fist. The smaller left hand (e) is slightly extended and seems to have leaned on some object, possibly a wheel which is a common attribute of Nemesis. The right hand (f) has the index and middle fingers extended.
3. Fragments of drapery. Saria 1937, fig. 23 c. It is not possible to tell whether they belonged to one or several statues (of the goddess?).
4. White marble relief of a mounted rider. Saria 1937, fig. 24. Fragmentary with semicircular upper border in which the rider is represented. Right and lower parts broken off; preserved height is 0.15m, preserved width 0.13m, thickness 0.095m. The rider lifts his right hand in which he holds an unidentifiable object. He

wears a cloak fastened on the right shoulder with a round fibula. Saria concludes that he represents the Thracian horseman.

5. White marble relief fragment. Saria 1937, fig. 25, center. Broken on all sides; coarse work. Preserved dimensions: height 0.19m, width 0.06m, thickness of background 0.05m. A female figure is portrayed in a peplos with a kolpos. It is broken off at the hips.
6. Votive relief of gray-white marble. Saria 1937, fig. 25, left. Fragmentary; right border preserved. Preserved dimensions: height 0.19m, width 0.07m, thickness 0.03m. A woman in a long Doric peplos holds a staff in her left hand. Only the lower part of her garment and hand are preserved. Underneath is inscribed in Greek a dedication to Nemesis.<sup>48</sup> Saria notes that the staff is an ell, and in her right hand she held a balance, characteristic attributes of Nemesis.<sup>49</sup>
7. White marble relief. Saria 1937, fig. 25, right. Lower left corner preserved. Preserved dimensions: height 0.13m, width 0.07m. An altar with flame is shown.
8. Small fragments of sculpture representing small animals. Saria does not illustrate or describe them further.
9. Torso of a life-size female statue. Saria 1937, fig. 27. Found in the center room. The figure wears a tunic and pallium. Preserved height 0.80m, width at hips 0.45m. Saria believed the piece had no connection with Nemesis but was brought into the room at a later date.<sup>50</sup>

On the basis of the anatomical fragments and the drapery in numbers 1-3, Saria concludes that there were at least three rather large statues of Nemesis in the shrine.<sup>51</sup> In two of the images the goddess is represented in hunting garb, while in the other statue and in two of the reliefs (nos. 5 and 6) she appears in the long garment in which the goddess is represented at Rhamnous and elsewhere.<sup>52</sup> The representation of the goddess in the two small reliefs is comparable to that in the reliefs of Nemesis in the theaters at Philippi and

<sup>46</sup> A hole in the top of the molding is drilled horizontally for 0.075m; it is 0.06m in diameter, narrowing to 0.01m. Another cutting occurs at the right rear, 0.31m long by 0.075m wide by 0.04m deep.

<sup>47</sup> Saria 1937, pp. 22-24. Where dimensions are omitted in the following catalogue, none was given. The white marble head (Saria 1937, fig. 26) and the pilaster capital with the relief of a gladiator (Saria 1937, fig. 31) are in the National Museum, Belgrade. The material is presented with Phase III because it was found in the Nemesium of that period. As noted above, many of the pieces are probably earlier than the 4th century and could have been displayed in the center room during Phase II, cf. Chap. II.

<sup>48</sup> Düll 1977, no. 222. Babamova 2012, p. 26, no. 14.

<sup>49</sup> A similar relief occurs in the theater at Philippi: Chapouthier 1925, pp. 239-244, Chapouthier 1924, p. 292, figs. 2, 4. The goddess appears on a relief at the west entrance to the theater at Thasos (Daux 1968, p. 24, fig. 17); cf. the theater at Sabratha (Caputo 1959, p. 18, fig. 60), a dedication in the small theater at Pola (Fuchs 1987, pp. 108-109), and the amphitheater at Patras (Papapostolou 1989). See discussions of Nemesis in Düll 1977 (pp. 121-126) and Golvin 1988, vol. I, pp. 237-239.

<sup>50</sup> Saria 1937, p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> Düll 1977, no. 223. He dates them to the second half of the 2nd century.

<sup>52</sup> For types of Nemesis, see Schweitzer 1931, pp. 194-202 and Parabeni 1963, pp. 404-406. The statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous by Agorakritos is described by Pausanias, 1.33.2; cf. Ridgway 1981, pp. 172-173, figs. 113-114. In the cult at Smyrna, Nemesis is represented in short dress and hunting boots, a type that Saria believed to be a Roman combination of Nemesis and Artemis. See Herter 1935; Robert 1940, p. 133, no. 82, p. 182, no. 179, p. 187, no. 180; Hornum 1993.

Thasos and serves as further evidence of a link between those theaters and Stobi.

*Sculpture from 1974-1975 Excavations*

In 1975 two fragments of marble sculpture were found in the northwest corner of the center room, buried in a shallow hole that had been dug through the clay floor (Fig. 232). With the marbles were 11 coins, the latest of which belongs to the reign of Arcadius (383-408), Deposit IV.13. A separation between the clay floor and the darker fill surrounding the sculptures was clearly visible.

10. Right arm, S-75-2 (Fig. 233). From a life-size female statue of white, medium-grained marble with well-developed musculature. Preserved length is 0.425m; maximum thickness 0.142m. There is no trace of drapery. At one end the hand is broken off at the wrist; at the other the upper arm preserves a dowel cutting for attachment to the shoulder.
11. Female torso, undraped, S-75-6 (Figs. 234, 235). White, medium-grained marble. Head and arms missing; torso broken at the waist. Height 0.129m, width 0.122m, thickness of figure 0.068m. A strut attached at back, 0.05m long, 0.059m wide, and 0.067m high. The small breasts and the locks of hair that fall over the shoulders on either side suggest a young girl. The figure may have served as a support for a table, as suggested by the strut at the back, the erect posture, the elongated proportions, and lack of surface detail and modeling.

The deposit of silver and gold coins was buried under the floor in the center of the shrine a few years before the sculpture (Deposit IV.14). Although the compact floor surface was not preserved in the immediate area, the elevation at the top of the hoard shows that it would have lain just a few centimeters below the floor. When its owner opened a hole to bury his treasure, he encountered a large marble block from Phase I that prevented him from digging further.<sup>53</sup> The 73 complete coins and fragments of coins were found in small stacks: a group of 10 in the top layer, another 10 beside it, six in the third layer in the center, and another six below them. Other coins were loosely scattered around the stacks. Such a disposition suggests that, at the time of burial, they were contained in a soft pouch. The entire hoard occupied a space of only 0.07 by 0.055 by 0.055m in depth. The soil of the deposit was sandy with marble chips. Immediately surrounding the hoard the color was somewhat darker, although no trace of the

container could be discerned. Heavy corrosion on many of the silver coins presented special problems for the conservator.<sup>54</sup>

Of the 73 complete coins, 69 are silver and four gold (Figs. 236-244). An additional 21 fragments of silver represent several more coins, but the exact number is difficult to reconstruct because of their small size and poor condition. The coins were struck under the emperors Valentinian I (364-375), Gratian (367-383), Valens (364-378), and Valentinian II (375-392) by the mints of Trier, Thessalonica, Constantinople, Aguleia, and Cyzicus, between 367 and 378.<sup>55</sup>

The condition of the room, location of objects, and the state of the floor surface at the time of burial is not known. Since the owner gained access to the area, we may assume that the roof was intact. In fact, in as much as Saria found a number of earlier dedications in the shrine, albeit fragmentary, and the dedicatory inscription of the cult statue was still in place, it appears that the shrine was never completely cleared of its cult apparatus before the scene-building collapsed early in the 5th century (see Deposits IV.42-44). The owner of the coins could not have left them there before 375 (the earliest date for the latest coin). A likely time for their burial is the period of turmoil following the disastrous defeat of imperial forces at the Battle of Adrianople on 9 August 378 when the emperor Valens was killed. The latest mint date for the latest coin is 378. The four gold coins that were struck at Trier between 367 and 375 show little or no sign of having been in circulation. The hoard may have been, but not necessarily, deposited before the fragments of sculpture buried in the northwest corner of the room since the coins accompanying the burial provide a slightly later terminus post quem of 383-408. It may be that the owners thought they were placing their treasures under the protection of the old goddess. Another hoard of approximately the same date was found in East Room II by Zhika Vincić during the conservation of south wall phase II in 1996. They found 212 bronze coins dated between AD 355-361.<sup>56</sup>

When the theater was abandoned, the shrine appears to have been left alone. Pieces of sculpture and architectural members were evidently carried away, but there is no evidence of a large-scale removal or

<sup>53</sup> The hoard lay very close to the modern ground level, 2.30m north of the sandstone base for the cult statue and a little west of the center axis. The highest coins were at an el. of 139.08, the lowest at 139.025.

<sup>54</sup> Gabricevic 1981, pp. 277-279. There was no evidence of fire in the earth surrounding the coins. If some of them were burnt, as Gabricevic suggests, it must have happened before they were buried.

<sup>55</sup> I am greatly indebted to Michael Crawford and Alan Walker for information on the mints and dates of the hoard. The latest coins are the four that were struck between 17 November 375 and 9 August 378 in Thessalonica (C-74-29, C-74-31 (Figs. 237, 238), C-74-42 (Fig. 236), C-74-69). The four gold coins were minted at Trier in the years 367-375 (C-74-65 (Figs. 239, 240), C-74-66, C-74-67 (Figs. 241, 242), C-74-68 (Figs. 243, 244)).

<sup>56</sup> Hadži-Maneva 2001.

destruction. The broken bits that no one wanted were left, including the small aediculum of Titos Mestrios Loggos and the dedicatory inscription of the cult monument which remained on its base. On the basis of the latest pottery and coins associated with the surfaces in use during the last years of the theater, normal activities ceased at the end of the 4th century. After that the east parodos and the *via venatorum* rapidly filled up with debris (Deposits IV.40-41). For some reason two fragments of sculpture were buried in the northwest corner of the room, although it is not certain that they had belonged to the furnishings of the shrine.

### ***West Wing and Eastern Courtyard***

When the parodoi were rebuilt the West Basilica was remodeled to form a wing at the west end of the scene-building. The north side was closed by a wall with a doorway to the parodos.<sup>57</sup> The west wing, narrower than the rest of the building, seems to have contained only one room (Figs. 57, 216). Trenches X and XI uncovered small sections of the north, west, and south walls; Trench I revealed the southeast corner where the south wall of Phase I (south wall I) is bonded with the west wall of Phase II as discussed above. The south wall of the west basilica was thus begun in Phase I, but evidently never finished. The remains of the south wall show a break 7m from the scene-building (Trench XI-A). It was completed as the south wall of the west wing. The situation is clear in the aerial photograph of 1974 (Fig. 57, arrow).<sup>58</sup> In Phase II a new north wall was constructed with a doorway.<sup>59</sup>

The West Room in Phases II and III is not exactly rectangular in that the north side has an outside length of 18.30m while the south side is 0.20m longer; the overall width is 7.50m. The south and west walls have the standard thickness of 1.10m, while the north wall is only 0.85m thick. The north wall rebuilt in Phase III abuts the west parascenion. A number of reused architectural fragments can be seen in the south face. Other reused material in the facing and core of the

north wall include numerous tiles, bricks, and pieces of red and white marble revetment. On the face of the wall the joints are trowelled smooth and outlined with a double line in the same manner as south wall III. The character of the masonry shows that the north wall was rebuilt in Phase III after the earthquake.

In the north wall an unusually large doorway, 2.15m wide in its final phase, connected the West Wing with the parodos, seen in the aerial photograph of 1974 (Fig. 215), and in a contemporary close-up from the south side looking north (Fig. 245).<sup>60</sup> Excavation in 1974 revealed the threshold to be a utilitarian affair consisting of a large, reused sandstone slab that was too wide for the space but not long enough. At the west side of the threshold the space was filled with small stones and mortar. No pivot hole appeared at either side of the doorway. The situation changed after later excavation of the parodos. In 2009 when Goce Pavlovski cleaned the north side of the doorway, facing the parodos he found that the blocking wall from the final period that was recorded in 1974 had disappeared, as well as the threshold on which it had stood, as seen in Fig. 245. Beneath it was an earlier threshold in the form of a large sandstone cornice block with a deep groove running lengthwise across the opening and two round holes, evidently to secure a double-leaf door (Fig. 246). A bronze coin (M-09/155, nummus of Jovian minted in Constantinople in AD 363-364) was found inside the groove. In a still earlier phase, the lower doorway had been wider and then reduced by extending the wall into the opening at the west side. A break in the masonry west of the doorway shows the addition that reduced the opening from 2.75m to 2.15m.<sup>61</sup> Judging from the size of the room, it may have been a storage area, perhaps for cages containing the wild animals that were waiting to be exhibited in the arena. The wide doorway would have facilitated their removal to the parodos.<sup>62</sup> There were apparently no small rooms in the scene-building or *cavea* that could have been used as cages, as in the odeum at Corinth and elsewhere.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> At the time of the final destruction this north wall collapsed into the west parodos. When Goce Pavlovski excavated the parodos in 2020 he found the masonry of a wall in the parodos. The wall that was discovered collapsed is the south wall of the basilica. The so-called north wall of the west wing is actually later than the initial post-earthquake repairs. Its foundation level is higher than the first post-earthquake floor.

<sup>58</sup> Post-theater walls lying over Trench XI-A complicate the situation in the aerial photograph (Fig. 215), but the two phases of masonry are clearly defined.

<sup>59</sup> The front wall of the scene-building that was built in Phase I and continued in Phase II stands to an elevation of 143m, which is 3.45m above the floor of West Room II.

<sup>60</sup> Later, the doorway was blocked by a thin wall, the bottom of which was still in place in 1973 (Fig. 245).

<sup>61</sup> Although it was not evident at the time of the 1974 excavation, later clearing of the parodos revealed a break in construction of the north wall at a distance of c. 0.90m west of the doorway. It appears that the doorway was considerably wider at the time of initial construction, extending to c. 2.75m and later the opening was narrowed to 2.15m. The addition is clearly visible from the parodos at the north side. Without further excavation, it is not possible to reconstruct the phases in construction of the wing.

<sup>62</sup> Jennison 1937, pp. 159-161.

<sup>63</sup> Broneer 1932, pp. 49-50. The rooms had an interior space of 4.80 x 2.75m. Jennison 1937, pp. 159-161 describes the problems involved with moving wild animals through such a passage. The use of cages such as are represented in the theater at Corinth (Stillwell 1952, pp. 89-90; Capps 1949, p. 61) would make it easier to deliver the animal to the arena, but the beast still had to be induced to leave the cage.

The floor of the west wing consists of compacted earth at an elevation of 139.22, a little lower than the second threshold (elevation 139.38m, Trench X-A). Beneath the floor a probe revealed pottery belonging to the latter part of the 3rd century with some pieces that could reach into the 4th century (Deposit IV.1). The deposit also contained many large animal bones, some bone implements, lamps, and the base from a grinding vessel, all of which suggests that the material was dumped in that location at the time the west wing was reconstructed. The coin embedded in the lower threshold of the door, if not a random find, would belong to the last period of use or abandonment. Further discussion of the ground level around the scene-building in Phase III follows in the section on the parodoi.

The East Courtyard did not form an extension to the scene-building as the West Wing did. Much of it was occupied by a large lime kiln in the 5th century that is still in place, and so the earlier levels remain unexcavated.<sup>64</sup> As with the West Wing, walls remaining from the first scene-building were incorporated in the later construction. The earliest segments of wall belong to the east and south sections. At its west end, the south wall is bonded at foundation level to the southeast corner of the Phase I scene-building.<sup>65</sup> The remainder of the east end of the building was rebuilt after the earthquake and conserved again in 1996. At its east end (i.e., the southeast corner of the courtyard) the south wall turns to the north and continues for c. 11m across the parodos to end at wall 6, which was the analemma of the first theater (Figs. 5, 10). The wall (labelled wall 11 in Fig. 10) is identified as belonging to the Phase I theater by markings in red paint.<sup>66</sup> The masonry, opus incertum with pieces of yellow silicified sandstone and regular green-gray sandstone, is also characteristic of Phase I.<sup>67</sup> Thus, the initial construction of the two sections of wall that define the eastern area can be identified as belonging to the first theater, while the remainder were finished in the final phase. It appears that the east and west basilicae of the first theater had been begun, but portions of the walls were left standing. In the final period the remains of this masonry were incorporated in the new scene-building. The outside walls of the courtyard are 1.15m thick.

The large area of the East Courtyard apparently remained open to the sky. The interior measured c. 10m across the east end, widening to c. 12.20m at

the west, and it extended east-west for 19.40m. The floor of the courtyard extended northward to include the parodos, with the result that the court and upper parodos were joined and shared a common floor (unexcavated). The fill of the parodos east of the scene-building was cleared in 1998-2001.<sup>68</sup> The soil deposits left such conspicuous traces on the white marble of the analemma that it is possible to reconstruct the line of the surface, as seen in Fig. 209. A series of elevations taken at regular intervals beginning at the east end of the parascenion show a consistent rise of about 1:13m, from an elevation of 138.55m (about 0.70m above the orchestra) to the gate at the east end of the parodos (elevation of 139.67m in front of the gate).<sup>69</sup> In the East Courtyard in Late Antiquity the floor at the east side remained approximately the same level as the parodos.<sup>70</sup> Farther west the sloping floor has not been excavated but it is visible in the scarp. Although the area between the parodos and the East Courtyard has not been fully excavated, it appears that there was access from the parodos floor next to the gate (el. 139.33m) to the east door of the scene-building (el. 140.47m), allowing visitors to enter through the parodos gate and proceed to the scene-building and the Nemesis shrine in the center room. The east door was inserted in the east wall of the scene-building as rebuilt after the earthquake. It opened to East Room II and through it to the Nemeseum (Figs. 216, 219). It was 2.61m wide but narrower between the jambs.<sup>71</sup>

### The Parodoi

After the earthquake the surface outside the theater at the east and west sides of the scene-building was raised with the result that entrances to both parodoi were likewise raised. Before the earthquake the floors of the parodoi had been essentially horizontal at approximately the same elevation as the orchestra (137.75/137.80m), as shown by the horizontal coursing of the analemata. A rise in elevation is attested by the new gates that were constructed at the top of both parodoi at an elevation 1.70 to 1.90m above the orchestra (el. 139.67m at top of east parodos; 139.83m at west parodos). Both parodoi were not excavated until 1998-2001, and the west end of the west parodos was finally cleared in 2020 and 2021.<sup>72</sup>

The surface to the south of the scene-building had been raised at the time of construction in Phase II (see Chap. II, south door of Center Room), and there were

<sup>64</sup> In 2009-2010 Goce Pavlovski uncovered a large, well-preserved lime kiln of the 5th century in the southern half of the courtyard.

<sup>65</sup> Trench XIII. The bond is at the foundation level. The east wall was completed first and the south wall was built against it.

<sup>66</sup> The markings are on the face just north of the large gateway built in Phase III.

<sup>67</sup> Goce Pavlovski identified the red paint as characteristic of building practices in Phase I.

<sup>68</sup> No stratigraphic section is available.

<sup>69</sup> The distance is 13m. I am very grateful to Goce Pavlovski for help in taking the elevations.

<sup>70</sup> Elevation 139.54 in parodos, 139.33 in the courtyard.

<sup>71</sup> The door has not been completely excavated. Goce Pavlovski suggests that it was rather a window. If so, there was no entrance to the scene-building on the east side.

<sup>72</sup> The excavation was conducted by Goce Pavlovski.

doors onto the terrace from West Room II (elevation of 139.36m) and presumably East Room II (unexcavated).<sup>73</sup> Throughout the second phase there appears to have been no direct passage between the higher floor of the scene-building (139.30/139.60m) and the orchestra and parodoi except for the five stairways in the scaenae-frons. The spectators will have entered from the east and west through the parodoi as well as through the arches in the outer analemma.

### West Parodos

The surface of the parodos was raised to accommodate the higher level at the west end of the theater. The wall at the west end of the parodos appears to have incorporated a short section of wall 10 from Phase I that had been left standing, in the same way as a portion of the south wall of the west wing was reused (Fig. 10). Wall 10 projected 1.10m into the parodos and served as a jamb for a door in Phase III. The floor at the west end of the parodos was thus raised 1.83m above the surface of Phase II.

Excavations by Kaleova in 2004 cleared the parodos approximately to the level of Phase II, leaving a small portion of fill at the west end. Further excavations were conducted by Goce Pavlovski in 2020 and 2021.<sup>74</sup>

### East Parodos

Treatment of the east parodos differs somewhat from that in the west, principally because the walled area at the east end of the scene-building was not closed along the side bordering the parodos. Excavations of the area east of the scene-building in 2010 included the parodos. At the upper east end a wall that remained from the basilica of the scene-building in Phase I was reused to close the parodos. It has been traced northward where it met wall 6, the east analemma of the first auditorium (Fig. 9). The smoothly troweled joints on the inner (west) face, now exposed next to the analemma, show that the builders worked from the level of the earlier parodos floor at the foot of the marble (Phase II) analemma (el. c. 138.50).<sup>75</sup> The surface was then raised about 1.40m, and a gate with massive threshold and stone jambs was set into the wall. Next to the east gateway a layer of architectural debris (sloping down from the east) is visible in the scarp; most of the fill has an ashy appearance with bits of carbon.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> The floor of the West Radial Corridor slopes up slightly to its western entrance at el. 138.94m (Figs. 25 and 27). See Pavlovski 2023 concerning the corridors of the cavea.

<sup>74</sup> Pavlovski 2023.

<sup>75</sup> The terracing that raised the level of the parodos was probably part of the same project that raised the surface east of the scene-building.

<sup>76</sup> Where the parodos was excavated next to the analemma in 1998-2001, floor levels were not recorded.

The parodos floor sloped westward for a distance of about 19m to a point just beyond the east end of the scene-building (Fig. 206, no. 4) where it met the surface of Phase II. Fig. 206 shows the slope of the fill for a section about 4m east of the parascenion, where the layers of soil and debris rose steeply, 2m in a space of 3m. While much of this material belongs to the period after the theater went out of use,<sup>77</sup> the steep ascent begins with the floor of Phase III.

The east gateway had an opening of 2.63m and its threshold was formed by one slab of sandstone (2.47m long, 0.245m high, 1.175m deep). The surface has an elevation of 139.67m. The stone jambs at either end (0.84m and 0.875m high by 0.26m thick) were supported by separate blocks of stone. The opening was later blocked by a wall, 0.60m thick, at the east side.

The lower section of floor along the east parascenion was composed of a pink mortar packed with small stones and soil.<sup>78</sup> The surface slopes down (a total of about 0.40m) to the orchestra (el. 137.89).<sup>79</sup> The floor of Phase III overlies an accumulation of earth, ash, and small pieces of debris that built up in the parodos during Phase II.<sup>80</sup> Above the mortar floor the layers of soil that accumulated during the 4th century followed a gentle rise to the east end of the parascenion.<sup>81</sup>

In summary, the floors of both parodoi were raised 1.0-1.83m along the extensions to the scene-building, apparently related to the changes in the building and areas outside the theater. The south terrace would then have extended along three sides of the scene-building, about 2m above the level of the orchestra.<sup>82</sup> What cannot be explained until further excavation is the relation between the east parodos and the walled area east of the scene-building.

### The Arena

In the final phase of the theater the orchestra was converted to a permanent arena. What had been a temporary enclosure made with a net held by posts on top of the podium was now enclosed with walls on all sides. The entrances to the parodoi were secured

<sup>77</sup> Fig. 206, no. 2 = Deposit IV.40; and Lots 522, 523, 524, and 525 that are not included.

<sup>78</sup> Fig. 206, no. 4 = Deposit IV.22. For the parodos floor rising to the east, Fig. 206, no. 3 = Deposit IV.24.

<sup>79</sup> Fig. 29, no. 2 = Deposit IV.26; Fig. 29, no. 1 = Deposit IV.27.

<sup>80</sup> Fig. 29, no. 3 = Deposit III.10; also Deposit IV.14. Within the area of the curved bay a large, irregular piece of white marble, unfinished, appears to have been part of the debris when the façade of Phase I was dismantled, and the top of the marble, showing signs of heavy wear, protruded through the parodos floor. Cf. the large white block that was partially exposed in the center room of the scene-building.

<sup>81</sup> See Fig. 206, no. 3 and Fig. 29, no. 1 = Deposits IV.24, 27 respectively; Deposit IV.25 is in Tr. XXV.

<sup>82</sup> The threshold at the west end of the west parodos shows that the ground level to the west of it was also raised.

with heavy gates. The features are visible in the aerial photograph (Figs. 5, 247). Refuges, a typical feature of the amphitheater, were added to the arena. They included two small enclosures built into the podium and a larger one in the center where the earlier room was remodeled for the purpose. The two side refuges were appropriate for performers to enter and leave the arena, especially the hunters. The center refuge, formerly the center room, provided space for more than one person and an exit through the central corridor beneath the seats. In front of the scene-building a wall was constructed that blocked direct access to the stairways of the façade. Three doors in the wall opened to a narrow corridor between the arena and the scene-building. The doors corresponded to the three refuges in the podium and provided additional points of entry to the arena. With two gates at the parodoi, there were eight entrances to the arena, corresponding to the arrangement in an amphitheater.<sup>83</sup>

The general picture conveyed by these changes is one of increased attention to the needs of arena events. That other types of performances continued to be presented in the theater can be deduced from the wear seen on the surfaces of the porches. It would appear that the festival program no longer included the large-scale performances in the orchestra for which the façade was designed. The arena wall effectively blocked the five large stairways that formerly connected the scene-building with the orchestra. Evidence of fixtures for a narrow wooden platform erected between the arena wall and the porches was recorded by Saria. The space would have been limited and the performers probably few.

### *The Via Venatorum*

The south arena wall across the front of the scene-building, 30.12m long and 0.54-0.60m thick, closed off the lower part of the scaenae-frons (Figs. 78, 248, 249). Its construction follows the same pattern as the other walls of Phase III. It was bedded on the north edge of the wide foundation that supported the façade of Phase I (Figs. 13, 249).<sup>84</sup> While the wall effectively blocked access to the orchestra from the stairways of the façade, it did not extend across East Porch III and so did not completely close the stairway.

At the time of Saria's excavation when the arena wall was complete, at the west end it reached a height of 2.90m above the orchestra, 1.60m above the stylobate of the porches (top el. 140.62). In 1970 the wall had lost 0.64m of its height at the west and in 1996 and 1998 most of it was demolished to orchestra level.<sup>85</sup>

Between the wall and the porches there remained a passage, 0.95m wide, that Saria called a *via venatorum* from the term used for the walk behind the podium of an amphitheater where *venatores* circulated outside the arena.<sup>86</sup> The three doorways in the wall connected the corridor with the arena, and at each end the corridor could be entered directly from the parodoi. At the west end a sandstone block bedded under the wall seems to belong to a threshold (Fig. 32).<sup>87</sup> The east end of the passage was entirely open and accessible to the east parodos.

Saria recorded that in the upper part of the south arena wall at the west end, there were three small recesses and a window in front of West Porch I.<sup>88</sup> His section shows the recesses as 0.16 wide by 0.17m high and extending to just over half the thickness of the wall. The westernmost recess was located 0.90m from the west end of the wall, opposite the edge of West Porch III, the next was aligned with the west edge of West Porch II, and the third was 0.67m farther east. Saria noted that they were at the same level as the crown moldings of the porches, and he suggested that the beams supported a floor between the wall and the porches. The reconstruction accounts for the evidence he had, but there are no marks on the porches and the exposed marble of the crown course where they would have rested exhibits a high degree of polish. The smooth surface is especially evident on West Porch III where the westernmost beam would have rested, and the outer edges of the other crown blocks are similarly polished. The wear must have resulted from use during Phase II, or the platform in Phase III was only temporary, erected when the program required it, and the rest of the time the *venatores* walked upright in the *via venatorum*, running their hands along the porches. Did the platform extend over the stairways between the porches? No beam holes in the arena wall are recorded for the space in front of West Stair II, and timbers parallel to the arena wall could have spanned the 2.40m

<sup>83</sup> For the design and function of the amphitheater arena, see Golvin 1988, I, pp. 297-340. Theaters converted into arenas include the large theater and odeum at Corinth, and the theaters at Dodona, Philippi, Tyndaris, Taormina, Ephesus, Nysa, Miletus, and Aphrodisias (cf. Golvin 1988, I, pp. 237-246). In most cases the refuges are smaller than those at Stobi, sometimes merely a niche in the podium. See Dyggve 1958b, pp. 20-39 for a discussion of the use of refuges. At Heraclea Lyncestis and Scupi the refuge was part of the original design. Scupi had a podium over 3m high, Heraclea is around 2.3m.

<sup>84</sup> The foundation below the arena wall is visible in Figs. 60, 249, 250.

<sup>85</sup> A small section remained unexcavated under an earthen ramp covering West Porch II and West Stair I, which was needed for access to the orchestra. The segment was exposed after the removal of the ramp during the excavations of 2020.

<sup>86</sup> Saria 1938, cols. 135-136.

<sup>87</sup> The green sandstone slab, 1.26m long by 0.52m wide, is bedded directly on the foundation below the arena wall. It leaves a gap of 0.33m at the south side of the passage where a wooden jamb or block for a pivot could have been fitted against the adjacent West Porch III. The west side of the slab is finished; its east face is uneven. The worn top has an el. of 138.17, 0.13m above the floor of the passage. The passage may have been closed by a door.

<sup>88</sup> Saria 1937, fig. 49.

interval between the porches. Was there sufficient clearance for venatores to use the *via venatorium* when the platform was in place? Most of the corridor was 1.70-1.78m high, but at the west end the higher floor reduced the clearance to only 1.57m, just over 5 RF.<sup>89</sup> The space would have been tight but probably adequate if necessary.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand, the wooden platform was probably a temporary fixture, erected when the program required it, and at other times performers could circulate freely in the *via venatorium*.

The window in the south arena wall that Saria restores was located in front of West Porch I, slightly to the west of center. Before the wall was demolished, the bottom edge was visible at the top of the arena wall, but the original width of 0.45m as recorded on Dyggve's drawing was no longer distinct (Figs. 78, 249). The opening begins at a height of about 1.16m above the passage floor and could have been no more than 0.54m high to fit beneath the stage. The arena wall east of the center door is not preserved to the same height, but there may have been a corresponding opening.

The doors in the south arena wall sit to the left and right of center: the two in front of the center stair and West Stair I shifted to the west and the door facing East Stair I moved eastward. The center door had a width of 1.30m that was narrowed to 1.20m by a concrete jamb at the east side. The east door is 1.18m wide and lacks a stone jamb. The west doorway, partially cleared by Saria, is covered now by an earthen ramp leading to the orchestra. The width of the opening is given as 1.35m on Saria's plan.<sup>91</sup> The doorways would have been about 1.86m high, equal to the height of the wooden platform.

The center door is located over the passage that ran through the foundation under the *scaenae-frons* in Phase I (discussed in Chapter I as seen in Fig. 31) (Figs. 13, 31). At the time of construction for the arena wall, the opening for the doorway was filled with a solid packing of broken blocks, earth, and mortar to support the concrete threshold. Some of the blocks bear signs of at least two uses before being built into the doorway, another indication of the amount of recycled material in Phase III.<sup>92</sup> The concrete jamb at the east side of

the door, although not bonded to the wall, is probably contemporary.<sup>93</sup> A wooden door would have been attached to it, very likely suspended in the same way as the doors to the refuges in the podium, described below. Although no stone thresholds are preserved in any of the three doorways in the arena wall, it is likely that they existed because the floor inside the passage is higher than the orchestra.

The outside face of the arena wall toward the orchestra was finished with fine plaster over a coarse base coat, and it was renewed some time later with a new base and surface coat. Both layers of plaster are well preserved at the bottom of the wall (Fig. 31), and many pieces of the final coat were recovered from the earth along the wall, still preserving their bright red color. Further traces of red-painted plaster were clinging to the wall at the time of Saria's excavations. Thus, the entire arena was surrounded by a red wall in its final days.<sup>94</sup>

Details of the construction, decoration, and repair of the arena wall are seen in Trench XII at the north side of the wall (Fig. 20). A footing trench for the wall (Fig. 20, no. 4), about 0.50m wide, was opened through the orchestra to the level of the foundation of the *scaenae-frons* from Phase I (Fig. 20, no. 4a). Inside the *via venatorium* on the south side of the arena wall the footing trench cut through a layer of stone chips and sand belonging to the orchestra of Phase II (Fig. 30, no. 6).<sup>95</sup> After completion, the trench was filled with construction debris (Fig. 30, no. 7 = Deposit IV.4) and covered by a series of thin, non-continuous surfaces interspersed with layers of mortar laid across the passage (Fig. 30, nos. 3-5).<sup>96</sup> The surface is a mortar floor that belongs to the major period of use.<sup>97</sup> After construction of the wall, it was plastered and then the footing trench along the north face of the wall was filled in (Fig. 30, no. 4a = Deposit IV.6; Figs. 20, 31). The first coat reaches to the surface of the foundation.<sup>98</sup> The second coat belongs to a later refurbishing while the arena was in use (Fig. 20, A). The fresh plaster that fell at the foot of the wall marks the floor at elevation 137.75m, sloping up to the north (Fig. 20). It is noteworthy that the arena wall was plastered at least twice before the theater was abandoned.

water; grooves on the surface testify to a secondary use as a threshold before being built into the bottom of the doorway in Phase III.

<sup>93</sup> Since excavation in 1974 the concrete jamb has disappeared.

<sup>94</sup> Red was a conventional color for the arena in an amphitheater: Saria 1937, p. 8, note 14.

<sup>95</sup> See also Fig. 20, Trench XII on the north side in the orchestra.

<sup>96</sup> The stroses begin at elevation 137.78 and end on a continuous hard earthen floor at about 137.88; Fig. 30, no. 5 = Deposit IV.15.

<sup>97</sup> At the west side of the center doorway large tiles were put down to make a rough floor at el. 137.91. The passage floor rose to 138.04 at the west end of the passage.

<sup>98</sup> The bottom edge of plaster in most places varies in el. with the surface of the foundation (137.63 at the east end, 137.55 at the east side of the center passage, and 137.87 at the west end); cf. the arena floor discussed below. Note that the first coats of plaster were applied to the wall before the stone posts for the *parodoi* gates, which were the final additions to the arena.

<sup>89</sup> The el. of the floor in the passage at this time varied between 137.83 at the east to 138.04 at the west end. The bottom of the platform that formed the ceiling would have been at 139.61.

<sup>90</sup> A comparable passage in the theater at Tyndaris was 0.90m wide and 1.77m high (personal observation).

<sup>91</sup> Saria 1938, abb. 11.

<sup>92</sup> When the threshold began to collapse in the winter of 1975, it was removed and the packing excavated (Deposit IV.2). The largest block had originally belonged to the *cavea* parapet (no. 18). Two further blocks (nos. 18, 19) were in a tertiary location. Block 18 of rose-colored marble is very worn on top, fine-picked on front, very rough-picked on back, broken at both ends. A pry hole, 0.065 by 0.003 by 0.045m deep, was originally on the top, but the heavily worn surface suggests it had also been used as a step, probably not in the theater. No. 19 (in three pieces) belonged to a sandstone cover slab, pierced to admit

The material excavated inside the *via venatorum* belongs to the final phases of use and abandonment (Fig. 30). In the course of the 4th century the surface rose 0.05 to 0.10m before organized activity in the theater ceased at the end of the century.<sup>99</sup> In the years following, soil accumulated in the passage and was not compacted; above it a variety of objects were dumped until the area was finally filled with debris from the scene-building.<sup>100</sup>

### *Arena Wall on the Podium*

The north side of the orchestra was enclosed to the same extent as that at the south by construction of a heavy wall above the podium in place of the temporary post and net system that had been in use earlier (see Chapter III). The wall belongs to the period following the earthquake because it rested on blocks that had been broken or moved from their original places (Fig. 207).<sup>101</sup> A section of wall between the west analemma and the west refuge is almost intact and is constructed in the same type of masonry as seen in the arena wall in front of the scene-building (Figs. 163, 250). Seven courses of rough stones rise 0.98 to 1.15m above the top of the podium. The top of the seventh course is the same elevation as the top of the arena wall in front of the skene (140.60m). It is likely that the wall on the podium was never any higher. Two rectangular holes at the foot allowed water to drain from the seats above (Fig. 250).<sup>102</sup> Saria reports that a fine layer of plaster bearing traces of red paint covered the wall, comparable to the red paint on the wall in front of the scene building.<sup>103</sup> The arena was thus entirely enclosed by a wall in front of the scene-building and the wall on the podium and the two gates across the *parodoi*. The barrier was 2.90m high above the orchestra.

The wall could not have continued uninterrupted above the entrances to the three refuges in the podium, as Saria restored it. Heavy wear exists on the crown course on either side of the openings to the refuges. Thus, the wall did not run uninterrupted across the refuge. But the performers would have let themselves down into the refuges from the top of the podium as well as entering from the orchestra (Figs. 251, 252, 253). Since three large gaps could not have been left in the circuit wall, the spaces above the doors were probably closed by a metal grill or wooden panel. A close inspection of

the worn surface on the crown course next to the west refuge reveals that the wear does not continue all the way to the front of the podium but stops 0.27m from the edge towards the orchestra leaving space for a lighter barrier (Fig. 252). At the west side where the podium and refuge are complete, the opening in the podium is 0.55-0.67m (north-south) by 0.50m (Fig. 254).

### **The Refuges**

Of the three refuges the west is largely intact (Fig. 253); its companion on the east side was damaged before excavation in 1974 (Fig. 255) and was restored in 2014. In the center the marble room was altered to serve as a refuge (Fig. 196).

#### *West Refuge*

An entrance to the refuge was made by cutting through the podium: base course, orthostates, and crown course. The rough surfaces show that little care was expended on the construction. The doorway is 0.80m wide on the outside, narrowing to 0.55m at the back of the podium; it is 1.72m high.<sup>104</sup> The threshold was made from a thin sandstone slab, broken on two sides, and above is a sill made from three fragments of bricks set in mortar (Fig. 251).<sup>105</sup> The interior measures 1.10m wide by 1.10 to 1.20m deep, and it is about the same height as the entrance door (Figs. 253, 256, 257). Some of the stairway above must have been removed in order to construct the side and back walls, cf. the east refuge (Fig. 255).

At both sides of the entrance, rebates were roughly cut into the orthostates, and in the grooves are two sets of cuttings that would have held fastenings for doors. The first set, more carefully cut, consists of the outermost pair of square cuttings on the right side of the doorway (Fig. 258), and a pair of holes in the center of the left side (Figs 251, 256). The cuttings on the right probably received eye bolts from which a single-leaf door was hung, and those on the left would have held a fastening to secure the door (Fig. 256). A second set of cuttings on both sides of the opening are larger and rougher than the first set, but they are similarly cut at an oblique angle to the face of the orthostate and would have held a replacement door.<sup>106</sup> It appears that the original single

<sup>99</sup> Fig. 30, no. 4 = Deposit IV.16; Fig. 30, no. 3 = Deposit IV.17.

<sup>100</sup> Fig. 30, no. 2=Deposit IV.41, Fig. 30, no. 1 = Deposit IV.45; cf. Deposit IV.46.

<sup>101</sup> E.g., the lowest coping block of the analemma and the heavy orthostates and crown course of the podium. At the south end, the crown course had broken off for a space of 0.85m before the wall was built over it (Fig. 250).

<sup>102</sup> The holes are at the bottom of the wall, 0.13m wide and 0.16m high. The first one occurs 1.36m from the south end of the wall, and the second is 2.54m farther on.

<sup>103</sup> Saria 1937, pp. 8-9.

<sup>104</sup> See Golvin 1988, I, pp. 320-321 for dimensions of refuges in amphitheatres. The openings at Stobi fall within the middle of the range. In most theaters with an arena, the refuges are smaller, e.g., at Miletus: 1.17m high, 0.73m wide, and only 0.643m deep (Krauss 1973, abbs. 74-79, pp. 69-73, pls. 23, 27).

<sup>105</sup> Its face is carved with a series of three flat borders recessed towards the center where a flower is modeled in low relief.

<sup>106</sup> On the right side, one of the rough cuttings is at the top and the other is at the bottom of the orthostate, angled towards the interior of the refuge. On the left side, each of the widely spaced cuttings consists of a larger and smaller hole, and they are angled towards the orchestra.

door was replaced by a double-leaf pair of the type often seen in scenes representing events in the arena.<sup>107</sup>

### *East Refuge*

In 1975 only the north (left) side of the entrance remained, since most of the podium, as well as the seats, were missing on the east and south (Fig. 255). The door was hung on brackets that fitted into two rectangular cuttings angled toward the orchestra, similar to the west refuge. The swinging door shut against a rebate cut in the orthostate that continued through the base course. There is no sign here of a second series of door fittings as in the west refuge. The threshold was made of a single sandstone slab cut back in the front with sill behind; there were no other cuttings. The edge of the orthostate along the left side of the doorway is worn, as seen in the west refuge, showing that the chamber was entered from above. The wear, however, is not as heavy as on the west and center refuges, and that together with the single set of door fittings, suggests that the east refuge received less use than the other two.

The refuge was a utilitarian arrangement with not much attention devoted to its finish. The construction sequence was evident when the south (right) side was preserved. First, one of the orthostates of the podium was removed and the soft soil and mortar that had been packed behind the podium was cleared up to the circular wall of the cavea. Then, at either side a small rubble wall was set in, at the bottom of which only a thin facing of stone was built toward the inside of the refuge. In the years after 1975 the south (right) wall fell away and the soil was cleared.

### *Center Refuge*

To adapt the marble room for use as the center refuge, the high threshold was replaced by a sill at orchestra level and a new set of doors was installed. With lowering the threshold the floor also was lowered, and a new surface was laid sloping noticeably upwards into the central corridor (Figs. 19, 193, 194).

The base course that had originally served as the threshold was cut away except for a small section at the east side that supported a concrete jamb similar to the one in the center door of the arena wall (Figs. 19, 191, 259). A large rectangular bedding next to the jamb must have held a door post.<sup>108</sup> With the new arrangement as a refuge the width of the doorway was reduced to 0.86m, half the size of the earlier one. The new threshold was

made of sandstone with a shallow rebate across the front (137.94m) (Fig. 191). The slab lies at an angle, but the rebate follows the line of the podium. At each end of the sill are rectangular cuttings that would have held pivot sockets for the doors, or they could have held narrow wooden jambs to which the door(s) were fastened.<sup>109</sup> That the center refuge was entered from above in the same way as the east and west refuges is attested by the same signs of wear on the orthostate that are preserved at the west side of the entrance. At the front of the orthostate there is the same small section of unworn marble, 0.20m wide, as seen at the west refuge. There was probably a grill set into the wall above the entrance to ensure that no animal found its way onto the cavea.

In view of the fact that the arena wall made the lower seats unusable, the box of honor was either eliminated or moved to a higher position. The floor of the box of honor would have been at the level of the fourth row of seats, el. 141.14. The top of the arena wall is 140.6 at its maximum. Thus, the arena wall would not have completely blocked the view of the spectators in the box of honor. The arena wall did, however, obscure the view of the first three rows of seats, but not the fourth. Therefore, there may have been no need to remove the box of honor. Remains of a second box may have been uncovered in 1968 over the middle rows of the center cuneus (cf. Chapter III). The masonry was removed before the present excavations. The floor of the original box remained to cover the center refuge.<sup>110</sup>

The refuges, then, served the needs of performers in the animal events where wild beasts were let loose in the arena. Equipped with entrances at the top and front and with easily swinging doors, they provided a place from which the hunters could enter and exit rapidly thereby enlivening the spectacle.

### *Parodoi Gates*

Large gates built across the parodoi completed the enclosure of the arena. Saria uncovered the west gate post and gives a reconstruction.<sup>111</sup> Excavation in the 1970s uncovered the stone sills for both gates; see actual state plan Fig. 5.

The west gate is the better preserved. The sill consists of three large sandstone blocks, 0.88m wide and with

<sup>107</sup> Doors to refuges are represented on consular diptychs, Dyggve 1958b, figs. 16, 17, 20. All of them are single doors. Cf. Capps 1949, pp. 66-67; Jennison 1937, p. 180.

<sup>108</sup> The bedding was well-preserved at the time of excavation with mortar clinging to the sides (Fig. 18). The interior measures 0.37 by 0.405m (north-south).

<sup>109</sup> The cuttings are 0.105 by 0.12 by 0.05m deep on the west side, and 0.10 by 0.10 by 0.12m deep on the east. If they held pivot sockets, there would have been a lintel set into the wall above the podium to receive a corresponding pair of pins and the door would have had two leaves. Although this is possible, it is difficult to reconcile such a door with the upper entrance to the refuge attested by the wear on the orthostate, and there is no cutting for a pin in the center of the threshold to secure the leaves.

<sup>110</sup> See discussion of the Box of Honor in Chap. III.

<sup>111</sup> Saria 1937, fig. 51.

a total length of 4.60m (Fig. 260). A rebate along the front of the sill towards the orchestra is 0.25m wide and 0.063m deep. The two leaves of the gate, opening into the orchestra, closed against the rebate (Fig. 216). Round holes at the ends of the west sill (0.15m in diameter and 0.15m deep) received the pivots for the leaves, and four smaller holes along the upper edge of the rebate held pins to anchor the gate when closed. On the west sill the gates were secured from the side of the parodos since the pins were attached to the west or parodos side of the gate. The gate was very likely made of iron grill-work because of its size, although wood is possible. The leaves on the west side were arranged so that the opening could vary from 0.85m, with only the north panel open to 2.25m, when using both inner panels to a full width of 4.15m. The wear on the surface of the west sill does not show which configuration was most in use, and overall, the sill seems little worn.

On the opposite side of the arena (east) a similar gate with a stone sill closed the east parodos. The panels were fastened on the arena side. The gate, with a total width of 4.15m, was divided into two leaves, each of which was hinged so that it could be folded back in two panels. The spacing of the pin holes shows that the outside panels were 1m wide, while the inner ones varied: 1.40m on the south and 0.85m on the north. Its orientation in respect to the parodos, however, is noticeably different because the east end of the arena wall stopped before East Porch III, thus allowing for entrance to the *via venatorum* (Fig. 216). The threshold was made with three sandstone blocks, 1.02m wide and with a total length of 4.60m. It has the same rebate towards the orchestra and pivot holes at each end, as the west gate. Two clamp cuttings on the east edge of the southernmost block show that the block is reused in its present location. There are only three pin holes for the leaves, and one portion of the sill is considerably more worn down than the rest. One pin hole is 0.60m from the south end, the second is 1.50m farther north in the center of the sill, and the third is 1.00m north of that. The heavy wear on the surface occurs between the center and northern cutting and shows greater use for the opening (1m wide) just north of center.<sup>112</sup> In as much as the pins were attached to the arena side of the gate, the leaves could have been secured only from inside the arena. The panel for the operative doorway at the north would have been fastened to the south leaf to close it, since there is no hole in the sill for a pin attached to its bottom edge.

At the south end of each gate stood a sandstone post on a base that was set against the arena wall. The western gatepost was preserved in place, 2.68m high, 0.585m wide, and 0.455m deep (Fig. 261, looking south). The

<sup>112</sup> The surface in this area has been worn down 0.04m below the rest of the sill.

eastern gatepost was found nearby in the orchestra (no.13; Fig. 262); its base is still in situ (Fig. 249).<sup>113</sup> The west post is most revealing about the arrangement of the gate (Fig. 261). On the side facing the opening are six rectangular cuttings, three near the center of the block and three slightly larger ones toward the top. One cutting in each group is aligned with the gate itself, probably to hold eye bolts or metal straps for the gate.<sup>114</sup> Three other cuttings in the post occur on the side toward the parodos, possibly to secure a wooden jamb; one cutting is on the side facing the arena.

At the north side of the west gate the gatepost fitted into a slot in the sill and into grooves cut in the base molding of the analemma and in the molding above at the level of the podium crown (Figs. 210, 264). To judge from these cuttings, the post was 0.15-0.20m square, much smaller than the stone post at the other side. The size and the arrangement of slots suggest that it was made of wood. Its height should have been equal to the south post. One large square cutting in the analemma above the level of the podium could have held a pin to secure the post to the analemma.

To the west of the north gatepost three pin holes in the analemma show that something, perhaps a plaque, was attached above the crown molding (Figs. 210, 263). Around the corner toward the orchestra, at the east side of the gatepost, the crown molding, the orthostate, and the end of the coping are cut off. Four small rectangular pin holes in the roughly cut face of the wall and two more below it point to the attachment of a facing on the east end of the analemma (Fig. 264). The space is 0.47m wide by 0.66m high, and a small ledge at the bottom would have helped to secure a stone slab of those dimensions. With only the pin holes to guide us, it is difficult to go further in a reconstruction of this part of the gate. The slabs on either side of the gatepost may have borne inscriptions and/or reliefs.

At the north side of the east gate most of the blocks of the cavea have been removed, but in the base molding there is a notch very similar to that described for the west gate so that a similar gatepost should be restored here.

Two sandstone blocks found in the orchestra may have belonged to the upper part of the gates. They bear the same profile as the crown course of the podia, and are picked on all sides. On no. 11 the front profile returns

<sup>113</sup> On one long side a round cutting 0.046m in diameter by 0.03m deep; on bottom, a dowel hole 0.076 by 0.06 by 0.042m deep.

<sup>114</sup> There is no sign on the analemma at the north side of the gate that a horizontal lintel for the gate had ever been attached to it unless the beam was anchored at the top of the wall on the podium and rested (without a bedding) on the coping of the analemma, which is unlikely. Thus, it appears that the gates had pivots on the bottom, but not the top, and they were also attached to the posts at the sides.

along one short side, the left side of the viewer. A notch at the left rear corner is cut through the thickness of the block, 0.19m long by 0.085m wide. Block no. 12 has a similar profile and return as no. 11, but on the other side of the block. It appears to have been the comparable block on the opposite gate.<sup>115</sup> Both blocks are of an appropriate size and finish to have been the crown for the east and west gates.

In conclusion, the gates comprise the final element in the closure of the orchestra for a permanent arena. Although with slightly different orientations, the two gates were similar and certainly contemporary. Probably made of iron grills, both gates had multiple panels that allowed for openings of different sizes. The wear on the east sill confirms that most people entered the arena from the east. The shortening of the arena wall at the same end facilitated passage between the *via venatorum* and the *parodoi*. There was no direct connection between the arena and the *cavea* for use of privileged spectators who had access only through the *parodoi*. Others will have entered through the gates in the outside walls of the *cavea*. Furthermore, the arena wall on the podium impeded access from the stairs that had led from the east and west radial corridors to the first rows of seats. Heavy wear on the north side of the west stairway shows that spectators were forced to climb over the block bordering the steps in order to reach seats behind the arena wall. The west gate, with its wider center opening but without signs of heavy wear on the surface, may have served as the entrance for animals. The beasts could have been in cages moved from the west wing, through the *parodos* to the orchestra. If this was the case, the extension of the west end of the arena wall and the threshold for a door would make sense in terms of securing the *via venatorum*.

### The Arena Floor

In keeping with traditional practice in Roman amphitheaters, the surface of the arena was probably covered with sand. A layer of sand could have been put down first in Phase III, although it may have existed earlier when the orchestra functioned as a temporary arena. If so, deposits in Trenches XIV and XII (XXIII and XXIV) may be remains of such a floor.<sup>116</sup> Erosion and the final cleanings after which the sand was not replenished could be responsible for its disappearance. At the time of our excavations most of the orchestra that was exposed did not have a hard-packed floor.

The arena floor, however, could be identified with some certainty in Trench XIV at the north side of the orchestra in front of the center refuge (Fig. 19, no. 2), and in Trench XII in front of the center door in the arena wall (Fig. 20). In Trench XIV, above the hard floor of Phase II (elevation 137.80-137.77m; Fig. 19, no. 2), a deposit of hard, brown earth mixed with sand separated cleanly from the deposit below (elevation 137.87 next to the podium, sloping down slightly towards the south). It very likely belongs to the floor of the arena laid in Phase III (Fig. 19, no. 1).<sup>117</sup> At the opposite side of the orchestra in Trench XII a series of shallow stroses built up over the footing trench for the arena wall during Phase III (Fig. 20, no. 3 = Deposit IV.18).<sup>118</sup> The final surface (el. 137.80m) was a mortar floor. During use of the arena in the 4th century, the floor rose about 0.05 to 0.06m. The sills for the *parodoi* gates on the inner side are slightly higher than the mortar floor, and a thin layer of pure lime was applied between the sills and the floor. A similar layer of lime is preserved at the center refuge. I do not have an explanation for it. It is too thin to have been intended as a surface in itself, and the substance is pure lime, not cement. It has an elevation of 137.90 at the west *parodos* gate and the center refuge, and 137.86 at the east *parodos* gate. It is unlikely to have been applied much before the end of Phase III. The thresholds of the side refuges have an elevation of 137.86, but no lime is preserved between them and the arena floor.<sup>119</sup>

Features recovered within the arena include two fixtures designed to hold sizable posts. One post hole, 0.20m by 0.21m, is cut into a reused parapet block that was set into the center of the arena (Table III.1, no.18 (from the *diazoma*) Fig. 265). The other one, 6.50m to the south, is composed of thin stone slabs enclosing a similar opening, 0.25m by 0.275m (Fig. 266).<sup>120</sup> These fixtures were very likely made to hold wooden posts.

A date after the earthquake in the later years of the theater is assured for the center post hole. The block in which it is cut had originally stood along the *diazoma*, which may well have been damaged by the earthquake.<sup>121</sup> The deposit into which it was set belongs

<sup>115</sup> No. 12 was originally a funerary monument and bears a Latin inscription, I-70-23. It has a small dowel hole on the top right corner.

<sup>116</sup> Saria mentions finding sand in his probe in the east side of the orchestra, at an elevation of about 137.36, but the trench was backfilled in the 1930s and has not been reopened. See, however, Deposit IV.20.

<sup>117</sup> The floor does not appear in the catalogue of deposits in Chap. IV because the deposit was too close to the surface to be recovered undisturbed. The same was true of the earlier floor below.

<sup>118</sup> As noted above, the two coats of plaster on the arena wall indicate the orchestra level when they were applied. The first coat stops at el. 137.60 before the footing trench was filled in (Deposit IV.6). The second coat belongs to the period of the arena floor (el. 137.75 on the east side of the center door and 137.82 on the west).

<sup>119</sup> Thresholds are missing for the doors in the arena wall, but their concrete beddings are at el. 137.78 (east) and 137.83 (center), and stone sills with a thickness of about 0.10m would have made them comparable with the other thresholds.

<sup>120</sup> The slabs at the sides are 0.015 to 0.02m thick and they rest on three other slabs horizontally laid that form the bottom of the enclosure.

<sup>121</sup> For the remodeling of the *diazoma* in Phase III see Pavlovski 2023.

to the second half of the 4th century (Deposit IV.21). The other post installation may be earlier since the fill inside contained pottery of the 2nd century. On the other hand, the deposit was not closed and could have accumulated from the surrounding soil.<sup>122</sup>

A function for such posts is illustrated by an ivory diptych of the Emperor Anastasius from 517.<sup>123</sup> A post stands in the center of an arena, and a pair of baskets, suspended by cords, holds performers grasping the suspension cords.

In summary, the hard-packed surface of the orchestra in use at the end of Phase II (el. 137.75 to 137.80) rose about 0.10m during Phase III, to elevation 137.86m to 137.90m, perhaps a result of being covered with sand. In other respects there was little change.<sup>124</sup> The two posts that stood along the center axis were very likely used in connection with events during Phase III although the southern one could have belonged to the preceding period.

## The Cavea

### *The Earthquake*

Evidence for a major earth tremor that led to the extensive repairs and rebuilding in the scene-building associated with Phase III is conspicuous in the cavea and in the podium where seats and several of the large marble orthostates and blocks of the base and crown courses are now out of line.

At the time of Saria's excavations, the seats in rows 5-7 above the west radial corridor showed signs of displacement and subsequent repairs (Saria 1937, fig. 2). Conservation in 1968 reset the blocks but the damage is visible in Saria's photographs. Inside the radial corridor, the vault was apparently weakened. A modern concrete vault now covers the ancient surface (Fig. 23). In antiquity an additional wall was added to support the east end of the north wall of the corridor.

The orthostates of the podium, massive blocks about 0.65m thick, 0.97m high, and up to 2m long, have been moved out of place. It would have needed a considerable force to shift blocks of that size. The largest of the marble orthostates (2m long, 0.97m high, and 0.65m thick) at the south side of the west refuge weighs about 3,200 kg or approximately 3 metric tons. It appears to have been shoved outward from the direction of the

west analemma, moving eastward (Figs. 250, 251). The other orthostate that is conspicuously out of line is at the west side of the center refuge.

The base and crown courses of the podium in this area were also affected. The amount of lateral movement, measured with respect to the blocks on either side, is 0.10 to 0.13m. No attempt appears to have been made to move the blocks back into line, but in some places a protruding portion of the surface or molding that protruded was hacked off. This work can be seen best at the south side of the west refuge where all three courses of the podium that had been shifted forward in differing amounts were then trimmed back. The orthostate is crudely cut down to a depth of 0.035m in a band along the top (Fig. 251); the front edge of the molding on two blocks of the crown course was trimmed off. Where the blocks of the base course were shifted forward, there is a gap of 0.26m. The arena wall was built on top of the podium after the shifting had taken place and after the podium had been painted.

The other obvious sign of displacement in the blocks of the cavea is found in the west analemma. The final block has been shifted to the east and the three sections of the coping above it have slipped down (Fig. 210). The final block of the wall is triangular, comprising both the final orthostate and the coping above it, and there is a gap of 0.23m between it and the next block to the west. Anathrosis on both blocks shows that the joint between them was meant to be closed. Considerable force would have been required to move this massive block that is 1.935m long at its base, 0.79m high (exclusive of the coping), and 0.49m thick. The shift also caused the coping to project beyond the end of the wall where it was roughly chiseled off when a plaque was added and the parodos gate was built (Fig. 207). Three coping blocks west of the triangular block were also shifted. A fragment of coping appears reused in the south wall of the scene-building (south wall III) as rebuilt after the earthquake further attest to damage in the analemmata.

In the east analemma at the west side of the parodos door, the blocks above the level of the podium are missing. The one block that remains in the crown course next to the parodos doorway was shifted slightly when the theater was in use because the chipped surface of the orthostate below is heavily worn and the roughly cut surface of its east face is also very worn (Fig. 201). Anathrosis on that face indicates that it was intended to join another block, but there is no room for it in the present arrangement. Reused pieces of marble were put in to repair the small passage leading out to the parodos door. The lack of finish in the east door in comparison to the west, including the insertion of an ill-fitting threshold and the very rough surface of the orthostate

<sup>122</sup> The top of the slab-lined hole reached to el. 137.71; the top of the reused parapet block lay at el. 137.51.

<sup>123</sup> Discussed and illustrated in Dyggve 1958b, pp. 20-23 and fig. 16. See also Kokolakis 1958.

<sup>124</sup> The elevation of 138.00 that seems to have been intended for the orchestra in Phase I and the beginning of Phase II was apparently reached in Phase III (see above, Chaps. I and II).

at the west side of the opening, is conspicuous.<sup>125</sup> These seem to have been repairs made after the earthquake.

Some settling, gradual or caused by the earthquake, occurred in the seating area, creating a space 0.05–0.07m high between the crown course and the first row of seats above the west refuge. In other places along the podium, breaks and chips, especially on the orthostates, may have been the result of the earthquake. The orthostate near stairway 3 was left in its present unfinished state at the end of construction in Phase II (See Chap. I for unfinished podium blocks left from Phase I). As for breaks in the marble, the stone is so soft and heavily veined that any member that was subjected to heavy wear, such as the top of the podium, might well have cracked and broken in the course of time. Two large breaks are found near stairways 3 and 4, both filled with mortar.

The architect of Phase III was evidently concerned about the integrity of the radial walls inside the west radial corridor. He opened trenches along the faces of the walls to the level of the footings (Fig. 27, nos. 4, 5, 6, 6A = Deposit IV.8). The trenches, subsequently refilled, are clearly distinguishable from the soil brought into the corridor to raise the level during construction of Phase II. Both trenches reach or nearly reach the top of the footings, and they can have had little purpose except to expose the lower part of the wall. The pottery from the fill in the trenches belongs to the late 3rd or early 4th century, thus placing the examination of foundations in the construction period for Phase III. Similar trenches and additional evidence from the earthquake in the cavea were revealed by the new excavations.<sup>126</sup>

A portion of the well-preserved floor in the west radial corridor where the corridor crossed the outer circular corridor was uncovered in Trench XXVII (Figs. 24, 25). Over a layer of plaster was a strosis of compacted brown soil that represents the final period of use in the corridor (Fig. 25, no. 3 = Deposit IV.29). At the east end of the corridor (Trench VI) the floor was composed of thin stroses of hard-packed brown soil (Fig. 27, no. 3 = Deposit IV.30). Strosis 2, a compact layer of soil and sand, lay above the floor (Fig. 27, no. 2 = Deposit IV.31), while the final surface that contained broken pieces of marble mixed with lumps of clay belongs in the late 4th century and may have been formed when the theater was abandoned. A similar surface is found at the west end of the corridor above Fig. 27, no. 3.

### Repairs and Paint

Considerable work was done in the cavea to repair damage done by the earthquake. Large gaps in the seats and podium were filled with small stones and mortar (Fig. 167).

The face of the podium over the years received several coats of thin paint that covered the patches and unfinished surfaces. Traces are preserved on the outside of the orthostates, base course, and cornice, and covering the cement patches between the blocks. In most places two to four coats can be distinguished. Red appears to have been the original and predominate color, replaced in many places by a creamy pink background with traces of painted decoration in green. Not enough is preserved to restore the design. Not all layers are preserved in every part of the podium. Drawings of the portions that could be traced, beginning with block 5 from the west end are reproduced in Figs. 267–270.<sup>127</sup> In several places a curved band of red is found at the top of the orthostates as if to represent a festoon of draped cloth. Some vertical strokes at the sides could be interpreted as the ends of the cloth or a ribbon continuing downwards, as on blocks 5, 9, and 12.

More recognizable are letters done in red paint on a cream-colored background.<sup>128</sup> They begin with block 3 and Wiseman has interpreted them as giving the names of tribes that correspond to the tribal designations that are inscribed on the seats. The name *Terentia* is clear on block 13 (Fig. 270).

The red paint that Saria saw on the wall over the podium and the red plaster recovered from the base of the arena wall in front of the scene-building show that a red-painted barrier once enclosed the entire arena. The fragments of cream-colored plaster that were retrieved at the foot of the arena wall bear witness to the use of a lighter color in some areas of the podium. Note that the tribal name painted belongs to a period after the earthquake, thus the theater apparently continued to be used as an assembly place for the citizens by tribe.

Excavations undertaken by Goce Pavlovski in the eastern half of the ima cavea between 2009 and 2016 revealed repairs to the vaults.<sup>129</sup> The first repair noted occurs in the circular wall II in the room west of the central radial corridor. The masonry is similar to that seen in the rebuilt portions of the scene-building. More conspicuous are the repairs of the vault over the west

<sup>125</sup> Inside the door at the west side the concrete wall behind the marble face contains pieces of finished marble, similar to those noted in the east paraskenion and west wing.

<sup>126</sup> Pavlovski and Blaževska 2018.

<sup>127</sup> The original drawings were made in 1970 by Milorad Corluka with the aid of infra red glasses; they were redrawn by Caroline Hemans. Blocks without significant pattern have been omitted.

<sup>128</sup> These were noted by Saria, footnote 5. See Wiseman 1981, nos. 572–578; block 3, #572, 5 #373, 7 #574, 10 #575, 12 #576, 13 #577, 14 #578.

<sup>129</sup> Pavlovski and Blaževska 2018.

room and in the upper parts of the 12th radial wall. Originally the vault was made of bricks and mortar but after a collapse it was reconstructed together with the damaged wall in tufa. The vault also contains some bricks which were probably reused from the first vault.<sup>130</sup>

The vault of the inner circular corridor has a large repaired portion toward its junction with the east radial corridor, distinguished by differences in the masonry. During the conservation of the vault above this part of the inner corridor, in the mortar of the second course from the top was found a bronze coin of Constantius II (M-15-330). The coin, which bears no marks of heavy wear, was minted between AD 326-328 in Thessalonica and indicates a possible date post quem for the repair.

In the circular corridor and eastern radial corridor there were the same type of deep probes to foundation level as described above for the west radial corridor. The trenches continued to bedrock and revealed the bottom of the foundations. In several cases there were few fallen stones and fragments of bricks. The fill of the trenches contained pottery fragments but the ones that are chronologically sensitive belong to the 1st century AD, apparently from the soil brought in to fill or refill the area. These trenches have no other explanation other than testing the integrity of the foundations of the walls.<sup>131</sup>

## Conclusion

The final period of use in the theater followed a severe earthquake that badly damaged one half of the scene-building and parts of the cavea. General repairs were undertaken in the early years of the 4th century in the wake of this disaster. The major project was rebuilding and remodeling the scene-building. The entire east side of the building was rebuilt, and changes were introduced to produce a large entrance hall leading to the shrine dedicated to Nemesis. Material from Saria's excavations reveal that the walls were ornamented with marble revetment and pilasters. A statue of the goddess was dedicated by the Augustales to the emperor and the city. At the west end of the building there was a large room. At the east end there was a walled courtyard. Both east and west additions incorporated walls that had belonged to the basilicas of Phase I.

The orchestra was converted into a permanent arena by the construction of a high wall in front of the scene-building and another wall on top of the podium in front of the seats eliminated the bisellia. Enclosure of the arena was completed by large gates, probably iron, across the parodoi. Refuges with wooden doors

were built into the podium at either side of the center room that was modified for use as a third refuge. On the opposite side three doors in the arena wall led to a *via venatorum* between the arena and the scene-building. Thus the arena was equipped with the six side entrances and two main gates of a conventional amphitheater. A narrow wooden platform between the arena wall and the *scaenae-frons* probably served as a stage.

Deposits that can be associated with the repairs and remodeling of the theater after the earthquake contain material that places these activities in the fourth quarter of the 3rd century (Deposits IV.1-8).<sup>132</sup> Throughout the 4th century the theater continued to serve the community of Stobi; Deposits IV.9-32 are related to this period of use. Toward the end of that time, shortly after the Battle of Adrianople in 378, someone buried a hoard of silver and gold coins in front of the cult statue in the shrine to Nemesis. A second hoard of bronze coins, latest date AD 361, was concealed in East Room II. Abandonment of the theater came within a couple of decades, marked by an accumulation of wind-deposited silt inside the scene-building and a rubbish heap in the *via venatorum* (Deposits IV.33-41). Decay seems to have been gradual, as the roof of the scene-building deteriorated here and there and some blocks were carried off. The *scaenae-frons* collapsed into the orchestra in the first half of the 5th century and the roof of the scene building fell in (Deposits IV.42-49). By the mid-5th century the blocks from the scene building and the upper part of the cavea were taken for construction of the Episcopal Basilica and other structures around the city.

In the 5th century, both during the period of abandonment and after the building was despoiled of its blocks for new construction, small structures were built inside the radial corridors, and in and around the scene-building. Many of these have been excavated by Goce Pavlovski and they will be published by the Stobi project. Similar structures were also built on the surfaces of the seats, but they were removed when the cavea and auditorium were excavated in the 1960s. The entire theater eventually disappeared under a web of small houses belonging to the Late Antique city of Stobi.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Pavlovski 2018a, p. 167; Pavlovski and Blaževska 2018, p. 52.

<sup>131</sup> Pavlovski and Blaževska 2018, p. 53.

<sup>132</sup> The pottery suggests a date earlier than the coin (M-15-330) that was found in the repair to the vault. Perhaps the theater continued to be repaired throughout the 4th century.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. the theater at the nearby *Heraclaea Lyncestis*. The Late Antique residences of Stobi form the subject of a PhD dissertation by Fritz Hemans (Hemans 1986).

## CHAPTER V

# PLANNING OF THE THEATER AT STOBI

### Introduction

Before considering the planning of the theater at Stobi, it will be useful to set out some of the considerations that had to be taken into account when any theater was contemplated. Preliminary decisions would have included the following steps, perhaps roughly in this order: location, seating capacity, size of orchestra, and style of architecture.

Information about the persons who made these decisions is sometimes preserved. Since the source of funds for such a large undertaking would have been an important concern, the donor(s) and city official in charge of public works played a large part in the decision-making. The theater was usually the largest public building in an ancient town, and its ornamentation gave local and foreign benefactors an opportunity for public display.<sup>1</sup> Other considerations would have included the land available for the building, the size of the population, and the nature of events to be held in the theater.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The decoration of Roman theaters has been studied in detail by Michaela Fuchs whose work is a most useful compendium of information on the theaters of Italy and the western provinces (Fuchs 1987). Fuchs points out that the builders of theaters during the Empire are usually the *duoviri* and the *patroni* of the town. Other patrons held titles of procurator, *flamen Divi Claudii*, *flamen Divi Augusti*, *legatus Augusti propraetore*, *consul designatus*, and *patronus coloniae*. Under Augustus, construction of new theaters decorated with official statues and sculptural motives seem to have been part of his public policy. His son-in-law Marcus Agrippa was responsible for the theater at Ostia, one at Merida (Augusta Emerita), and the Odeum of Agrippa in the Athenian agora (Fuchs 1987, pp. 157-160 with notes). Remodeling of existing theaters continued throughout the Imperial period. A new marble façade in the theater at Lepcis Magna was dedicated by L. Hediuf Rufus Lollianus Avitus, proconsul in AD 159-160. Trajan rebuilt the *scenae-frons* in the theater at Antioch (Syria) after an earthquake in AD 114-115 (Malalas 1831, p. 276), and Hadrian renewed and redecorated the theater in Merida in AD 135 (*CIJ* II. 478). Private citizens also erected and restored theaters: Herodes Atticus built the Odeum of Herodes in Athens (AD 160-174; Travlos 1971, p. 378) and refurbished the odeum in Corinth. The old Theater of Dionysos in Athens was rebuilt in the Roman style by Tiberius Claudius Novius, an Athenian and favorite of Nero. He dedicated it to Dionysos and the emperor in AD 60/61 (Bulle in Fiechter 1936, pp. 60-66). In Lycia the theater at Limyra was donated to the city in AD 140 by Oproamoas, a citizen of Rhodiopolis, and the same man built the theater at Tlos (de Bernardi 1970, pp. 191-196). Also in Lycia at Patara large portions of the *cavea*, the *proscenium*, and stage with statues and marble revetting were paid for by Vilia Procula and her father. In 147 she dedicated them to the emperor Antoninus Pius, to the city of Patara, and to its ancestral gods (de Bernardi 1969, p. 408; Bean 1978, p. 88).

<sup>2</sup> The seating capacity of a theater should not be taken as a reliable guide to the size of a city's population, since we know how many spectators regularly came from neighboring towns and the countryside. Greek theaters that depended on the slope of a hill were often located on the lower slopes of the citadel, e.g., in Athens, Argos, Thera, Pergamon, and Priene. The free-standing Roman theater,

### Location

In his description of how to plan a Roman town Vitruvius says the theater is to be arranged after the walls, street plan, and forum (V.iii.1).<sup>3</sup> His first concern is that the site be a healthy one, that is, one not exposed to moist, hot, or sickly winds (cf. I.iv.1-8), since the spectators will be subjected to them while motionless and most vulnerable to their ill effects. Furthermore, a southern exposure is to be avoided because of the heat (V.iii.2). In most Greek cities a convenient hillside furnished support for the seats, while theaters in the Roman style often have a free-standing auditorium with seats resting on vaults spanning radial walls. It should be noted that the problem of artificial support for seats was not unique to the Roman architect. Where a slope was entirely lacking at Mantinea and Metapontum, the Greek architect created an artificial mound of earth for the auditorium, and a similar expedient was used along one side of the Archaic race courses at Isthmia, Olympia, and later Delphi.<sup>4</sup> In the same tradition the earliest known amphitheater was built at Pompeii with an earthen embankment and a sunken area.<sup>5</sup> By recommending stone and marble construction for the seats and their substructures Vitruvius clearly has in mind not the temporary wooden theaters of Rome, but the theaters in Italy and in the many Greek cities that he mentions in V.v.8. A hillside was the preferable site for a theater, but if a suitable slope was not available, the builder should consult his instructions for building temple foundations (III.iv.1). Since the method employed there entailed the use of walls joined by barrel vaults, Vitruvius was undoubtedly familiar with the use of that construction to support seats in the theater of Pompey at Rome and in other Republican theaters in Italy.<sup>6</sup> By the 2nd century when the theater at Stobi was planned, the majority of auditoria were free-standing, although they exhibit a wide diversity in plan.<sup>7</sup>

independent of the geography, was more often placed at the edge of the town where amphitheaters were also sited, e.g., Theater of Pompey in Rome (Campus Martius), Perge (partially supported by a hill), Aspendos, Ferentinum, Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), Verona, and Lucca.

<sup>3</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura*. Granger's 1931 translation is used throughout this volume, but translations are quoted from Morgan 1914.

<sup>4</sup> Broneer 1973, pp. 46-48.

<sup>5</sup> Frezouls discusses the evolution of the Roman *cavea* (Frezouls 1982, pp. 363-380). See also Crema 1959, pp. 95-100.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the small theater at Pompeii, the theaters at Alba Fucens, Ostia, Fiesole, Ferentum, and Gubbio (Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, p. 171 and note 79 with references; also Sear 1990, pp. 249-258; Small 1983, pp. 57-60).

<sup>7</sup> Theaters in Asia Minor, with some exceptions, favored the Greek

## Size and Design

After the location of the theater was agreed upon, the next step was to lay out the basic design. Vitruvius begins his instructions with the decisions on how large the lower edge of the seats was to be and where precisely the center of the planning circle was to be located. In laying out the theater, then, it was the size of the orchestra that was decided first.

The planning diagram that Vitruvius next describes provides a schema according to which the architect could lay out the major elements of the complex: the stage, scene-building, and stairs for the spectators. A line of circumference is to be drawn and four equilateral triangles are to be inscribed in it (V.vi.1).<sup>8</sup> This line of circumference (*linea rutundationis*) is congruent with the *perimetros imi* (*theatri*) and is continued to form a complete circle. The circle with the four inscribed equilateral triangles then becomes the central planning diagram for laying out the stage, scene-building, and stairs. For those wishing to build a theater of the Greek type he includes, at a later point in the text, a simplified planning diagram based on the use of a planning circle inscribed with three squares (V.vii.1).

The line of circumference is often mistakenly identified with the orchestra,<sup>9</sup> and commentators then assume that the planning figures, triangles and squares, are inscribed in the orchestra.<sup>10</sup> It is, however, the curved line of the *cavea*'s lower *perimetros* that is completed by the *linea rutundationis* to form a circle in which planning figures are inscribed. This circle should be understood as a planning circle, not the orchestra, since the orchestra occupies only half the circle. The remainder of the planning circle is devoted to the stage and scene-building.

Although the orchestra in his Greek theater is larger, the same planning circle is used.<sup>11</sup> It is apparent that Vitruvius presents basically the same planning diagrams for the two types of theater.<sup>12</sup> It is necessary to keep in mind that an orchestra circle was not the primary element of the early or later Greek theater, although that assumption is made in most discussions of Vitruvius's text on the theater.<sup>13</sup>

style; in Italy and in the western and southern provinces the Roman type was predominant (Frezouls 1982, pp. 385-419).

<sup>8</sup> V.vi.1: *Ipsius autem theatri conformatio sic est facienda, uti, quam magna futura est perimetros imi [theatri], centro medio conlocato, circumagatur linea rutundationis, in eaque quattuor scribantur trigona paribus lateribus.*

<sup>9</sup> E.g., Granger 1931, p. 283: "...the dimension allotted to the orchestra at ground level."

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Bieber 1961, p.187; Frezouls 1982, p. 368; Small 1983, p. 58.

<sup>11</sup> V.vii.1: *In Graecorum theatris non omnia isdem rationibus sunt facienda, quod primum in ima circinatione, ut in latino trigonorum iiii, in eo quadratorum trium anguli circinationis lineam tangent...*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Ferri 1960, pp. 190-198.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ferri 1960, pp. 190-198. For the early orchestra see Gebhard

The essential difference between the Roman and Greek style of theater lay in the proportion of the planning circle that was allotted to the orchestra as opposed to the stage. Vitruvius explains the two plans in terms of function, i.e., where the majority of performances were held: the deep Roman stage accommodated all performers and the small orchestra was reserved for seats of honor (V.vi.2), while in Greek theaters artists other than tragic and comic actors performed in the large orchestra (V.vii.2). The program for which the theater was designed would thus have entered the planning process. If displays involving large numbers of participants, such as choral dances, mimes, gladiatorial combats, and wild animal fights were to be included, the orchestra had to be large enough to accommodate them and the seats of honor were moved into the *cavea*.<sup>14</sup> Although the nature of events planned for the new theater at Stobi is not recorded, the choice of a Roman-type theater to accommodate them would point to performances traditionally presented on a stage. When the second theater was built and the design was changed to one featuring a large orchestra and no stage, there may well have been some alteration in the programs held in the theater.

Related, but in some ways separate from provision for the performances, is the issue of the architectural style the theater presented to the viewer. The Roman *scaenae-frons* with its aedicular, colonnaded screen and, beginning in the Augustan period, with deep niches framing the doors, created an elaborate and costly background for the performances.<sup>15</sup> The architectural frame was in turn often embellished with statues and reliefs, painted scenery, and rich embroideries added at the time of the performances.<sup>16</sup> During the Empire a theater designed in the Greek style usually had a *façade* of the older, straight type that included aedicular porches, but with little if any articulation of the *skene* wall.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the choice of a large or small orchestra carried with it a different treatment of the *façade*, stage, and the relationship between the scene-building and auditorium. These features made a statement about the architectural tradition to which the theater belonged.

1973, pp. 15-16, especially notes 12-13, and Gebhard 1974, pp. 428-440.

<sup>14</sup> In the 1st and 2nd c. AD the increasing popularity of these events that were linked to liturgies of civic magistrates and celebrations of the imperial cult is reflected in the construction of amphitheaters in Italy and the European and African provinces, and of theaters used as arenas in the cities and sanctuaries of the East: Robert 1940, pp. 33-36; 243ff; Friedländer 1968, pp. 14ff; 94ff; 102ff. For mixed theaters that included some features of an amphitheater, see Dyggve 1958a, pp. 137-143; Dinsmoor 1973, p. 315. Note also the hybrid theater-amphitheaters of Gaul (Grenier 1958, pp. 801ff; 901) and Britain (Kenyon 1935, pp. 213-216, Pl. LXX); cf. Gebhard 1975, pp. 46; 61-63 with notes.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Lauter 1976, pp. 418-422; Frezouls 1982, pp. 380-385 for the Republican scene-building. Small 1983 classifies three types of *façade*: straight (table 1), curved center niche with rectangular side niches (table 2), all niches curved (table 3), pp. 57-63, with references.

<sup>16</sup> Fuchs 1987, pp. 128-149; 166-193.

<sup>17</sup> Fiechter 1914 identified this type with the Greek cities of the East, pp. 88-97; Dinsmoor 1973, p. 315; Small 1983, table 1, p. 57.

## The Vitruvian Planning Diagrams as Applied to the Stobi Theater in Phases I and II

### Phase I

The next question is to examine how the architect planned the theater at Stobi in each of its phases. The location of the theater at Stobi appears to have been determined in part by the availability of a site not occupied by other construction and in part by the slight slope furnished by the valley of the Crna River. Placed well back from the river's flood-plain, the theater never suffered from the periodic inundations that damaged buildings closer to the river. The architect did not heed Vitruvius's advice to avoid a southern exposure, perhaps because Stobi in Macedonia is so far north that any heat from the winter sun in the southern sky would have been very welcome, while the summer sun rises and sets in the north. The seats face towards the southeast, 220m from the present bank of the river. Too little is known of the contemporary street plan to show how the theater was related to other public buildings and the forum, although concentrations of pottery and remnants of walls make it likely that the urban center lay northeast of the theater.<sup>18</sup> If the Stobi architect and his patron had access to Vitruvius or a comparable architectural manual, they had a choice about which type of theater to build.<sup>19</sup> In the design of the Stobi theater the planners chose the Roman style for the first phase and a modified Greek plan for the second.<sup>20</sup>

The lower perimeter of the cavea remained the same and thus the same planning circle was used.<sup>21</sup> When either set of Vitruvian figures are employed, triangles or squares, only one line is actually assigned to a portion of the scene-building. He locates the front of the scaenae-frons on the base of the center triangle and the front wall of the stage (proscenium) on the

base of the center square. Although in both phases of the theater at Stobi major walls of the scene-building were aligned according to the center figures, only in the first phase was the Vitruvian diagram exactly followed.<sup>22</sup> For Phase II that was planned according to a modified Greek plan the north face of the front wall of the scene-building, instead of the proscenium, was located on the base of the center square. The absence of a stage is more startling. It is evident that the Vitruvian planning figure for a Roman theater was employed in the design of the original theater and his diagram for a Greek theater was used in the second period, albeit not for the architectural member Vitruvius had intended. Considerable variation exists between the design of actual theaters and the form of the building that emerges from the application of the Vitruvian planning schema.<sup>23</sup> Vitruvius was well aware that architects would not follow prescriptions in all details; to achieve *symmetria* through correct proportions was to be the architect's goal (V.vi.7). He notes that considerations of scale, topography, availability of raw materials (and, implicitly, the means to pay for them), and convenience were guiding factors in determining the final plan. In fact, a major departure from the Vitruvian formula in actual Roman theaters was moving the scene-building farther back from the cavea in order to increase the size of the orchestra.<sup>24</sup> Such an enlargement seems to fall under the heading of convenience, both for performers and spectators. The second Stobi theater architect abandoned the Roman plan altogether and achieved an even greater orchestra by using the diagram for a Greek theater.

Vitruvius, after introducing the planning diagram for a Roman theater, fixes the location of the front of the scaenae-frons on the base of the center triangle and, parallel to it, the proscenii pulpitum on a line through the center of the orchestra (V.vi.1). Precisely as Vitruvius specified, the Stobi theater architect aligned the front of the foundation for his façade with the base of the center triangle (Fig. 61).<sup>25</sup> The inscribed triangle

<sup>18</sup> Wiseman 1986, pp. 38-39.

<sup>19</sup> That Vitruvius's work continued to be known well into the late Empire is evident from the manual of M. Cetus Faventinus, *De Diversis Fabricis Architectonicae*, a compendium of Vitruvian passages on private architecture. Since Faventinus begins with a reference to the writings of Vitruvius Polio alique auctores on the subject of *artis architectonicae*, there were very likely other Latin works on architecture as well as the Greek sources Vitruvius mentions. In the introduction to his translation and commentary on Faventinus (pp. 1-33), Plommer 1973 discusses the even later writer Palladius, whose work depended on Faventinus. Plommer concluded, on the basis of his knowledge of concrete and vaulting, that Faventinus wrote about AD 300 and Palladius about a century later. Vitruvius is quoted in Pliny, Frontinus, Servius Apollinaris, and Sidonius. The capitolium at Dougga (Thugga) was built in the 2nd c. AD according to Vitruvian proportions (Pauly, V.1312).

<sup>20</sup> See Chapters I and II for a discussion of the changes in design between Phase I and II. Frezouls 1968, while discussing Vitruvius's conception of art, mentions the theater as a building where Vitruvius draws on two traditions and allows the reader to choose between them, p. 448.

<sup>21</sup> The substructure of the cavea was not altered in Phase II, although the existing podium seats and stairways, as well as the *analemmata*, belong to that period.

<sup>22</sup> The foundation of the façade is well preserved and clearly defined, and the correspondence between the base of the center triangle and the front of the foundation is exact. The theaters at Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis are unusual in having the scaenae-frons in the Vitruvian position, so close to the center of the planning circle: Small 1983, p. 61 and table 2; Janakievski 1987, p. 15, plan 1.

<sup>23</sup> Von Gerkan 1961, p. 76 and notes 1-3 makes this point for the Greek theater, inasmuch as the theater at Epidauros is unusual in the use of a pentagon in its planning diagram. Fensterbusch 1934, 1405-1410; 1419-1422; Ferri 1960, notes on pp. 190-198 with bibliography; Small 1983, pp. 55-68; Lepik 1949. A comprehensive study of both Greek and Roman theater design in relation to the remains of well-documented theaters would be useful.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Sear 1990, pp. 249-252; Small 1983, table 1.

<sup>25</sup> Fensterbusch 1934 (cols. 1419-1420) points out that Vitruvius's use of the phrase "*ibi finiatur scaenae-frons*" (V.vi.1) should be understood to mean that the base of the center triangle defines the limit of the façade with respect to the orchestra. Thus, the base line marks the outer face of the colonnade rather than the wall behind, as shown on most planning diagrams, e.g., Morgan 1914, figure on p. 147 that is often reproduced, e.g., Sear 1990, fig. 2; Small 1983, fig. 4.

had sides of 25.48m (86 2/3 RF) and a height of 22.05m (75 RF). That a stage was included in the plan of the first theater is evident from the height of the porches, 1.80m above the orchestra. The proscaenium, although not exposed, would have been close to the Vitruvian position since the *parodoi* lay on the cavea side of the center line through the planning circle.<sup>26</sup> For the height of the stage platform Vitruvius gives a maximum of five feet (1.47m), because in his theater officials were sitting in the orchestra (V.vi.2). The stage at Stobi would have been higher, about 6 1/8 RF (1.80m) above the orchestra, but the seats of honor were located in the cavea on a raised podium.<sup>27</sup>

Vitruvius (V.vi.3) uses the remaining five points on the planning circle (not allotted to the stairs) for locating the center door (*valvas regias*), the two side doors (*hospitalia*), and the side entrances (*itineria versurarum*) of the *scaena*.<sup>28</sup> The center point in the diagram falls on the rear wall of the *scaena*,<sup>29</sup> and the side doors are located not by points on the planning circle but by two lines projected to an intersection with the front wall of the building. Finally, the remaining two points in the standard diagram have no direct reference to the side entrances that were, in fact, located some distance away.<sup>30</sup>

In relation to the debate over the relation between Vitruvius's instructions and any existing Roman theater, before or after his time, note should be taken of the ambiguities inherent in the way that his text is usually translated and represented in planning diagrams.<sup>31</sup> However the author may have visualized it, it seems clear that the five center points on the planning circle were not to be related to the doors in the *scaena* in the

same way as the other seven points were related to the stairs in the cavea. The three points in the center were to be projected in some way to an intersection with one of the *scaena* walls within the planning circle.<sup>32</sup>

The *hospitalia* are actually the only feature in the plan of the façade whose location required some calculation. The position of the center door was never in doubt and the doors at the ends of the stage were part of the wings (*versurae*).<sup>33</sup> The Vitruvian diagram, however interpreted, is based on a rectilinear façade where the podium and colonnade project from the straight wall of the scene-building. In theaters where a niche framed the center door, and often the side doors as well, the *hospitalia* had to be spread farther apart.<sup>34</sup> At Stobi the *hospitalia* cannot be located from the remains, but since the scene-building is unusually close to the center of the planning circle, the *hospitalia* could have been located by projecting the sides of the center planning triangle to intersect the front wall.<sup>35</sup> It is necessary to bear in mind the hazards that attend any effort to recover the ways in which architects used the Vitruvian planning diagram to locate elements of a theater that do not apparently correspond with the basic points of the diagram. Local architects may have devised any number of variations to deal with new designs and functional requirements. The attempts that have been made to recover the methods that were used to plan Roman theaters, especially the scene-building, are too often based on restored plans reproduced at small scale.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See examples in Small 1983, tables 1-3.

<sup>27</sup> There is no direct evidence for the seating, but since the walls for Phase I were re-used in Phase II and it seems probable that the slope of the seats remained the same, the original cavea would also have included a podium. The top of the existing podium is a little higher than the stage (139.55-139.62 in contrast to 139.355).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Bieber 1961, fig. 186; Morgan 1914, p. 147.

<sup>29</sup> Vitruvius does not specify the location of the rear wall of his Roman *scaena*, but all diagrams place it tangent to the planning circle, evidently on analogy with his instructions for the Greek scene-building (V.7.1).

<sup>30</sup> By the phrase "*extremi duo spectabant itineria versurarum*" ("the last two [points] will look towards the passages leading to the wings"), Vitruvius only loosely connects the points to the doors in the wings. It is as if the reader were to imagine paths emanating from stage center towards the doors that he will later say are used for entrances from the forum and from abroad (V.vi.8). Cf. Ferri 1960, p. 205; Fensterbusch 1934, col. 1420.

<sup>31</sup> Fensterbusch 1934 (cols. 1419-1429) closely analyzes the text. He further notes that the words (underlined here) used to explain the location of the five doors of the façade (*unius medius contra se valvas regias habere debet, et qui erunt dextra sinistra, hospitaliorum designabunt compositionem, extremi duo spectabant itineria versurarum, V.vi.3*) do not imply an exact correspondence between the points and the doors. Fiechter 1914, pp. 59-66 focuses his discussion of Vitruvius on the problem of prototypes for the Greek and Roman designs and is only concerned with the planning methods used in Greek theaters.

<sup>32</sup> Sear 1990, pp. 252-258, when discussing the planning of later theaters, suggests the idea of projecting the points outside the planning circle in order to relate the Vitruvian diagram to the majority of Roman theaters where the scene-building is set much farther back from the center of the planning circle than Vitruvius had suggested. I am much indebted to his discussion of the planning of Roman theaters.

<sup>33</sup> See Fensterbusch 1934 (col. 1420).

<sup>34</sup> Small 1983 presents a convenient selection of theater façades with one and three niches (summarized in tables 2 and 3), but his plans should be used with caution and his attempt to find a model for the planning of the center and side niches is not too successful. Cf. Sear 1990, pp. 249-251, who presents his own interpretation of the planning methods used in post-Vitruvian theaters, especially in regard to the placement of the *hospitalia*. His idea that in some theaters a line projected through the center of the planning circle and a point on the perimeter was used to locate the *hospitalia* seems to fit some examples.

<sup>35</sup> The point of intersection cannot be identified without the actual doors, but the projected line falls in the appropriate area. Sear 1990, for some theaters (e.g., Merida), suggests a slightly different use of the same idea to locate the *hospitalia*. Instead of sides of the center triangle he projects lines from the center of the planning circle through the points at the base of the triangle (A and B) to an intersection with the rear of the colonnade that is tangent to the planning circle. At Merida the *scaena* is longer than at Stobi and the side doors are more widely spaced.

<sup>36</sup> See note 34. In studies of individual theaters, however, the discussion of planning is more reliable, e.g., Hammond 1965, pp. 22-51, pl. C; Caputo 1987, pl. 90 for Roman theaters; Fiechter 1930-1937 for the Greek theaters at Oropos (1), Oiniadae and New Pleuron (2), Sikyon (3), Megalopolis (4), Theater of Dionysos in Athens (5,6), Eretria (8), Piraeus and Thera (9). Also based on original studies of the remains are the works of Stillwell 1952, p. 25, fig. 19; Von Gerkan 1961,

Vitruvius now turns to details of elevation (V.vi.2-3). Dimensions for the seats in the cavea (*gradus spectulorum*) are given in feet, and the top of the cavea colonnade is linked to the height of the scene-building. Neither of these features is preserved for the first phase at Stobi. To set the height of the vaulted *parodoi* Vitruvius turns to the orchestra diameter as a unit of measure, noting for the first time that the orchestra is defined by the first row of seats.<sup>37</sup> If the seats are cut away to a point where the entrances to the vaults are equal to one-sixth the diameter of the orchestra in height, there will be sufficient clearance for the vaults. At Stobi where the orchestra is 29.40m in diameter, the entrances to the *parodoi* would have been 4.90m (=16 2/3 RF) high, and they would have been located about 7.35m from the edge of the orchestra.<sup>38</sup>

The length of the scene-building comes next in Vitruvius's text, and it, too, is to be planned in relation to the orchestra, being two times its diameter, 200 RF = 58.80m (V.vi.6).<sup>39</sup> The first scene-building at Stobi falls almost 25 RF short of that dimension, having an actual length of 51.30m = 174 1/2 RF.<sup>40</sup> The Stobi theater architect apparently wished to reduce the length of his stage and façade and thus enlarge the *versurae*. The stage would have had a total depth of c. 7.06m (= 24 RF), and the ratio of length to depth would have been 1:7 1/4. The rear wall of the building lies a short distance outside the planning circle.<sup>41</sup> The shorter stage is in contrast to other theaters with a similar façade, such as at Merida, where the stage is lengthened considerably beyond two times the orchestra diameter to accommodate the end porches. On the other hand, both the stage front and the front of the scene-building lie farther away from the center of the orchestra than at Stobi.

Vitruvius devoted the remainder of section 6 to specifications for the elevation of the colonnade and of the scene-building itself. He continues to use the

pp. 76-77, pl. 28; Polacco and Anti 1981.

<sup>37</sup> V.vi.5: *Orchestra inter grados imos quod diametron habuerit.*

<sup>38</sup> The early *parodos* is now contained in the west radial corridor of Phase II, and the entire vaulting appears to belong to the radial corridor. Nevertheless, it is perhaps significant that the sloping portion of the vault comes to an end at precisely the place where it reaches a height of 4.65m above the level of the early orchestra (el. 137.55), and there is a jog upwards of c. 0.40m to the level of the horizontal vault. Some remains of an original plan in which the *parodoi* commenced at this point may have influenced the later builders, and it is a further indication that the substructure of the cavea belongs to Phase I. The location is comparable with that in other Roman theaters (e.g., at Aspendos, Merida).

<sup>39</sup> Sear 1990, pp. 252-253 notes that in most post-Augustan theaters, especially in the western provinces, the stage is longer and the doors far more widely spaced than in the Vitruvian model.

<sup>40</sup> Vitruvius does not say from where the length of the *scaena* should be taken, but on the conventional plan of the Vitruvian theater (Morgan 1914) it is shown in the same position as in Fig. 61.

<sup>41</sup> Although Vitruvius does not specify a means to locate the rear wall of the building, the standard diagram makes it tangent to the planning circle, apparently on analogy with his placement of the front wall of the Greek *skene* (V.7.1).

orchestra diameter as his reference for the first story, and he then relates the elevations for the second story to those already given for the first. The height of the podium for the columns, above the level of the stage, is to be 1/12 the orchestra diameter (at Stobi 2.45m = 8 1/3 RF). There is some reason to believe that the porches of Phase I had the same elevation as those preserved from Phase II.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the podium, including the stylobate and the green sandstone base course, had a total height of about 1.80m (6 1/8 RF), corresponding to the height of the stage.<sup>43</sup>

Vitruvius finished his section on the architecture of the Roman theater by acknowledging that the nature of the site and the size of the work will affect the extent to which an architect can follow his instructions (V.vi.7). The requirements of utility will dictate the size of things such as the steps (*gradus*), cross aisles (*diazomata*), their parapets (*pluteos*), passages (*itineria*), stairways (*ascensus*), stages (*pulpita*), tribunals (*tribunalia*), and other functional areas. In his earlier discussion most of these features had been described merely in terms of their relation to the acoustics of the auditorium or the needs of the audience, with no mention of the planning diagram. With the exception of the steps of the cavea, the elevation of the seats and aisles is to be determined by the slope of the auditorium, so that "a line drawn from the lowest to the highest seat will touch the top edges and angles of all the seats. Thus the voice will meet with no obstruction" (V.iii.4). Nothing is said about the cross aisles and their parapets except that the height of the latter should not exceed the width of the former for the same reason of acoustics (V.iii.4). No location of the interior corridors of the cavea and their entrances (*aditus*) is suggested, but they should be non-joining, numerous, and spacious to facilitate the movement of the audience when leaving the theater. His final summation leaves the question of utility vs. symmetry (harmony between the parts) in the hands of the architect, who should have practical experience as well as cleverness and skill (V.vi.7). The Stobi theater architect seems not to have been deficient in these departments.

### Phase II

A basic difference between the Vitruvian planning diagram for a Greek theater and that for a Roman one is the placement of the scene-building and its stage

<sup>42</sup> See Chap. I, Façade.

<sup>43</sup> For dimensions based on the remains, a precise figure is rarely possible because of the variations in stone-cutting and concrete construction throughout. If the architect related the height of the podium and stage to the orchestra diameter, the ratio was 1:16 1/3; if he used the height of the planning triangle, it was 1:12 1/4. The side of the planning triangle, 86 2/3 RF (= 25.48m) yields the unlikely ratio of 1:14 3/20. It thus seems that the architect did not base the height of stage and podium on some unit of the planning diagram, but instead he chose a given dimension in feet.

with respect to the edge of the orchestra.<sup>44</sup> It is this feature that most affected the functional areas of the theater. The desire for a large performance space at ground level would have suggested Vitruvius's Greek plan to the architect. Vitruvius's silence in regard to specifications for the details of the scene-building and *proscenium*, either in plan or elevation, may well be an indication that Vitruvius did not expect his reader to build a copy of a Greek theater but rather to use the planning diagram for locating certain elements of his theater. Vitruvius says nothing about the orientation of the *analemmata* and the open *parodoi*, distinctive features of a Greek theater that are usually found in theaters with a Greek plan built during the Empire.<sup>45</sup>

According to Vitruvius's plans for both the Roman and Greek theater the stairways of the *cavea* are to be located by means of lines through the center of the planning circle to the points on the circumference that are fixed by the corners of the planning figures, triangles or squares. Both sets of figures produce 12 points, and the only difference between them is the fact that the Roman triangle produces a point on the center axis of the *cavea* and the Greek square does not.<sup>46</sup> Since the points on the side of the *cavea* will be used to mark the locations of the stairways that divide the seats into *cunei*, the Roman plan will have a stair in the center and six *cunei* (or any even number) while the Greek plan will lack a center stair and have seven (or any odd number) *cunei* (Fig. 62).<sup>47</sup> At Stobi the relation between the points on the circumference of the planning circle and the actual placement of the stairs can only be studied in Phase II. The present *cavea*, with no center stair, was divided into seven *cunei*, although the placement of the stairs does not closely follow the planning diagram. The architect here, as in most theaters, appears to have wanted *cunei* of equal width. The planning diagram could be used for the stairs only if the sides of the *cavea* corresponded with the appropriate points. As it is, the *analemmata* are pulled back from the scene-building to allow room for the *parodoi* outside the *paraskenia*.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The Greek orchestra drawn from three centers introduces an additional refinement that did not, however, greatly change the general plan and placement of the *skene*.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., at Telmessos, Patara, Perge, Hierapolis, Limyra, Myra, Sagalassos, Pinara, and, with a few modifications, Side and Termessos. See de Bernardi 1974, pls. V and VI. In contrast to the situation at Stobi, the façade of the scene-building and usually the front wall of the stage were made as a Roman *scaenae-frons* of the straight, so-called eastern type.

<sup>46</sup> Both sets of figures, four triangles and three squares, fix 12 points on the circumference of the planning circle (the *anguli trigonorum*, *anguli quadratorum*); cf. Ferri 1960, pp. 203-204 and notes.

<sup>47</sup> As a general rule, extant Greek theaters have no center stair while Roman theaters do, although there are notable exceptions, e.g., the Greek theaters at Epidaurus and Assos and the Roman theater at Aspendos, the Odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens, the odeum at Pompeii, and the theater at Sagalassos where a Greek plan is used with a center stair. Cf. de Bernardi 1974, compendium of plans, pls. V and VI.

<sup>48</sup> The *paraskenia* are remnants of the first *scaenae-frons* and thus do not fit into the planning scheme for Phase II; see Chapter II.

For the second period of the theater at Stobi, the architect apparently used as much of the original building as he could within the dictates of his new design. The scene-building, however, was almost completely dismantled and rebuilt.<sup>49</sup> His use of the same planning circle in both phases was very likely tied to the fact that the lower edge of the *cavea* did not change. Within the planning circle he inscribed the center square of the Vitruvian diagram for a Greek theater (V.vii.1) (Fig. 62). Departing from Vitruvius, however, he pulled the scene-building into the planning circle so that its front wall, instead of the *proscenium*, lay on the base line of the center square. The stage or *logeion* was abolished altogether. For the façade of the scene-building he adopted a straight, aedicular colonnade with porches of the type used in the Greek-style theaters of Asia Minor, incorporating the two end porches of the first theater as wings at each end. The porches of the façade thus projected into the planning circle, with the result that the *analemmata* of the *cavea* had to be pulled back to allow adequate space for the *parodoi*, as noted above.

To consider in what ways the Stobi theater architect relied on Vitruvius for the design of the elevation of the *cavea* and the *scaenae-frons*, it is necessary to return to Vitruvius's instructions for a Roman theater. The slope of the *cavea* is to be continuous from the lowest section of seats to the top (V.iii.4); but the absence of the *summa cavea* and the 17th and 18th rows of seats of the lower *cavea* prevents an accurate appraisal of the architect's work here. The section in Fig. 63 shows that it is possible to restore the seats with a continuous slope, but without knowing the widths of the middle and top *diazomata* the profile is not secure. The podium of the center *diazoma* had a height of 1.99m (6 3/4 RF = 1.985m), and the width of the passage is restored with the same dimension, as Vitruvius suggests (V.iii.4).

The height of the Vitruvian seat (V.vi.3) should be not less than 1 1/4 RF (0.367m) nor more than 1 3/8 RF (0.404m); their depth not more than 2 1/2 RF (0.735m) nor less than 2 RF (0.588m). The marble seats at Stobi vary considerably in height and depth, but they tend more to the Vitruvian minimum of 1 1/4 RF in height and to the maximum of 2 1/2 RF in depth.<sup>50</sup>

As noted above in regard to the façade of Phase I, Vitruvius gives the details of the length and elevation of the façade in terms of the orchestra diameter and, for the second story, in relation to the story below (V.vi.6). The scene-building of Phase II in the Stobi theater has the general plan and proportions of a Greek *skene*, but Vitruvius does not specify the length of the Greek scene-building.<sup>51</sup> The two-storied colonnade, however,

<sup>49</sup> See Chap. II, section on elements of Phase I reused in Phase II.

<sup>50</sup> See Chap. III, seating.

<sup>51</sup> See Chap. II, scene-building.

is comparable to a Roman scaenae-frons as described by Vitruvius, and so it will be useful to consider its dimensions in relation to the Vitruvian formulae.

The porches are the same height (about 1.80m = 6 1/8 RF = 6 feet + 2 fingers<sup>52</sup>) as those of Phase I, compared to the Vitruvian rule of 1/12 (= 8 1/3 RF) the orchestra diameter. Although the four courses that make up the porches vary slightly in height between the porches, if the dimensions are converted to Roman feet, it appears that the architect allowed 1 RF each for the sandstone and base courses, 2 1/2 RF for the orthostates, and 1 RF for the crown, bringing the planned height to 5 1/2 RF = 1.617m. Since Vitruvius seems to include the stylobate for the colonnade in the height of the podium and the stylobate has a fairly constant height of 0.18m (5/8 RF = 0.184m), the podium at Stobi had a height of 6 1/8 RF above the final orchestra floor (el. 38.00).<sup>53</sup> For Phase II as in Phase I the Stobi architect appears to have calculated his podium in feet rather than with reference to the orchestra diameter.

Vitruvius calculates the height of the columns, including bases and capitals, in terms of the orchestra diameter, in this case with a ratio of 1:4. At Stobi this would have resulted in columns of 25 RF = 7.35m in height. In reality the columns of the first story were much lower, 19 RF = 5.586m high, or 19 1/8 RF (= 5.623m). The exact dimensions of the columns vary and only one shaft from each story can be restored from the fragments (Table II.2 no.11 and Table II.3 no.12). The height of the plinth and base is restored as half the column diameter on the basis of Vitruvius's instructions for an Ionic and Corinthian colonnade, V.ix.4. The three preserved capitals are 0.593m, 0.633m, and 0.650m high, less than the Vitruvian specification (IV.i.11) of height equal to the column diameter, 2 RF = 0.588m high. For Vitruvius the architrave and cornice are to be 1/5 the height of the columns, (5 RF = 1.47m). At Stobi the epistyle is only about 1.21m (= 4 1/8 RF) high, although the architect may have planned a height of 4 RF (=1.18m).<sup>54</sup> If so, the ratio of epistyle to column height as built would have been 1:4 3/4.

The elements of the second story are based on the corresponding parts of the first. The pedestal (= half the lower podium) should be 0.90m according to Vitruvius's proportions, but it is only 0.588m, with a ratio of 1:3 1/16 to the lower podium.<sup>55</sup> The columns, however, being about 4.20m high, do correspond with the Vitruvian proportion of 1:3/4 with relation to the lower columns. The epistyle as built was about 0.97m high, with a ratio of 1:4 1/3 to the columns instead of the Vitruvian ratio of 1:5.

It appears, then, that the Stobi architect adapted the Vitruvian proportions for a theater façade to his own purposes. His major departure apparently was in not basing the height of the lower story columns on the diameter of the orchestra, but on a shaft eight times the lower diameter. Such a proportion Vitruvius recommended for aereostyle temples where the intercolumniation was greater than three times the column diameter (III.iii.5 & 10).<sup>56</sup> Since the spacing of the columns on the porches is 4 1/3 and 4 diameters wide (outer porches being narrower), the architect may have been moved to adopt the sturdier shaft. The columns are slightly lower than those Vitruvius recommends for colonnades behind the theater (diameter = 8 1/2 times the shaft as compared to 9 1/2 times at Stobi).<sup>57</sup> For a scaenae-frons in a theater with an orchestra diameter of 100 RF the columns, based on a formula of  $H = 1/4D$ , would be 25 RF high. Such columns would have been too massive for the scene-building and the architect thus reduced their proportions. The need for a smaller façade may have resulted from the fact that the end porches from Phase I were retained in the later building, and they limited the length. Another factor was the change in the parodoi. By bringing the entrances to the parodoi up to the edge of the orchestra and introducing high analemata in conformity with the Greek plan the architect had to make his scene-building shorter in relation to the orchestra. Because he adapted a Roman scaenae-frons to the proportions of a Greek skene he was forced to reduce its size. This reduction is also the reason that the roof of the scene-building does not reach the height of the auditorium, as Vitruvius recommended (V.vi.4).

<sup>52</sup> The Roman foot was divided into 4 palms (palmus) and 16 fingers (digitus). At Stobi 1 palm = 0.073m; 1 finger = 0.0184m.

<sup>53</sup> See Fig. 84 for sections of West Porch I. As with Phase I, when referring to the actual height of the porches, it is necessary to keep in mind that the dimension is related to the elevation of the orchestra floor, but the surface that was used was not the same as the one that was planned. See Chap. III, Orchestra, for a discussion of the problem. It is reasonable to assume that the architect designed the porches with reference to the finished floor of the orchestra and not the surface during construction, because throughout the west side the green sandstone base course lies several centimeters above the working surface.

<sup>54</sup> The slightly higher figure of 1.21m is based on the blocks that have survived. The 14 architrave-frieze blocks vary 0.78-0.82m with eight of them falling between 0.80 and 0.81m. Of the five cornices three are about 0.40m high. Cf. Table II.2.

<sup>55</sup> This does not include a stylobate, a member that is part of the lower podium.

<sup>56</sup> For Vitruvius such a wide intercolumniation could not be spanned by a marble beam, but wood was to be used instead.

<sup>57</sup> V.ix.4.

## Conclusion

The major differences between the two buildings include the size of the orchestra, presence or absence of a stage, the capacity of the cavea, and the design of the scene-building. Of these, only the orchestra and stage were functional spaces whose size would have been in some measure related to the requirements of the performances. The plan of the scene-building and the character of its façade would have been determined according to the type of orchestra selected. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the motive behind the change in design, at least in part, was concerned with increasing the size of the orchestra. The fact that the architect changed the entire design of the theater in the second period, instead of merely removing the stage, is an indication that there was a formal, aesthetic consideration as well as a functional one. The introduction of open *parodoi* with great marble-faced *analemmata* achieved no useful purpose, but they were simply necessary elements of Greek theater design. The issue of cost would also have been present, but, as shown in Chapter I, a large part of the theater had been completed before the decision was made to change the design, and thus cost cannot have been a deciding factor, at least in the second period.

For both phases of the theater at Stobi, it seems clear that the architect was using a planning diagram to lay out the building. He may have had a text of Vitruvius at hand, or more likely, he used a building manual that belonged to the same tradition of architectural design that Vitruvius drew on. There was certainly no single formula for designing a theater at any time, but architects clearly used geometrical figures to work out the relationship between the cavea and scene-building. The focus of the planning process appears to have been on the orchestra as the center of the theater complex and the element most directly related to the program for which the theater was primarily designed. Vitruvius presents one set of planning diagrams for each type of theater in use at the time he wrote, but he shows himself fully aware of other possibilities that will be applied by individual architects. The theater at Stobi is an unusual example of the flexibility in theater design that was practiced in a provincial city of the 2nd century AD. From the changes made in its plan we can see the use of both planning diagrams that Vitruvius described, but, especially in the case of the second one, adapted to the needs of the city.



# DEPOSITS: CHAPTER I

## Pre-Construction

### Deposit 1.1

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Cf. Fig. 13, no. 5. Homogeneous fine brown soil that appears to be water-deposited silt. The layer is sealed by the construction surface for Phase I. Included are a few small animal bones and glass fragments. Elevation 137.24 to 135.12 (stereo).<sup>1</sup> Lots 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496. Sherds: 905. Most of the pottery consists of plain wares, storage jars, and other utility vessels with a small amount of cooking ware. Fine wares of the 1st century include Arretine, Thin-Walled Wares with sand and floral barbotine decoration. A small number of Eastern Sigillata B2 pieces and local sigillata imitations are the latest material.

Date: late 1st or early 2nd century.

1. Thin-Walled Ware. Small bowl rim. Lot 1495. Fig. 271. Light reddish-brown (5YR 6/4) clay and dark brown (7.5YR 3/2) slip with very metallic luster on exterior and dull finish on interior. Fine sand coating on exterior. Related to Mayet 1975, Forms XXX, XXXVII, dated Tiberio-Claudian to Flavian. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 189.
2. Flanged bowl rim. C-74-462. Fig. 272. Local fabric with red slip on both surfaces. Imitation of Çandarlı bowl, Hayes Form 19, dated late 1st to mid-2nd century.
3. Ring-base fragment. C-74-298. Fig. 273. Reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6) clay and red slip on both surfaces. Rectangular frame with the stamp AFRI. From one of the workshops of Sextus Annius Afer of Arezzo established outside of Italy. See Oxé and Comfort 1968, 87-92, p. 28. This is a common stamp at Stobi. 1st century. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 499.

Also: MF-74-185. Bronze strap handle.

### Deposit I.2

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench I). Below Deposit II.1 (Table II.5) the layer formed during use of Phase I and construction for Phase II. The surface of Phase I could not be separated from construction strokes for Phase II. Dark brown soil, homogeneous in texture with many pebbles. The footing trench for wall 1 was dug through this earth. Included were a few large animal

bones and lumps of iron, one basket of Laconian roof tiles. Elevation 137.57 to 136.74 (stereo). Lot 1538. Sherds: 580. Mixed Hellenistic to Early Roman with some fragments of handmade, pre-Hellenistic, vessels. Various fine-ware fragments include the imports Eastern Sigillata A, Pompeian Red Ware, Italian Sigillata, and Eastern Sigillata B.

Date: last quarter of the 1st century.

1. Pompeian Red Ware. Plate rim. Lot 1538.2. Fig. 274. Reddish-yellow (5YR 6/6) clay with inclusions as Peacock fabric 2; red (2.5YR 4/6-5/6) interior gloss. Unusual form. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 719.
2. Pompeian Red Ware. Plate rim. Lot 1538. Fig. 275. Yellowish-red (5YR 4/6) clay and red (2.5YR 5/6) interior gloss. Cf. Dyson 1976, pl. 30, pd 22, late 1st c. BC and Kenrick 1985, B 481, pl. 60 and pp. 324-325, late 1st, early 2nd century. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 720.
3. Arretine. C-74-76. Fig. 276. Base fragment with partially preserved signature stamp (which may be *planta pedis*) of the potter M. PERENNIUS of Arezzo by either Saturninus or Crescens; Oxé and Comfort 1968, 1281 or 1284. 1st century. Alternatively, this may belong to the workshop of M.P. CAPITO (Oxé and Comfort 1968, 1200) active in the late 1st or first quarter of the 2nd century; Slane 1987, p. 199. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 291.
4. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-94. Fig. 277. Base fragment preserving decorative stamp in the shape of a rosette with eight pointed petals in a circle. Probably made before 125. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 325.
5. Ring base of a small bowl. C-74-221. Fig. 278. Reddish-yellow (5YR) clay and red slip. *Planta pedis* stamp with sandal. Post 50.<sup>2</sup>

Also: MF-74-1. Pyramidal loomweight.  
MF-74-2. Pyramidal loomweight.  
C-74-61. Base with painted decoration.  
C-74-99. Base from Late Hellenistic black-gloss plate. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 43.  
C-74-389. Pedestal stand.  
MF-74-136. Bone stylus.

<sup>1</sup> The term stereo will be used throughout the tables of deposits to signify sterile soil, virgin clay, or bedrock.

<sup>2</sup> *Planta pedis* stamps are common by AD 30. See Kenrick 1985: AD 135 to 40; Hayes 1973, 442.

**Deposit I.3**

Orchestra (Trench XIV). Cf. Fig. 19, no. 6. Below Deposit I.8, Fig. 19, no. 5. Very hard clay with fist-sized stones. Elevation 137.00 to 136.85. Lots 1583, 1584. Sherds: 21. Plain wares with buff fabric, small amount of Hellenistic fine ware, and several examples of pre-Hellenistic, handmade burnished ware.

Date: late Hellenistic.

Also: L-70-10. Wheelmade lamp. Late Hellenistic.<sup>3</sup>

**Construction**

**Deposit I.4**

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Not ill. Brown soil beneath the floor of the central passage, Deposit I.16. Joining fragments of a glass beaker link this deposit with Deposit I.6. Elevation 136.910 to 136.82 (stereo). Lot 1488. Sherds: 13. One example of a pre-Hellenistic handmade burnished rim.

Date: second half of the 1st century on the basis of the glass beaker, see Deposit I.6, no. 1.

**Deposit I.5**

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Cf. Fig. 13, no. 4. Above Deposit I.1 (Fig. 13, no. 5) and under Deposit I.16 (Fig. 13, no. 3). Hard, light brown soil mixed with large chunks of dark green clay and a few stones. Mortar from construction of wall 1 spilled on the surface. Elevation 137.25 to 137.24 (N)/137.14 (S). Lot 1492. Sherds: 20. Scraps of Italian Sigillata and gray ware suggest a date in the 1st century.

Date: second half of the 1st century by position.

**Deposit I.6**

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Cf. Fig. 13, no. 4a. Above Deposit I.1 (Fig. 13, no. 5). Very hard layers of sandy soil and clay mixed with pieces of sandstone alternate with sterile layers of clay, south of wall 1. Elevation 137.27 to 137.01. Lots 1503, 1504, 1505. Sherds: 115. Primarily plain wares with buff fabric including table amphorae with concave bases characteristic of the later 1st century at Stobi, and a few scraps of late Hellenistic-Early Roman fine wares; one piece of pre-Hellenistic handmade ware.

Date: second half of 1st century.

1. Glass beaker. G-74-111. Fig. 279. Pale green glass with whitish-violet iridescence. Part of a tall, ring base preserving on its underside a small projection left after the vessel was detached from the blowing rod. Conical body with flange preserved. Of the rim nothing remains. This vessel is one of a group imitating the forms of terra sigillata, Hayes 1973, 431, Form 21. For glass parallels: Isings 1957, 89, Form 69a dated to the Flavian period.

Also: L-74-56. Moldmade lamp.  
MF-74-139. Bone stylus.

**Deposit I.7**

Scene-building façade, setting trench (Trenches XXV, XVI, XII, V). Although excavated in several places along the north face of wall 3 foundation, texture and composition were consistent. Cf. Fig. 29, no. 5. Brown soil was mixed with many river pebbles and small pieces of clay. Elevation 137.68 to 136.88 (stereo). Lots 544, 1682, 1695, 1850, 2098, 2101. Sherds: 115. A mixture of buff plain wares and cooking wares; several fragments of pithoi and amphorae with some 1st-century fine wares like Italian Sigillata and Thin-Walled pieces with sand decoration. A small fragment of a bowl (cf. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, MR Form 19) is probably third quarter of the 2nd century (intrusive?).

Date: 2nd century.

**Deposit I.8**

Orchestra (Trench XIV). Above Deposit I.3. Cf. Fig. 19, no. 5. Hard light brown, sandy soil with large river pebbles and pieces of sandstone ends on a layer of stones. Included were bones of humans and large bovines, perhaps a disturbed grave. Elevation 137.51 to 137.27. Lots 512, 1580. Sherds: 76. Mostly fragments of amphorae and large storage vessels in buff fabric; a few scraps of handmade burnished ware.

Date: 1st century BC-1st century AD.

**Deposit I.9**

Orchestra (Tr. XIV). Below I.8. Fine dark brown soil is mixed with lighter sandy soil and river pebbles. Included were human and animal bones, as in deposit above. Elevation 137.28 to 137.11. Lots 513, 1579, 1581. Sherds: 97. Primarily buff storage vessels, some handmade and miscellaneous Hellenistic and Early Roman gray wares and black-gloss wares.

Date: 1st century.

Also: C-70-109. Black-gloss base. Hellenistic. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 39.

<sup>3</sup> John Hayes (pers. comm.).

**Deposit I.10**

Orchestra (Trench XIV). Below Deposit I.9; above Deposit I.3 (Fig. 19, no. 6). Sand and river pebbles overlay clay mixed with a little earth. Stereo was not reached. Included were human and animal bones, and small fragments of glass.<sup>4</sup> Elevation 137.14 to 137.00. Lot 1582. Sherds: 20, Late Hellenistic to mid-1st century or later.

Date: 1st century.

**Deposit I.11**

Orchestra (Trench XII). Cf. Fig. 20, no. 5. Above Deposit I.12. Light brown soil packed very hard included a few large white marble chips, large bones, and glass. Elevation 137.58 to 137.38. Lot 1530. Sherds: 241. A mixture of typical local Early Roman color-slipped, plain, and cooking wares, and a lamp (L-74-53); late 1st century.

Date: late 1st century.

**Deposit I.12**

Orchestra (Trench XII). Cf. Fig. 20, no. 7. Hard light brown soil with white and yellow streaks, mixed with a few large river pebbles and white marble chips. Elevation 137.36 to 137.10 (stereo). Lot 1531 (Basket 90 only). Sherds: 38. Small pieces of pre-Hellenistic handmade wares with local imitation of Çandarli flanged bowl (cf. Deposit I.1, cat. 2), dated in the late 1st century, early 2nd century.

Date: early 2nd century.

**Deposit I.13**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, TT1). Cf. Fig. 206, no. 9. Light brown, sandy soil mixed with yellow clay, cobbles, river pebbles, and flecks of mortar and charcoal; lens of sand and pebbles. Included are small pieces of Laconian roof tiles. Elevation 137.42 to 136.76 (stereo). Lot 536. Sherds: 330. Local fine wares, amphora fragments, and one fragment of Çandarli ware.

Date: 2nd century.

Also: C-72-23. Gray ware stamped base (1st c.). Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 103.  
MF-72-50. Bone pin head.  
MF-72-111. Polished bone, stylus (?).  
MF-72-52. Pyramidal terracotta loomweight.

**Deposit I.14**

East Parodos (Trench XVI). At the north face of wall 3 a rectangular cutting (0.40m east-west by 0.20m) was found in sterile clay (NB 92.193). The cutting was below and sealed from the deposit in the footing trench for wall 3, and is thus earlier in the construction period or possibly earlier. Fine, homogeneous, soft brown earth filled the cutting. Cf. the silt in Deposit I.1. Elevation 137.40 to 136.26 (stereo). Lots 1683, 1684. Sherds: 8. Aside from the fragment of a relief vessel of the Augustan period all sherds are burnished fragments of Bronze and Iron Age date.

Date: Early Roman.

1. Relief vessel. C-74-64. Fig. 280. Gray (10 YR 5/1) slightly micaceous clay with black (2.5Y N/2.5) slip on interior and exterior. The torso of a male athlete is shown full front with head turned to left and left arm raised above the head. Cf. youths in hunting and battle scenes on Arretine relief vessels of the M. Perennius workshops, Dragendorff and Watzinger 1948, pl. 9, #120 and p. 91. Augustan. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 72.

Also: C-75-70. Burnished rim, handmade.

**Deposit I.15**

Cavea (Trench VI). Fig. 27, no. 8, 9; Fig. 23, no. 8. The deposit includes the thin layer of mortar that covered the terracotta pipe running the length of the west radial corridor and the almost sterile soil that surrounded it. Elevation 136.80 to 136.70 (mortar), to 136.30 (stereo). Lot 1549. Two sherds from utility vessels; 10 small roof tile fragments.

Date: late 1st or early 2nd century.

1. Section of terracotta pipe (removed for study). TA-74-34, TA-74-42. Pink clay. Hue 7.5YR 7/4, micaceous. L. 0.668m, D. 0.265m, Th. of fabric 0.017m. One end recessed to fit next segment of pipe, D. of oval opening 0.224m by 0.208m, Th. of fabric 0.007m.

**Use****Deposit I.16**

Scene-building, center room floor (Trench III). Cf. Fig. 13, not labeled. The floor was composed of hard-packed light brown soil and sand with small chips of white marble, river pebbles, and flecks of charcoal over a thin layer of mortar. Elevation 137.02 (N, inside passage)/137.50 (S) to 136.91 (N, inside passage)/137.35 (S). Lot 1487. Sherds: 176. Primarily local utility wares

<sup>4</sup> Glass dated to the 1st century: John Hayes, pers. comm.

with fragments of Thin-Walled Wares with sanded and barbotine decoration.

Date: second half of 1st century or early 2nd century.

**Deposit I.17**

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Cf. Fig. 13, no. 3. Below Deposit I.16. Hard yellow sandy soil in thin layers rested on mortar that had been spilled on clay of Deposit I.5 during construction. The yellow stroses seem to represent an early period of use inside the building. Elevation 137.35 to 137.25. Lot 1491. Sherds: 51. Mostly buff utility wares.

Date: second half of 1st century.

**Deposit I.18**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, TT1). Cf. Fig. 206, no. 8. Above Deposit I.13. Brown, sandy soil with small stones, some pieces of mortar, and a lens of clay. Elevation 137.75 to 137.38. Lot 535. Sherds: 96. Mostly coarse wares, especially amphorae and storage vessels.

Date: second half of 1st century.

**Destruction**

**Deposit I.19**

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Cf. Fig. 13, not labeled. Loose mortar and stones fallen from wall 1. Elevation 138.00 to 137.66. Lot 1499. Sherds: 89. Local Early Roman plain wares and some cooking ware, including a rim common in the Late Hellenistic period.

Date: early Roman.

**Deposit I.20**

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Dark soil mixed with large stones, lumps of mortar and pebbles. Included were roof tile fragments and animal bones. Elevation 137.71 to 137.27. Lot 1501. Sherds: 261. Most of the deposit consists of light buff plain wares and color-slipped pieces with a small amount of cooking ware including several local Late Hellenistic and Early Roman forms and several fragments of handmade wares. Thin-Walled Wares with sanded decoration, Pompeian Red Ware, and the local form (below) indicate a date in the late 1st, early 2nd century.

1. Thin-Walled Ware. Small bowl rim. Lot 1501. Fig. 281. Reddish-yellow (5YR) clay with yellowish-red to reddish-yellow (5YR 4/6-6/6) mottled slip on exterior and reddish-brown slip on interior. Very fine sand coating on exterior. Related to Mayet Forms XXX, XXXVII, dated from Tiberio-Claudian to Flavian. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 188.

2. Pompeian Red Ware. Plate rim. Lot 1501.8. Fig. 282. Brown (7.5YR 4/4) clay and red (2.5YR 4/6-5/6) interior gloss. See Deposit I.2, cat. 2. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 721.
3. Flanged bowl rim. C-74-460. Fig. 283. Local fabric with light red (2.5YR) slip on both surfaces. Imitation of Çandarli bowl, Hayes Form 19, dated late 1st to mid-2nd century. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 838.
4. Pottery mold for relief bowl. C-74-459. Fragmentary. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay. Unslipped surfaces. A very small part of foliage decoration is preserved. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, chapt. 2, no. 14.

**Deposit I.21**

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Dark soil over and mixed with destruction debris from wall 1. Elevation 138.10 to 137.80. Lot 1497. Sherds: 372. Almost entirely buff plain wares, amphorae, storage vessels, and utility vases. A few fragments of Pompeian Red Ware, Thin-Walled Wares, and local flanged bowls indicate a date in the late 1st, early 2nd century.

**Deposit I.22**

Scene-building, center room (Trench III). Soft brown soil mixed with ash. Elevation 138.09 to 137.99. Lot 1498. Sherds: 54. Primarily utility wares with a few fine wares, such as floral barbotine, characteristic of the late 1st, early 2nd century.

Also: C-74-230. Painted sherds.

**Deposit I.23**

Orchestra (Trench XII). Cf. Fig. 20, no. 6. Light brown soil with a few stones filled a hole that had been opened through the earth in the footing trench for wall 3. Elevation 137.35 to 136.97 (stereo). Lot 1532. Sherds: 102. Primarily light bodied (buff) plain wares with about equal numbers of color-slipped and cooking wares. Eight fragments of pre-Hellenistic burnished wares. Together with much earlier material the latest sherds are early 2nd century.

1. Flanged bowl rim. C-74-461. Fig. 284. Local fabric. Red slip 2.5 YR 5/8 on exterior and interior. Imitation of Eastern Sigillata B2. Two shallow grooves inside the rim recall the original (Hayes Form 60) and suggest a date in the second or even third quarter of the 2nd century. See Hayes 1983, p. 104, pl. 4, nos. 32, 33, with discussion of a date c. 150 for these examples.

Also: L-74-52. Terracotta lamp.

**Deposit I.24**

South of scene-building (Trench XXVI). Below Deposit II.8. The deposit falls between Phases I and II, or possibly antedates Phase I. It was laid down before construction of the south wall of the scene-building in Phase II, since the footing trench for the south wall was dug from the top of the deposit. Brown soil with gravel and decayed mortar. Elevation 137.96(W)/137.77(E) to 136.90 (arbitrary end). Lots 629, 630. Sherds: 555, of which 456 are in Lot 630. Most of the pottery consists of buff fabric storage vessels or coarse wares. Fine wares are a mixture ranging in date from Hellenistic to 1st

century including molded relief bowls, gray wares, and Italian Sigillata. Latest pieces include Gaulish Sigillata and a local flanged-bowl rim of the late 1st century.

Also: C-74-122. Flanged bowl.  
 C-72-115. Stamped base. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 94.  
 C-72-124. Stamped base.  
 C-72-116. Molded bowl.  
 C-72-114. Molded bowl.  
 C-72-100. Arretine base. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 280.  
 MF-72-122. Bronze pin head.

## DEPOSITS: CHAPTER II

### Construction

#### Deposit II.1

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench I, Test Trench 4). Under floor, Deposit II.10. In the center of the trench below a working surface lay brown, sandy soil with a heavy concentration of white marble chips. The layers reveal that they were deposited from the east. Below elevation 138.00 there were fewer chips and more large stones and crumbled mortar, especially at the west side, very likely from the demolition of Phase I. Elevation: 139.17 to 137.57. Lots 893, 1537. Sherds: 292. Primarily color-slipped and plain wares with several fragments of coarse burnished ware. Fragments of fine wares, including several with barbotine decoration and an Eastern Sigillata B2 bell cup, plain and cooking wares belong within the first half of the 2nd century.

Date: first half of 2nd century.

Although the date for construction of Phase II seems to be close to the middle of the 2nd century, the ceramic date of the construction deposits presented here is generally earlier, as would be expected from dumped fill brought from outside the theater.

1. Kalathos cup rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-446. Not ill. Two grooves at interior, below lip; on exterior one on either side of flange. Hayes Form 70, c. AD 75-125.

Also: C-73-80. Terracotta stand. Joins fragment from Deposit II.13.

#### Deposit II.2

Scene-building, Center Room (Trench III). Cf. Fig. 13. Under Deposit IV.14. Brown soil with white marble chips and small fragments of red painted wall stucco begins about 0.30m below the level of the floor in Phase II; floor is not preserved. Elevation: 138.99 to 138.88. Lot 1471. Sherds: 186. Plain wares comprise about 3/4 of the lot with lesser amounts of cooking and color-slipped ware. Fragments of rims, bases, and body sherds of Eastern Sigillata B2 date the deposit to the first half of the 2nd century.

Date: first half of 2nd century.

1. Kalathos cup rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-413. Hayes Form 70, c. 75-125.
2. Kalathos cup base. Eastern Sigillata B2. Lot 1471. Fig. 285. Hayes Form 70.

3. Bowl with rolled rim and horizontal rolled handles. Local ware. Lot 1471. Fig. 286. Red slip. This form is similar to a plate from the Athenian agora (Robinson 1959, G174, pl. 67). Deposit G has been redated by Hayes to the period between 120 and 150 (Hayes 1983, p. 105, note 19).

Also: C-74-414. Campanian C rim.  
74-150. Coin. Philippi. Augustus.

#### Deposit II.3

Scene-building, Center Room (Trench III, III W. ext.). Light brown soil mixed with clay, stones, scattered carbon flakes, and white marble chips with a few chips of rose marble. Elevation: 138.96 to 137.76. Lots 1472, 1474-1480, 1672, 1673. Sherds: 6100. Many fragments of buff storage jars and plain wares with stone cooking jars and a considerable amount of probable residual material including handmade burnished pieces, Eastern Sigillata A, and Hellenistic and Early Roman gray wares. There are late forms of Italian Sigillata (Hayes 1973, Forms 8, 23, and 24, which range in date from c. 40 to 90). Also present are examples of bowls and cups with sanded and barbotine decoration common in the second half of the 1st century and first quarter of the 2nd century. Local imitations of Arretine and Çandarlı and numerous examples of Eastern Sigillata B2 take the date through the first half of the 2nd century (see no. 9 below).

Date: first half of the 2nd century AD.

1. Plate with inturned rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-428. Fig. 287. Two horizontal grooves below carination on exterior. Single groove separates rim from wall on inside. Hayes Form 60, earlier version, 50-150. (Cf. Kenrick 1985, B352.1). Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 308.
2. Plate with inturned rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. Lot 1472. Fig. 288. Plain exterior; two grooves on inside. Hayes Form 60, later version, 100-200. (Cf. Kenrick 1985, B352.5).
3. Kalathos cup. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-245. Fig. 289. Two widely spaced grooves on interior below lip; exterior has rouletting on flange. Hayes Form 70, 75-125. Other examples in this deposit are C-74-285 and C-74-415.
4. Base with stamp ΕΡΜΗΣ in rectangular field. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-411. Fig. 290. A common name and one of the few name stamps occurring on B2 ware in its early phase, c. 50-75. Personal communication from John Hayes (Cf. Mitsopoulou-Leon 1972-1975, cols. 495-524, p. 510).

5. Bowl rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-417. Fig. 291. Hayes Form 76, c. 100-150; Kenrick 1985, B361.1. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 332.
  6. Plate base, Eastern Sigillata B2. Lot 1478. Fig. 292. Two concentric grooves on floor. Hayes Form 58, c. 75-125.
  7. Plate. Local ware imitation of Eastern Sigillata A plate form 37. Lot 1472. Fig. 293. Angular flange. Red-slipped surfaces. Cf. Hayes 2008, p. 137, fig. 6, early 2nd century; Waage 1948, shape 432, Flavian-Trajanic.
  8. Flanged bowl rim. Local color-slipped ware. C-74-412. Fig. 294. Red slip. Imitation of early 2nd century shape in Çandarlı, Hayes Form L19. (Cf. Robinson 1959, G175, pl. 67 and Hayes 1991, pl. 7, no. 5.)
  9. Plate with inturned rim. Local color-slipped ware. Lot 1472. Fig. 295. Red slip. Cf. Robinson 1959, G176, pl. 67. Derivative of Eastern Sigillata B2 shape as in no. 2 above, now dated by Hayes to the Hadrianic period. The form occurs at Stobi during the later 2nd and 3rd century and is probably the latest sherd in this deposit.
  10. Rim and handle from casserole. Cooking ware. C-75-87. Fig. 296. (Cf. Hayes 1991, pl.7, 8: first half of 2nd c. and Hayes 1983, pl.7, no. 79, early 2nd c.). Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 1147.
  11. Coin 74-434. Greek Imperial. Perinthos. Not ill. (Cf. Schuenert 1965, nos. 101-111, pp. 106ff.) Late 1st to mid-2nd century. I am grateful to Alan Walker for kindly examining all coins and providing information on their dates and mints.
  12. White marble block from scene-building Phase I, A-74-116. Fig. 47. Coarse grained white marble with gray veins. L. 3.076m, W. 1.160-1.168m, Th. 0.445-0.455m. Compass-drawn circle 0.147m Diam. on one large side. See Ch.II, skene construction, for description of its disposition in the deposit. Possible use is considered in Ch.I.
- Also: C-74-145. Italian sigillata. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 266,  
 C-74-159. Graffito on vessel.  
 C-74-223. Stamped base.  
 C-74-244. Stamped base.  
 C-74-246. Vessel with relief decoration.  
 C-74-409. Thin-Walled vessel.  
 C-74-410. Thin-Walled vessel.  
 C-74-416. Hellenistic gray ware vessel.  
 C-74-418. Molded bowl.  
 C-74-419. Thin-Walled bowl.  
 C-74-420. Italian sigillata. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 275.  
 C-74-421. Stamped gray ware base.  
 C-74-422. Small bowl.  
 C-74-423. Burnished sherd.  
 C-74-424. Italian sigillata. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 263.
- C-74-425. Gray ware rim.  
 C-74-426. Stamped base. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 497.  
 C-74-427. Thin-Walled bowl.  
 C-74-429. Burnished vessel.  
 C-74-430. Thin-Walled cup. *Stobi* 1, no. 202.  
 C-74-431. Thin-Walled bowl.  
 C-74-458. Local bowl.  
 C-74-417. Eastern Sigillata B2 cup. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 332.  
 C-75-43. Thin-Walled vessel.  
 G-74-122. Glass handle (probably 4th century, intrusive).  
 G-74-157a,b,c. Glass body fragment.  
 G-74-158. Glass body fragment.  
 G-74-159. Glass base.  
 G-74-159. Glass base.  
 G-74-161. Glass base or rim.  
 G-74-174. Glass base.  
 L-74-46. Lamp nozzle.  
 L-74-47. Volute lamp.  
 MF-74-65. Terracotta disc.  
 MF-74-170. Terracotta disc.  
 TA-74-16. Terracotta tile.  
 TA-74-17. Terracotta tile.  
 TA-74-38. Corinthian pan tile.  
 TA-74-39. Corinthian pan tile.  
 74-104. Coin. Amphipolis. Late 2nd to 1st century BC.

#### **Deposit II.4**

Scene-building, Center Room (Trench III and III W. Ext.). Under Deposit II.3. Hard, sandy soil with rose and white marble chips (one and a half boxes), scattered carbon flakes, large pieces of terracotta roof tiles, and white-painted wall plaster. Marble chips are more concentrated in the center of the trench. The deposit lies over wall 3 of Phase I and inside central passage. Elevation: 137.76 to 137.12. Lots 1481-1485, 1674. Sherds: 875. Plain wares predominate among lesser numbers of cooking and color-slipped wares. Fragments of Eastern Sigillata B2 and forms of local fine wares belong to the late 1st, early 2nd century.

Date: 2nd century.

1. Knidian Relief Ware Head Cup. MF-74-147. Fig. 297. Front half of a molded cup with broad nose, large mouth turned down at the corners in a grimace, heavy lips with some teeth indicated in the space between the lips. The one preserved eye is small and wide open. None of the features is exaggerated and the only expression comes from the shape of the mouth. A small portion of the neck serves as the base. 5YR 7/4 (pink) clay with 5YR 4/2 dark reddish gray slip on the surface. Some of the slip has worn away from the

projecting features. The face is carefully modeled. Although the piece is not like any published examples in features and fabric, Donald Bailey would classify it as Knidian (pers. comm.) Cf. Bailey 1972-1973, especially pl. 4, p. 24.

Date: probably early 2nd century.

Also: C-74-437. Small bowl.  
MF-74-240. Bone stylus.  
MF-74-124. Bronze pin.  
TA-74-39. Roof tile.  
A-74-216. Stone mortar.

### Deposit II.5

Scene-building terrace (Trench III). Brown soil mixed with lumps of clay and scattered carbon flakes. At generally the same level as Deposit II.3. Elevation: 138.78 to 137.95. Lot 1510. Sherds: 1017. Large numbers of plain and color-slipped wares with several fragments of handmade burnished ware. Imports include several examples of small, color-slipped bowls with fine sand coating or barbotine applique, and late examples of Italian Sigillata: Hayes 1973, Forms 23 and 24, date: 40-90. The presence of Eastern Sigillata B2 and certain forms of local ware suggest a date for the pottery extending from the last quarter of the 1st century through the first half of the 2nd century.

Date: first half of the 2nd century.

1. Large closed vessel base. Thin-Walled Ware. C-74-451. Not ill. Pink (5YR 8/4-7/4) micaceous clay with light red (2.5YR 6/8) slip on exterior. Thick wall. Double petal floral barbotine. (Cf. Moevs 1973, pl. 45, no. 422 for similar decoration). Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 217.
2. Small bowl with convex rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-445. Fig. 298. Hayes Form 63, date: 75-125 (Cf. Kenrick 1985, 356.2).
3. Cup rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-442. Fig. 299. Widely-spaced rouletting on lower molding. Hayes Form 70, date: 75-125. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 330.
4. Bowl rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. Lot 1510. Fig. 300. Hayes Form 73 (?).
5. Small bowl rim. Eastern Sigillata B2. Lot 1510. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 336.
6. Flanged bowl rim. Local ware. C-74-447. Fig. 301. Red slip on both surfaces. Imitation of late Arretine (Hayes 1973, Form 24) or Çandarli bowl of similar shape, Hayes Form L 19.

Also: C-74-146. *Planta pedis* stamp.  
C-74-440. Molded relief bowl. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 132.  
C-74-441. Italian sigillata. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 259.

C-74-443. Bowl.  
C-74-444. Thin-Walled fragment. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 180.  
C-74-448. Burnished rim.  
C-74-449. Thin-Walled fragment. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 197.  
C-74-450. Italian sigillata.  
C-74-520. Jar rim.  
C-74-521. Plate rim.  
L-74-48. Lamp bottom, probably 1st century.  
MF-74-137. Bone pin.  
MF-74-166. Loomweight.  
TF-74-35. Bottom of terracotta figurine.  
74-148. Coin. Thessalonike. Augustus-Tiberius.  
74-149. Coin. Philippi. Augustus.  
74-151. Coin. Philippi. Augustus.

### Deposit II.6

Scene-building terrace (Trench III). Under Deposit II.5. Mixed brown and yellow soil with stones, white marble chips, and lumps of mortar ends on layer of mortar. Elevation: 137.95 to 137.52. Lots 1511, 1512. Sherds: 240. Equal amounts of color-slipped and cooking wares with almost twice as much plain ware. Residual material includes Hellenistic molded bowl fragments and coarse burnished pieces. Eastern Sigillata B2 and local fine ware forms range in date from the late 1st to the first half of the 2nd second century.

Date: first half of the 2nd century.

1. Small bowl. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-452. Fig. 302. Hayes Form 71, date: 50-150.
2. Ring base from bowl. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-74-454. Fig. 303.
3. Casserole with horizontal handles. Cooking Ware. C-74-453. Fig. 304. Round-bottomed casseroles are common from the 1st century BC until the 3rd and 4th century AD. This example is similar in form to one from Knossos dated to the 1st century (Hayes 1983, pl. 17, nos. 44,45). Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 1146.

Also: C-74-33. Imitation terra sigillata. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 869.  
L-74-49. Lamp rim.  
MF-74-272. Bronze pin head.

### Deposit II.7

Scene-building terrace (Trench III). Under Deposit II.6. Large stones with crumbled mortar and carbon flakes on sterile soil are contemporary with construction of the south wall of Phase II. Elevation: 137.70 to 137.29 (stereo). Lot 1513. Sherds: 55. The small amount of material belongs to the 1st century although the deposit itself is contemporary with the south wall of Phase II.

Date: mid-2nd century.

Also: C-74-56. Base with *planta pedis*.  
G-74-170. Glass rim.

### **Deposit II.8**

Scene-building, East Room II (Trench XXVI, between the south walls of Phases II and III). Above Deposit I.24. Brown soil mixed with small stones and white marble chips (one box) with a lens of looser yellow soil that ends on a layer of gravel and sand. Included was a human mandible (fragment). Elevation 139.11 to 137.81. Lots 623, 625-628. Sherds: 392. Within the standard mixture of fine and coarse wares are examples of gray wares and coarse pieces with burnished surfaces. Local ware forms belong to the 2nd century.

Date: mid-2nd century.

1. Flanged bowl rim. Local ware. C-72-121. Fig. 305. Red slip. Cf. Deposit II.5, cat. no. 6.
2. Flat based plate. Local ware. C-72-95. Fig. 306. Red slip. This form is common at Stobi from the middle of the 2nd century until early in the 4th century. Although this piece could belong to the very beginning of the series, it may have been associated with the construction of the new south wall in Phase III.

Also: C-72-117. Rim.  
C-72-118. Stamped base.  
C-72-119. Handmade vessel.  
C-72-120. Painted vessel.  
C-72-123. Cooking ware lid.  
C-72-146. Gray ware vessel.  
L-72-30. Lamp rim and disc.  
L-72-32. Lamp rim.  
MF-72-107. Knife blade.  
MF-72-184. Terracotta disc.  
MF-72-189. Bronze strip.

### **Deposit II.9**

Scene-building, East Room II (Trench XIII, probe). Compact brown soil. Deposit begins about 0.70m below the level of the scene-building floor in Phase II; floor surface is not preserved. Elevation 138.71 to 136.74 (arbitrary end). Lot 1662. Sherds: 329. Material ranges in date from late Hellenistic to the early 2nd century.

Date: first half of the 2nd century.

1. Bowl with overhanging rim and ribbon handle. Eastern Sigillata B2. C-75-68. Fig. 307. Hayes Form 62A or 62B, date: 70/75 to 120.

Also: C-75-61. Fusiform unguentarium foot.  
C-75-65. Hellenistic molded relief bowl. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 106.  
C-75-66. Hellenistic molded relief bowl.  
C-75-67. White-gloss vessel.  
C-75-69. Hellenistic molded relief bowl. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 552.  
MF-75-55. Loomweight.

### **Use**

The period of use begins after 138 and continues until the latter part of the 3rd century. A hard-packed earthen floor was recovered only in the center part of Trench I, and because it was impossible to separate the stroses that were laid down during the second and third phases of use, the floor is described as one deposit in connection with the third phase, Deposit IV.9. In the other areas excavated the soil had not been compacted to form a floor, or as in the Center Room, the floor was cleared in the earlier excavations.

### **Deposit II.10**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench I). Under Deposit IV.9. In the center section of the trench, a working surface beneath the earthen floor of the scene-building is marked by patches of mortar, clay, and lime. The soil is varied in color and texture. Beneath lies the dumped fill, Deposit II.1. Elevation 139.23 to 139.17. Lot 889. Sherds: 50. The small amount of material dates to the 2nd and 3rd centuries and consists primarily of local fine wares.

Date: 3rd century.

1. Moldmade lamp. L-73-8 and L-73-10. Figs. 308, 309. Two joining pieces preserving part of disk, rim nozzle, and wick hole. Pink clay (5YR 7/3) with reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6) slip. Rim is decorated with incised lines and disc preserves part of a winged (?) figure. Mid-2nd century to 3rd century.

### **Deposit II.11**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench I). At the north end of the trench between the northwest pier and the front wall of the scene-building the lack of a well-defined floor made it difficult to isolate material from the use of the room from the upper layer of dumped fill. Thus, while the composition of the deposit is associated with the period of construction (cf. Deposits II.1-9), it is listed under Use. Loose brown gravelly soil was mixed with small pebbles and sand. Elevation: 139.475 to 138.585. Lot 891. Sherds: 109. Primarily miscellaneous fragments of plain wares with several pieces of pithoi

and cooking pots. Fine ware includes Early Roman gray ware, a few scraps of Thin-Walled, and one piece of Eastern Sigillata B2, all residual. Based on the small amount of pottery most of the deposit seems to belong to the late 1st, early 2nd century, with a glass base (G-73-40) that may be as late as the 3rd century. The worn surface of the coin places its time of deposit well after its minting in 139.

Date: 3rd century.

1. Glass base. G-73-40. Fig. 310. Base and lower right wall of light green color. 2nd, perhaps 3rd century.
2. Coin. 74-533. Antoninus Pius. 139. Not ill. The very worn surface on both sides indicates a long period of circulation. It was found during cleaning in the upper layer of dumped fill next to the northwest pier, but it probably should be associated with the second period of use.

Also: C-73-88. Thin-Walled vessel.

#### **Deposit II.12**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench I, next to south wall of Phase II). Similar to Deposit II.11 in that the absence of a well-defined floor surface resulted in a mixture of material from periods of construction and use. Firm brown soil was mixed with pebbles and chips of rose and white marble (two shoe boxes). One box contained chips with two finished faces; that is, they had been cut from thin slabs of revetment, both rose and white marble. The context is surely that of the dumped fill brought in to raise the floor of the skene, and presumably most of the marble chips in these deposits came from finishing blocks during construction for both Phase I and Phase II. In this case the chips may have been trimmed from revetment slabs prepared for Phase I. In view of their location below the floor level of Phase II, it is unlikely they resulted from trimming revetment for Phase II. Included were 13 iron nails and an iron handle. Elevation: 139.27 to 138.51. The top of the concrete bedding for the corner pier has an elevation of 139.27. Lot 890. Sherds: 294. No imports present but numerous forms of local fine wares. Forms of local wares belong to the second half of the 2nd century and the 3rd century.

Date: 3rd century.

1. Dish. Local ware. C-73-52. Fig. 311. Red slip. Late imitation of Eastern Sigillata B2, Hayes Form 60. This is a form common at Stobi (MR Form 8) in the second and third centuries. (Cf. Robinson 1959, G 176, pl. 67; J 32, K 13, pl. 68; L 1, pl. 70.) Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 941.
2. Three-ridged bowl. Local ware. C-73-87. Fig. 312. Red slip on both surfaces. Single group of three

stamped diamonds on wall. Mid-2nd to late 3rd century. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 958.

3. Cooking pot. C-73-84. Not ill. Plump body, concave base, and double handles.
4. Pan. Cooking ware. C-73-72. Fig. 313. A form common at Stobi from the mid-2nd to the 4th century (Cf. Robinson 1959, J 22 and K 89, pl. 72; Hayes 1983, pl. 9, 104-109, dated late 2nd and 3rd century). *Stobi* 1, no. 1164.
5. Moldmade lamp. Fragmentary base and disk preserved. Reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6) fabric with light red (2.5 YR 6/8) slip on exterior. Plain disk, single rosette on rim. 3rd-century type. L-73-13 and L-73-15. Not ill.

Also: C-73-77. Cooking ware rim.  
C-73-78. Local bowl with stamp.  
C-73-87. Local bowl with three-ridged rim. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 958.  
C-73-89. Flat-based plate.

#### **Deposit II.13**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench I, Test Trench 2). Similar to Deposits II.11-12. A small test was made through the floor of the room into the dumped fill below. Brown soil was mixed with chips of rose and white marble. Fragment of a terracotta stand joins with piece in Deposit II.1 (C-73-80). Elevation 139.30 to 138.96 (arbitrary end, 0.54m above demolished surface of the wall 1 of Phase I). Lot 892. Sherds: 66. Primarily color-slipped and plain wares with several cooking pot rims.

Date: 2nd, perhaps 3rd century.

1. Plate rim. C-73-90. Local imitation of Eastern Sigillata B2, Hayes Form 75 (Stobi MR Form 8). Date: second half of 2nd century into 3rd century.

#### **Deposit II.14**

Scene-building terrace (Trench III). Earthen surface consisted of hard light brown soil with small pieces of tile, many pebbles and crumbled mortar. Elevation: 139.07 to 138.87. Lot 1509. Sherds: 272. Local ware forms belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries; small fragments of glass rims and bases can be dated to the second half of the 3rd century.

Date: mid- to late 3rd century.

1. Rim of cup. Eastern Sigillata B2. Lot 1509. Fig 314. Hayes Form 62 or 74, dated 75-120. Cf. Robinson 1959, G 169 (now dated by Hayes to Hadrianic).
2. Three-ridged bowl. Local ware. C-74-53. Not ill. Red (2.5YR 7/6) metallic slip. Decorated

- with stamped petals. Late 2nd or 3rd century. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 962.
3. Amphora neck. C-74-215. Fig. 315. Clay varies from reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6) to pink (7.5 YR 7/4) with sand. Exterior surface is pale yellow (2.5YR 8/4) worn away over much of the surface. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 698.
  4. Glass base. G-74-114. Fig 316. Pale blue in color. Probably from a bowl from the mid-3rd century.
  5. Glass bowl rim. G-74-117. Not ill. Pale green in color. Date: 3rd century.
- Also: C-74-515. Mold. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, chapt. 2, no. 12.  
 C-74-519. Bowl rim.  
 G-74-115. Glass base.  
 G-74-116. Glass rim.  
 G-74-118. Glass body fragment.

## DEPOSITS: CHAPTER III

### Construction

#### Deposit III.1

Cavea, West Radial Corridor (Trench XXVII). Cf. Fig. 25, no. 6. Brown soil with little other material, placed over the water pipe belonging to Phase I. No division was observed during excavation to distinguish it from the deposit above, but the pottery is earlier. The difference in ceramic date is probably attributable to the source of the fills rather than the time of their disposition. Elevation 137.27 to 136.78 (stereo). Lot 1359. Sherds: 116.

Date: 1st century BC to 1st century.

Also: MF 74-178. Ceramic disk.

#### Deposit III.2

Cavea, West Radial Corridor (Trench XXVII). Cf. Fig. 25, no. 5. Brown soil with a few lumps of mortar and stones; a layer of gravel and sand occurs towards the top of walls 5 and 8 with two layers of decayed mortar above. The layers of gravel as well as the disposition of the soils in layers show that they were dumped into the corridor. Since the date of the pottery is substantially the same throughout the deposit, we can conclude that the corridor was filled in one operation. Cf. the dumped fill in Trench III of the scene-building, Deposit II.3. The earthen floor of the corridor, compacted through use, is included in Deposit IV.27. Elevation 138.94 to 137.27. Lot 1358. Sherds: 517. Although the latest sherds belong to the second half of the 1st century with earlier Hellenistic material, the fragment of a lamp (cat. 2) may belong to the 2nd century. The scarcity of the ceramics in relation to the size of the deposit suggests that the earth was taken from an uninhabited area, probably near the Crna River.

Date: first half of the 2nd century.

1. Base with *planta pedis*. C-74-433. Fig. 317, post mid-1st century.
2. Moldmade lamp. L-74-55. Not ill. Part of base and wall. Reddish-yellow (5YR 6/6) fabric and red slip (2.5YR 5/8) on exterior. Flat base with stamped rosette framed by alternating lines and circles. Cf. L-70-11 from Lot 801 in the Synagogue. Mid-3rd century or later.
3. Pompeian Red Ware. C-74-435. Fig. 318. Rim fragment from dish with groove setting off rim from exterior. Yellowish-red (5YR 5/6) fabric

with inclusions as Peacock Fabric 2. Red (2.5YR 6/6-5/6) interior gloss. The ware dates from 100 BC to c. 100. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 718.

Also: 74-101. Coin. Illegible.

MF-74-33. Terracotta spindle whorl.

C-74-434. Handmade cooking rim.

C-74-436. Gray ware plate with stamped palmette. Hellenistic. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 93.

C-74-432. Black-gloss vessel with white paint. Hellenistic.

#### Deposit III.3

Cavea, West Radial Corridor (Trench IV, VI, VII). Cf. Fig. 27, no. 7; Fig. 23, no. 7. Below Deposit IV.8, associated with the construction of Phase III. Densely packed chunks of native clay were mixed with sandy soil and a few stones and river pebbles. In Trenches IV, VI, and VII the floor of the corridor (elevation 138.30) lay on the surface of the clay (elevation 138.30), but it was not clearly enough defined to be dug separately in the small areas excavated. The entire deposit was packed against the finished face of wall 5 (Phase I) at the south side of the corridor. Included are three worn tile fragments, four bones, and one small fragment of red painted plaster. Elevation 138.30 to 136.80 (Trench VI); 138.17 (W), 137.95(E), to 137.53 arbitrary end (Trench IV). Lots 1543, 1548. Sherds: 31. Early Roman but nothing to give a precise date.

Date: first half of the 2nd century.

#### Deposit III.4

Cavea, West Radial Corridor (Trench IV). Cf. Fig. 23, no. 7a. Above Deposit III.3. Light brown soil mixed with sand, crumbled mortar and chips of white marble and limestone that became fewer in the lower 0.20m. It was packed against wall 5, against the white marble stringer for the stair, and against the first step. A flat slab of limestone finished on all sides and lying at the same elevation as the step, belongs to the deposit, Fig. 23, east end. Some of the chips lie under the first step, thus placing the deposit in the period of construction in Phase II. The surface of the marble tread is so fresh that it appears to have been covered soon after construction. One box of white marble chips was recovered. Elevation 138.43 to 138.17 (W), 137.95 (E). Lot 1543 A. Sherds: 14 and are nondescript Early Roman.

Date: first half of the 2nd century.

**Deposit III.5**

Cavea (Trench XVII, East refuge). Hard light brown soil packed between two radial walls. Elevation 140.70 to 140.00. Lot 1687. Sherds: 55. Primarily fragments of plain wares and amphorae with some color-slipped wares, and one rim of a handmade pot with burnished surface.

Date: late 1st to early 2nd century.

**Deposit III.6**

Orchestra (Trench VF, Via Venatorum), post hole 5. Fig. 30. Post hole in foundation of wall 3 contained an undisturbed deposit of hard, light brown soil, small lumps of mortar, and small stones, 0.10m deep. The material would have been deposited towards the end of the construction phase, after the scaffolding for the façade had been removed. Lot 2093. Sherds: 22. Small scraps of Early Roman types.

Date: late 1st to early 2nd century.

Also: C-78-95. Base of vessel with hole in center.

**Deposit III.7**

Orchestra (Trench XIV). Fig. 19, no. 3. Under the floor of Phase II, Fig. 19, no. 2. A layer of compacted earth 0.10m thick at the top of this deposit (III.7) comprised the orchestra floor of Phase II, but it and the floor above belonging to Phase III were too close to the modern surface to be recovered, Section Fig. 19, no. 1, 2. A deposit comparable to III.7, relating to the raising of the orchestra in Phase II, is found at the south side in Trench XII. It was inadvertently excavated with the footing trench of the arena wall that cut through it, and it is thus included in Chapter IV, Deposit IV.6.

Hard soil compacted in thin layers, interspersed with lenses of sand, some small stones and pebbles. The surfaces appear to have been formed during a short period of intensive use, probably the construction of the cavea. Compare the construction floors in the first skene, Deposit I.7. Included are a base of a glass vessel and a small piece of iron. Elevation 137.80 to 137.51. Lots 511, 1578. Sherds: 54. Mostly large storage vessels are represented mixed with a few handmade burnished fragments; Early Roman.

Date: first half of the 2nd century.

**Deposit III.8**

Orchestra (Trench XXIII). In the center of the orchestra a deep deposit of very hard, light soil was mixed with small fragments of utility jars. Below elevation 137.18 the soil was reddish and contained large chunks of

native clay, a few small stones and pebbles. Since most of the deep deposit lies below the level of bedrock in Trench XII a short distance to the south, there appears to have been an opening in the orchestra for a continuation of the water pipe beneath West Radial Corridor. No trace of the pipe was found although the excavation was continued 0.55m below the top of the pipe at the east end of West Radial Corridor. The unused trench was filled in during construction on Phase II. Elevation 137.40 to 136.20 (arbitrary end). Lots 2107, 2108. Sherds: 545. Largely utility jars and pitchers.

Date: first half of the 2nd century.

Also: C-78-160. Molded bowl.

**Deposit III.9**

East Parodos (Trench XVI). Fig. 29, no. 4. A dumped deposit composed of layers of small marble chips in a soft matrix of crumbled mortar and layers of sandy soil with pebbles, over the foundation of wall 3 after most of the stones were removed. The majority of chips are white marble with some red. Elevation 137.78 to 136.93 (stereo). Lots 1680, 1681. Sherds: 92. Primarily plain wares with some fragments of Early Roman gray wares and several examples of burnished pieces of probable Hellenistic date.

Date: first half of 2nd century.

Also: C-75-62. Handmade burnished bowl with handle.  
C-75-63. Gray ware plate.  
A-75-68. White marble strut (?), rough-picked on all sides, 0.10m long, 0.05m thick. Appears unfinished.

**Use****Deposit III.10**

East Parodos (Trench XVI). Cf. Fig. 29, no. 3. Floor of the parodos. The floor of Phase II could be separated from that of Phase III only here. Elsewhere in the parodos, as in the theater generally, it was impossible to separate the floor surfaces of Phases II and III, and they are thus listed in Chapter IV.

Hard brown soil compacted during use with small river pebbles, some yellow and green clay, flecks of charcoal, very few bones. Elevation 137.87 to 137.67. Lots 1678, 1679. Sherds: 230. Many fragments of storage jars and amphorae; lesser amounts of color-slipped and cooking wares including a base of African Red Slip, Hayes Form 45, dated 220-300.

Date: 3rd century.

Also: C-75-73. Burnished, painted vessel.  
Small molding, white marble.

**Deposit III.11**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, TT1). Cf. Fig. 206, no. 7. Floor surface composed of brown, sandy soil with many small stones, crumbled mortar, and charcoal inclusions. Included are small fragments of roof tiles, white marble revetment, red-painted plaster, and bits of iron and glass. Deposit seems to have formed during a long period of use in Phase II. It thus corresponds to Deposit III.10, but it is located farther east and reaches a higher elevation. Note that the layer of burning in Deposit III.15 separates the floors of Phase II and Phase III in Trench XXV, Fig. 206, no. 5. Elevation 138.11 to 137.75. Lots 520, 531, 532, 534, 540, 542, 543. Sherds: 1211. 70% are from amphorae and cooking ware. The Çandarli, cooking ware, and local three-ridged bowl indicate a probable date in the 3rd century.

Date: 3rd century.

1. Trefoil-mouth jug. C-72-126 a,b. Import, 2nd to 3rd century. Cf. Hayes 1983, 107.
2. Base of Çandarli ware. C-72-125. Hayes Form 4, second half 2nd century or 3rd century.
3. Moldmade lamp. L-72-31. Not ill. One small fragment of disc. Reddish-yellow (YR 6/6) fabric with yellowish-red (5YR 5/6) slip. 2nd to 3rd century.

Also: C-72-113. Stamped red ware sherd.  
L-72-5. Lamp, part of handle and rim.

**Deposit III.12**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, TT1, east end of parodos). Fig. 206, no. 6. The stratum relating to the final period of use in Phase II was formed of hard yellow-brown soil with flecks of mortar and charcoal. It lay under the burning in Deposit III.15 which marked the end of the period. Included are small pieces of white marble, red-painted plaster, iron, and glass. Elevation 138.40 (E)/138.17 (W) to 137.93 (E)/137.87 (W). Lots 518, 533. Sherds: 770; primarily coarse wares including fragments of amphorae and cooking pots with some Middle Roman color-slipped wares.

Date: 3rd century.

Also: MF-72-5. Bronze stag figurine.  
MF-72-1. Anthropomorphic carved bone handle.  
MF-72-4. Bone pin.  
MF-72-26. Bone pin.  
MF-72-158. Bronze tack.  
MF-72-159. Bronze tack.  
MF-72-2. Terracotta object (pestle?).  
G-72-1. Glass vessel.

**Deposit III.13**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, TT2). Comparable to Deposit III.11 from Test Trench 1 on the north side of the parodos. Hard light soil mixed with flecks of charcoal, small stones, and mortar. Included are a few white marble chips and pieces of roof tiles; some small bones. The pottery is very broken. The deposit ends on the dismantled surface of wall 4 from Phase I. Elevation 138.06 to 137.75/137.71. Lot 1694. Sherds: 214, including a local imitation of an Aegean cooking pot (Hayes 1983, pp. 105-107).

Date: 3rd century.

**Deposit III.14**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, TT2). Above Deposit III.13. Under the floor surface of Phase III (Deposit IV.22; Fig. 206, no. 4). A very mixed deposit that accumulated or was dumped in this location during the latter part of Phase II. Included are small pieces of bone, mortar, roof tiles, ash, and charcoal. Elevation 138.24/138.27 to 138.04. Lots 693, 1692, 1693. Sherds: 201. Local wares and Çandarli Hayes Form 4 indicate a date in the 3rd century.

Date: 3rd century.

**Destruction**

**Deposit III.15**

East Parodos (tr.XXV, TT1 and TT2). Fig. 206, no. 5. Above Deposits III.11-12, Fig. 206, nos. 7, 6, and under floor of Phase III, Fig. 206, no. 4. A similar deposit of burning was encountered in Test Trench 2, but it was too close to the surface to be intact. Soft layer of ash with a heavy concentration of charcoal, sloping from east to west. The density of the ash and charcoal makes it appear that a large fire swept the parodos at the close of Phase II, perhaps at the time of the earthquake that brought down the east half of the skene. Included are 30 small pieces of red and white marble revetment, 10 pieces of roof tile, glass, iron, and red-painted plaster. Elevation 138.47/138.17 to 138.18/138.06. Lots 517, 530, 538. Sherds: 780. Many coarse ware body sherds with a few fine wares including several small pieces of African Red Slip.

Date: mid-3rd to early 4th century.

1. Bowl with outfolded rim. Local ware. C-72-128. Fig. 319. Late 3rd into 4th century.
2. Moldmade lamp with relief. L-72-11. Fragment of disc. Reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6) fabric. Unslipped. Head of man facing left. Sharp features, bald except for small tuft at back.

Also: L-72-33. Lamp.

## DEPOSITS: CHAPTER IV

### Construction

#### Deposit IV.1

Scene-building, West Room III (Trench XA, Test Trench 3). Brown soil with a concentration of pottery, bones, and small objects appears to have been placed in this location to raise the level inside the room. Compare the dumped fill that was brought in to raise the floor inside the scene-building in Phase II, Deposits II.1-9. The top of Deposit IV.1 constituted the floor surface (elevation 139.22), but it was too thin to be dug separately and is included with the ash and wind-blown silt belonging to the period of abandonment, Deposit IV.33 below.

Included are three fragments of white marble revetment, one of red-painted plaster, and one nail. Among the inventoried objects listed below, the curved band of worked slate (MF-74-102) finds a parallel in Deposits IV.9 and 33. The slate and the bone overlay for a knife handle (MF-73-58) may be contemporary, but more precise information about these objects awaits a later phase in the Stobi publications. Elevation 139.22 to 137.98 (arbitrary end). Lots 901, 1364. Sherds: 2876. Primarily color-slipped table wares typical of the 2nd and 3rd century, such as three-ridged bowls (Stobi MR Form 19), plain wares including the mortarium fragment (C-73-92), and 4th-century micaceous cooking fabrics. Although some material probably belongs to the 3rd century, small fragments of North African Red Slip, Hayes Form 50, and cooking pot rims typical of the 4th century suggest a date within the early 4th century.

Date: early 4th century.

Also: C-73-92. Mortarium fragment.  
C-74-276. Gray ware sherd.  
MF-74-102. Curved band of worked slate.  
MF-73-58. Bone knife handle overlay.  
73-173. Coin. Illegible.  
73-441. Coin. Illegible.  
73-173. Coin. Greek imperial. 1st century. Augustus (?).  
L-73-9. Lamp. 2nd-4th century.  
L-73-11. Lamp. Molded disc 1st-2nd century.  
L-73-16. Lamp. Mid-1st to early 2nd century.  
MF-73-53. Bone implement.

#### Deposit IV.2

Arena wall (Trench XII). During construction of the threshold of the center door in the arena wall, the center passage of Phase I was filled with light brown soil firmly packed between reused blocks, small stones,

and pieces of roof tile. Included were two small marble fragments, iron slag, carbon flakes, small bones, and lumps of mortar. Elevation 137.83 (top of the concrete bedding for the threshold block) to 136.98 (stereo). Lots 1529, 1652, 1848, 1849. Sherds: 184; largely fragments of amphorae, Middle Roman household wares, plain utility types, and color-slipped forms, including the bowl (no. 1) which is a local 3rd-century type. The latest date for the deposit is provided by a sherd with green lead glaze, an import from Pannonia or Moesia, most commonly found at Stobi in deposits of the 4th century.

Date: late 3rd, early 4th century.

1. Bowl. C-70-142. Fig. 320. Carinated body and rounded rim. Local fabric. Reddish-brown (5YR 5/4) metallic slip. Stobi MR form 18. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 96 = mid-3rd to mid-4th centuries.
2. Marble parapet block.
3. Rose marble step?
4. Drain cover.

#### Deposit IV.3

Arena wall (Trench XVI). At the east end of the arena wall, soft soil mixed with a heavy concentration of decayed mortar, sand, carbon flakes, small stones, a few bones, and marble chips lies under the compacted earth floor of the parodos in Phase III, and over the foundation of wall 3 (Phase I). The floor surface of the parodos in Phase III was disturbed; see Fig. 29. The deposit was laid in Phase II but was disturbed with the building of the arena wall. Elevation 137.80 to 137.63-137.56. Lot 1680. Sherds: 25; late 3rd into 4th century.

Date: late 3rd, early 4th century.

Also: A-75-63. Marble molding. Gray veined.

#### Deposit IV.4

Arena wall (Trenches V D, test Trench 1; V A), cf. Fig. 30, no. 7. The foundation trench along the south face of the arena wall contained soft, sandy soil mixed with decayed mortar and working chips of sandstone. The presence of chips and location associate the deposit with construction of the arena wall. In most places a foundation trench could not be detected, and further west the layer of earth covering the foundation of wall 3 during Phase II was generally disturbed at the time of its construction. Elevation 137.88 to 137.57. Lot 1519. Sherds: 22.

Date: late 3rd century.

**Deposit IV.5**

Arena wall (Trenches V C, D, F, G, H), cf. Fig. 30, no. 6. Layer of marble chips over the foundation of wall 3 (Phase I), first put down in Phase II, was disturbed during construction of the arena wall. Included are two fragments of red revetment and one of a white marble string course. Elevation 137.89 to 137.72 (a layer of mortar overlying wall 3). Lot 1518. Sherds: 174; 2nd and 3rd century.

Date: late 3rd century.

**Deposit IV.6**

Orchestra (Trench XII). Cf. Fig. 20, no. 4-4a. Brown soil with small stones and pebbles was brought in to raise the orchestra level in Phase II. The foundation trench for the arena wall (Deposit 4a in Fig. 20) was cut into it and then, after the wall was stuccoed, it was filled with small bones, pieces of tile, and pottery. The deposit was dug as a whole and is thus listed here although most of the pottery belongs to the construction of Phase II. Elevation 137.75 to 137.58. Lot 1528. Sherds: 153. Plain and color-slipped wares predominate. Small amount of cooking ware and a pre-Hellenistic handmade burnished handle. Although most of the pieces belong to the Early Roman period, several fragments of Çandarlı (one of Hayes Form 4) belong to the 3rd century.

Date: late 3rd century.

**Deposit IV.7**

Cavea, Center Refuge (Trench XIV). Cf. Fig. 19, no. 7. Remodeling of the Center Refuge caused disturbance of the loose packing of sand, light brown soil, decayed mortar, and marble chips behind the podium at the west side of the Center Refuge. Elevation 139.27 (top of podium orthostate) to 138.73. Lot 1846. Sherds: 13. Largely nondiagnostic coarse wares.

Date: late 3rd century.

1. Coin. Volusianus, 250. 75-382.

Also: C-75-88. Black Eastern Sigillata B2 bowl, Hayes Form 74. Early 2nd century. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 328.  
MF-75-112a. Iron pin.  
MF-75-112b. Iron pin.

**Deposit IV.8**

Cavea, West Radial Corridor 1 (Trenches VI, VII). Cf. Fig. 27, nos. 4, 5, 6, 6a. Under floor 2 of the corridor (Deposit IV.30) and above floor 1 (Deposit III.7) lay a thick stratum of decomposed mortar, white marble

working chips, and a few pieces of sandstone in a sandy matrix. The sections of the deposit, 4, 5, 6, and 6a, were apparently laid at the same time and they were excavated together although the upper layers (4, 6, and 6a) were more compact than 5. The material was dumped in the corridor to raise the floor after trenches had been opened to the top of the footings of the north and south walls. See discussion of earthquake above. Elevation 138.53 to 137.28. Lot 1547. Sherds: 71. Forms of local wares (including Stobi MR Form 19) and fragments of imports such as Çandarlı and North African Red Slip put the date into the late 3rd, early 4th century.

Date: late 3rd to early 4th century.

Also: MF-74-129. Bronze boss.

**Use**

**Deposit IV.9**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench I, Test Trench 4). Earth floor compacted through use. The earth constituting the floor of the scene-building was built up in a series of surfaces during Phases II and III, but it was impossible to separate them. The lots are listed together with Phase III.

The uneven surface consisted of clay and earth mixed with ash and flakes of carbon. When excavated, the hard brown soil came away in thin layers. Included were 13 nails, four fragments of white and red marble revetment, six knuckle bones (three large, three small, perhaps gaming pieces). Elevation 139.45 (center), 139.27 (north end), 139.30 (south end). Lots 887, 888. Sherds: 222. A mixture of some local fine wares and light-bodied amphorae and storage jars. Unusual is the small bottle, cat. no. 1. Amphorae fragments of probable 3rd- and 4th-century date are the only chronologically significant pieces.

Date: 4th century.

1. Small bottle. C-73-56. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) micaceous fabric. Rim missing. The shape is reminiscent of a piriform unguentarium with flat base.
2. Coin. 73-209. Aurelian, 270-275.

Also: MF-73-74 a-e. Curved band of worked slate.<sup>1</sup>  
L-73-12. Lamp rim. Late 1st to 2nd century.

<sup>1</sup> These are identical with pieces in the layer of wind-blown silt above (Deposit IV.33), and they probably came from the same object, possibly inlay for wood, which was lying on the floor of the room when it was abandoned. Some pieces were thus recovered with the final surface of the floor and others in the silt above. Similar fragments occurred in Deposit IV.1.

**Deposit IV.10**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench II). The final earth floor near the center of the room consisted of a layer of red-brown soil, hard-packed and mixed with clay, stones, and broken roof tiles, compacted through use. The floor lay around an apsidal structure, possibly an oven that was set onto the floor of the skene (elevation 139.24). This floor, contemporary with the apsidal structure, was excavated together with the skene floor below it. Some bones from a predator's nest in the debris above (Deposit IV.42) were embedded in the surface. Elevation 139.42 to 139.24. Fabric of the primary skene floor, elevation 139.29 to 139.24. Lots 904, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911. Sherds: 184. Various household wares including Late Roman (4th century) cooking wares.

Date: end of the 4th century.

1. Coin. 73-210. 364-378.
2. Coin. 73-223. 353-361.
3. Coin. 73-228. 355-361.
4. Coin. 73-222. Illegible, 4th-5th century.
5. Coin. 73-224. Illegible, 4th-5th century.
6. Coin. 73-226. Aurelian, 270-275.

**Deposit IV.11**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench II, Test Trench 5). In the northeast corner of the room a probe revealed a thin and very hard surface with clearly defined layers of brown, gray, and yellow soil together with ash. The floor was formed during the use of the skene in Phases II and III, although the final surface had been compacted after construction of the apsidal building. The dumped fill belonging to the construction of Phase II lay below the floor (elevation 138.96). Included were one fragment of rose and one of white marble revetment. Elevation 139.24 to 138.96. Lot 913. Sherds: 44; entirely coarse ware body pieces.

Date: end of the 4th century, early 5th century. The date rests on the relation of the surface to the apsidal structure that must postdate active use of the theater. The coarse wares are probably a century earlier.

**Deposit IV.12**

Scene-building, Center Room (Trench III, W. Ext.). Immediately beneath the surface that was left by Saria was a layer of brown soil, not compacted, that was part of the dumped fill put in at the beginning of Phase II. Elevation 139.20 (N)/139.03 (S) to 138.92 (N)/138.83 (S). Lot 1539. Sherds: 146; various household vases of Early and Middle Roman date.

Date: 4th century.

1. Coin. 74-436. Constantine I, 306-337.
2. Coin. 74-437. 4th century.

**Deposit IV.13**

Scene-building, Center Room (Trench III, NW Ext.). Late in the use of the theater a hole was dug in the northwest corner of the room and then refilled with brown soil mixed with mortar, broken stones, roof tiles, bricks, and pieces of charcoal. Included are six pieces of glass, slag, several large pieces of white marble revetment, and one fragment of white marble drapery. Elevation 139.40 to 138.69. Lots 1670, 1671, 1672. Sherds: 363. Primarily Late Roman with some earlier residual material. Local forms and cooking wares suggest a date in the late 4th or early 5th century.

Date: end of 4th century or early 5th century.

1. Coin. 75-213. Arcadius, 383-408.
2. Coin. 75-209. Theodosius I, 378-383.
3. Coin. 75-210. Valentinianus, 360s-370s.
4. Coin. 75-212. Constantius II, mid-4th c.-361.
5. Coin. 75-217. Late 4th century.
6. Coin. 75-218. 333-335.
7. Coin. 75-216. Illegible.
8. Coin. 75-214. Illegible.
9. Coin. 75-215. Illegible.

Also: C-75-36. Molded relief bowl fragment. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 125.  
75-208. Coin. Constans I, 337-341.  
S-75-2. Right arm of white marble, life-size.  
S-75-6. Female torso of white marble.  
L-75-9. Lamp handle, 1st to 3rd century.

**Deposit IV.14**

Scene-building, Center Room (Trench III). Soft, light brown soil with small stones and chips of red and white marble lay immediately below the modern surface, over the large marble block from Phase I (Deposit II.3, cat. no. 12). Elevation 139.08 to 138.99. Lot 1473. Sherds: 135. Mixture of Early and Middle Roman color-slipped table wares, plain, and cooking wares. Latest pottery belongs to the 3rd century. The layer formed part of the dumped fill for the construction of Phase II, although it was exposed from the time of Saria's excavations. It was the matrix into which the coin hoard was deposited, but there is no ceramic material contemporary with the coins. They, however, fix the date of the deposit. Only the latest coins in the hoard are listed below. The remainder is discussed above in connection with the Nemesium.

Date: fourth quarter of the 4th century.

1. Coin. 74-29. Silver. Valentinian II or Gratian, 375-378.
2. Coin. 74-31. Silver. Valentinian II, 375-378.
3. Coin. 74-42. Silver. Gratian, 375-378.
4. Coin. 74-69. Silver. Valentinian II or Gratian, 375-378.

Also: 74-27 to 74-90. 65 silver coins, 4 gold coins.  
C-74-524. Thin-Walled Ware.

**Deposit IV.15**

Via venatorum (Trenches V, C, D, F, G). Cf. Fig. 30. Hard, light soil overlies mortar associated with construction of the arena wall. Traces of burning occurred just east of the center door in the arena wall. Elevation 137.88 to 137.78. Lots 1517, 1524, 1525. Sherds: 190. Ceramics indicate a date in the 3rd to 4th century; a lamp with unpierced handle belongs to the 4th century.

Date: 4th century.

1. Coin. 74-276. Illegible, 4th century.

Also: C-74-298. Red-gloss base with stamp, 1st century.  
Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 499.

**Deposit IV.16**

Via venatorum (Trenches V, G). Cf. Fig. 30, no. 4. A late use of the passage is represented by a layer of hard yellow soil. Elevation 137.90 to 137.87. Lot 1523. Sherds: 26.

Date: third quarter of the 4th century or later.

1. Coin. 74-522. 346-361.

**Deposit IV.17**

Via venatorum (Trenches V, C, D, F, I), cf. Fig. 30, no. 3. The final use of the passage is characterized by a layer of light brown soil with fragments of roof tiles and red-painted stucco from the arena wall. Elevation at the west end: 138.01 to 137.98; east end 137.92 to 137.89. Lot 1516. Sherds: 362. Almost entirely local color-slipped table wares and buff utility vessels and amphorae; very little cooking ware. The presence of Macedonian terra sigillata grise suggests a date in the late 4th century to the mid-5th century. One uninventoried lamp handle and fragments of North African Red Slip, Hayes Form 50, belong to the 4th century. Cf. the destruction deposit in the via venatorum that is dated to the early 5th century, Deposit IV.41.

Date: end of the 4th century.

1. Coin. 74-277. 356-361.

Also: G-74-172. Glass rim.

**Deposit IV.18**

Orchestra (Trench XII). Cf. Fig. 20, no. 3. Over the footing trench for the arena wall (Deposit IV.6) lay three shallow earthen floor surfaces that did not extend more than 0.50m from the wall. The first consisted of white soil, the second was yellow with a series of thin layers, and the third and latest was a layer of crumbled mortar. Elevation 137.78 to 137.72. Lot 1527. Sherds: 51. Fairly uniform mixture of color-slipped, plain, and cooking wares.

Date: 4th century.

**Deposit IV.19**

Orchestra (Trench XII). Cf. Fig. 20, no. 2. A thin surface of mortar, over Deposit IV.18. It is probably associated with a late refurbishing of the area. Cf. the surface made of tiles and mortar inside the via venatorum at the west side of the center door. Elevation 137.80 to 137.78. Lot 1526. Sherds: 10. Fairly uniform mixture of color-slipped, plain, and cooking wares.

Date: late 4th century.

**Deposit IV.20**

Orchestra (Trench XXIV). A dense concentration of river pebbles (probably from the Crna or Vardar Rivers) mixed with a little sandy soil and a few roof tiles was deposited here to raise or even out the surface of the orchestra. Although a rise in level has been found elsewhere in the orchestra, pebbles have been encountered only here. The deposit was slightly golden in color at the east end. Elevation 137.90 to 137.77. Lot 504. Sherds: 12.

Date: 4th century.

1. Moldmade lamp. L-70-16. Fig. 321. One fragment with disk, rim, and unpierced, grooved handle. Reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6) fabric and light red (2.5YR 6/6) to reddish-brown (2.5YR 5/4) slip. Late 3rd to 4th century.

**Deposit IV.21**

Orchestra (Trench XXIII). Hard, stony, light brown soil below the surface of the orchestra into which a parapet

slab from the cavea was laid horizontally to support a wooden post in the center of the orchestra. Elevation 137.49 to 137.27. Lots 2104, 2105, 2106. Sherds: 75.

Date: mid- to second half of the 4th century.

1. Coin. 78-568. Constantine or his house, 4th century.

#### **Deposit IV.22**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, Test Trench 2). Fig. 206, no. 4. The floor of the parodos in Phase III was composed of pink mortar that is missing or decayed in many places. This deposit comes from a test through the floor at the east end of the paraskenion. Beneath the floor the soil contained stones, chunks of mortar, and pieces of roof tile. Included was a piece of white marble revetment. Elevation 138.31 (E)/138.23 (W) to 138.26 (E)/138.16 (W). Lot 537. Sherds: 63; 4th century (or later?).

Date: 4th century.

1. Glass bead. G-72-56. Dark blue glass bead in spiral shape. 4th century.

#### **Deposit IV.23**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, southern section). The soil over the mortar floor (Deposit IV.22) was mixed with stones and pieces of pink mortar. Included are small pieces of iron, bronze, glass, stucco, a bone needle, and 16 fragments of red and white marble revetment. Where the floor is missing against the paraskenion wall, the deposit lies directly over a layer of ash, possibly associated with the earthquake at the end of Phase II (see Deposit III.15). Elevation 138.51 (W)/138.33 (center) to 138.43 (W)/ 138.10 (center). Lot 516. Sherds: 1065. Pottery consists primarily of coarse and cooking wares with some earlier Hellenistic and Roman pieces mixed in with fine wares of the 3rd and 4th century. Fragments of North African Red Slip, Hayes Form 50, as well as the rest of the pottery suggest a 4th-century date.

Date: 4th century.

Also: C-72-233. Three-ridged bowl.  
C-72-251. Cooking ware rim.  
L-72-29. Lamp. Probably 2nd to early 3rd century.<sup>2</sup>  
L-72-34. Lamp. 2nd-3rd century.  
MF-72-19. Molded terracotta, possibly part of a mask.  
MF-72-3. Iron ring.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that a joining fragment (L-72-7) of the same lamp occurred below in Deposit III.15 (Phase II, destruction) is probably to be explained by drainage next to the skene wall.

#### **Deposit IV.24**

East Parodos (Trench XXV, N section). Cf. Fig. 206, no. 6. In the northeast section of the parodos, the floor and the stratum above it, excavated together, were composed of hard, yellow-brown soil mixed with sand, mortar, and some clay. Included were streaks of charcoal, pieces of roof tiles, glass, iron, stucco, 16 fragments of red and white marble revetment. Elevation 138.52 (E)/138.37 (W) to 138.20 (E)/ 138.19 (W). Lots 527, 528, 529. Sherds: 828. Most of the pottery falls into the category of amphorae and Late Roman cooking ware with some local fine ware of Early Roman and Middle Roman types. The mortarium, no. 1, belongs to the 4th or 5th century and it is the only identifiable import.

Date: 4th-5th century.

1. Lead-glazed mortarium. C-72-81. One rim fragment. Light red (2.5YR 6/8) fabric with white grits and almost transparent glaze applied over an incised wavy line pattern on rim. Of Moesian or Pannonian origin.

#### **Deposit IV.25**

East Parodos (Trench XXV). In the northwest section of the parodos, gray-brown soil with stones and lumps of mortar accumulated over the pink mortar floor during the use of the theater. Included were small pieces of glass, tiles, stucco, bronze, and marble. Elevation 138.73 (E)/138.37 (W) to 138.31 (E)/ 138.14 (W). Lots 519, 521. Sherds: 580. Amphorae and cooking ware with a few local fine ware pieces of 3rd-century date.

Date: late 3rd, 4th century.

#### **Deposit IV.26**

East Parodos (Trench XVI). Cf. Fig. 29, no. 2. The hard-packed floor of the parodos (floor 2) in the east half of the trench was composed of red and brown soil with small stones, mortar, clay, marble chips, and flakes of carbon. Elevation 137.96 (E)/137.93 (W) to 137.63. Lots 1676, 1677, 2095. Lot 2096 includes soil from the floor of Phase II, excavated to elevation 137.63. Cf. Deposit III.10. Sherds: 656. Cooking wares and coarse storage jars predominate, 3rd to 4th century.

Date: 4th century.

Also: C-75-75. Basin.  
C-75-74. Large jug. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 998.  
L-78-66. Lamp nozzle.

**Deposit IV.27**

East Parodos (Trench XVI). Cf. Fig. 29, no. 1. Thin layer of soil that accumulated over floor (Deposit IV.25) during use. Elevation 138.02 to 137.96/137.92. Lots 1675, 2094. Sherds: 188. Coarse ware mixed with some earlier material. One very small piece of Phocaeen Red Slip suggests a date late in the 4th century.

Date: second half of the 4th century.

Also: C-78-96. Arretine stamped base. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 296.

**Deposit IV.28**

Cavea, West Radial Corridor (Trench XXVII). Cf. Fig. 25, no. 4. The final surface of the floor was plastered. Below it, the deposit comprises the brown soil that had been compacted during Phase II. As was the case elsewhere, the floor surfaces of Phases II and III could not be separated and thus Deposit 28 is listed with the latest phase. One basket of this lot extended 0.33m below the floor. Included were small pieces of glass. Elevation 138.94 to 138.90 (fabric of the floor) + 138.63 below the floor at west end. Lot 1357. Sherds: 159. Local forms suggest a date in the 3rd to 4th century.

Date: 3rd-4th century.

Also: 74-221. Coin. Marcus Aurelius, ruled 161-180.  
MF-74-260. Iron nail.  
MF-74-50. Chert fragment.  
MF-74-3. Bone stylus.  
MF-74-4. Bone spoon.

**Deposit IV.29**

Cavea, West Radial Corridor, west end (Trench XXVII). Section Fig. 25, no. 3. Deposit 29 comprises the layer of soil that was compacted during Phase III over the plastered floor. It was similar to Deposit 32 at the east end of the corridor. Elevation 139.10 to 138.95. Lot 1356. Sherds: 194. Local forms suggest at date in the late 3rd to 4th century.

Date: second half of the 4th century by position. See also Deposit IV.32.

1. Three-ridged bowl. C-74-12. Fig. 322. Local fabric. Red (2.5YR 6/6) slip. Stamped diamonds on shoulder. Stobi local MR form 19. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 967.

Also: C-74-67. Arretine *planta pedis* stamp. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 294.  
MF-74-17. Bone needle.  
C-74-154. Graffito.

**Deposit IV.30**

Cavea, West Radial Corridor, east end (Trench VI). Fig. 27, no. 3. Thin layers of hard-packed brown soil formed the fabric of floor 2. Elevation 138.60 to 138.53. Lot 1546. Sherds: 35.

Date: 4th century.

**Deposit IV.31**

Cavea, West Radial Corridor, east end (Trench VI). Fig. 27, no. 2. Deposit 31 is a hard layer of brown soil and sand with few stones or tiles that overlies floor surface 2 (Deposit 30). Elevation 138.60 (N)/ 138.54 (S) to 138.65 (N)/ 138.52 (S). Lot 1545. Sherds: 61.

Date: 4th century.

**Deposit IV.32**

West Radial Corridor, east end (Trench VI). Fig. 27, no. 1. The floor represents the final use of the corridor at the end of the theater's active life. It was composed of large pieces of green clay packed with some small broken pieces of marble. At the west end of the corridor, Deposit IV.29 over the stuccoed surface was similar. Elevation 138.82 (N)/138.72 (S) to 138.60 (N)/138.54 (S). Lot 1544. Sherds: 202. Many fragments of large utility vessels, amphorae fragments, and cooking wares. The presence of Macedonian Gray Ware gives a date for the deposit of at least the late 4th century.

Date: late 4th century.

1. Macedonian Gray Ware plate base. C-74-463. Fig. 323. Single base fragment. Dark gray fabric and slip. Single band of rouletting in center of floor.

**Abandonment**

**Deposit IV.33**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trench I). Wind-blown silt over the skene floor included some debris from the vaulted ceiling and seven baskets of roof tiles, seven nails, two iron clamps, and fragments of marble revetment, stucco, and charcoal. The major layer of debris lay above the silt, cf. Deposit IV.42. Elevation 140.03 (N)/ 139.59 (center and S) to 139.32. Lot 881. Sherds: 833. Relatively small amount of table ware, some coarse household vessels, many fragments of amphorae and cooking wares. Lead-glazed imports and local forms belong to the late 4th, early 5th century.

Date: end of 4th century into mid-5th century.

1. Coin. 73-108. Silver. 383-392.
2. Coin. 73-67. Illegible, 4th-5th century.
3. Coin. 73-70. Illegible, 4th-5th century.
4. Iron arrowhead, 5th century. MF-73-55. A similar arrowhead was found in room 28 of the Casa Fullonica (Lot 1338) together with a coin of Valentinian III and Theodosius II, 425-450. I owe this information to Professor Ivan Mikulčić.
5. Lead-glazed dish. C-73-33. Fig. 324. Flaring rim preserved. Hard fired, reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6) to light red (2.5YR 6/6) highly porous fabric with sand inclusions. Brown (7.5YR 5/6) glaze on interior and exterior. Tear-drop applique on rim has been glazed olive (2.5Y 6/6). Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 523, 5th century.
6. Curved band of worked slate. MF-73-73 a, b, c. Fragments from the same or a similar object occur in Deposits IV.1 and 9.

Also: 73-107. Coin. Antoninus Pius, 138-161.  
 73-69. Coin. Valerian I, 253-260.  
 73-68. Coin. Illegible.  
 73-109. Coin. Illegible.  
 MF-73-57. Iron tool with spatulate head.  
 MF-73-54. Iron spike with eye.  
 MF-73-14. Iron ring (buckle?).  
 MF-73-56. Bone needle.  
 C-73-25. Large mortarium. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 614.  
 C-73-35. Red-slipped dish. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 931.  
 C-73-36. Red-slipped dish. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 938.  
 C-73-37. Small three-ridged bowl. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 963.  
 C-73-91. Bowl.  
 C-73-97. Bowl base.

#### **Deposit IV.34**

Scene-building, West Room III (Trench X-A, Test Trench 3). A layer of wind-deposited silt mixed with lumps of ash covered the final floor surface of the room. Included were three fragments of rose marble revetment, the skull of an equid, a lamp, small pieces of glass, iron, nails. Elevation 139.64 to 139.22. Lot 900. Sherds: 361.

Date: end of the 4th century.

1. Coins. 73-164, 73-165. Illegible, 4th-5th century.

#### **Deposit IV.35**

Orchestra (Trench XII). Cf. Fig. 20, no. 1. Dark soil lay over a thin layer of mortar next to the arena wall. Elevation 137.83 to 137.80. Lot 1533. Sherds: 74.

Date: end of the 4th century.

#### **Deposit IV.36**

Orchestra (Trench XXIII). Hard, dark soil covered the reused parapet slab with post hole in the center of the orchestra (Deposit IV.21). Included were stones, a few tiles, large bones, and fragments of white marble revetment. Elevation 137.72 to 137.45. Lots 2102, 2103. Sherds: 230. About one-fourth consists of household table ware and three-fourths are poorly made cooking wares. One piece of North African Red Slip of late 4th- or 5th-century date and cooking wares suggest a 5th-century date for the deposit.

Date: early 5th century.

#### **Deposit IV.37**

Orchestra (Trench VIII). Hard brown soil, covered the threshold of the west parodos gate. Included were small pieces of tiles and one fragment of white marble revetment. Elevation 137.90 to 137.81. Lot 1558. Sherds: 248. Primarily color-slipped and plain table wares, some of Middle Roman date, but most of 4th- or early 5th-century date.

Date: early 5th century.

Also: C-74-234. Three-ridged bowl.

#### **Deposit IV.38**

Cavea, Center Refuge (Trench XIV). Not ill. Below a layer of debris (Deposit IV.48), dark soil covered the clay floor. Included were many large bones and fragments of tiles. Elevation 138.69 to 138.57 (N)/ 138.38 (center)/ 138.22 (SE)/ 138.07 (SW). Lot 1575. Sherds: 340. Many amphorae, plain wares, and color-slipped table wares with a few cooking pot fragments.

Date: end of the 4th or early 5th century.

#### **Deposit IV.39**

Cavea, West Radial Corridor (Trench XXVII). Cf. Fig. 25, no. 2. Dark earth covered the final floor (Deposit IV.29), and lay beneath the debris from the cavea (Deposit IV.49). Elevation 139.40 to 139.10. Lots 1354, 1355. Sherds: 103.

Date: end of the 4th or early 5th century.

#### **Deposit IV.40**

East parodos (Trench XXV). Cf. Fig. 206, no. 2. Along the south half of the passage over soil that had accumulated during Phase III (Deposit IV.23) lay a mixed deposit of discarded materials that seems to have accumulated after the scene-building had fallen into disrepair. It

should be associated with the period of abandonment. Included were many small stones, pieces of tile, glass, iron, bits of pink mortar, 18 pieces of red and white marble revetment, and a small, shallow lense of ash and charcoal. There were two marble blocks from the analemma and the articulated leg of an equid. Elevation 139.20 to 138.51 (center)/ 138.33 (W). Lot 515. Sherds: 937. A small amount of residual Early and Middle Roman table wares but mostly utilitarian vessels: amphorae, storage jars, and cooking pots. Local cooking ware shapes, nos. 1, 2, place the deposit in the early to mid-5th century.

Date: early to mid-5th century.

1. Cooking pot rim. C-72-127. Fig. 325. Local fabric.
2. Cooking pot rim. C-72-129. Fig. 326. Local fabric.

Also: 72-181. Coin. Silver. Illegible, 4th century.

**Deposit IV.41**

Via venatorum (Trench V A-D). Cf. Fig. 30, no. 2. Over the uppermost floor of the passage (Deposit IV.17) was a hard layer of brown soil mixed with mortar, pieces of roof tile, many large bones, and small fragments of white marble from broken blocks. A heavy layer of debris from the scene-building lay above (Deposit IV.45). Elevation 138.37 (W)/ 138.18 (E) to 138.00. Lot 1553. Sherds: 485. Many fragments of color-slipped table ware, plain ware of Middle Roman types, and a rather small amount of coarse ware. The presence of Macedonian Gray Ware places the deposit in the 5th century.

Date: 5th century.

Also: C-74-91. Stamped sherd.

**Destruction**

**Deposit IV.42**

Scene-building, West Room II (Trenches I,II). In Trench I, a layer of crumbled mortar, unmixed with soil but containing bricks, chunks of mortar bearing the imprint of bricks and roof tiles, and a segment of vaulting lay over the silt in Deposit IV.33. The same stratum occurred in Trench II, but it did not cover the apsidal building. Included were pieces of stucco from the north wall and three lamp fragments. Elevation 140.20 to 139.30. The lowest final elevation occurred in the northeast corner of Trench II. In the center of that trench it was 139.38 and in Trench I 139.44. Lots 882, 883, 884. Sherds: 576. High concentration of Middle Roman color-slipped and plain fabrics, and a lesser amount of Late Roman fine and coarse ware. The Macedonian Gray Ware bowls place the deposit into the 5th century.

Date: 5th century.

1. Coin. 73-75. Silver. 383-392.
2. Coin. 73-166. Illegible. 4th-5th century.
3. Macedonian Gray Ware bowl with flat rim. C-73-82. Fig. 327. Stobi Form 2.
4. Macedonian Gray Ware bowl with flat rim. C-73-83. Fig. 328. Stobi Form 2.

Also: 73-36. Coin. Silver. Constans, 337-339.  
73-71. Coin. Silver. Valentinian, 367-375.  
C-73-39. Dish.

**Deposit IV.43**

Scene-building, Center Room (Trench III, S end). Layer of debris over the south wall. Included were small stones, five pieces of brick, chips of rose and white marble, pieces of white wall plaster, and small animal bones. Elevation 139.07 to 138.20. Lot 1515. Sherds: 32.

Date: early 5th century.

1. Coin. 74-146. Theodosius I, 393-395.
2. Coin. 74-144. Constantius, 324-330.
3. Coin. 74-145. House of Valentinian, 360s-370s.

Also: L-74-54. Lamp, 1st to 3rd century.

**Deposit IV.44**

Scene-building, East Room II (Trench XIII). Debris from the scene-building. Included were small stones and bricks, 17 small pieces of glass, and three small fragments of iron. The debris was mixed with some brown soil that very likely belonged to the period of abandonment. Elevation 140.65 to 139.59. Lot 1659. Sherds: 981. Primarily Late Roman coarse wares with a small number of early and late fine wares. Examples of Macedonian Gray Ware and Phocian Red Slip put the date into the 5th century.

Date: 5th century.

1. Macedonian Gray Ware bowl. C-75-72. Stobi Form 2.
2. Macedonian Gray Ware dish. C-75-20. Stobi Form 1.
3. Phocian Red Slip dish. C-75-86. Hayes Form 2A. AD 370-400.
4. Dish with broad rim. C-75-15. Fig. 329. Hard-fired pink (5YR 7/4) fabric with lustrous pink to reddish-yellow (5YR 7/4-6/6) slip. Shallow dish with carinated wall and flat rim. Stamped tear-drop shapes on rim. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 534.
5. Glass fragment. G-75-7. Dark blue fragment of wall. A 4th- to 5th-century type.

Also: 75-135. Coin. Silver. Alexander III, Macedonian League. First half of the 3rd century BC.  
MF-75-58. Bone needle or pin.  
C-75-32. Pompeian Red Ware rim.

**Deposit IV.45**

Via venatorum (Trench V A-D). Cf. Fig. 30, no. 1. Debris from the scene-building. Included were Corinthian pan tiles and Laconian cover tiles totaling 530 pieces, lumps of mortar showing impression of roof tiles, slabs of sandstone, small stones, traces of carbon, and many cattle bones. Elevation 138.79 (W)/ 138.37 (E) to 138.37 (W)/ 138.18 (E). Lot 1552. Sherds: 854. Large amounts of Middle Roman color-slipped and plain wares, amphorae, and storage jars mixed with a small quantity of Late Roman color-slipped and cooking ware. The Macedonian Gray Ware places the date in the 5th century.

Date: 5th century.

1. Coin. 74-266. Theodosius I, 383-392.
2. Stamped dish base. Macedonian Gray Ware. C-74-96. Fig. 330. Typical fabric with lustrous gloss. Double groove at center and a variety of stamped motifs: circles, diamonds, leaves.

Also: Fragment of a leaf from a Corinthian capital of the scaenae-frons, Table II.2, no. 26.  
A-75-63. Molding fragment. White marble.  
74-263. Coin. Illegible. 4th century.  
74-264. Coin. Illegible.

**Deposit IV.46**

Via venatorum (Trench V A-D). Over the debris from the scene-building (Deposit IV.45) lay brown soil mixed with tiles and mortar, cattle bones, and iron slag. Three architectural members of the façade had fallen on this layer, two blocks from the crown of East Porch II (nos. 12,13, Table II.1) and a door jamb from East Door II (no. 9, Table II.4). Elevation 139.10 to 138.37 (W)/ 138.18 (E). Lot 1551. Sherds: 828. Much earlier material including local color-slipped table wares and utility wares with buff fabric. Macedonian Gray Ware and North African Red Slip indicate a date in the early to mid-5th century.

Date: 5th century.

1. Coin. 74-108. Theodosius I, 383-392.
2. Plate with curved wall. Macedonian Gray Ware. C-74-35. Fig. 331. Stobi Form 5. Anderson-Stojanović 1992, no. 458.
3. Base floor fragment. North African Red Slip. C-74-148. Incised concentric circles and stamped palm branch.

Also: 74-109. Coin. Illegible. 4th century.  
74-106. Coin. Illegible. 4th century.  
MF-74-138. Bone die.  
MF-74-135. Bone pin.

**Deposit IV.47**

Cavea, Center Refuge (Trench XIV). Not ill. Debris from the cavea lay over the seat foundations outside the refuge. Elevation 141.54 to 141.15 (center); 139.70 to 139.44. Lot 1566. Sherds: 162. Mixture of plain and color-slipped wares with less cooking ware than in deposits above.

Date: first half of the 5th century.

1. Coin. 74-521. Theodosius I, 382-393.
2. Coin. 74-526. Illegible. 5th century.

**Deposit IV.48**

Cavea, Center Refuge (Trench XIV). Not ill. Above Deposit IV.38. Debris inside the refuge consisted of crumbled mortar, roof tiles, stones, and lumps of iron slag mixed with earth. Elevation 139.11 to 138.71 (N. at entrance to passage)/ 138.69 (S). Lot 1573. Sherds: 350.

Date: early 5th century.

**Deposit IV.49**

Cavea, West Radial Corridor (Trench XXVII). Cf. Fig. 25, no. 1. Debris from the cavea. Elevation 140.03 to 139.400. Lot 1353. Sherds: 186. Ceramics place the date within the 4th and 5th century.

Date: early 5th century.

1. Coin. 74-179. Constantius Gallus, 346-361.

Also: C-74-141. Base with graffito.

**Deposit IV.50**

East Parodos (Trench XXV). Cf. Fig. 206, no. 1. Above Deposit IV.40. Soil mixed with small stones, tile fragments, and a large quantity of ash. Elevation 140.28/138.33 to 139.99/138.78. Lot 522. Sherds: 320. Primarily amphorae and coarse wares of Late Roman types.

Date: second half of 4th century.

1. Coin. 72-20. Valens, 364-378.
2. Coin. 72-17. Illegible.
3. Coin. 72-18. Illegible.
4. Coin. 72-19. Illegible.



# TABLES

**Table I.1**

***Walls of Phase I***

Wall Foundation			Upper Wall		Bonds with walls at	Reused Phase II
No.	Thick	Bottom El.	Top El.	Thick	Top El.	
1	1.10	136.12	137.57	1.06	138.40 (W), 137.66 (Center)	2 (W) Yes
2		136.74	137.57	1.10	141.54	3 (N), 1 (S) Yes
3	6.30	136.47	139.34	1.05	142.96 <sup>1</sup>	4 (E), 2 (W) Yes
4	1.05	136.85	137.63	1.05	138.25	6 (N) <sup>2</sup> , 1 (S)
5	2.20	136.42	138.61	1.90	141.13	2 (E), 10 (W)? Yes
6				1.90	141.75	Yes
7		137.40	138.64 <sup>3</sup>	1.87	140.12	Yes
8			137.96		144.19	Yes
9				1.50	142.02	

**Tables II.1-4**

***Conventions and Abbreviations***

Architectural elements are designated by Arabic numerals *seriatim* in each table. The tables represent the following groups of blocks: Table II.1 the orthostates, crowns, and stylobates for the porches; Table II.2A-B the columns, capitals, architrave-frieze blocks, cornices for the first story of the scaenae-frons; Table II.3A-C the columns, capital, architrave-frieze blocks, cornices, and tympanum for the second story; Table II.4 the door jambs and lintels of the scaenae-frons. An asterisk (\*) indicates a block in situ.

Arch Fr	architrave-frieze
BM	base molding
BS	base of shaft
bk	back
cap	capital
Cen Font	Central Fountain
cl	clamp cutting
col	column
crn	crown
ctr	center
dw	dowel hole
E.Res.	Episcopal Residence
frt	front

int	interior
n	notch
ortho	orthostate
part	partial
pc	pour channel
ped	pedestal
s	maximum diameter of shaft
sh n	shifting notch
styl	stylobate
TM	top molding
TS	top of shaft
Theo Pal	Theodosian Palace
thresh	threshold

<sup>1</sup> At the back of the east porch the front wall (wall 3) was rebuilt in Phase III. The portion of the wall on the west porch, dating back to Phase I, still stands to an elevation of 142.95 m, about 2 m above the foundation for the porch.

<sup>2</sup> Bond covered by Phase II analemma.

<sup>3</sup> 138.64 m refers to the foundation at the west end of the west aditus maximus.

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All dimensions are maximum; those enclosed in parentheses are incomplete. The length of a block is the dimension from end to end; the width is the measurement from front to back. The fragments of a block that can be joined with certainty are listed under the same catalogue number.

Table II.1. The Porches: Orthostates, Crowns, and Stylobate Blocks

No.	Loc.	Type	Length	Width	Height	Remarks	Inv.
1	WP II	N ortho	(0.57)	(0.21)	0.74	cl E	A-75-6
			(0.72)	0.27	(0.632)		A-75-7
			(0.18)	0.267	(0.545)	cl S top	A-75-8
			(0.153)	(0.136)	(0.275)		A-75-9
2	WP II	W ortho	0.26	(0.19)	(0.465)	cl N; joins no. 3	A-75-10
			(0.18)	(0.218)	(0.42)		A-75-11
3	WP II	W ortho?	0.255	(0.39)	(0.366)	joins no. 2?	A-74-14
4	WP II	NW crown	1.50	0.615	0.305	2 cl S, cl E	A-74-111
5	WP II	SW crown	(0.58)	(0.49)	0.293	joins SW crn*	A-74-114
6	EPI?	crown	(0.512)	(0.436)	0.296	sides broken	A-75-15
7	EPI	SW crown	(1.02)	0.553	0.32	cl N, E	A-75-16
8	EPI	E crn int	0.857	0.83	0.31	cl N, W	A-75-18
9	EPI	N crn ctr	(1.49)	0.653	0.30	cl S, W; sh n	A-75-19
10	EPI	NW crown	(0.75)	0.59	0.303	cl S	A-75-20
11	EPI	crn ctr	(1.158)	0.889	0.301	cl N, W	A-75-21
12	EPII	NW crown	1.971	0.615	0.293	2 cl S, cl E	A-74-103
13	EPII	W crown	(0.738)	0.634	0.308	cl N, E	A-74-104
	EPII		(0.628)	0.622	0.313		A-74-112
14	EPII	W crn int	0.90	0.712	0.26	cl N, W	A-75-22
15	EPII	E crn int	(0.787)	0.759	0.296	cl E	A-75-23
16	EPII	SE crown	(0.674)	0.657	0.301	*	A-75-24
			(0.658)	0.645	0.30	cl W	A-74-109
17	EPIII	crown frt	1.155	0.85	0.288	cl S; sh n	A-74-107
18	WP III	crown bk	1.16	0.85	0.275	cl N	A-74-108
19	?	styl	(0.971)	(0.58)	0.185	corner	A-73-4
20	?	styl	(0.754)	(0.64)	0.175	center front	A-73-5
21	EPI?	styl	(0.938)	(0.438)	0.184	n 0.17x 0.50m	A-75-4
22	WP II	styl	1.017	(0.985)	0.180	cl E; joins styl*	A-75-5
23	EPI/II	styl	(1.218)	(0.663)	0.187	sh n	A-75-32

TABLES

Table II.2A. First Story of the Scaenae-Frons: Columns and Capitals

No.	Type	Diam. BM	Diam. TM	Diam. BS	Diam. TS	Diam. S	Height	Remarks	Inv no.	Mason's Marks
1	col					0.595	(2.150)		A-71-53	
2	col					0.586	(1.789)		A-71-54	
3	col		part			0.505	(1.112)	dw; 2 pc	A-71-57	X on TS
4	col	part				0.573	(0.497)	dw; pc	A-71-58	
5	col		0.562		0.510	0.534	(0.927)	dw; 2 pc	A-71-59	
6	col					0.578	(1.950)	cutting 1.04x0.23x0.05	A-71-61	
7	col		part			0.532	(1.117)	dw; pc	A-71-62	
8	col		part			0.531	(1.256)	dw; pc	A-71-64	
9	col		0.559		0.504	0.557	(1.474)	dw; pc	A-71-69	
10	col					0.592	(1.615)		A-71-71	
11	col	0.662	0.560	0.598	0.510		4.69	dws; pc	A-71-73, A-71-84	
12	col	0.658		0.599		0.600	(2.587)	dw; pc	A-71-75	
13	col	0.660		0.593		0.600	(1.568)	dw	A-71-77	T on BS
14	col					0.590	(1.494)		A-71-79	
15	col					0.595	(2.601)	2 cuts 0.20x0.206x0.205; 0.325x0.07x0.17	A-71-81	
16	col		part			0.594	(1.622)	dw; pc	A-71-86	
17	col					0.581	(2.021)		A-71-88	
18	col		0.591			0.610	(2.248)	dw; pc	A-71-89	D on TS
19	col						(0.875)		A-75-40	
20	col	part					(0.38)		A-75-42	
21	col						(0.402)		A-75-51	
22	col						(0.89)		A-75-70	
23	cap		(0.665)	(0.485)			0.593	dw	A-71-50	A, top
24	cap		(0.765)	(0.482)			0.633	dw	A-71-51	G, top
25	cap		(0.55)		0.510		0.650	dw	A-71-52	D, top
26	leaf							(0.081)x(0.038)	A-74-137	
27	volute							(0.094)x(0.270)	A-74-211	
28	volute							(0.239)x(0.090)	A-74-219	

Table II.2B. First Story of the Scaenae-Frons: Architrave-Frieze and Cornice Blocks

No.	Type	Loc.	Length	Width	Height	Remarks	Inv No
29	ArchFr	EPII N	(1.758)	0.683	0.799	cl S	A-71-23
30	ArchFr	EPII N	(1.278)	0.676	0.812		A-71-24
31	ArchFr	EPII E	1.575	0.669	0.805	cl N, SE	A-71-33
32	ArchFr	EPII W	1.604	0.782	0.800	cl N, W	A-71-35
33	Cornice	EPII SW	1.19	1.035	0.400	cl N, W	A-71-47
34	Cornice	EPII NE	2.637	1.049	0.420	cl S, W	A-71-48
35	ArchFr	EPI E	1.515	0.669	0.804	cl N, SE	A-71-21

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No.	Type	Loc.	Length	Width	Height	Remarks	Inv No
36	ArchFr	EPI W	1.458	0.800	0.783	cl N, W	A-71-36
37	ArchFr	EPI N	(2.512)	0.677	0.809	cl S	A-71-38
38	Cornice	EPI NW	2.375	1.04	0.385	cl E, S; st	A-71-46, A-71-13
39	ArchFr	WPI W	1.475	0.657	0.814	cl N	A-71-22
40	ArchFr	WPI N	(1.968)	0.666	0.788	cl S	A-71-26
41	ArchFr	WPI E	(1.305)	0.709	0.787	cl E	A-71-30
42	Cornice	WPI NW	2.49	1.04	0.403	cl E, S	A-71-43
43	ArchFr	WPII N	c. 3.56	0.659	0.815	2clsS; rst	A-71-27, A-71-39
44	ArchFr	WPII E	1.515	0.801	0.787	cl N, E	A-71-28
45	ArchFr	WPII W	(1.236)	0.670	0.803	cl N, SW	A-71-29
46	Cornice	WPII NW	(1.675)	(0.995)	0.407	cl S	A-73-14
47	ArchFr	skene	(1.658)	(0.479)	(0.45)		A-71-31
48	ArchFr	skene	(1.715)	0.440	0.778	cl E	A-71-34
49	ArchFr	skene	1.485	0.652	0.796	cl W	A-71-37

Table II.3A. Second Story Pedestals

No.	Type	Length	Width	Height	Remarks	Inv no.
1	ped	0.65	(0.60)	0.58	dw; pc; Theo. Pal.	A-81-39
2	ped	0.672	?	0.585	Cent. Font.	

Table II.3B. Second Story Columns and Capitals

No.	Type	Diam. BM	Diam. TM	Diam. BS	Diam. TS	Diam. S	Height	Remarks	Inv No.
3	col				0.347	0.427	(2.07)	dw; pc cutting; 0.42x0.135x0.06	A-71-55
4	col	part		0.405		0.43	(1.668)	dw	A-71-56
5	col		0.425		0.368	0.418	(1.119)	dw; pc	A-71-63
6	col	0.48		0.428		0.459	(1.648)	dw	A-71-65
7	col	0.48		0.433		0.448	(1.706)	dw	A-71-67
8	col					0.443	(1.205)		A-71-68
9	col	0.461		0.423		0.438	(0.912)	dw	A-71-70
10	col		part		0.308		(0.746)		A-71-72
11	col					0.419	(1.235)	clamp on shaft	A-71-74
12	col	0.483	part	0.425	0.361		3.54	dws; pc	A-71-76, A-71-80
13	col					0.46	(0.81)		A-71-82
14	col	part		0.43		0.449	(1.918)	dw	A-71-83
15	col	part		0.408		0.441	(1.316)	dw; cutting 0.14x0.12x0.02	A-71-85
16	col					0.432	(0.912)		A-71-87
17	col				0.441	0.445	(0.895)		A-71-90
18	col		0.425		0.389	0.431	(1.227)	dw; pc	A-71-91
19	col		0.40				(0.354)	dw; pc	A-75-37
20	cap		0.50	(0.33)			(0.40)		A-71-49

TABLES

Table II.3C. Second Story Architrave-Frieze, Cornice, and Tympanum Blocks

No.	Type	Loc	Length	Width	Height	Remarks	Inv No.
21	ArchFr	EPIII	(0.589)	(0.322)	0.605	SE corner	A-71-25
22	ArchFr	front W	(1.738)	0.526	0.599	cl SW	A-71-32
23	ArchFr	front E	(1.612)	0.519	0.586	cl	A-71-40
24	ArchFr	WPIII	(0.68)	(0.425)	(0.598)	cl SE; SW corner	A-71-41
25	ArchFr	front W	(0.415)	0.25	0.587	cl SW	A-71-92
26	ArchFr	skene"	(0.60)	(0.50)	0.608		A-73-1
27	cornice	?	(0.34)	0.72	0.334	anathyrosis	A-71-44
28	cornice	WPIII	(0.944)	(0.772)	0.365		A-71-45
29	tympanum	ped	(1.133)	0.415	0.51	beam cutting 0.22x0.15x0.14	A-71-42

Table II.4. The Door Frames

No.	Type	Loc	Width	Length	Height	Fasciae (Lg, Med, Sm)	Remarks	Inv No.
1	jamb	WDII W	0.33	0.878	(2.56)	0.09, 0.075, 0.55	two cuttings in rear: 0.04x0.03x0.05, 0.035x0.035x0.05	
2a	jamb	WDII E	0.345	0.885	(1.34)	0.09, 0.74, 0.056	cutting on E face extends over both blocks, 0.05 to 0.06 wide by 0.018 deep; max restored height 1.075	
2b	jamb		(0.336)	(0.57)	(0.643)	0.093, 0.075, 0.04		A-74-115
3	jamb	WDI E	0.315	0.825	2.855	0.092, 0.075, 0.055	Two cuttings in rear: 0.04x0.05x0.05 deep, 0.035x0.05x0.05 deep	E. Res.
4a	jamb	CD W	0.39	0.867	(1.70)	0.124, 0.097, 0.06	cutting on W face, comparable to no. 2	
4b	jamb		(0.335)	(0.836)	(0.725)	0.124, 0.096, 0.06		A-74-110
5	jamb	CD E	(0.407)	0.904	(1.683)	0.129, 0.99, 0.059		A-73-8
6a	jamb	EDI W	0.31	0.90	(1.40)	0.097, 0.072, 0.06	cutting in rear: 0.045x0.045x0.05	A-73-9
6b	jamb		0.31	(0.705)	(0.411)	0.095, 0.072, 0.06		A-73-10
7	jamb	EDI E	0.322	0.875	(1.143)	0.10, broken		A-73-11
8	jamb	EDII W	0.32	0.909	(1.34)	0.10, 0.075, 0.05		A-73-12
9	jamb	EDII E	0.304	0.851	(2.115)	0.096, 0.07, 0.55	two cuttings in rear: 0.035x0.044x0.05, 0.039x0.06x0.04	A-74-105
10	jamb		0.30	(0.54)	(1.27)	0.10, 0.074, 0.05		A-79-15
11	jamb		(0.234)	0.419	(0.234)	broken	cutting in rear: 0.045x0.042x0.06	A-75-31
12	lintel	WDII?	(0.90)	0.915	0.36	0.09, 0.08, 0.055	cutting in rear: 0.07x0.035x0.07	A-73-113
13	lintel	?	(1.020)	(0.34)	0.327	broken	cutting in rear: 0.065x0.03x0.05	A-75-38

**Table II.5. Deposits in the Scene-Building of Phase II**

**Construction**

Area	Deposit	Lot	Trench	Date
skene	1	893, 1537	I	100-150
	2	1471	III	100-150
	3	1472, 1474-1480, 1672, 1673	III	100-150
	4	1481-1485, 1674	III	2nd c.
Terrace	5	1510	III, S	100-150
	6	1511, 1512	III, S	100-150
	7	1513	III, S	mid-2nd c.
skene	8	623, 625-628	XXVI	mid-2nd c.
	9	1662	XIII	100-150

**Use**

Area	Deposit	Lot	Trench	Date
skene	10	889	I	3rd c.
	11	891	I	3rd c.
	12	890	I	3rd c.
	13	892	I	2nd-3rd c.
terrace	14	1509	III, S	250-300

**Table III. 1**

**Conventions and Abbreviations**

Post holes are numbered 1-14, beginning at the west end of the podium.

length	dimension parallel to the front of podium
width	dimension at right angles to length
spacing	clear space between post hole and the one before it in the table
()	dimension incomplete
*	located beneath arena wall of Phase III or mortar belonging to that wall
**	rope holes for posts 3 and 4 are visible in row 1, but inasmuch as the post holes are covered, their relative position is unknown

Position of rope hole refers to its alignment with the post hole from the point of view of someone facing the podium from the orchestra.

TABLES

Table III.1

*Post Holes on the Orchestra Podium*

No.	Length	Width	Depth	Spacing	Rope hole
1*					
2*	0.12	broken		1.49	left
3*					**
4*					**
5*	0.18	(0.13)	0.12		left
6	0.18	0.12	0.12	0.135	right
7*				1.60	right
8	0.17	0.13	0.11	1.63	right
9	0.24	0.12	0.15	1.45	left
10	0.15	0.13	0.12	0.95	behind
11	0.15	0.14	0.12	0.95	behind
12	0.17	0.12	0.12	0.95	behind
13	0.21	0.14	0.13	1.60	right
14	0.23	0.12	0.115	1.70	left



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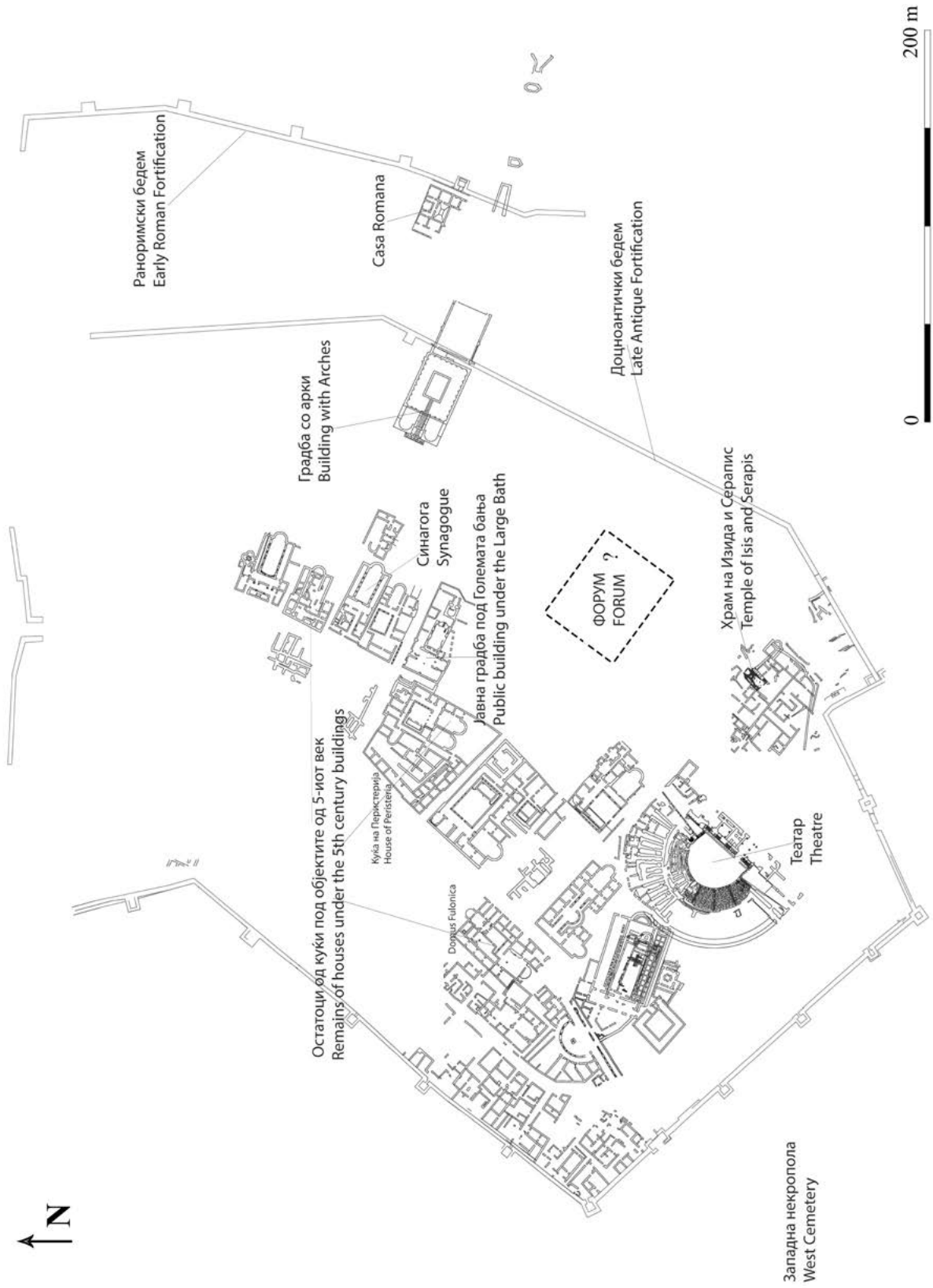


Figure 1. Plan of the City of Stobi (G. Pavlovski).

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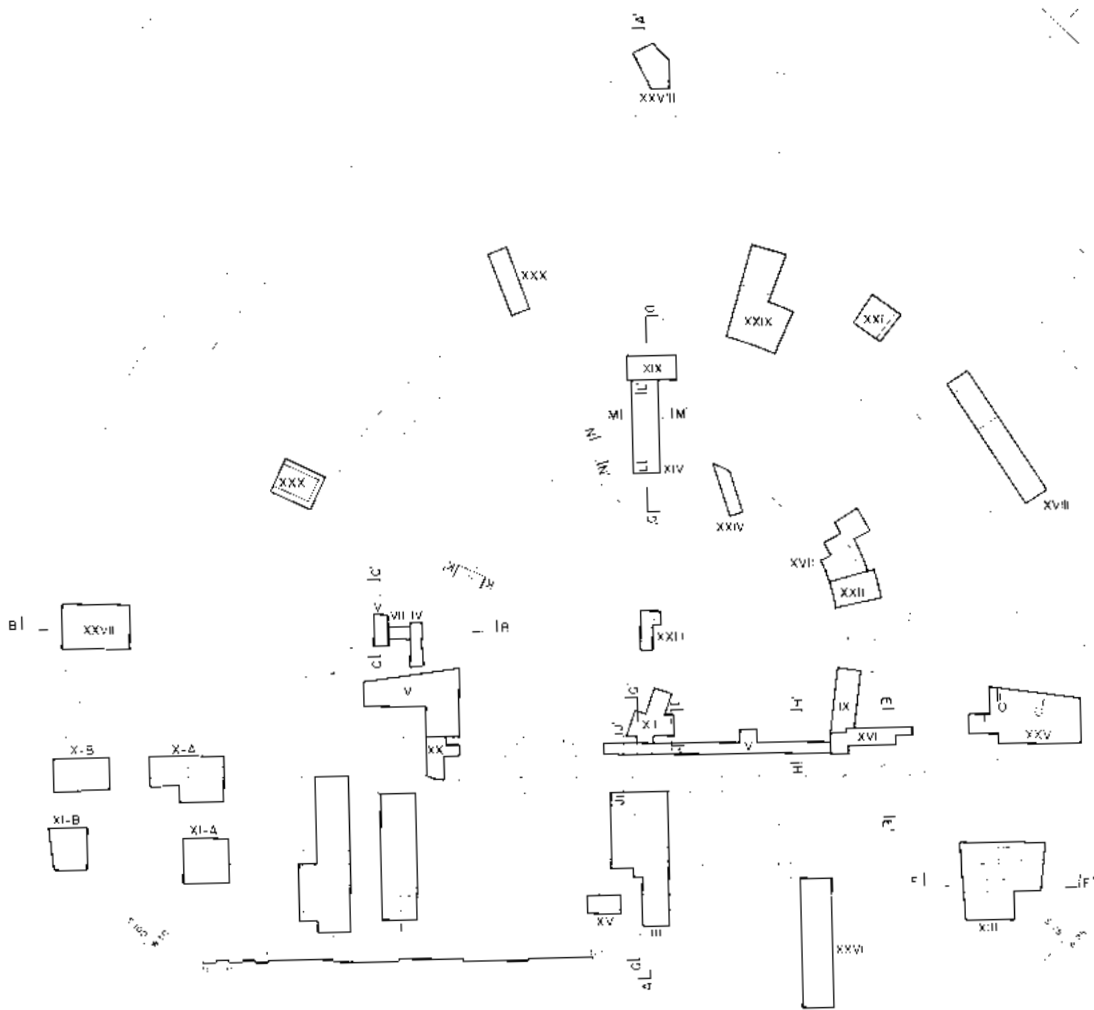


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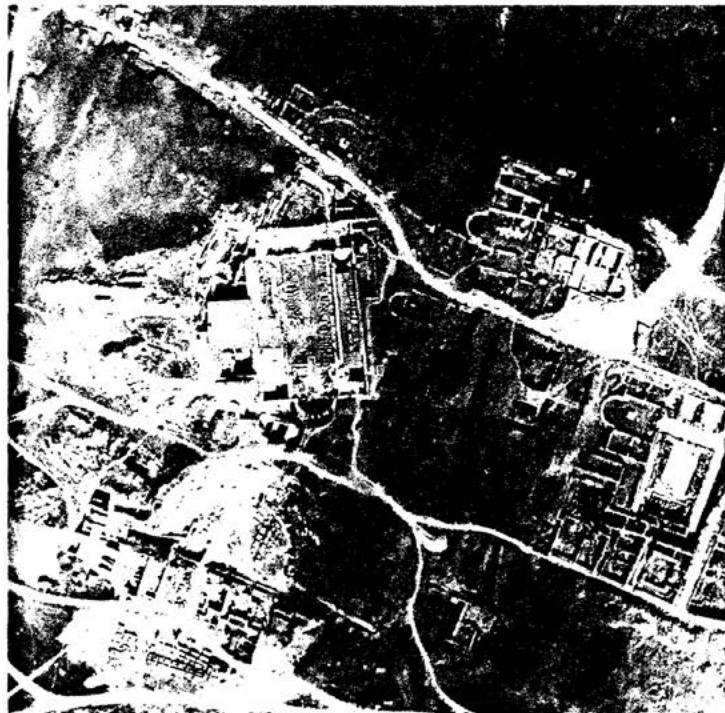
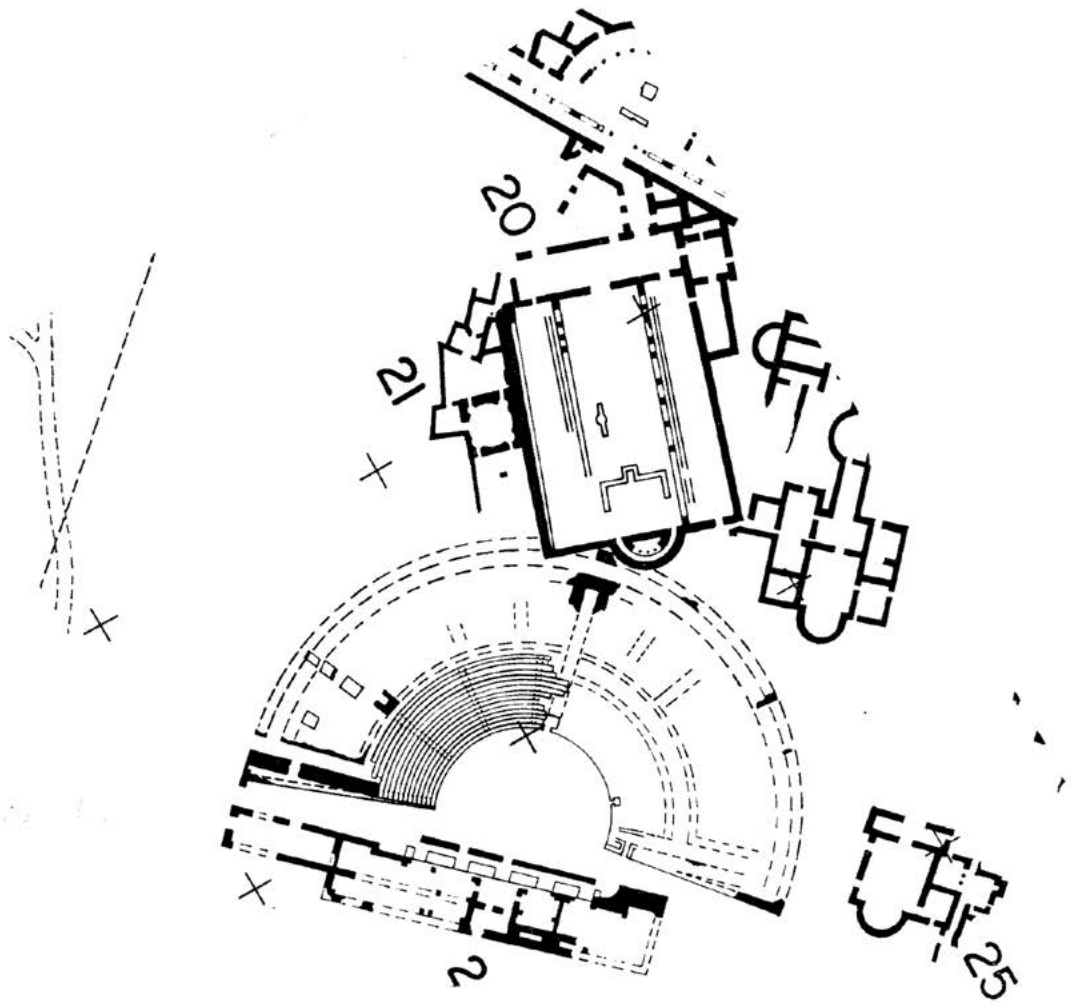


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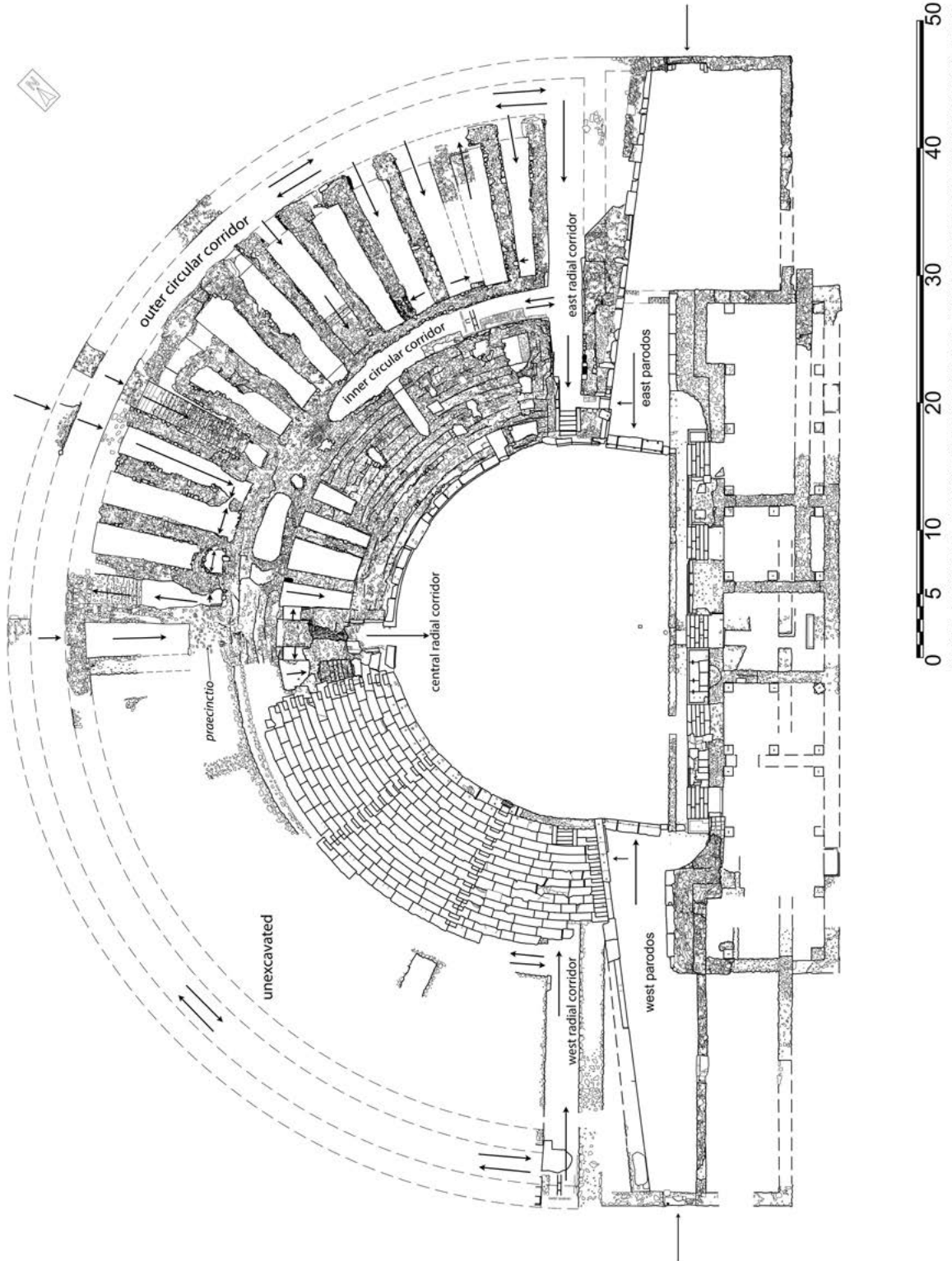


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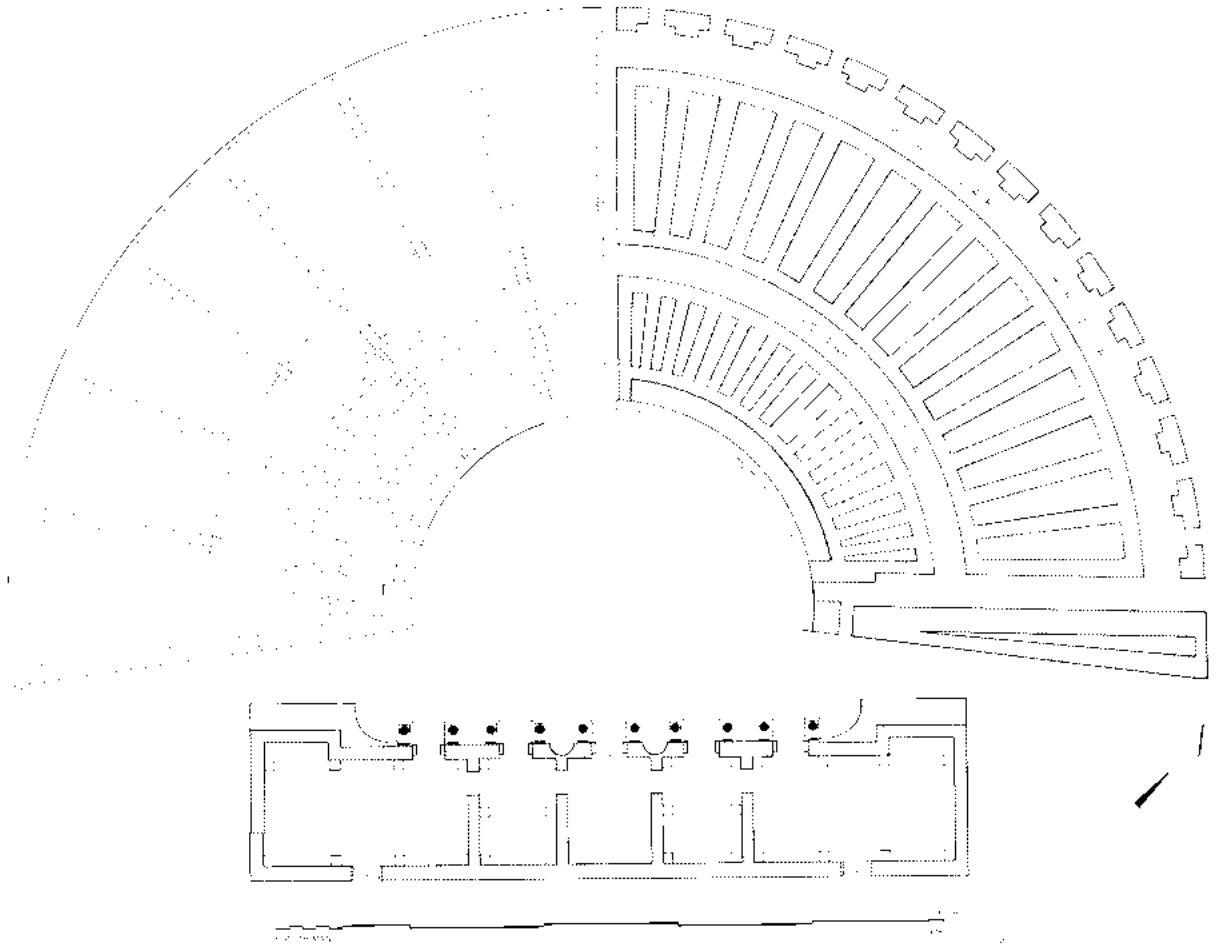


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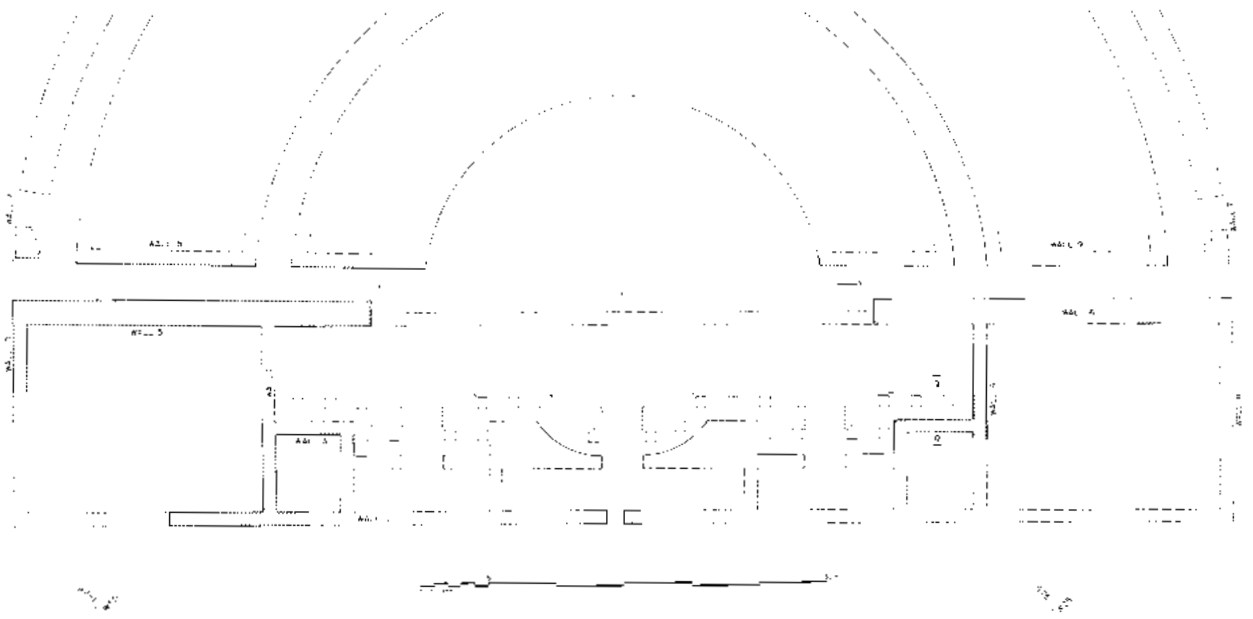


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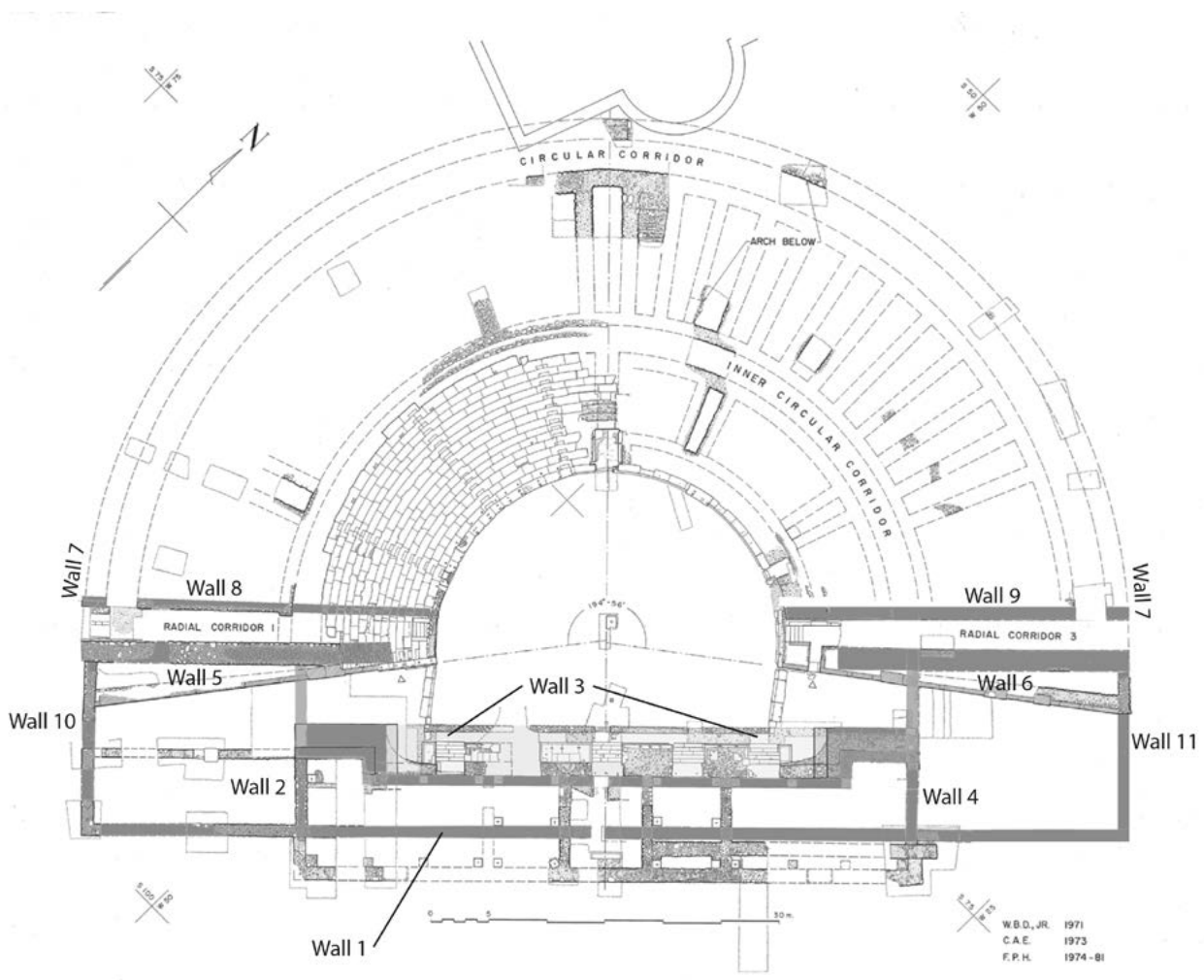


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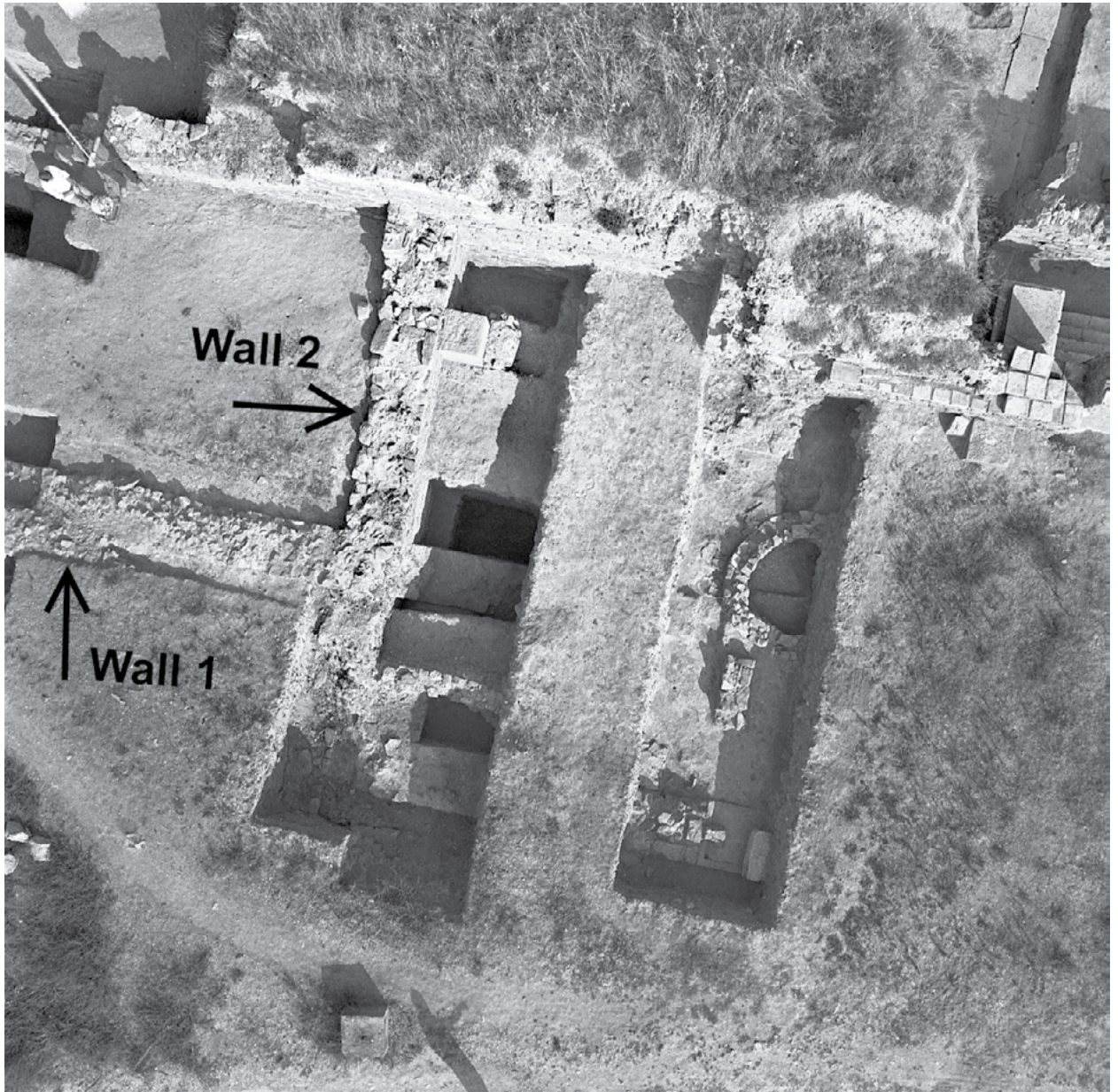


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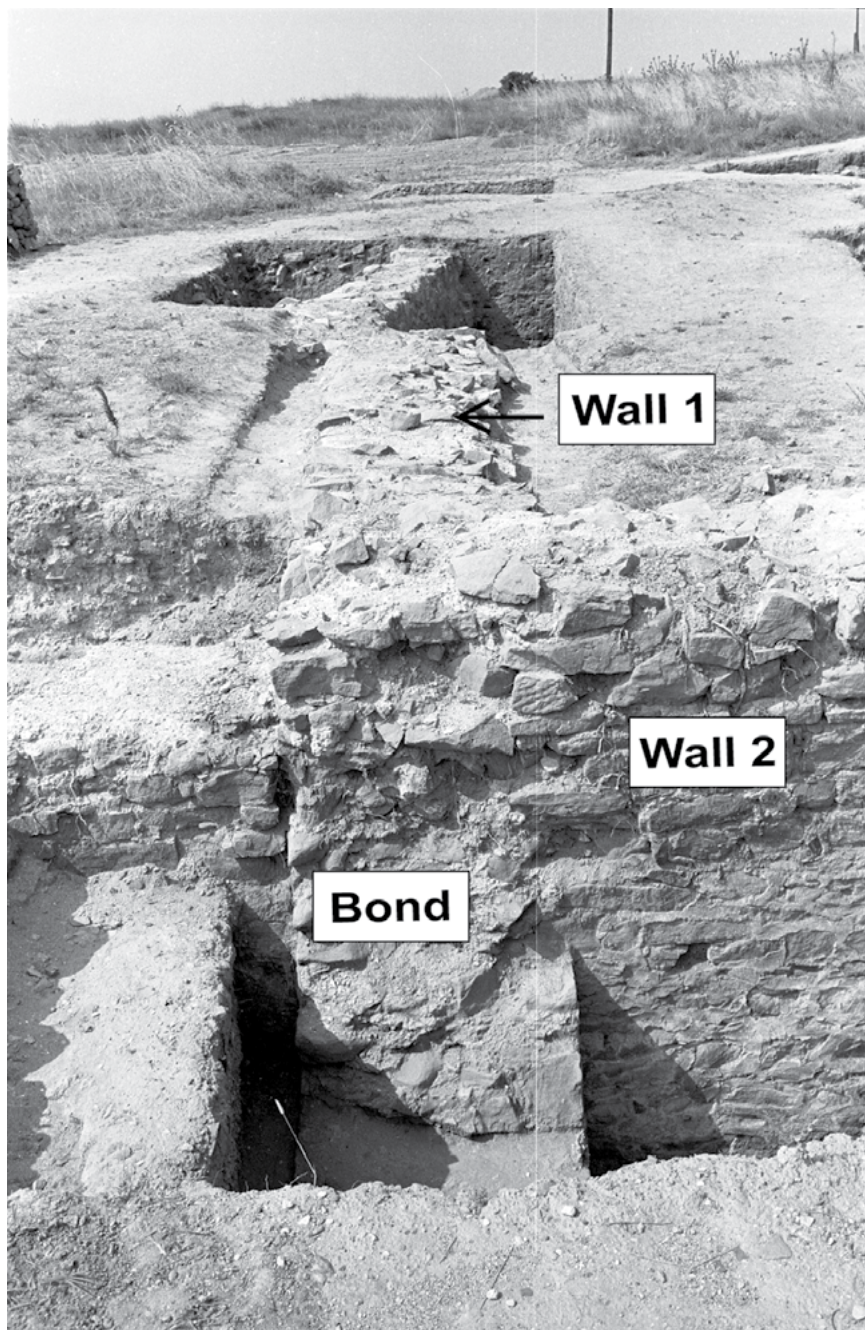


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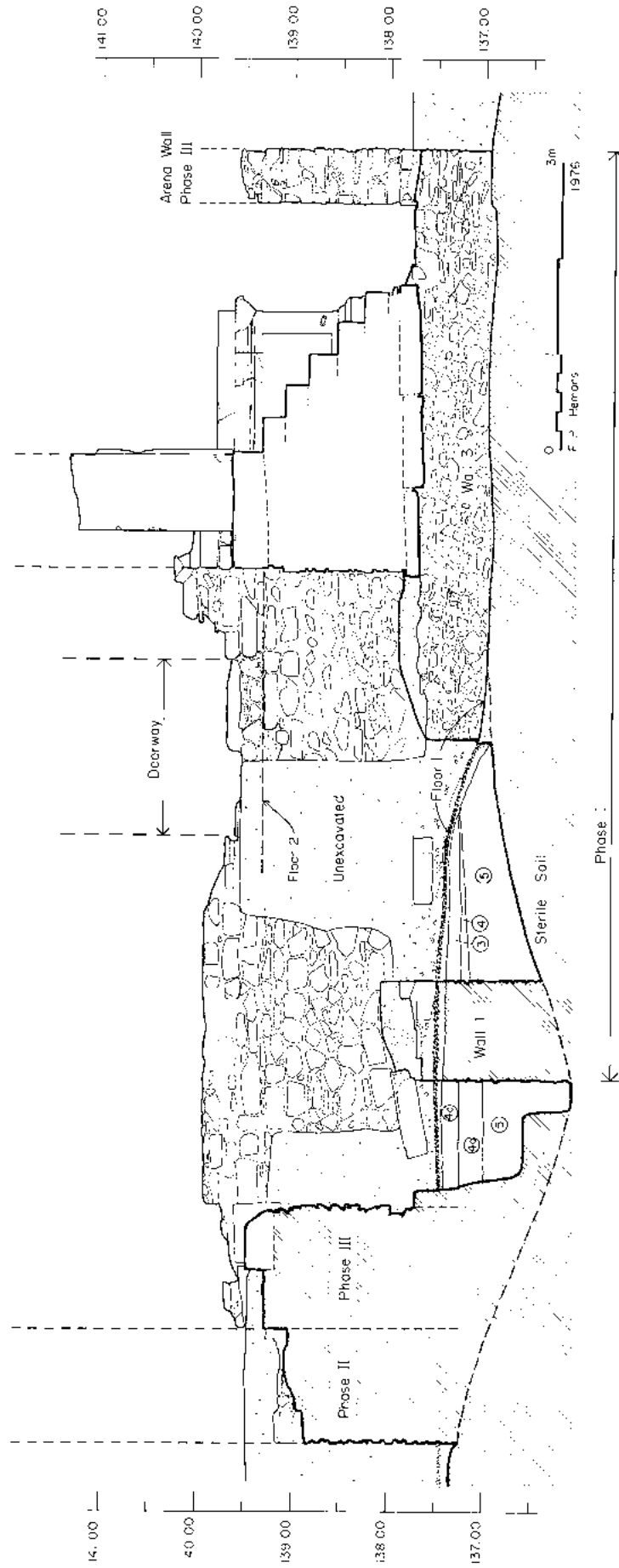


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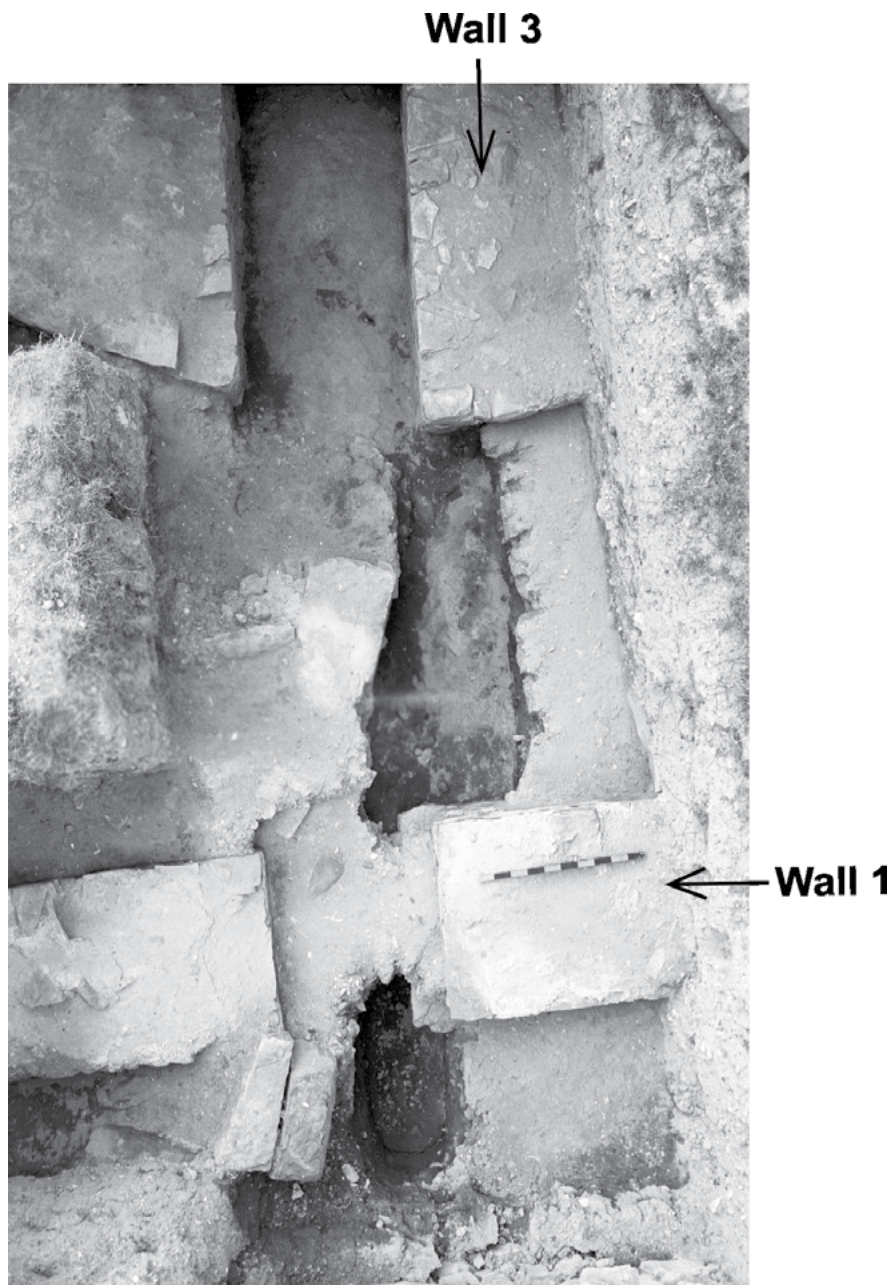


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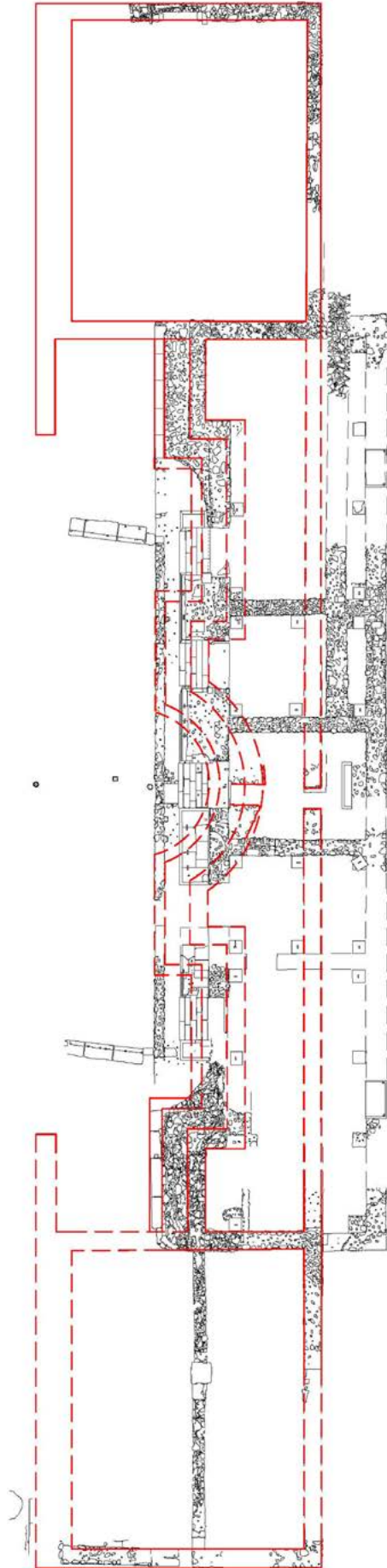


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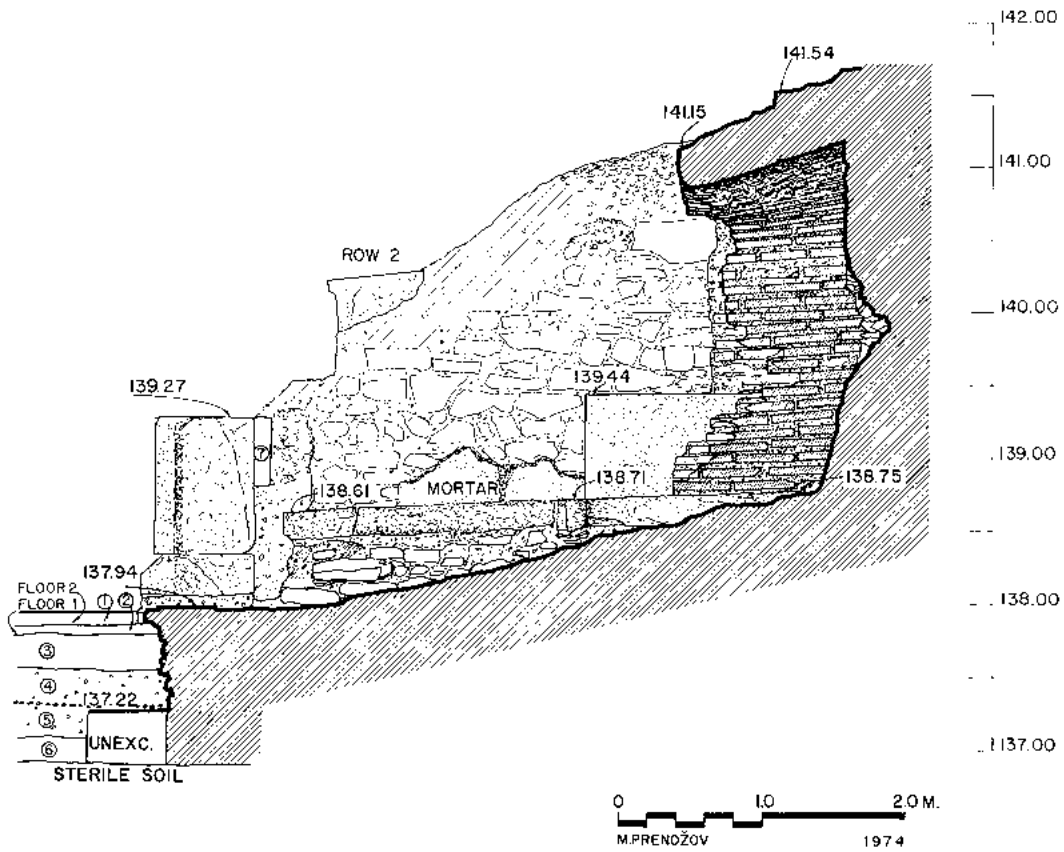


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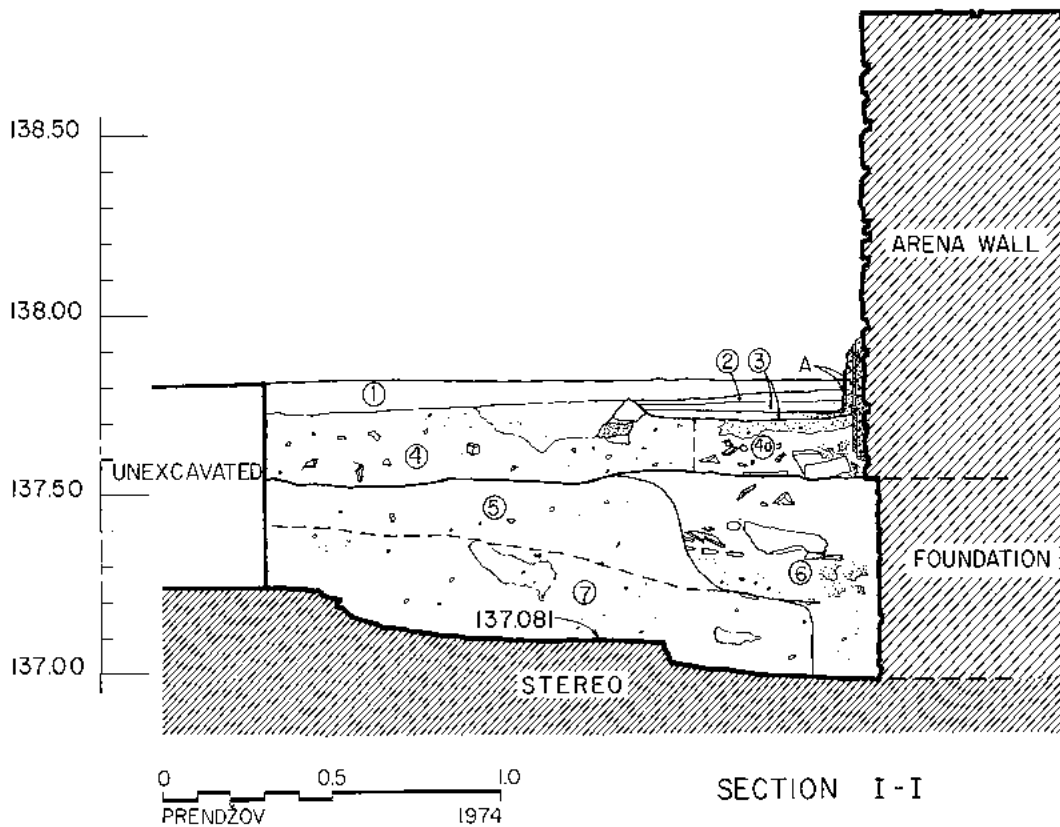


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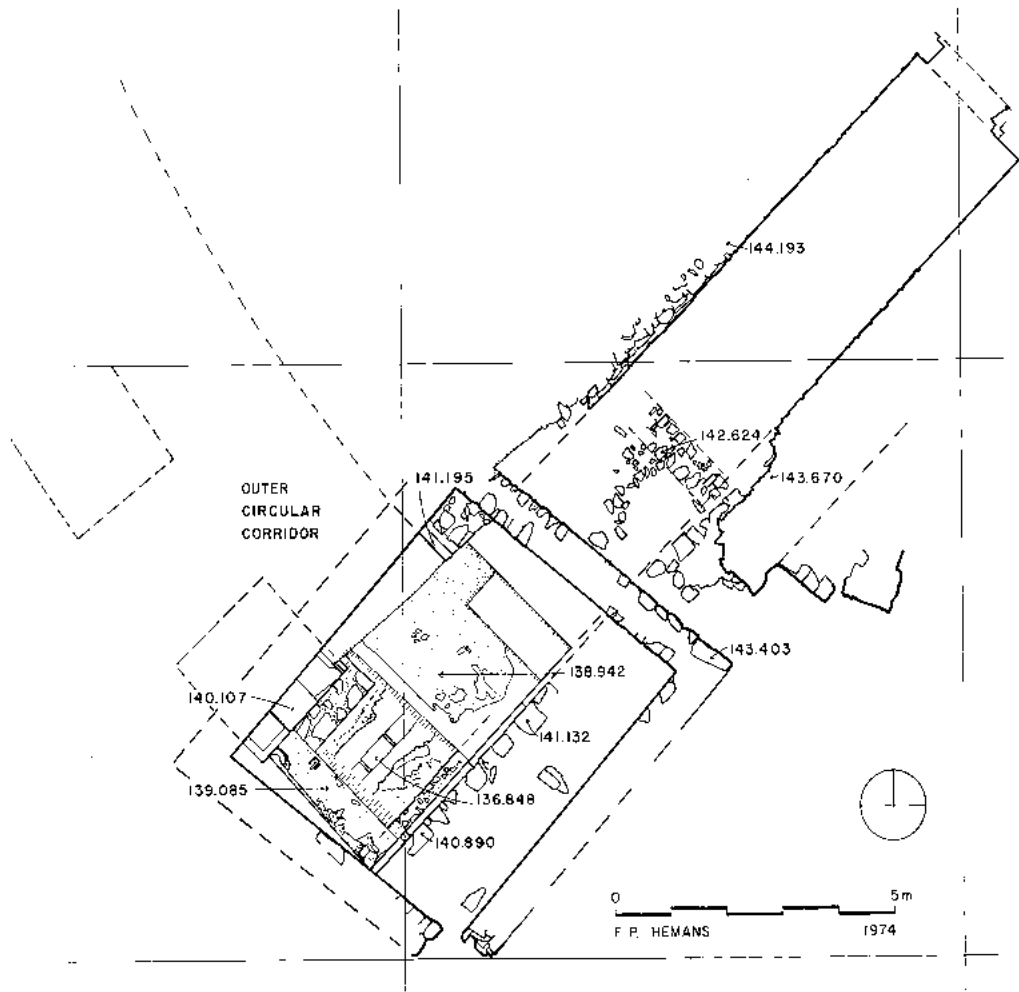


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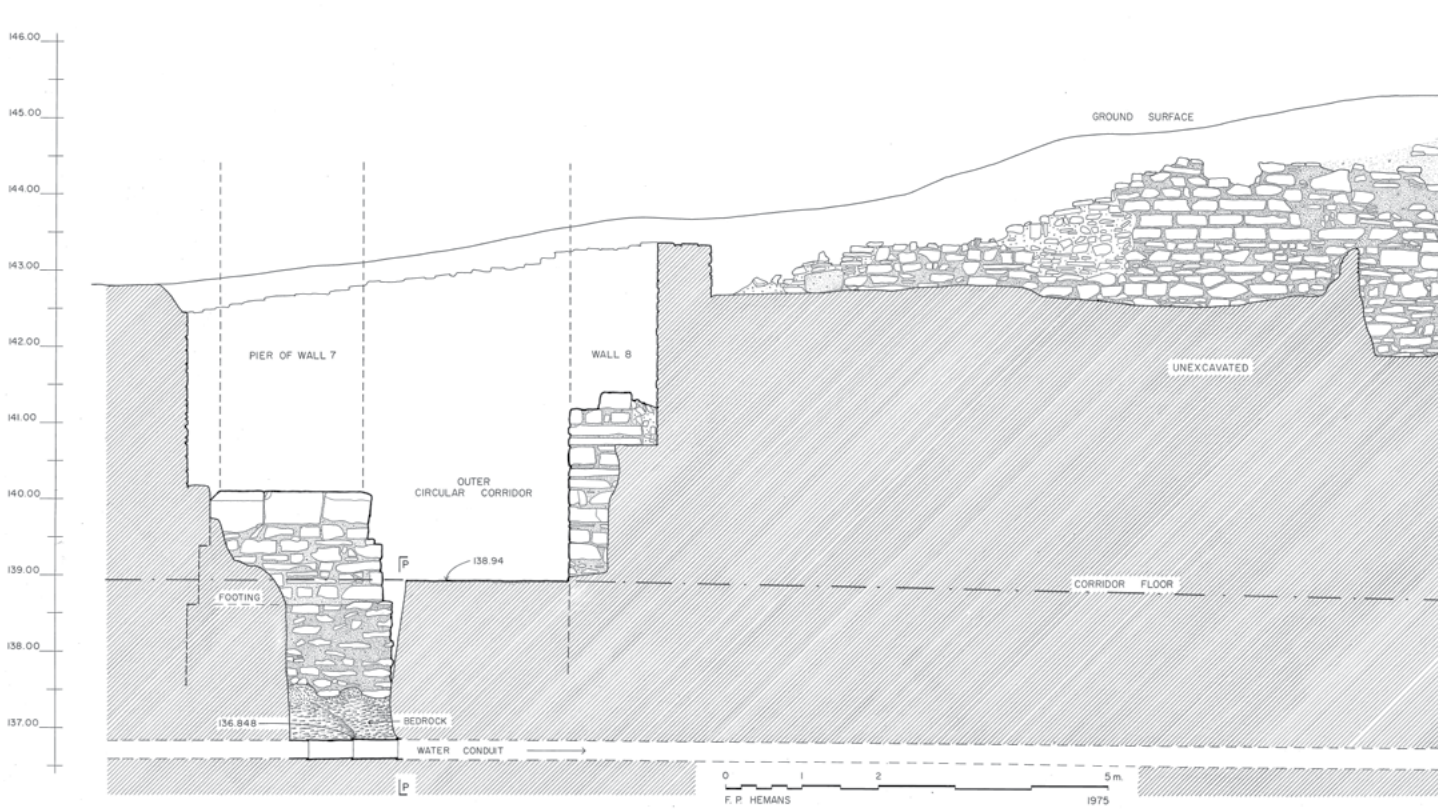


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<http://doi.org/10.32028/9781803278414-Fig23>



Scan or click code for  
 electronic version of  
 Figure 23.



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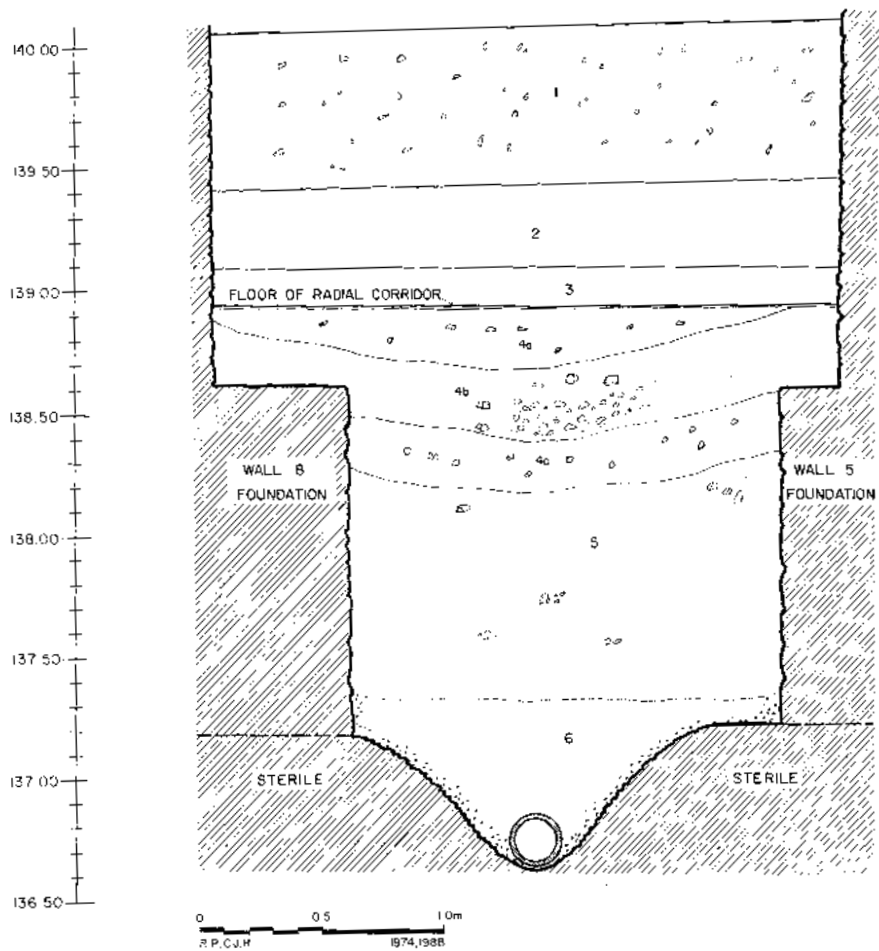


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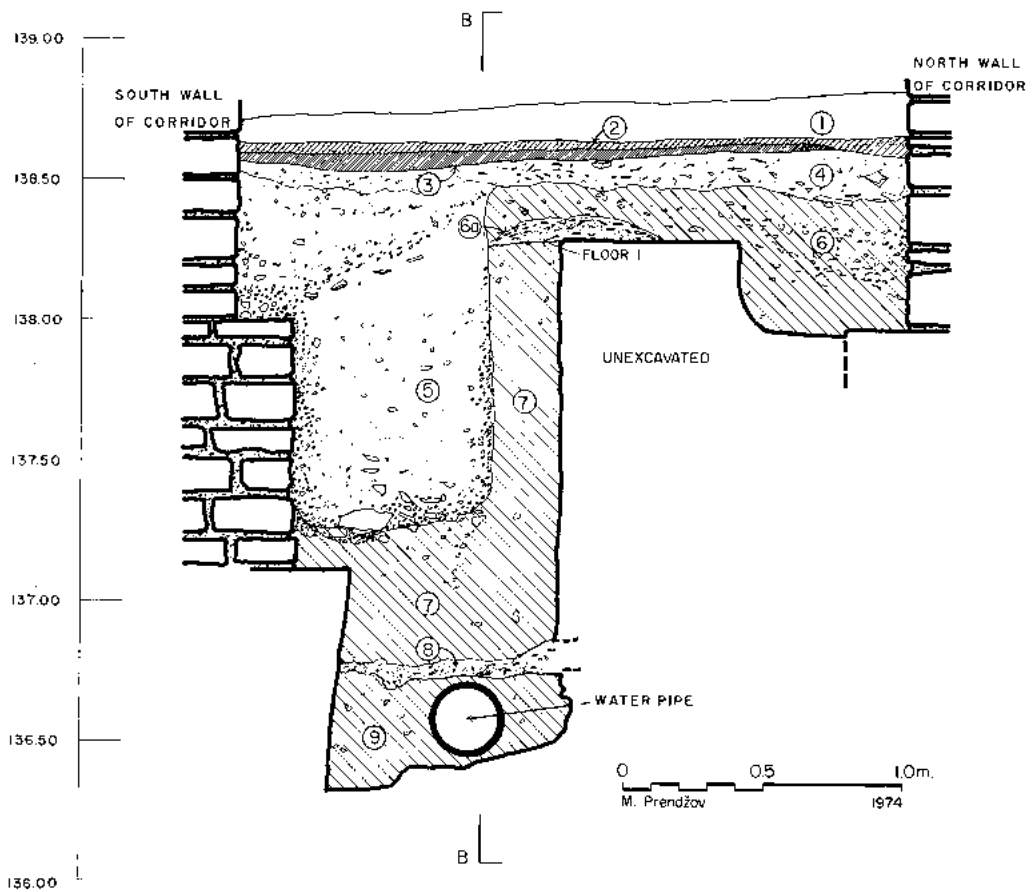


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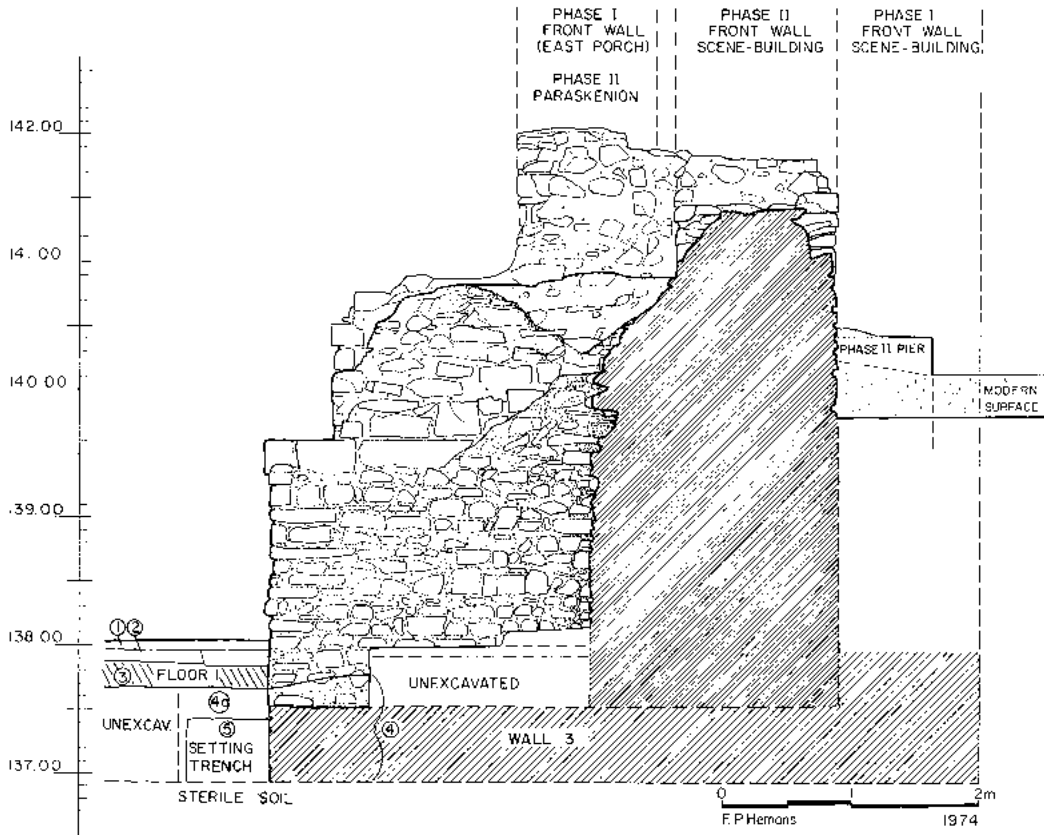


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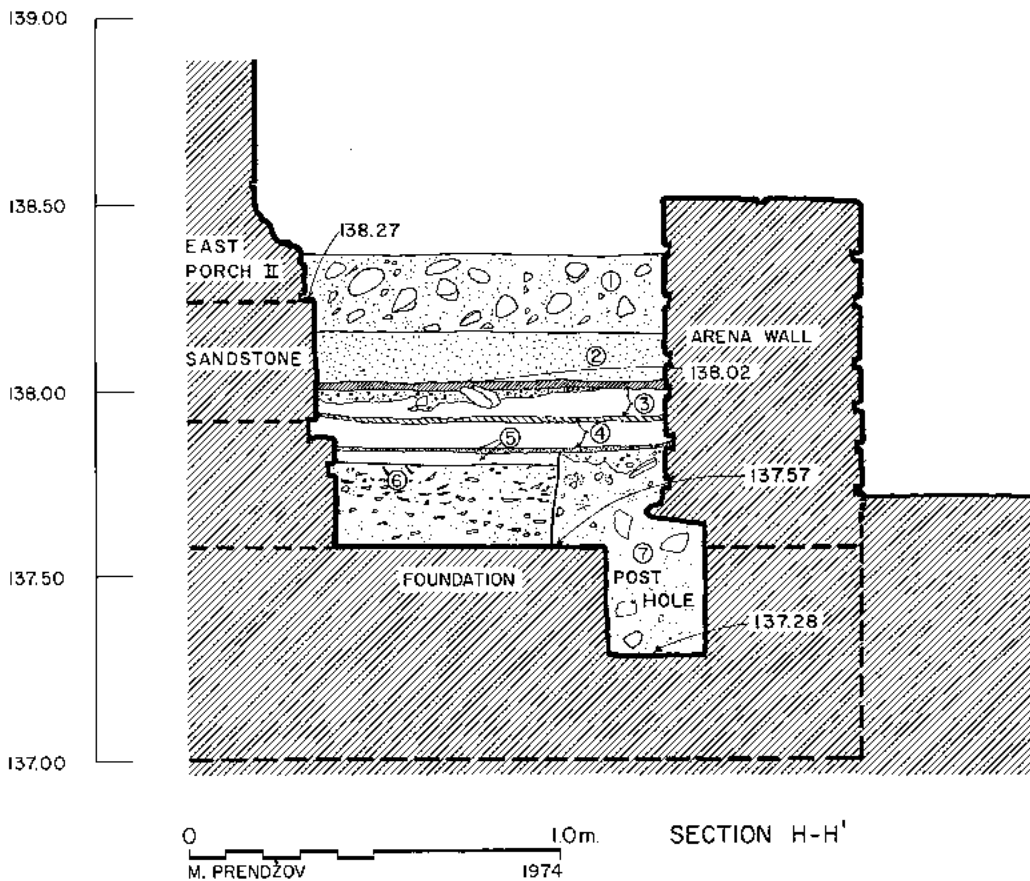


Figure 30. Section H-H, Via Venatorum. (M.Prendzov 1974).

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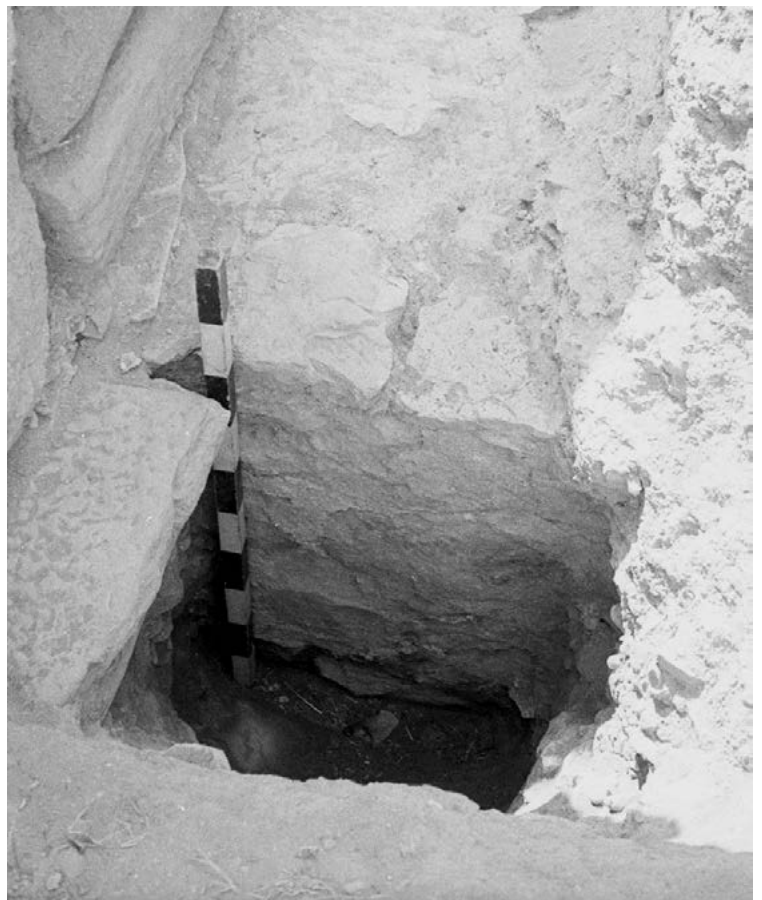


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Figure 34. Trench XXXII (2010) Footing trench for the West Porch (seen at top).



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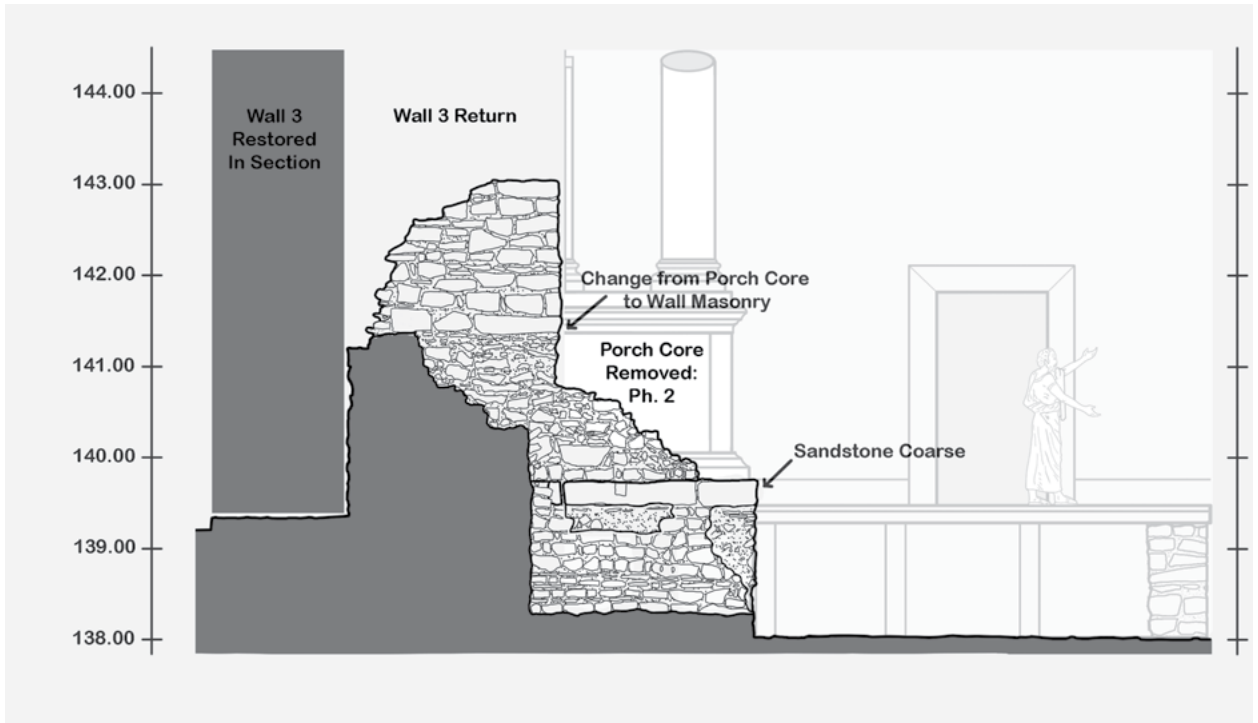


Figure 44. Section Q-Q, West Porch, actual state (Jonathan Stevens).

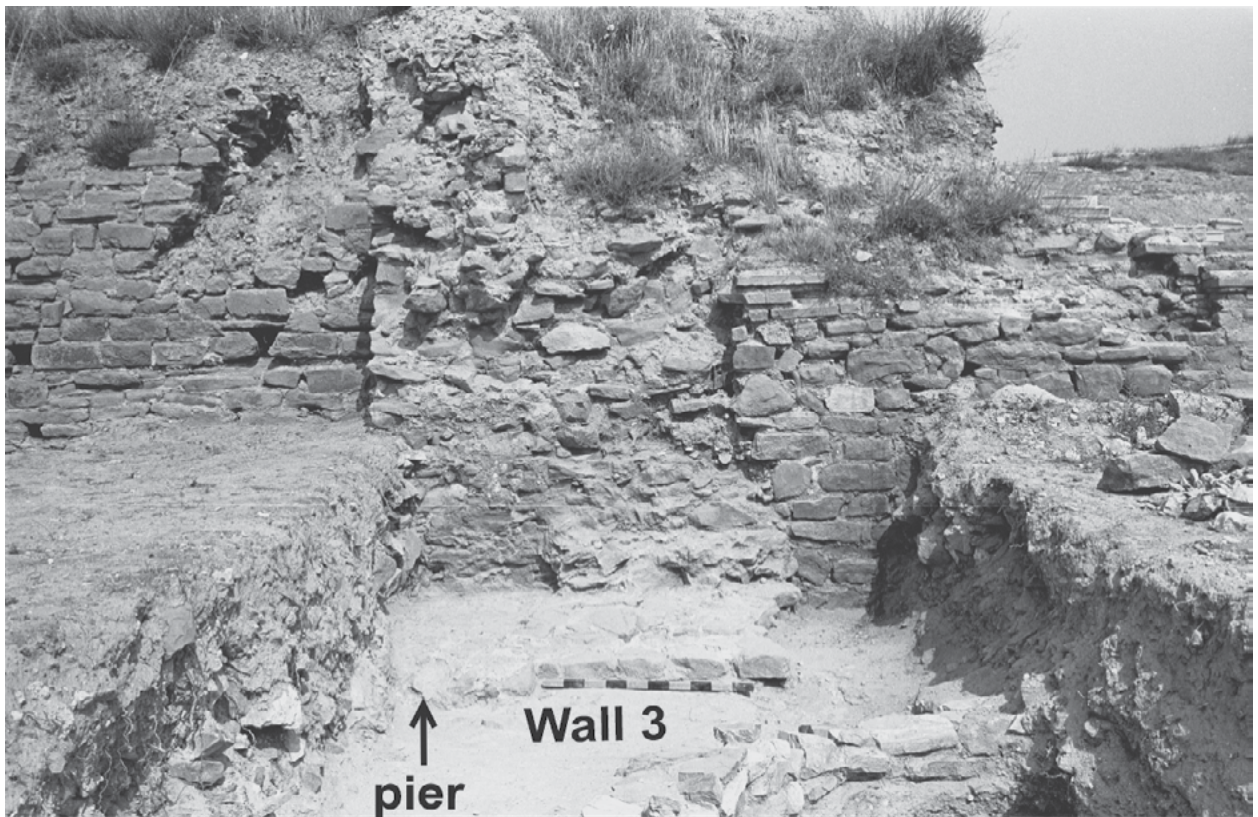


Figure 45. Front wall of scene-building, wall 3, Phase I looking north, 1974.



Figure 46. Remains of front wall, Phases I and II looking north, 2009.



Figure 47. Scene-building, Trench III, removal of white block (Dep.II.3) looking south, 1974.

FIGURES



Figure 48. Return of green course at east end of West Porch.



Figure 49. Return of green course at east end of West Porch. Detail.

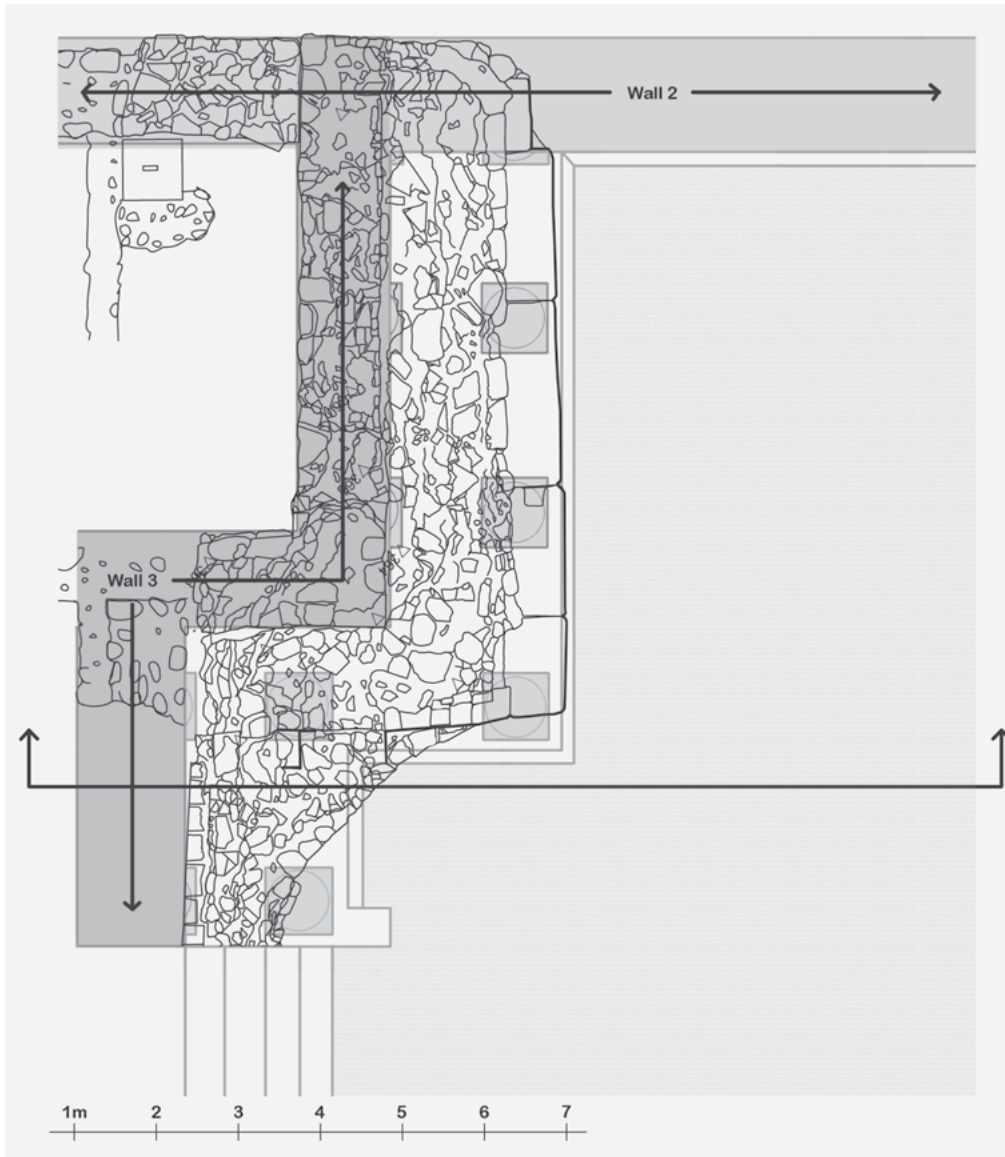


Figure 50. West Porch, plan.

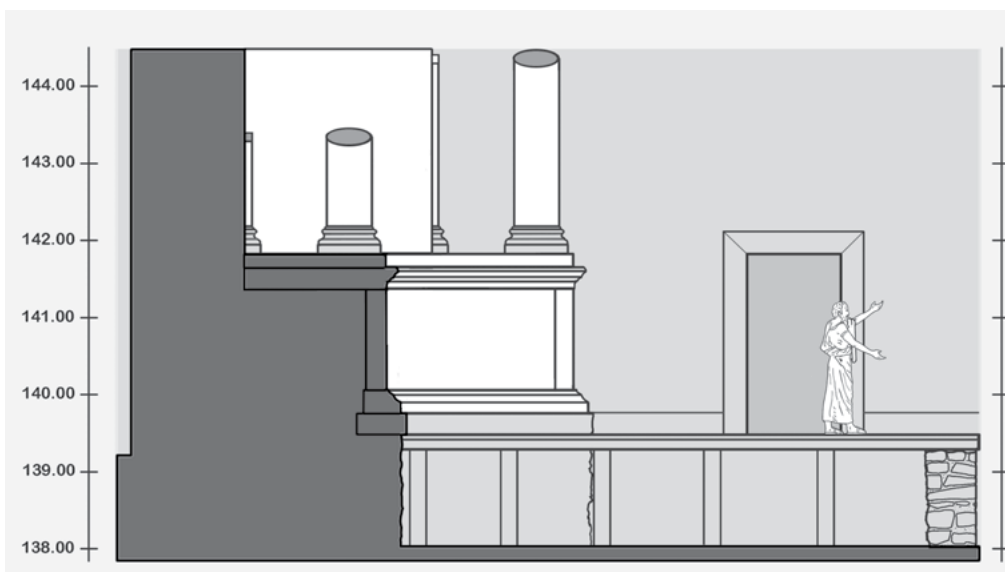


Figure 51. Section Q-Q, restored (Jonathan Stevens).

FIGURES



Figure 52. West Porch II seen from above looking south east.



Figure 53. Green course at west end of West Porch.

FIGURES



Figure 54. West face of East Porch, green course return, Phase I.



Figure 55. Return of front wall, along West Porch, Phase I, looking south.

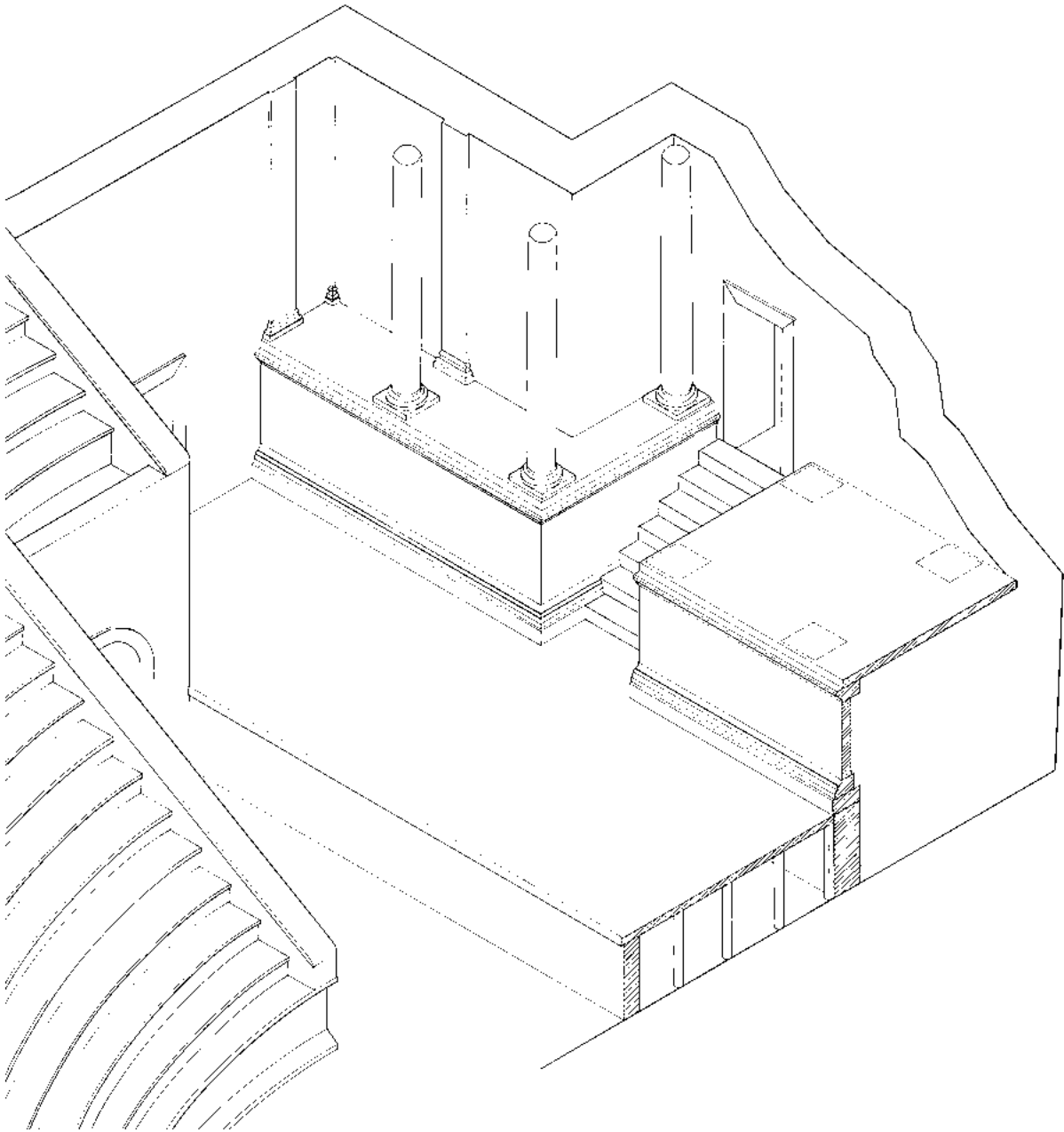


Figure 56. Restored isometric view of Phase I façade.

FIGURES

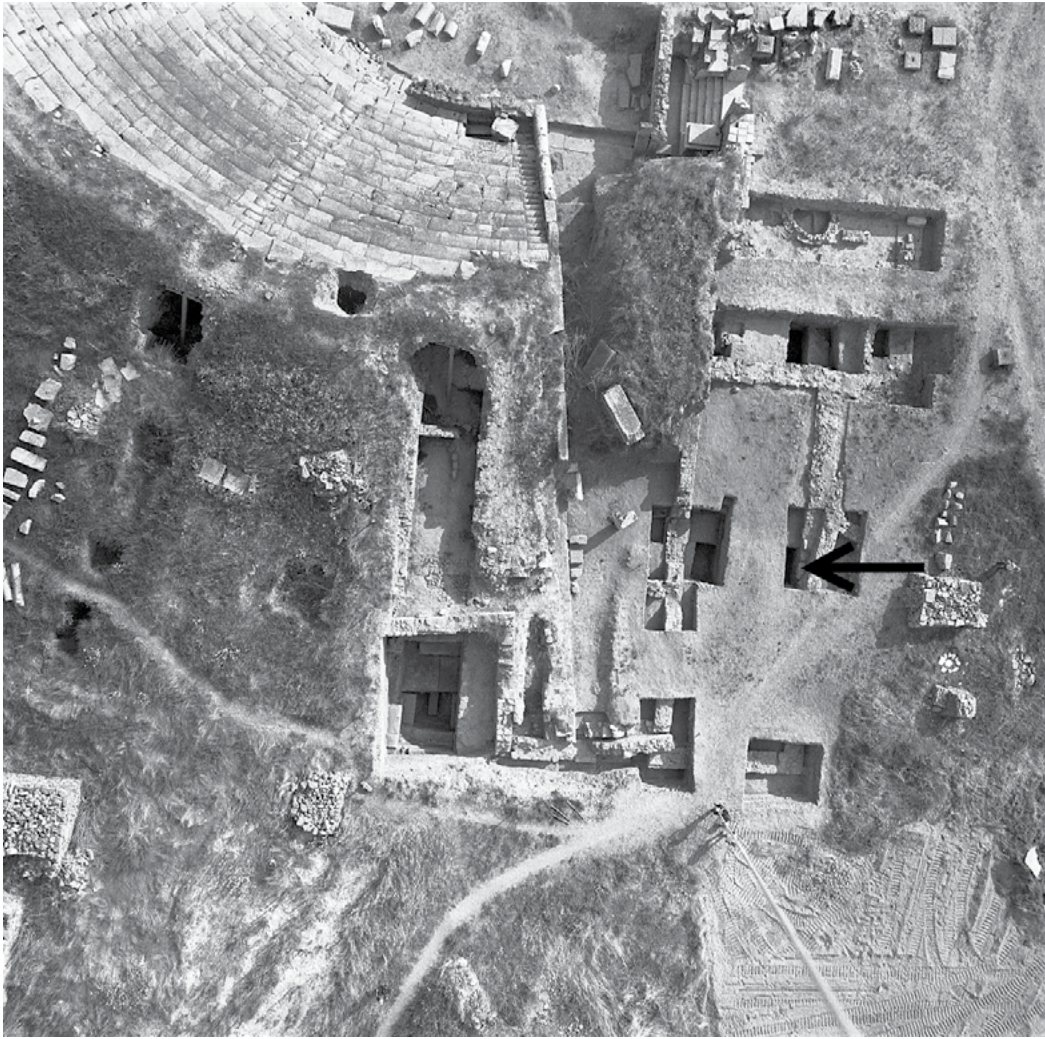


Figure 57. Aerial view, west side of Theater (1974).

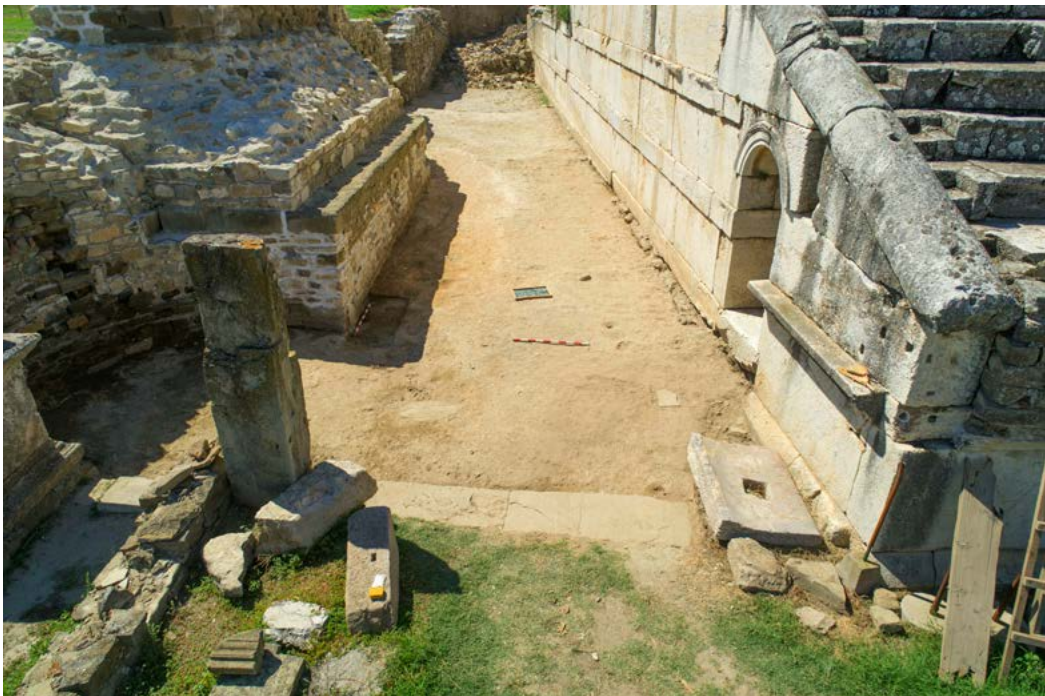


Figure 58. West parados, looking west after excavation 2020 looking west.



Figure 59. Detail of wall 1 with doorway, looking west.



Figure 60. Arena wall with 2 layers of plaster at top. Orchestra deposits at left; Phase I, platform beneath the arena wall.

FIGURES

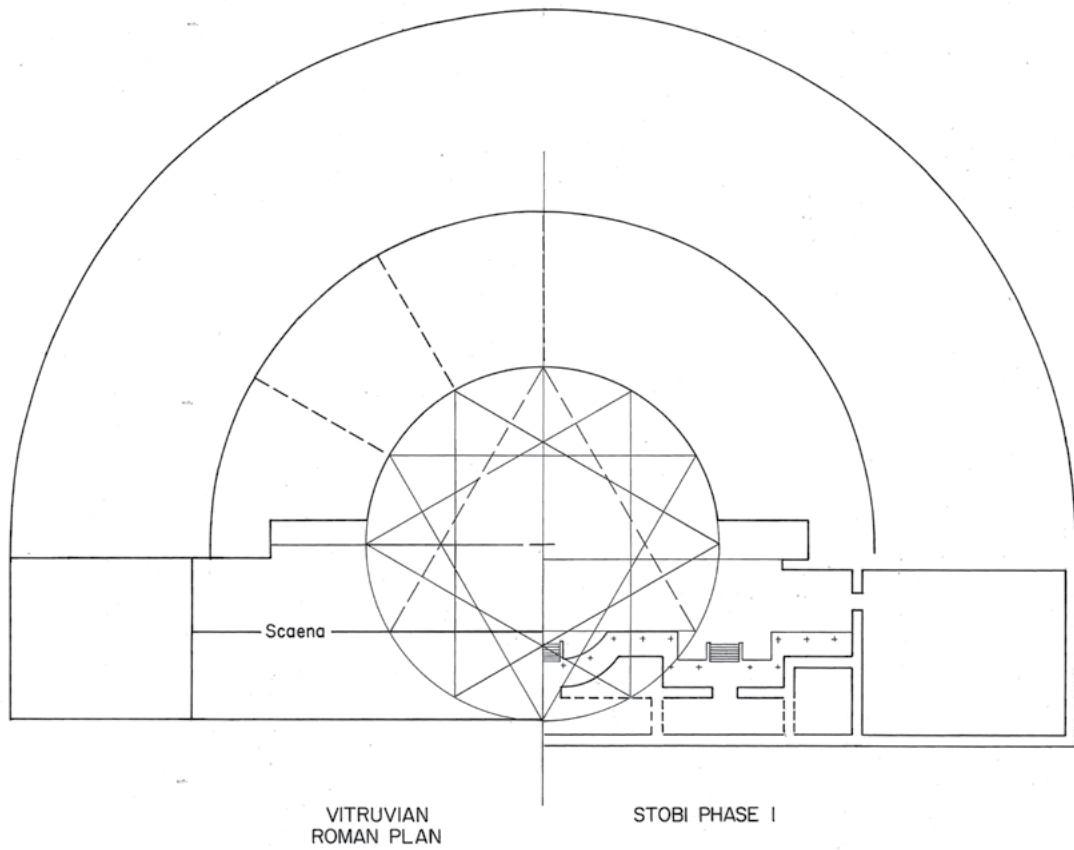


Figure 61. Vitruvian planning diagram for Roman theater.

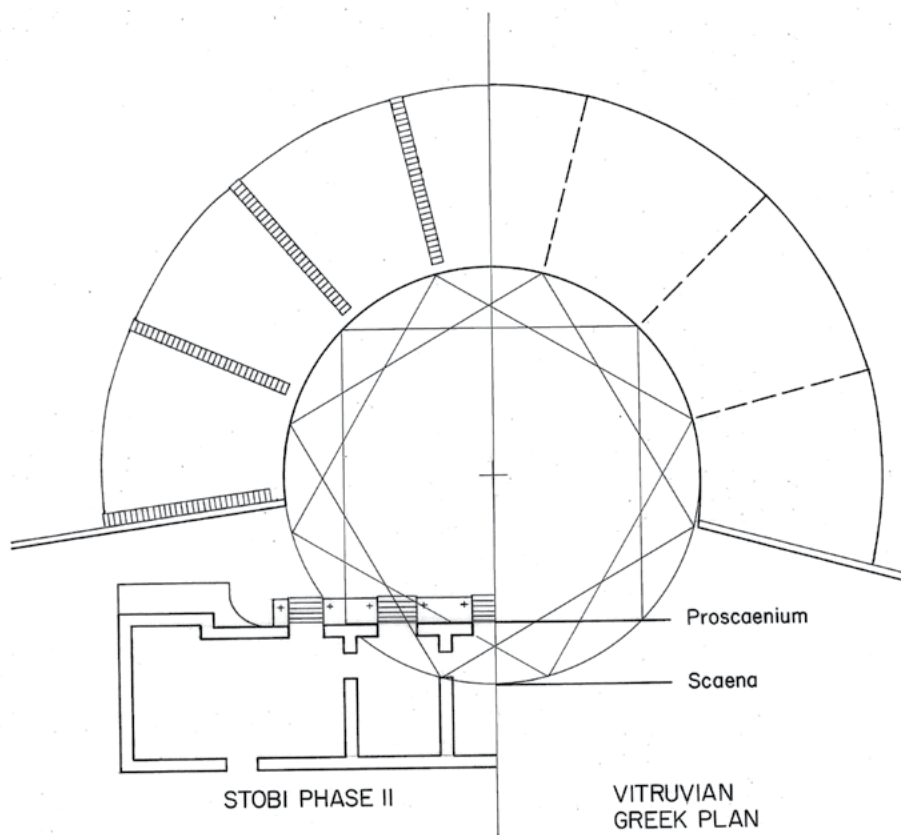


Figure 62. Vitruvian planning diagram for Greek theater as applied to the Stobi.

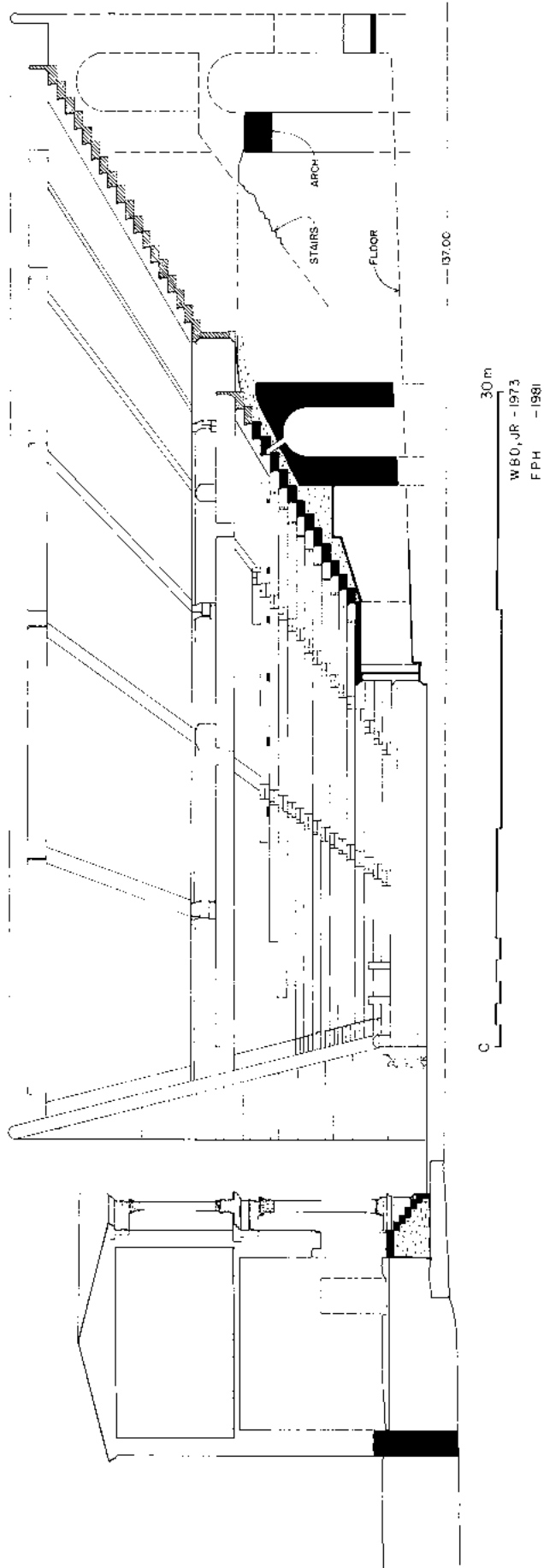


Figure 63. Restored section A-A Phase II (W.B. Dinsmoor 1973, F.P.Hemans 1981).





Figure 65. Marble analemma and wall 6 from above (G. Pavlovski).

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Figure 66. Wall 6 with addition in Phase II at doorway.



Figure 67. North side, east corridor, added masonry at end of vault. Stair at left.



Figure 68. East Paraskenion with bay, detail. Trench XVI with foundation in foreground, looking south.



Figure 69. Close-up showing curved screen wall added to the East Porch, Phase I.

FIGURES



Figure 70. West Porch looking west, Phase I.



Figure 71. Threshold of doorway in the back wall of West Room II, looking east.

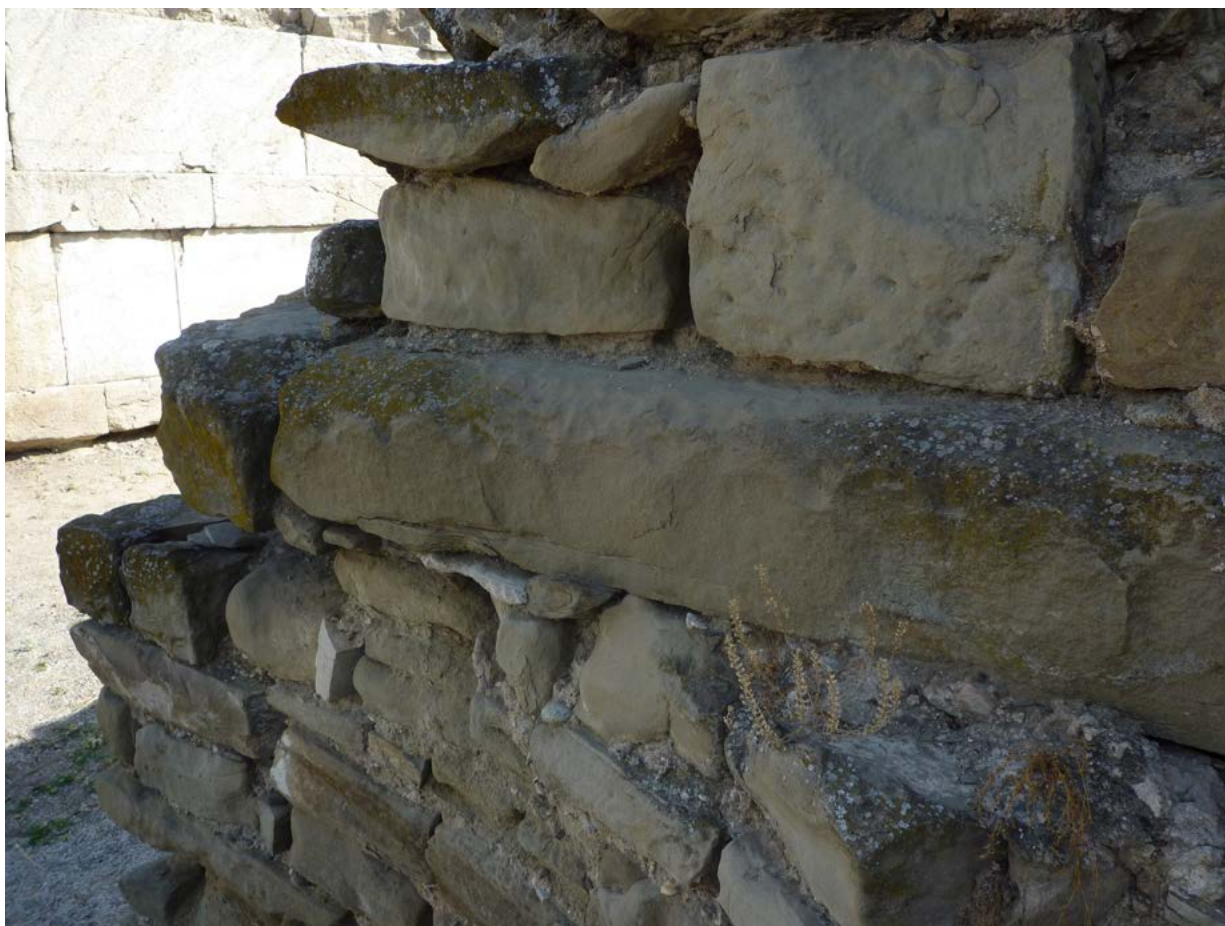


Figure 72. Close-up of return of green course on East Porch, Phase I.



Figure 73. Trench III, Phase I, wall 1 (foreground) crossed by west wall of Center Room in Phase II. Looking west.

FIGURES

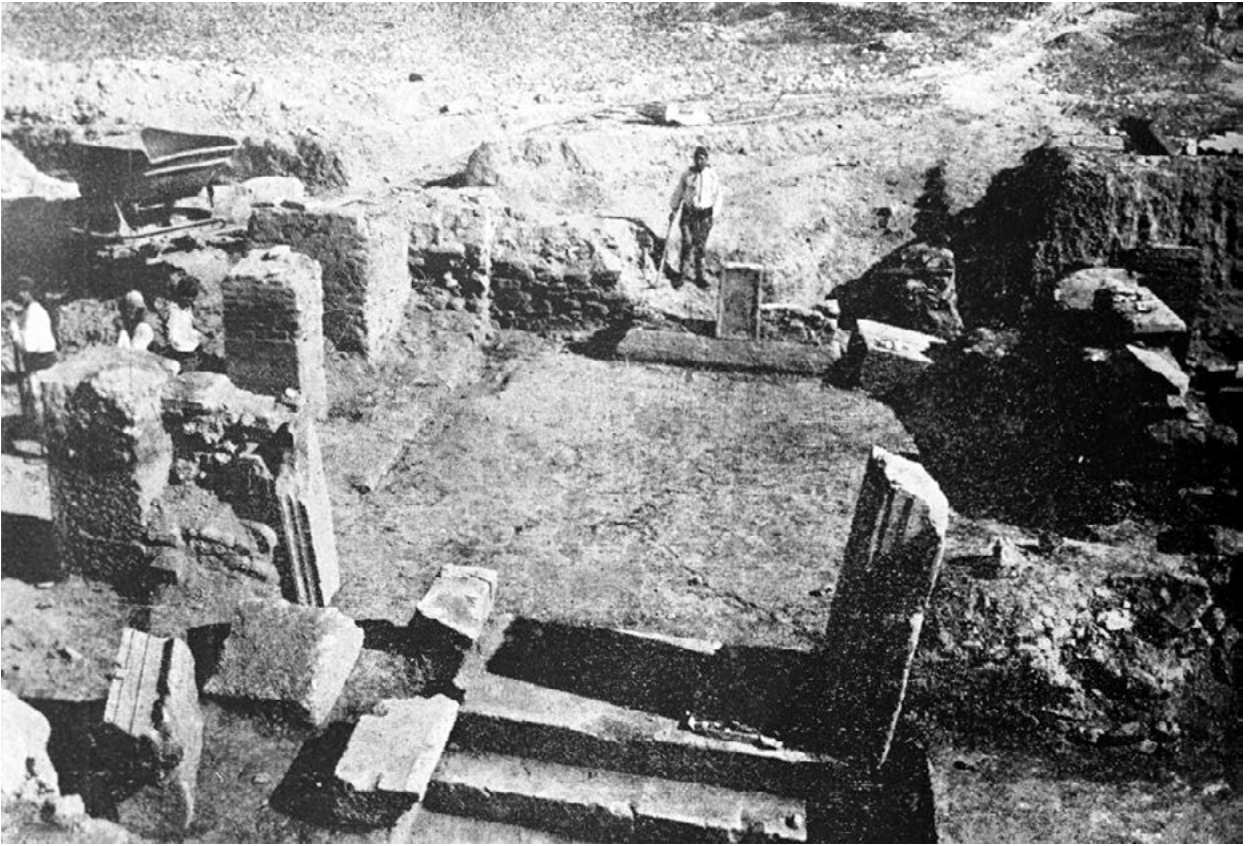


Figure 74. Nemeseum at the time of Saria's excavations (Saria 1938, abb. 15).



Figure 75. Walls of the scene-building as uncovered in Saria's excavations (Saria 1938, abb.16).



Figure 76. Aerial view, Scene-building, East Rooms I and II. (1974)

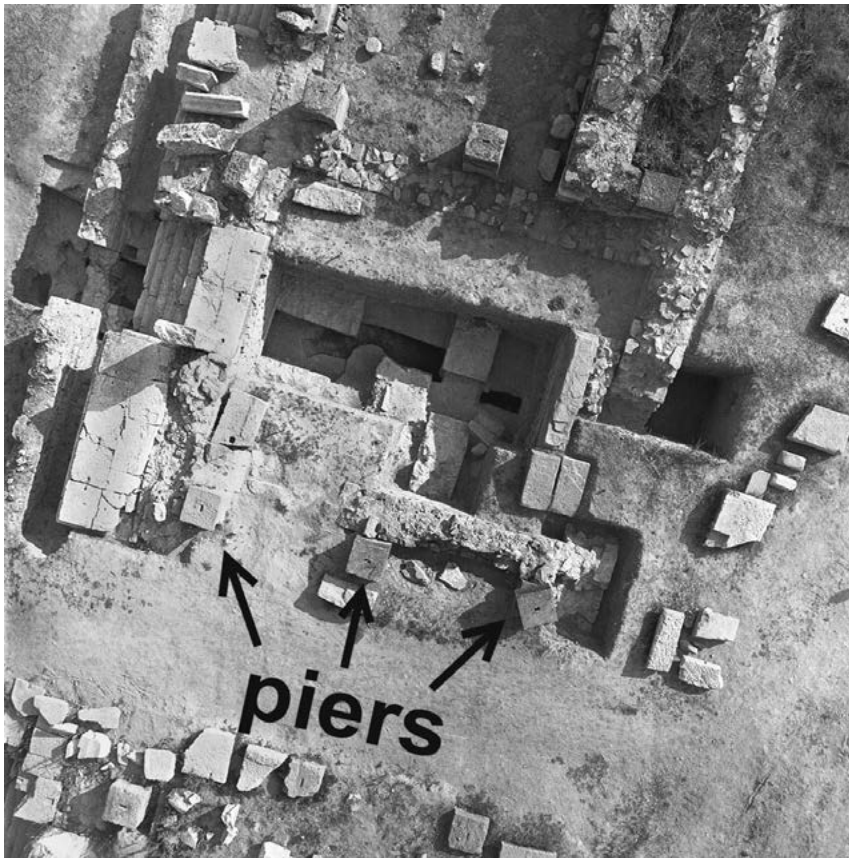


Figure 77. Aerial view, Trench III, center of the scene-building (1974).

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Figure 78. Scaenae-frons and scene-building, looking south (1981).



Figure 79. Post holes constructed of masonry, perhaps for scaffolding in West Room II, looking west.



Figure 80. Two flat pan tiles with the mortar bedding for a curved cover tile from destruction debris from the roof, Phase II.



Figure 81. Threshold foundation in doorway of west wall of Center Room, looking west.

FIGURES

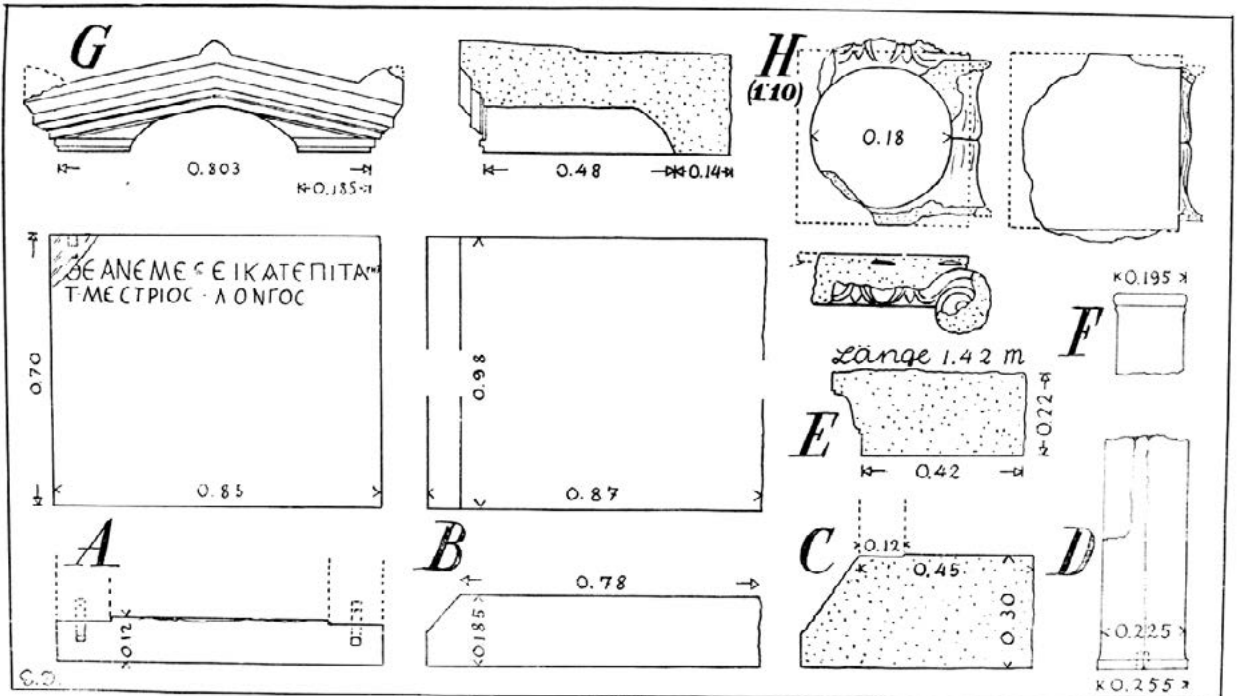


Figure 82. Architectural members from the Nemeseum (Saria 1938, abb. 18).



Figure 83. No. 4. Architectural block from Phase III (Craig Morgan 1979).

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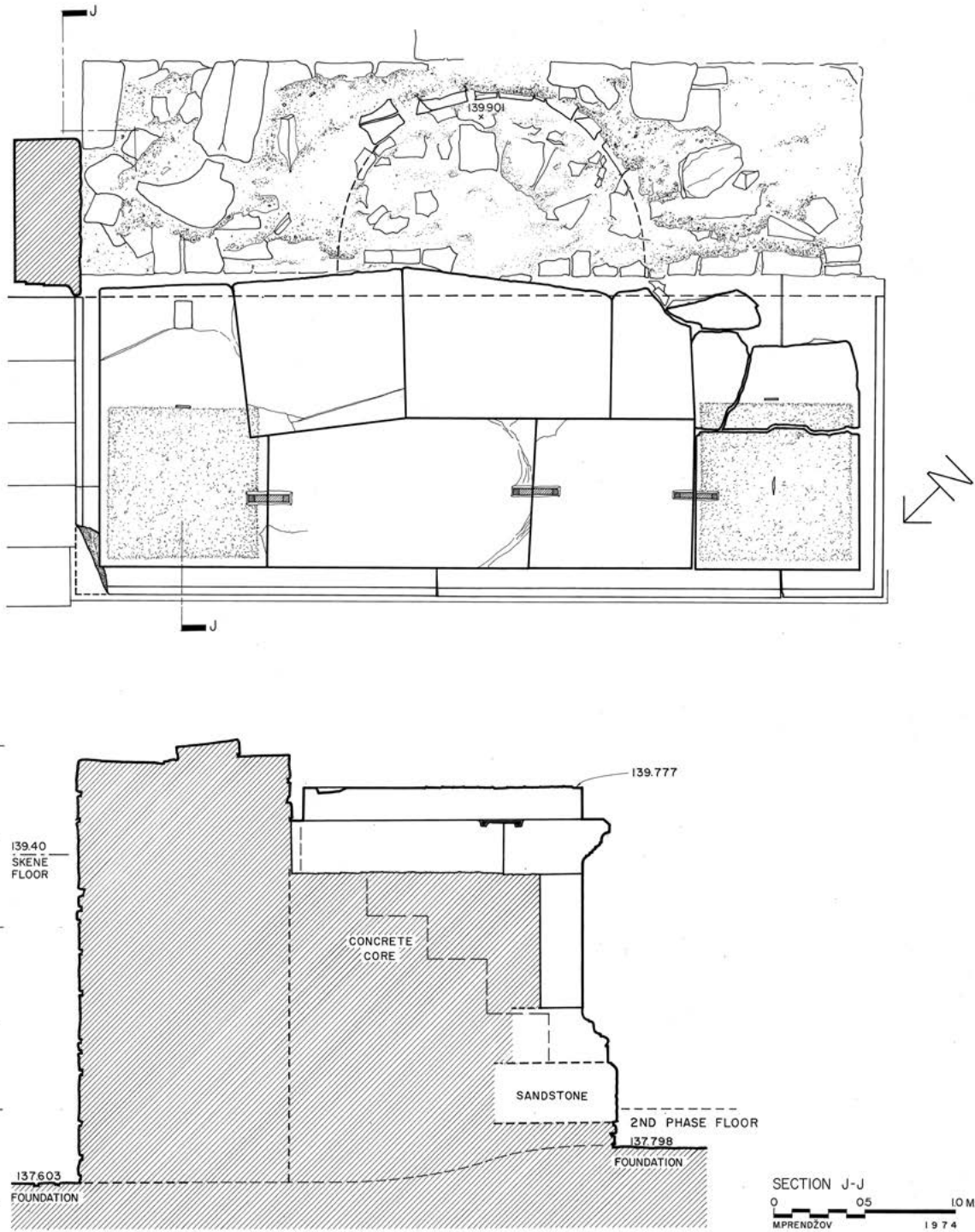


Figure 84. Section J-J, West Porch I, section and plan (M. Prendzov 1974).

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Figure 85. East Porch II and East Stair I.



Figure 86. East Porch III and East Stair II.

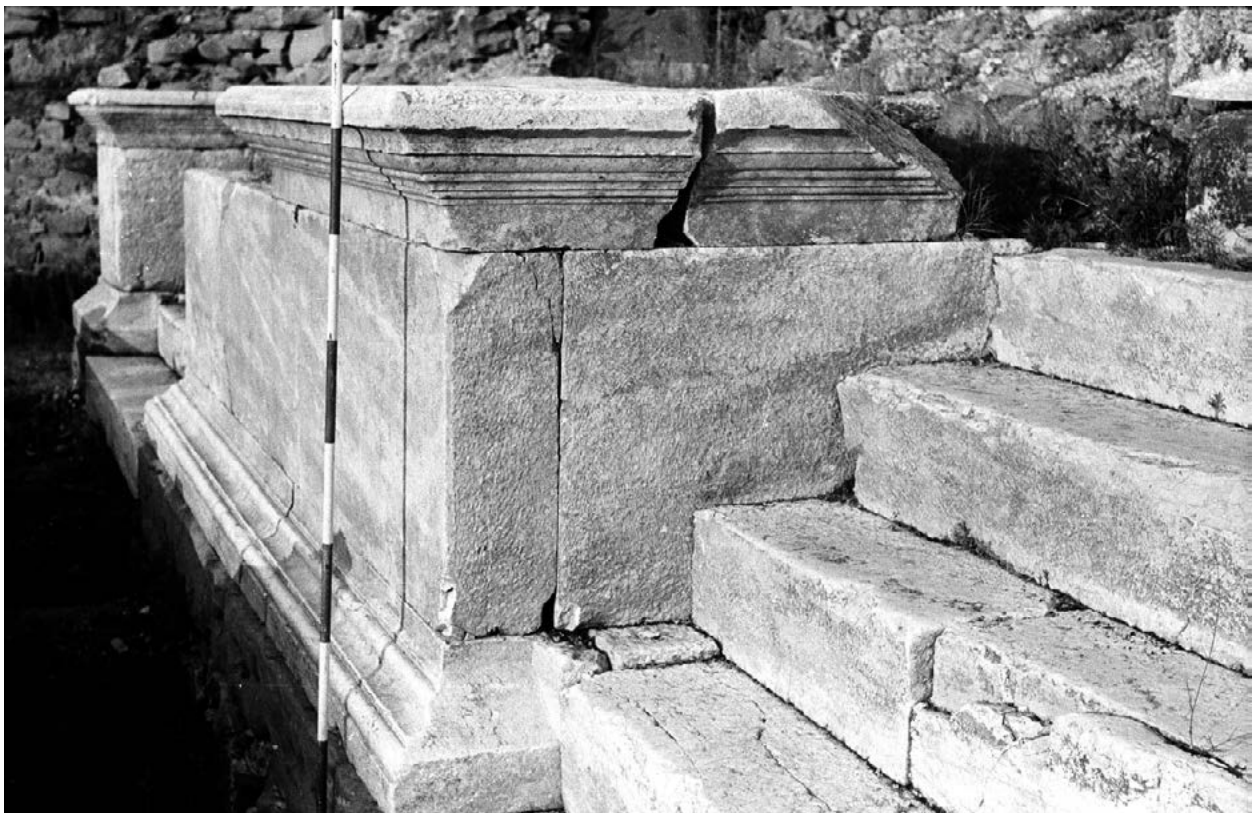


Figure 87. East Porches II and III with East Stair I at right.

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Figure 88. East Porch II detail of crown course.



Figure 89. East Porch I, crown course, looking east.

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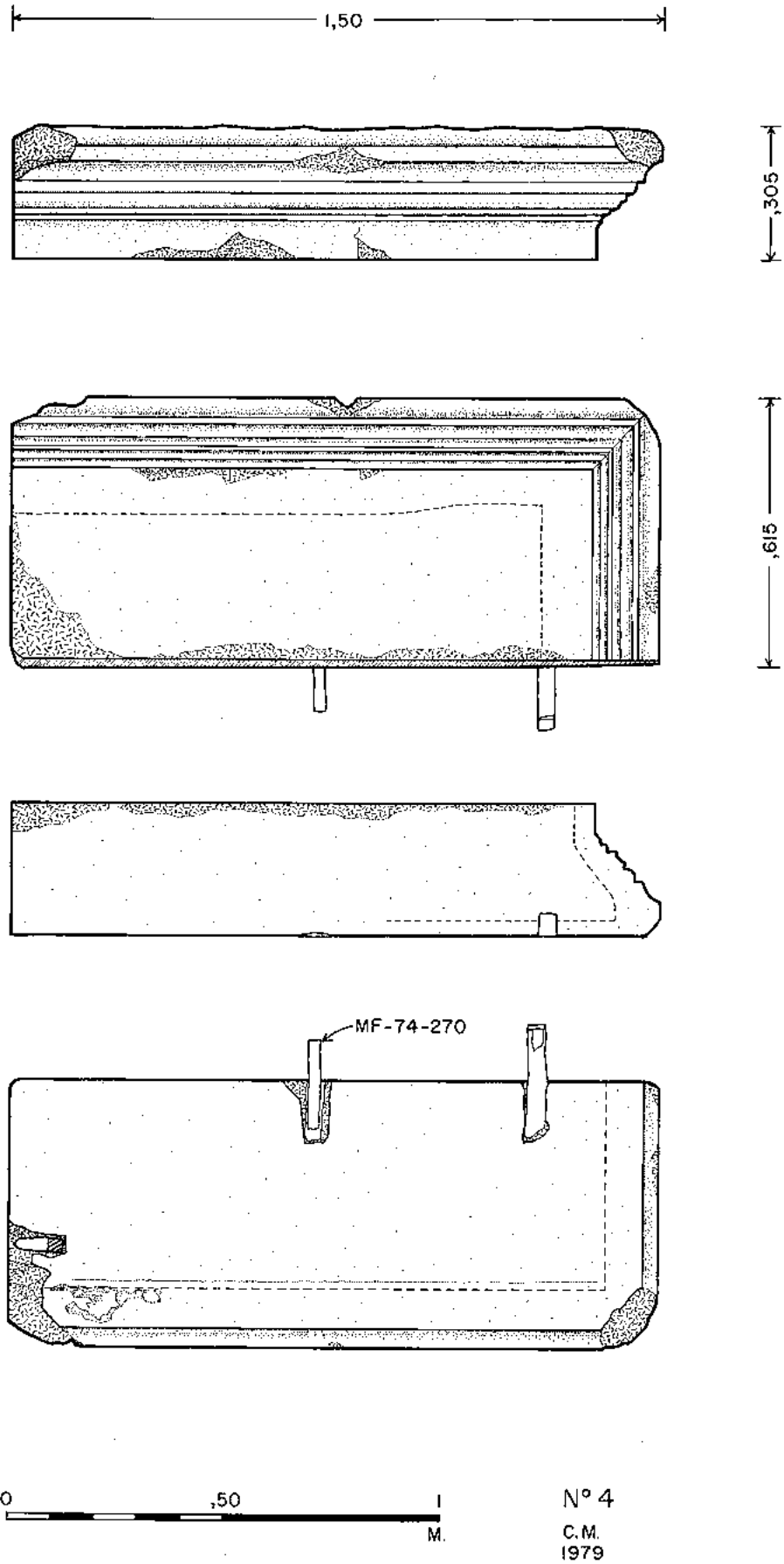


Figure 90. Crown of West Porch II, No. 4. Table II.1 to 2a. (Craig Morgan 1979)

FIGURES

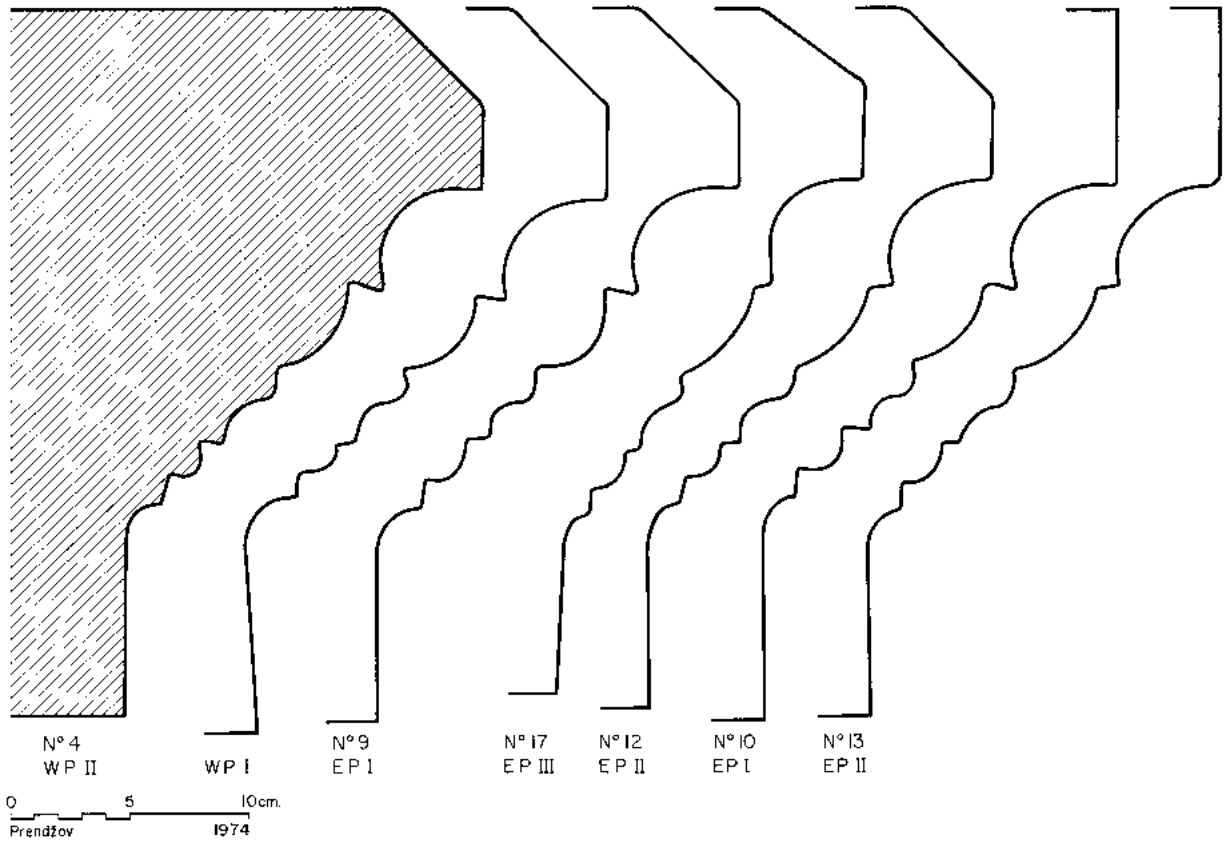


Figure 91. Profiles of 7 blocks from the crown course on the porches. (M. Prendzov, 1974)



Figure 92. East Porch III and East Stair II, looking east.



Figure 93. East Porch III and east bay of East Paraskenion, looking south.

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Figure 94. East Stair I, looking south. Arena wall with west door in foreground.



Figure 95. Center door, looking north.

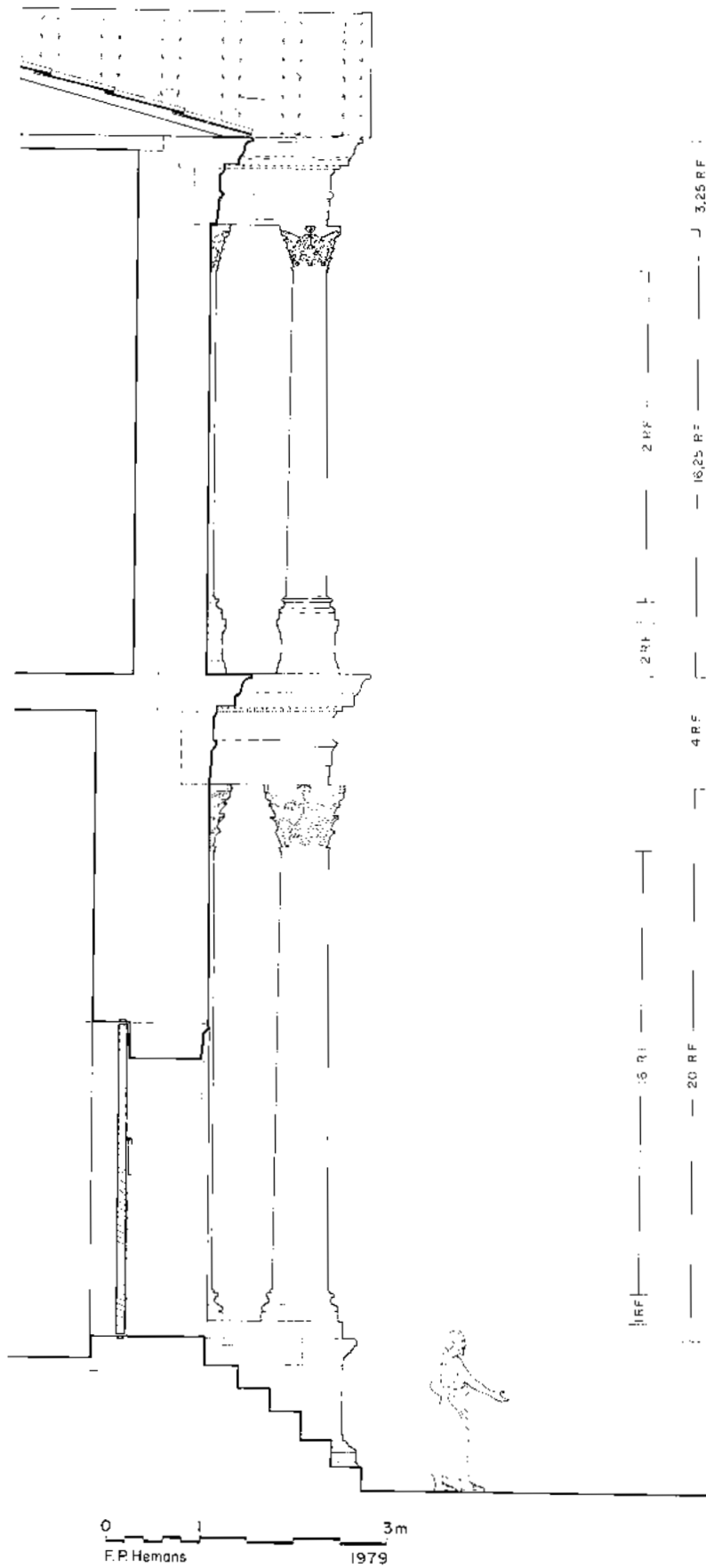


Figure 96. Restored section and elevation of Scenae-frons. Phase II (F.P. Hemans 1979).

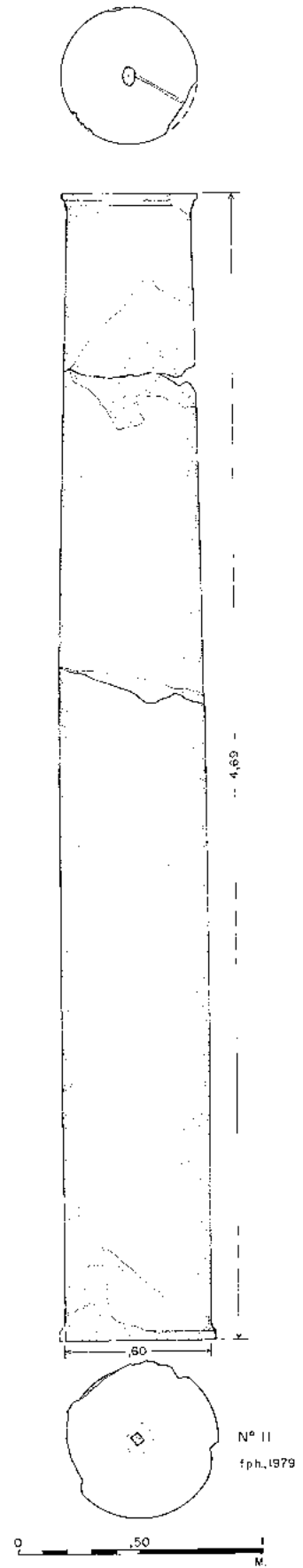


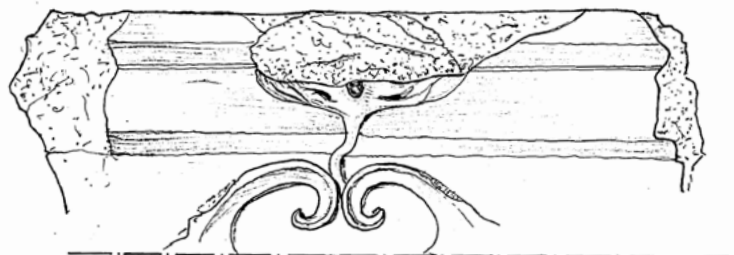
Figure 97. First story column. No 11, from table II.1-2a (F.P. Hemans 1979).



Figure 98. Corinthian capital from first story of Scaenae-frons. No.23, table II.2a.



N° 23



N° 23

Figure 99. Detail of flower on two faces of no. 23 (M. Prendzov 1974).

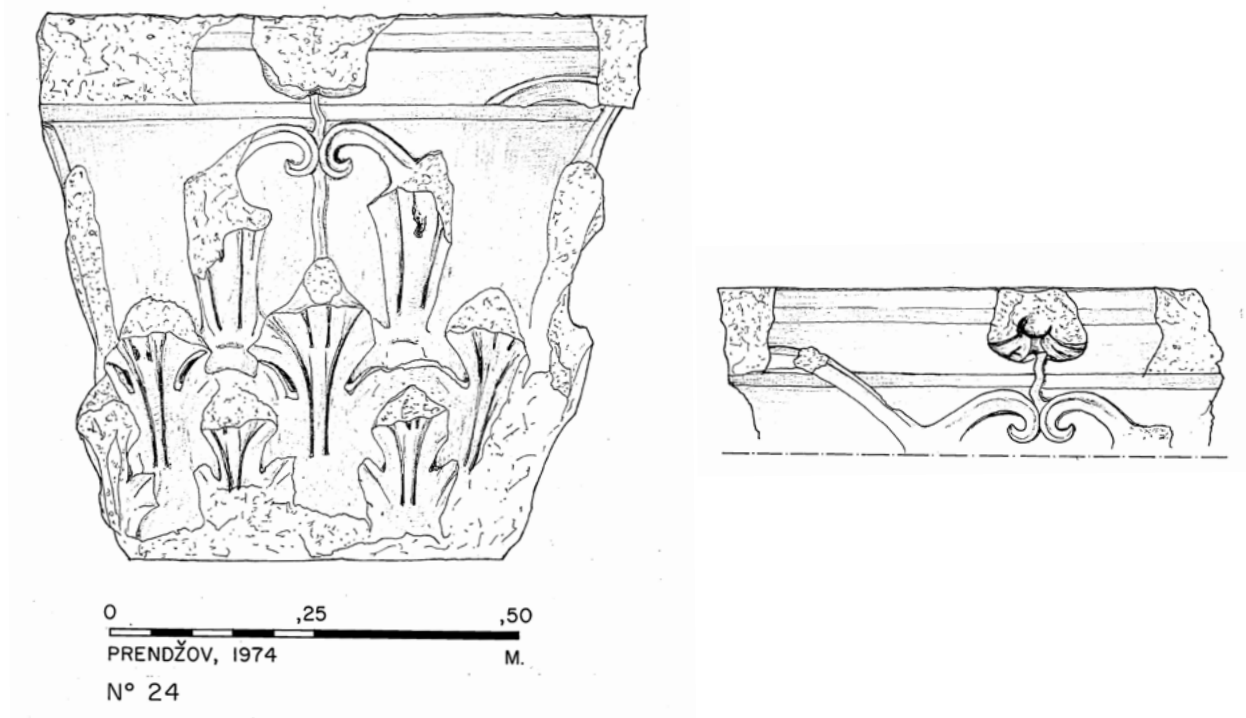


Figure 100. Detail of flower, no. 24 (M. Prendzov 1974).



Figure 101. Bottom surface of no. 25 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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Figure 102. Capital no. 24.



Figure 103. Capital no. 25.



Figure 104. Architrave-frieze block from the first story, East Porch II #29 table II.2b.



Figure 105. Architrave-frieze block from the first story, West Porch I #39.

FIGURES



Figure 106. Architrave-frieze block from the first story, West Porch I no. 40, cutting for letters attached to architrave.

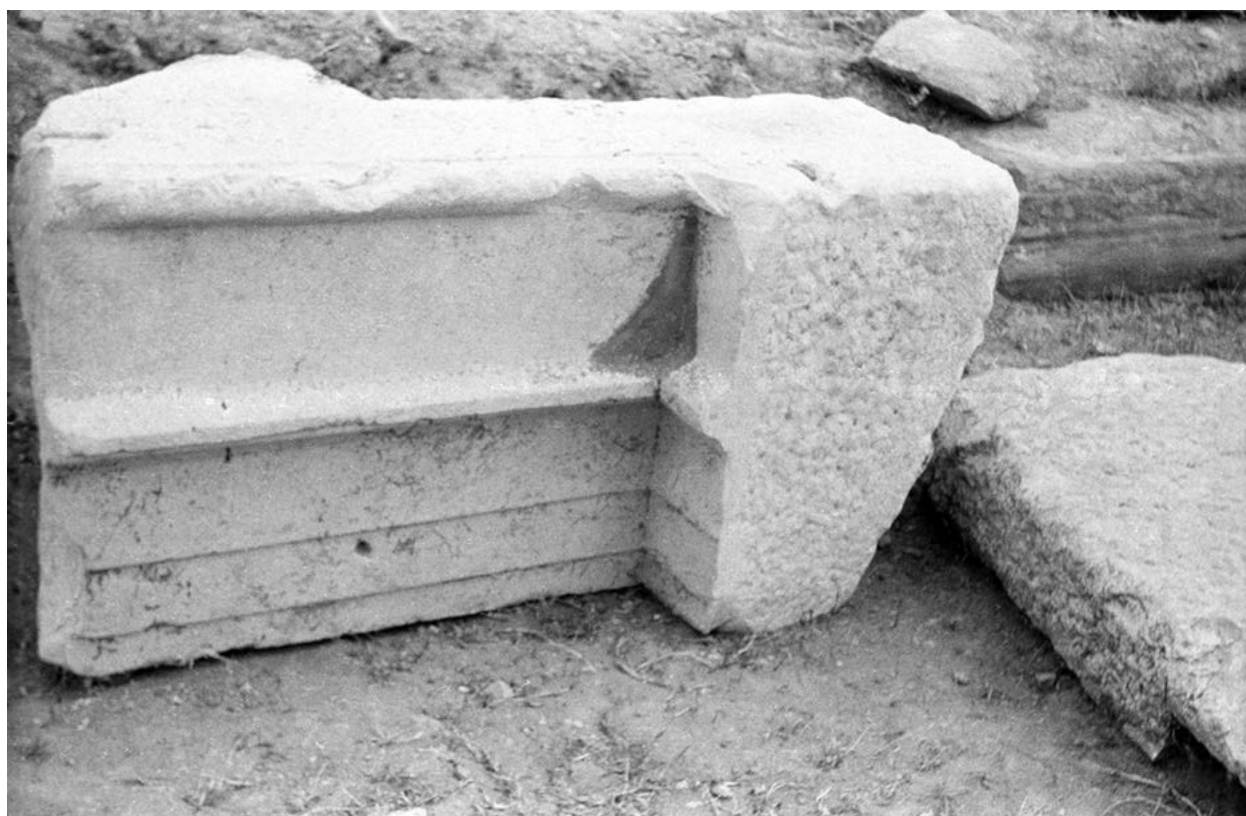


Figure 107. Architrave-frieze block from the first story, East Porch II no. 32.

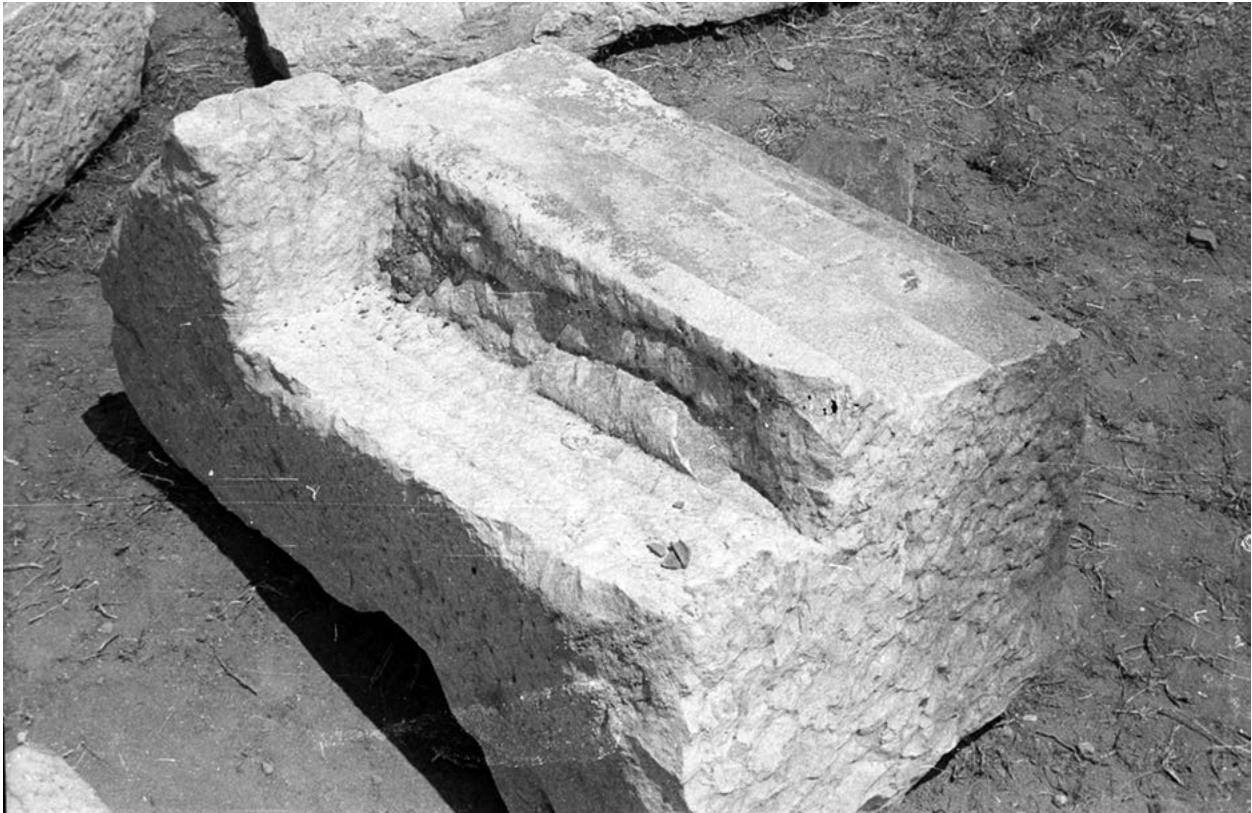


Figure 108. Architrave-frieze block from the first storey, rear view of no. 32 showing cuttings for roof beams.

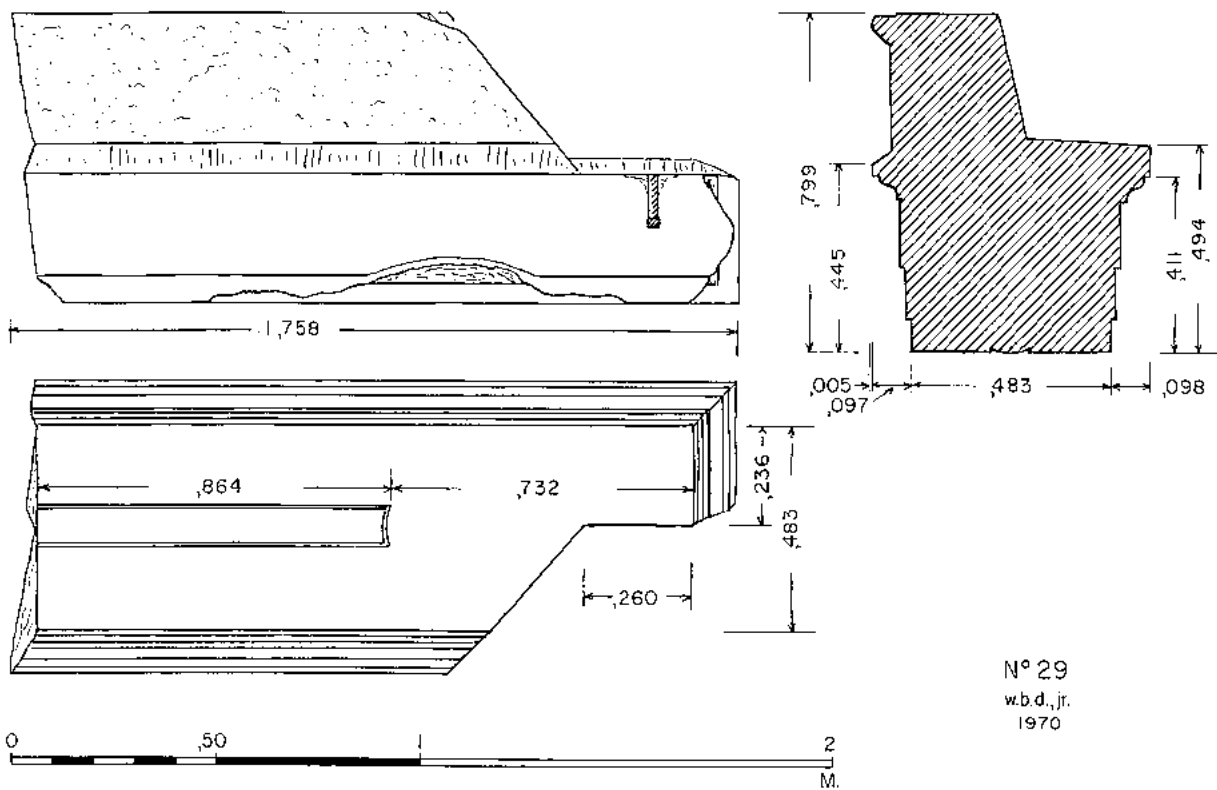


Figure 109. No. 29 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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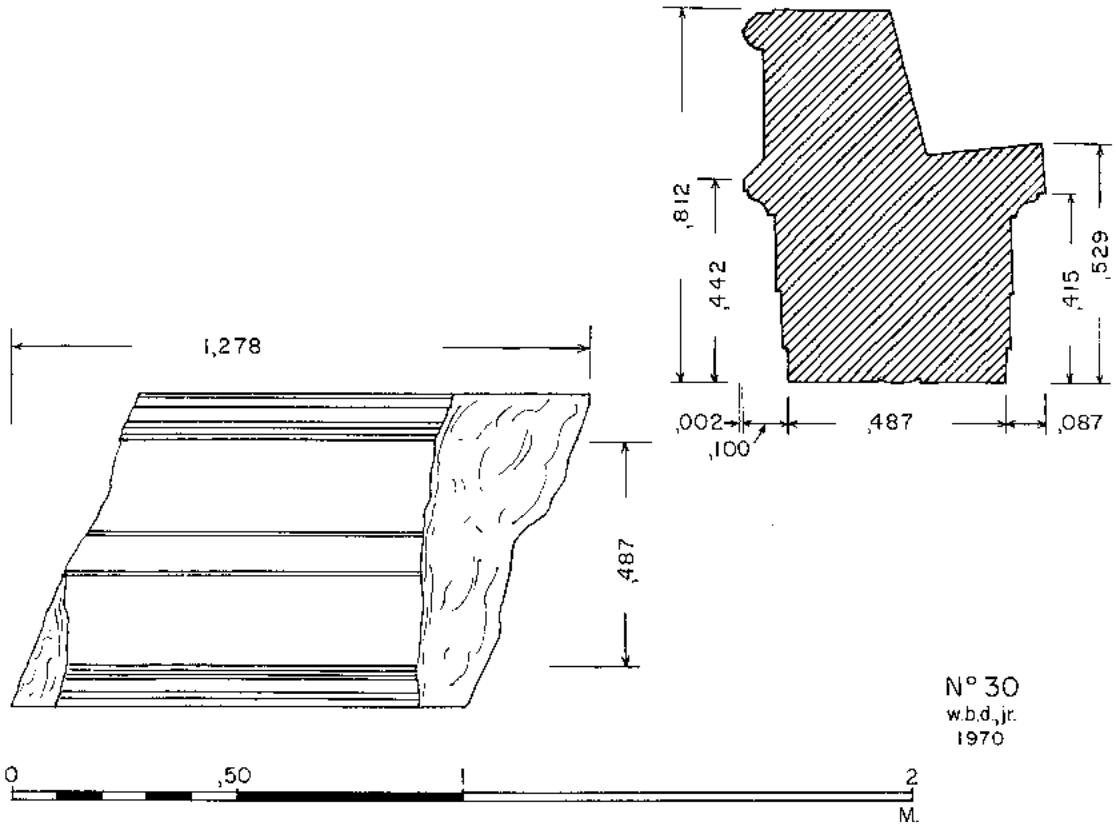


Figure 110. No. 30 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

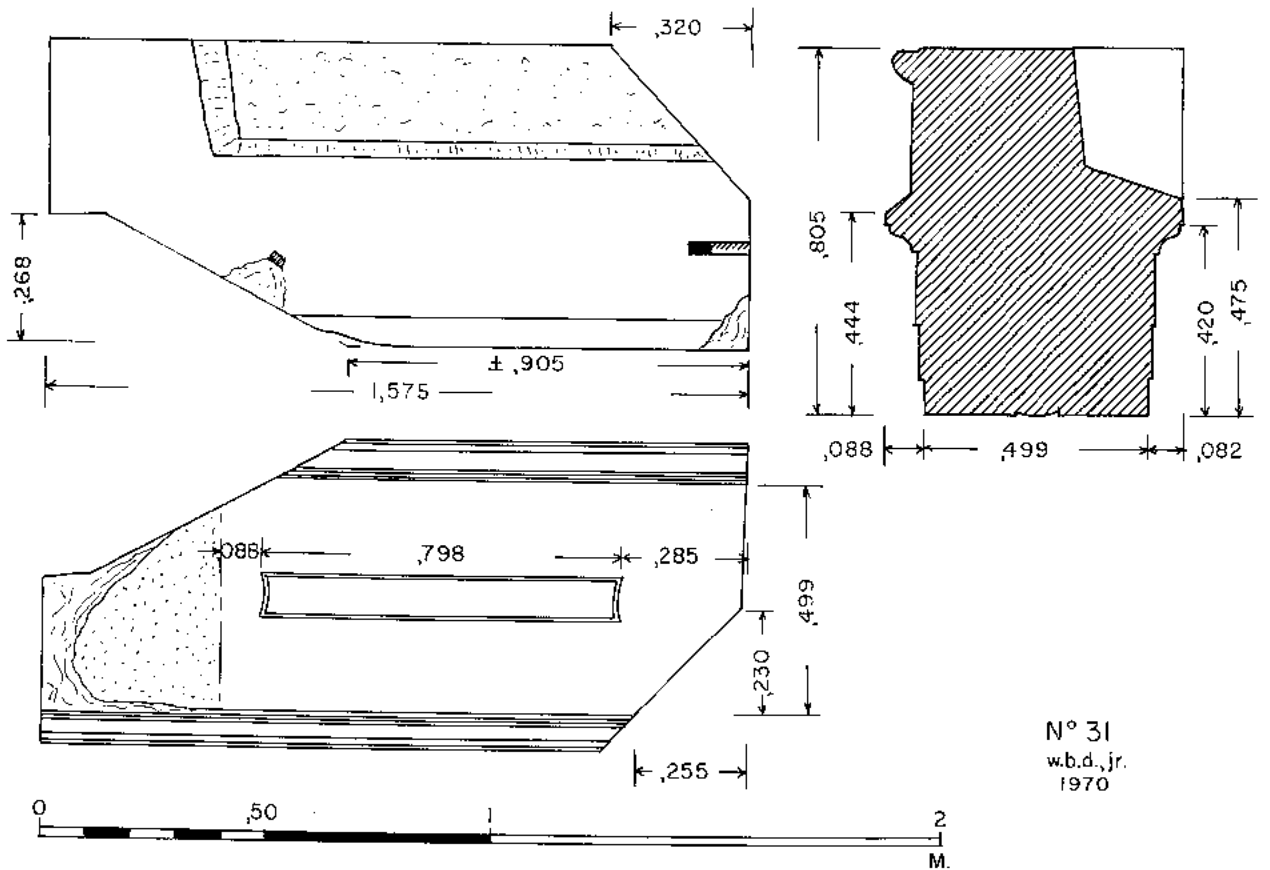


Figure 111. No. 31 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

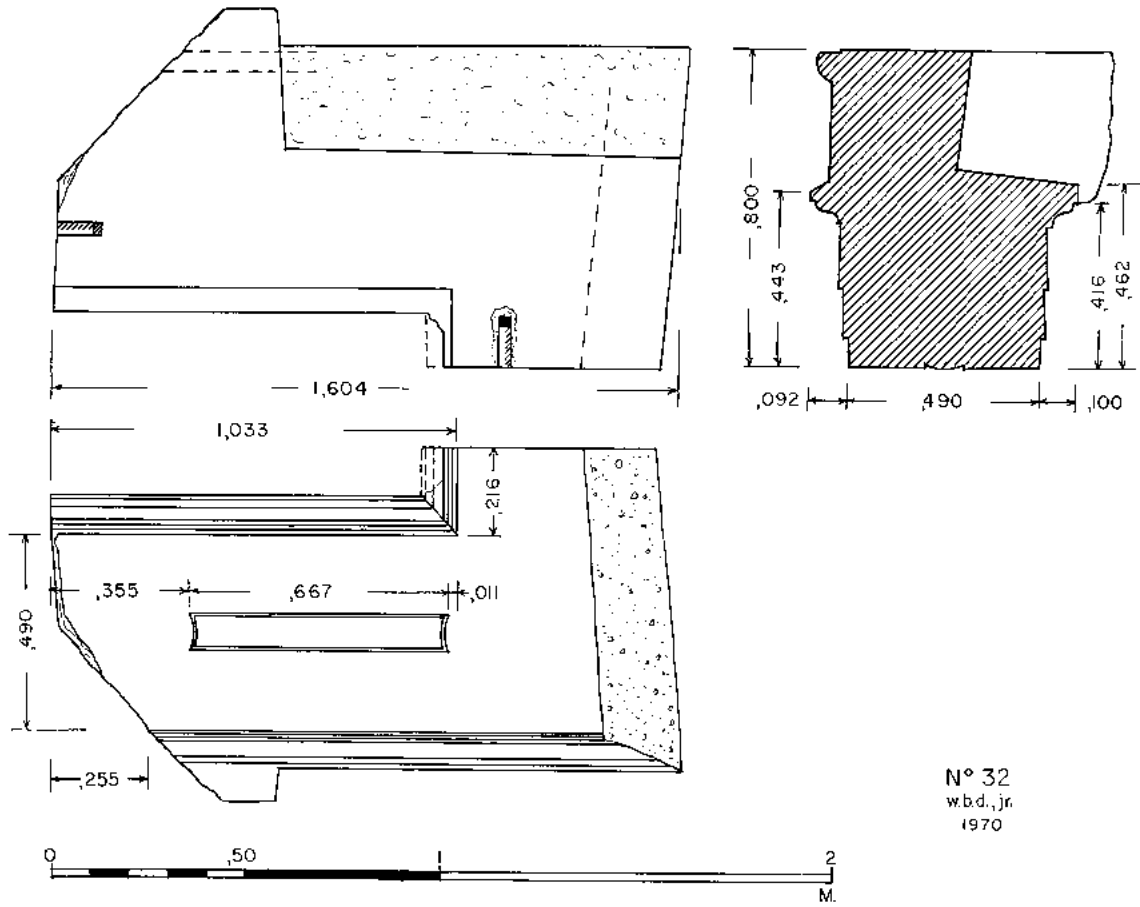


Figure 112. No. 32 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

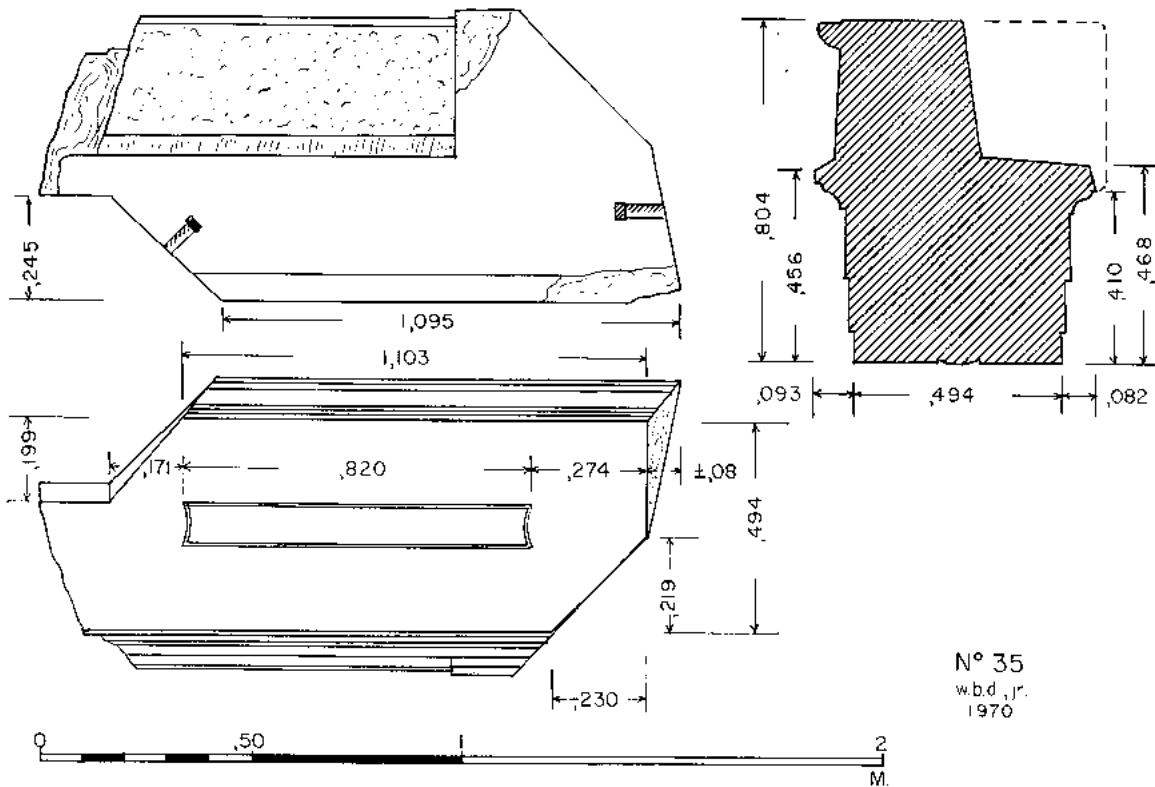


Figure 113. No. 35. (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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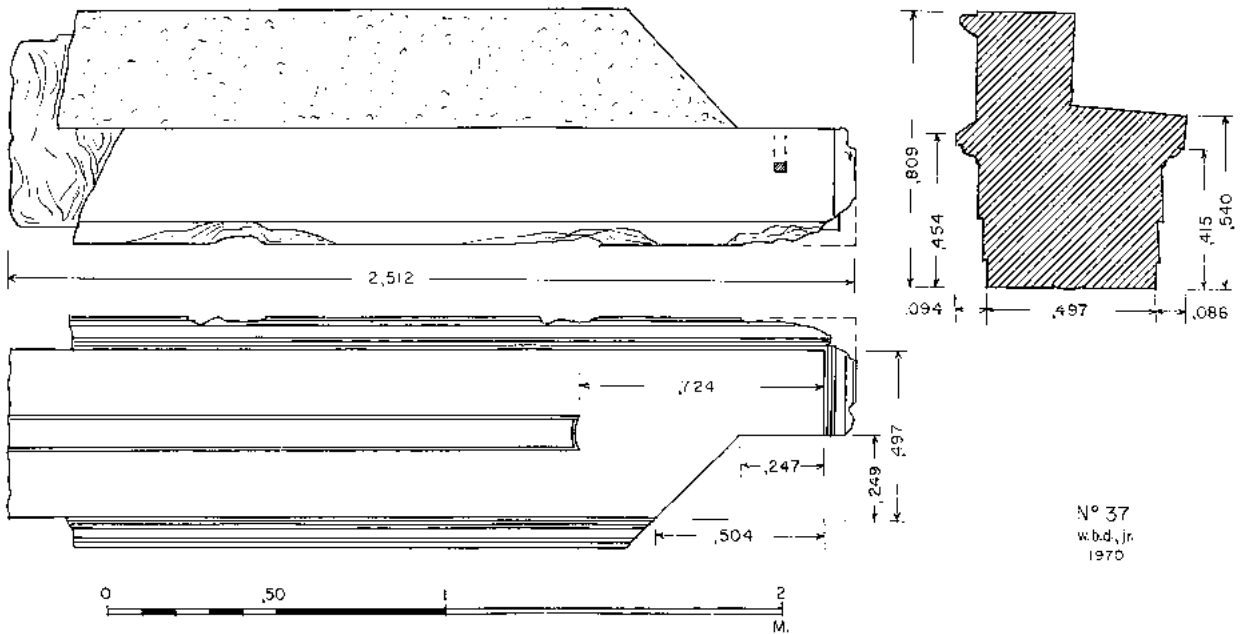
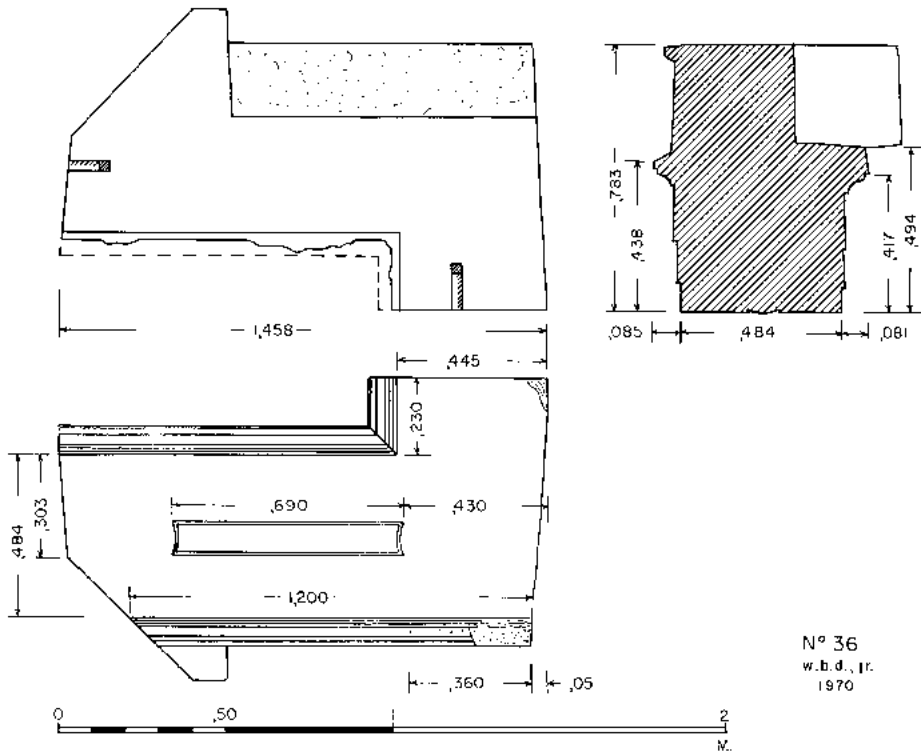


Figure 115. No. 37 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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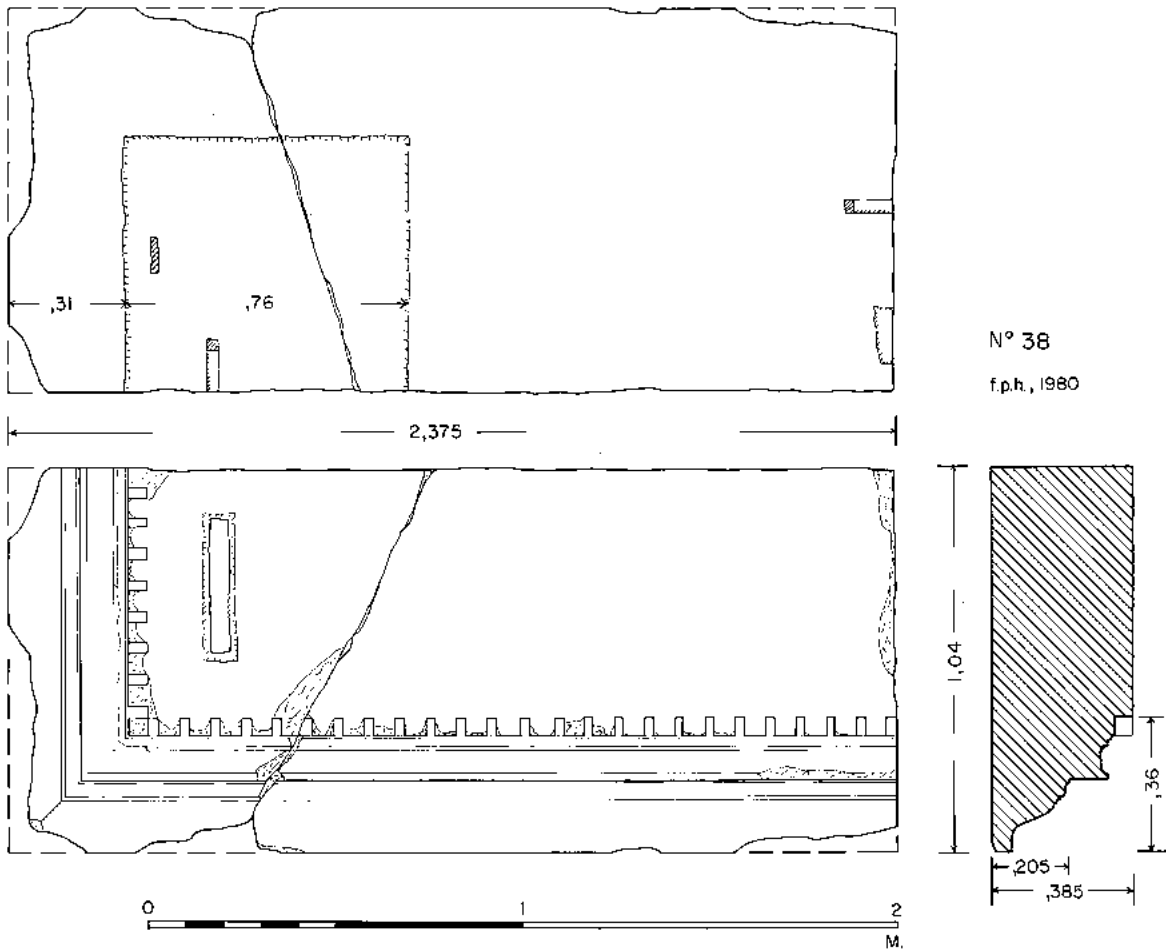


Figure 116. No. 38 (F.P.Hemans 1980).

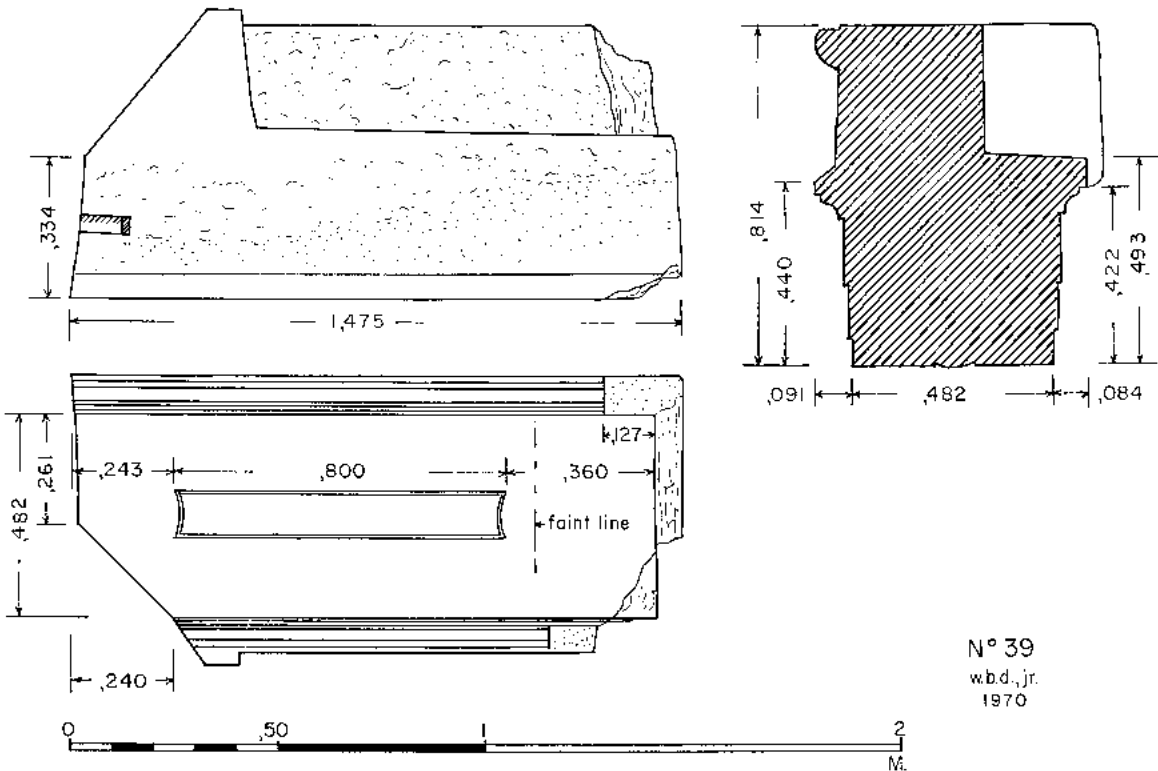


Figure 117. No. 39 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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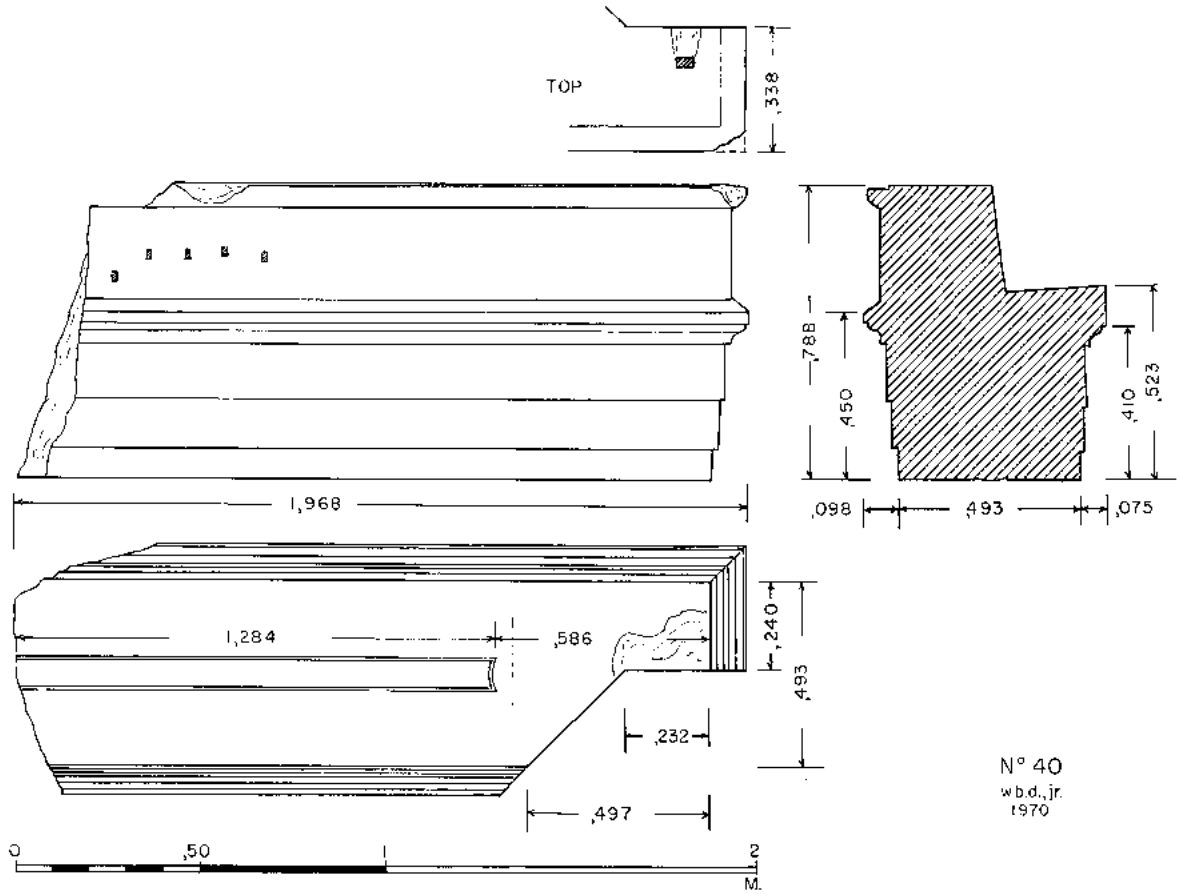


Figure 118. No. 40 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

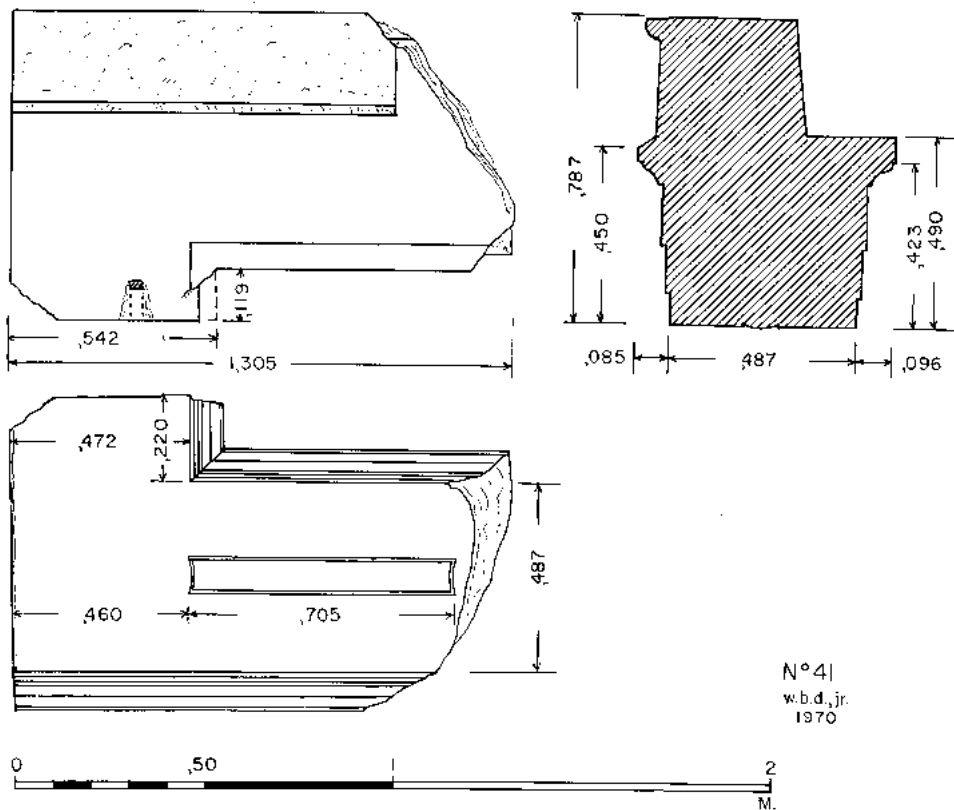


Figure 119. No. 41 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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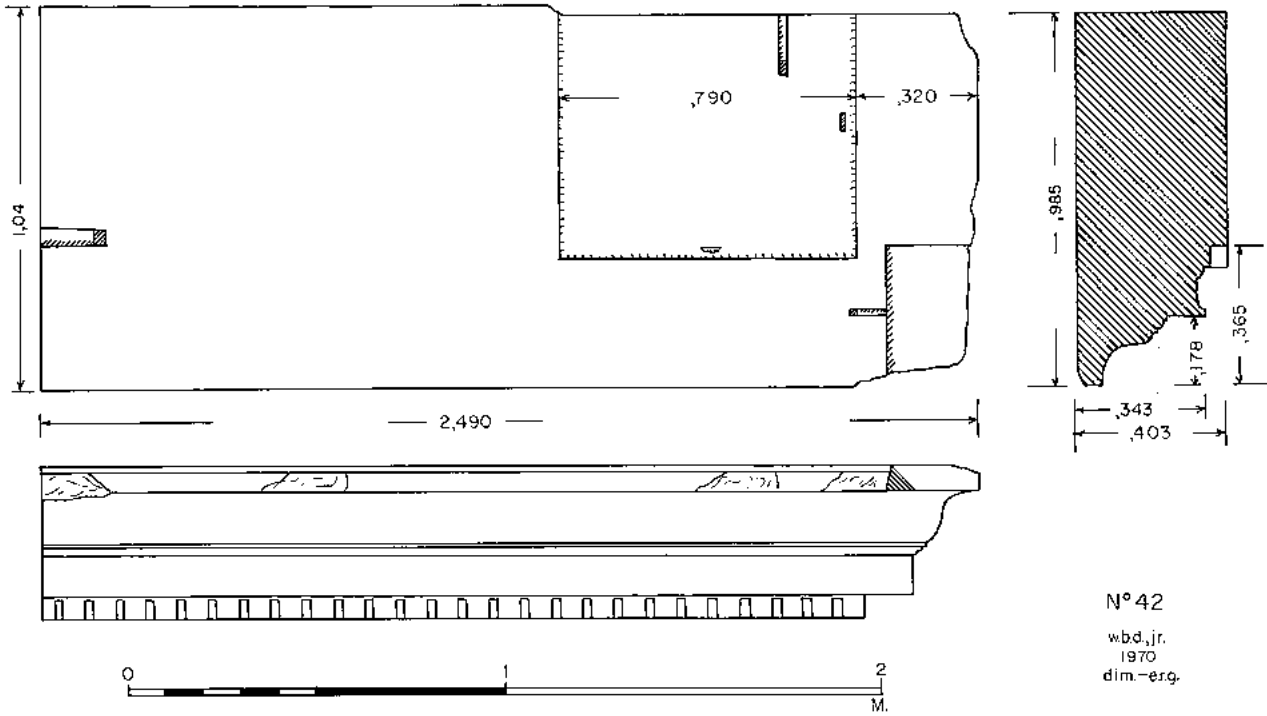


Figure 120. No. 42. (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

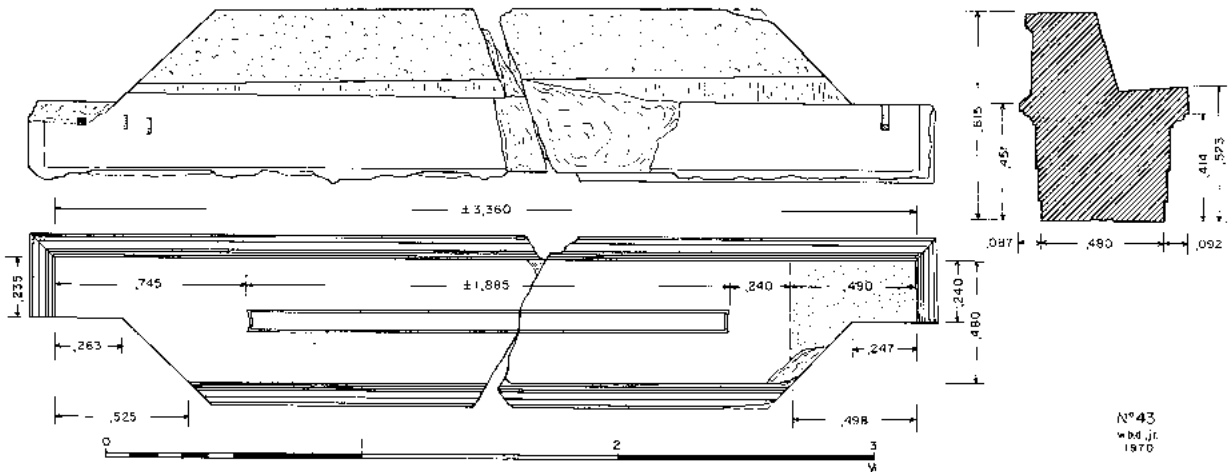


Figure 121. No. 43. (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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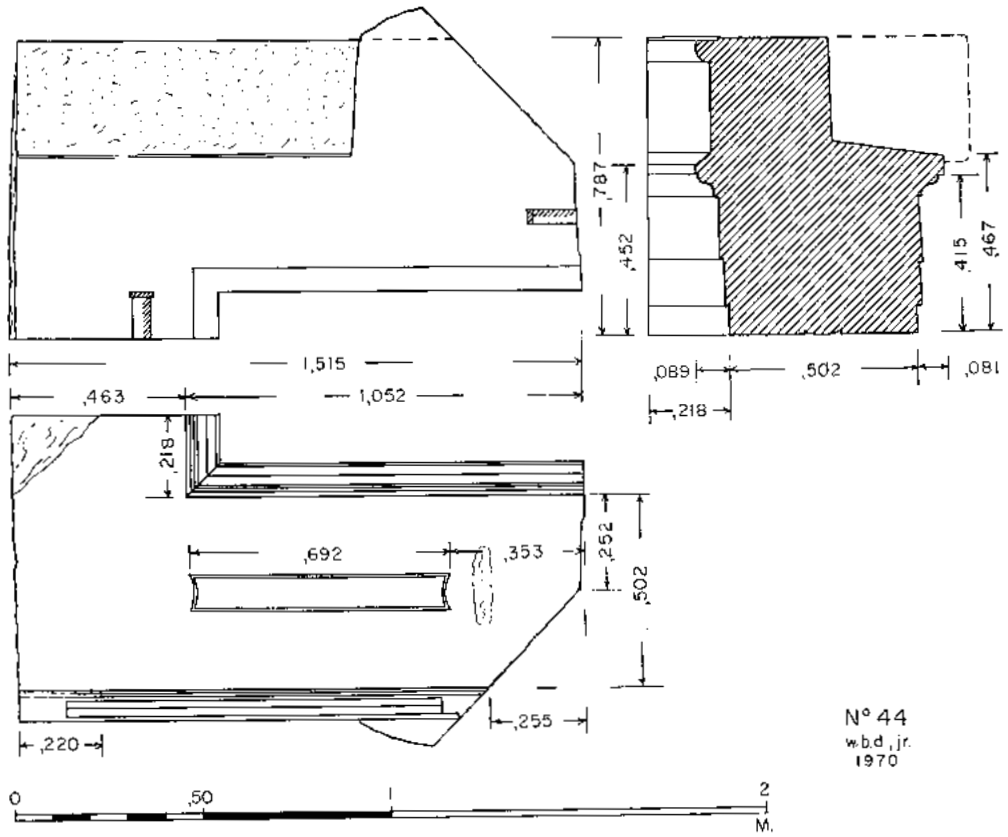


Figure 122. No. 44 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

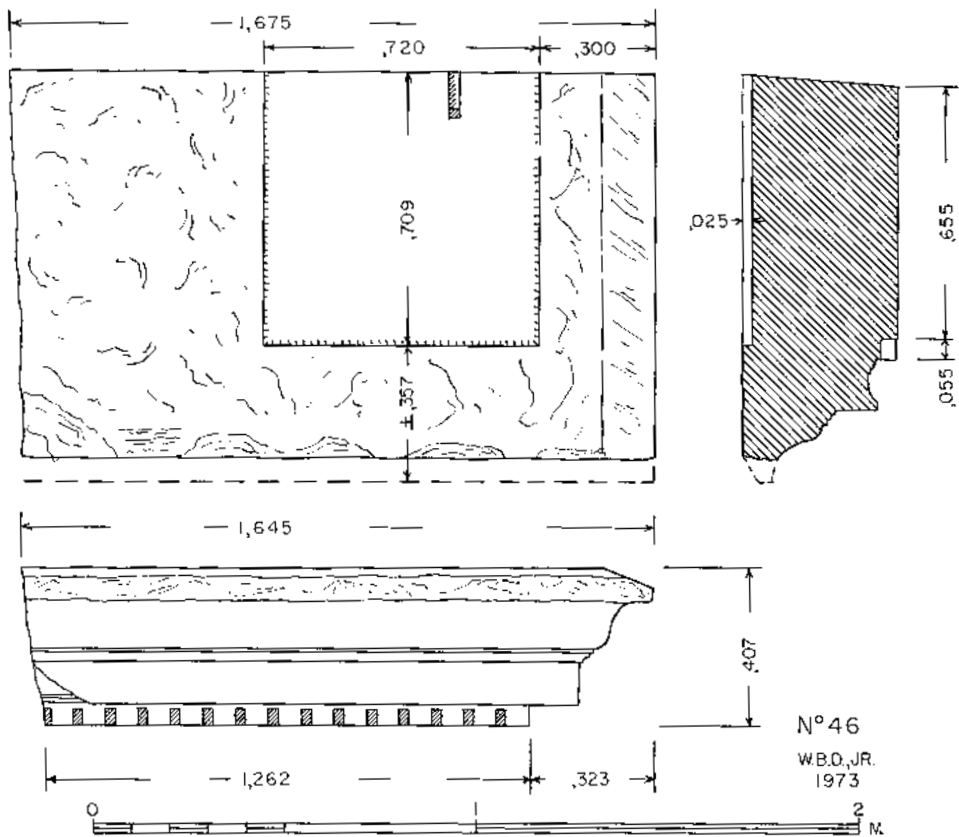


Figure 123. No. 46 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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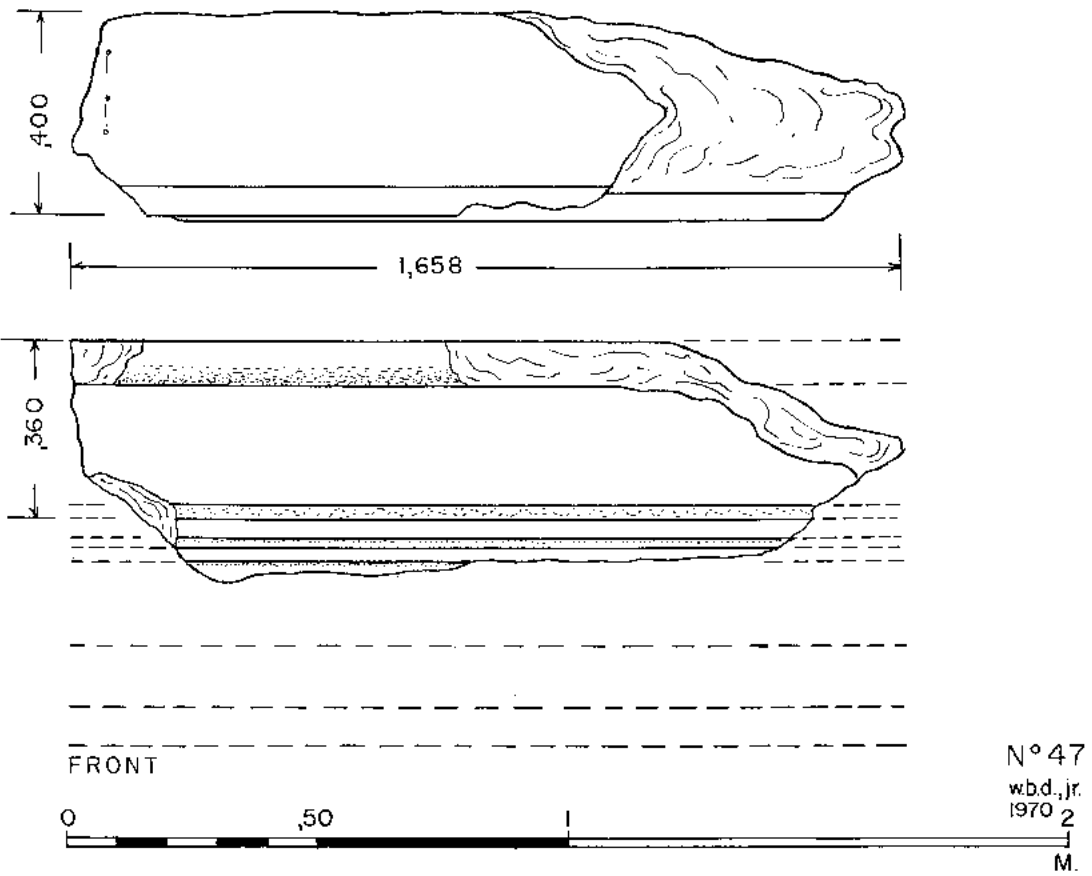


Figure 124. No. 47 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

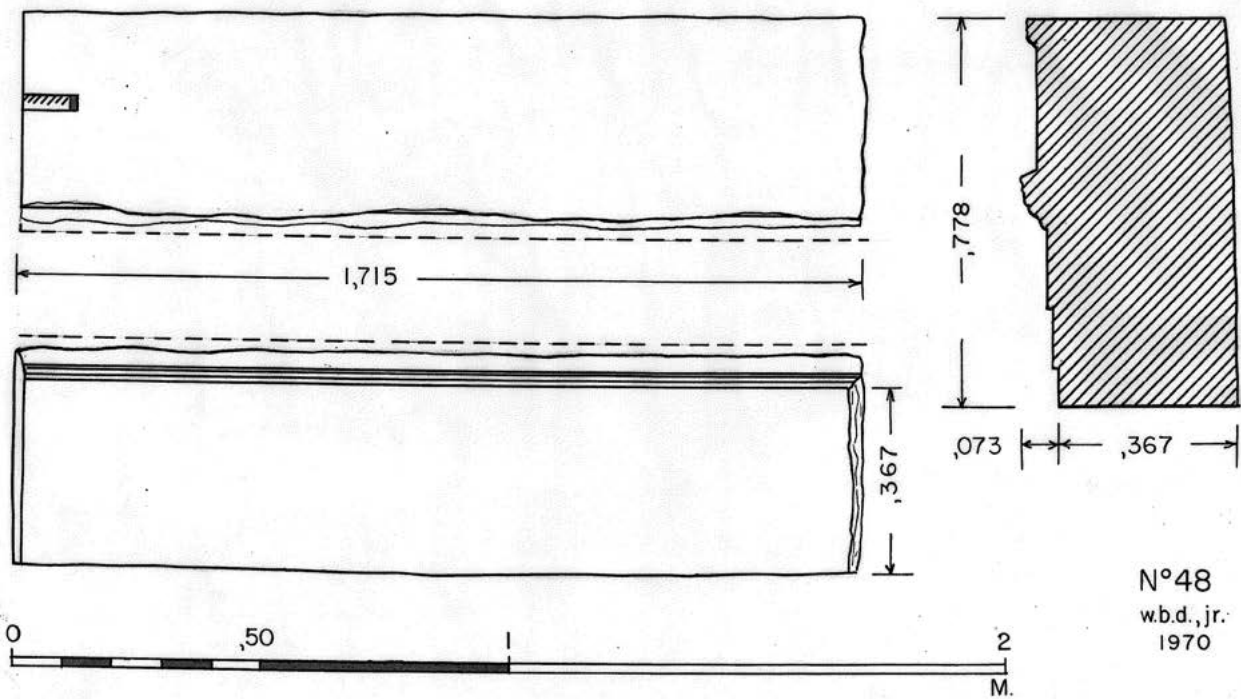


Figure 125. No. 48 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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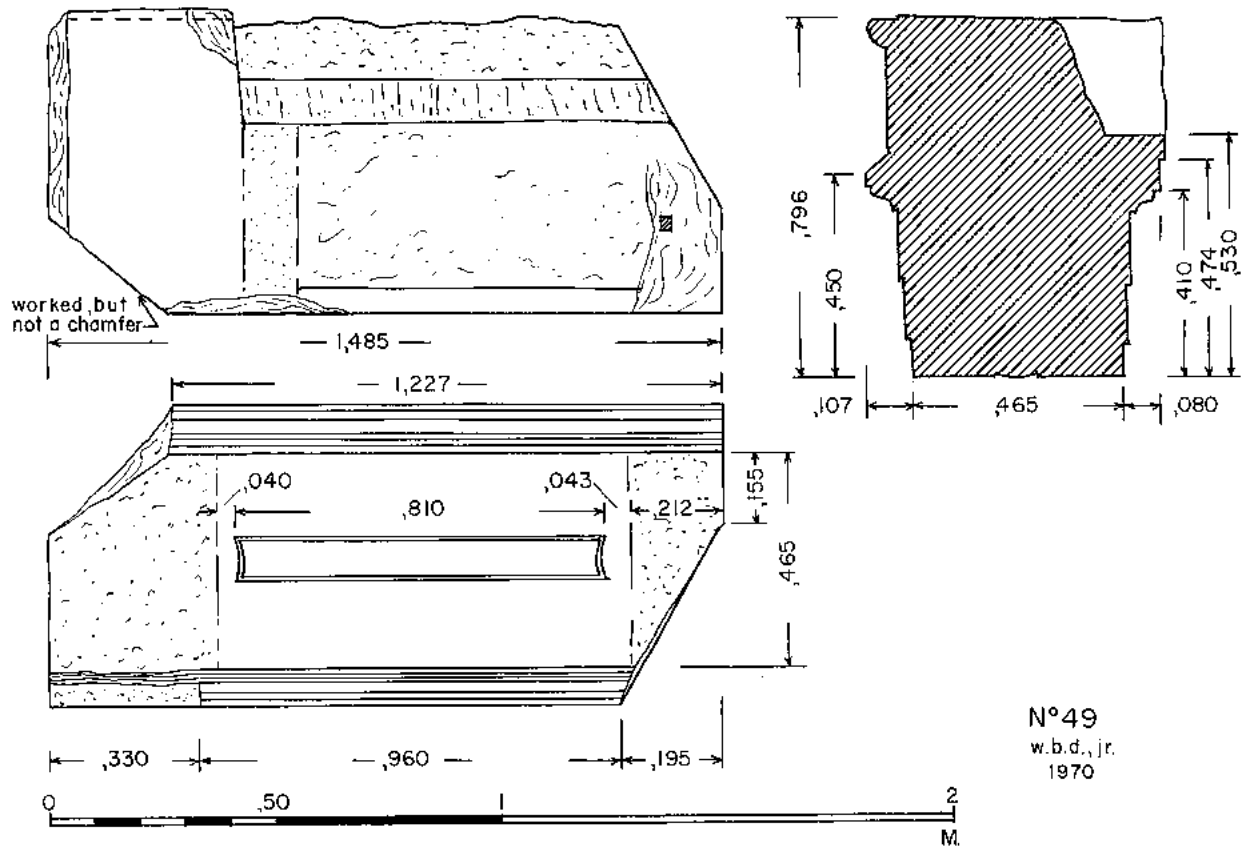


Figure 126. No. 49. (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

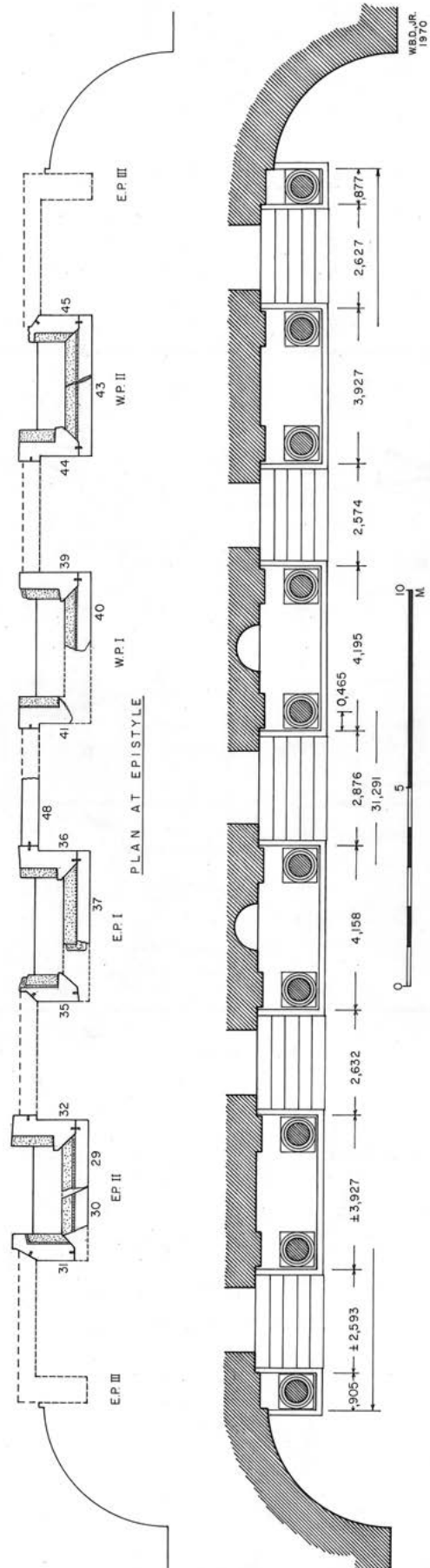


Figure 127. Epistyle of first story, blocks and restored plan (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

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Figure 128. West Porch III, second story, no. 28, Table II.3C.



Figure 129. West Porch II, northwest corner, first story, no. 46, Table II.2B.



Figure 130. Same top view with bedding for pedestal.



Figure 131. East Porch I, east end, first story, no. 38, Table II.2B.

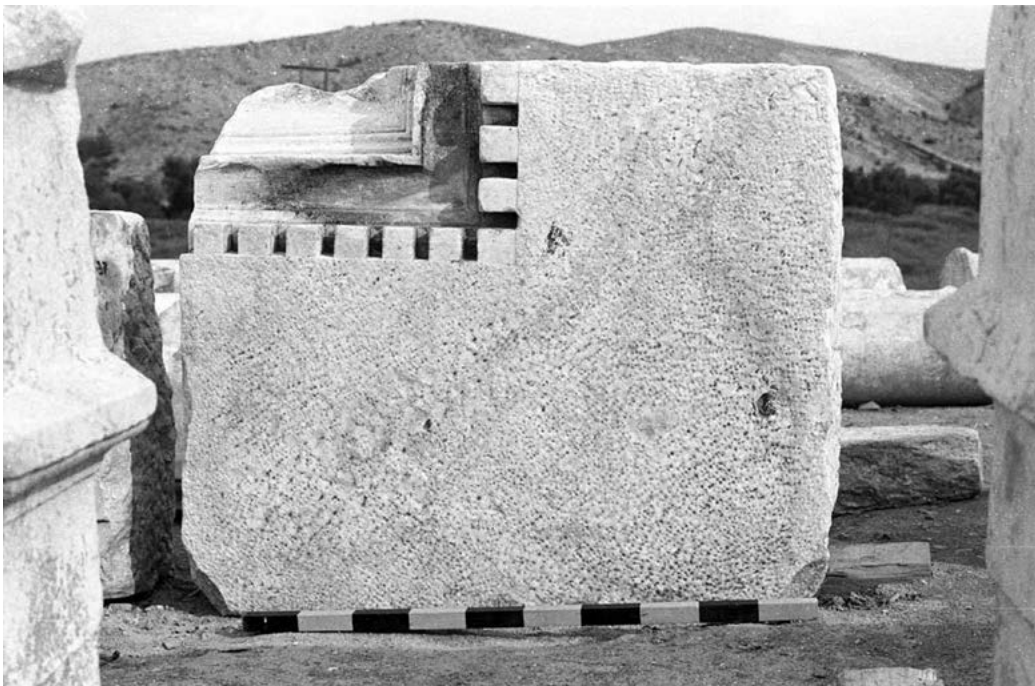


Figure 132. East Porch II, southwest corner, no. 33, Table II.2B.

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Figure 133. East Porch II, northeast corner, top no. 34, Table II.2B.

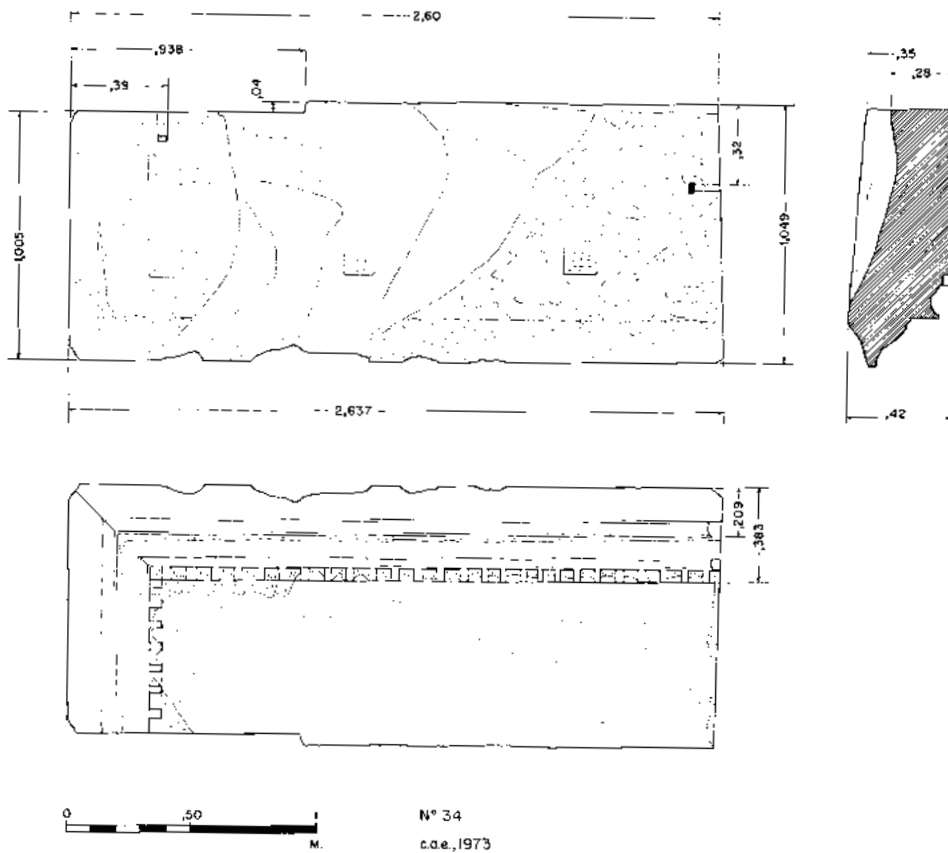
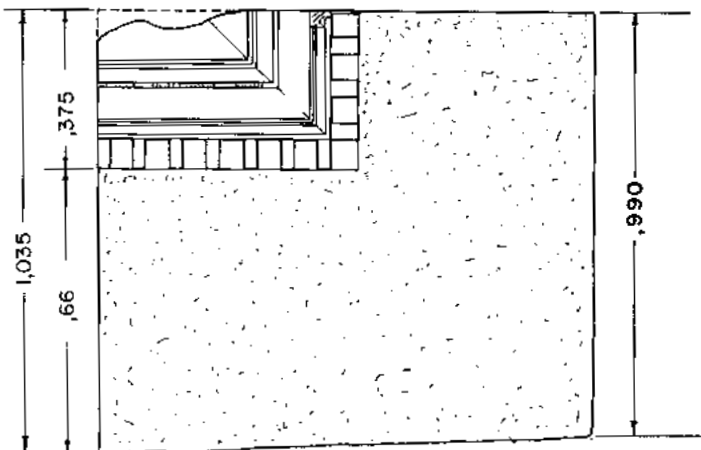
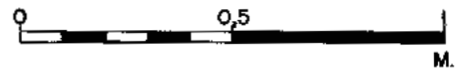
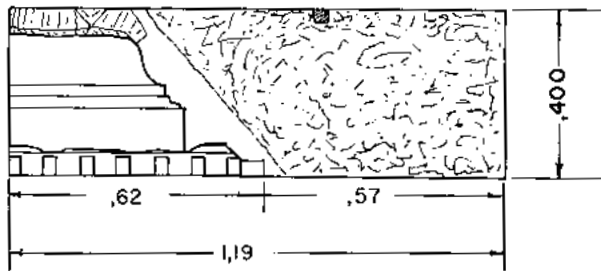
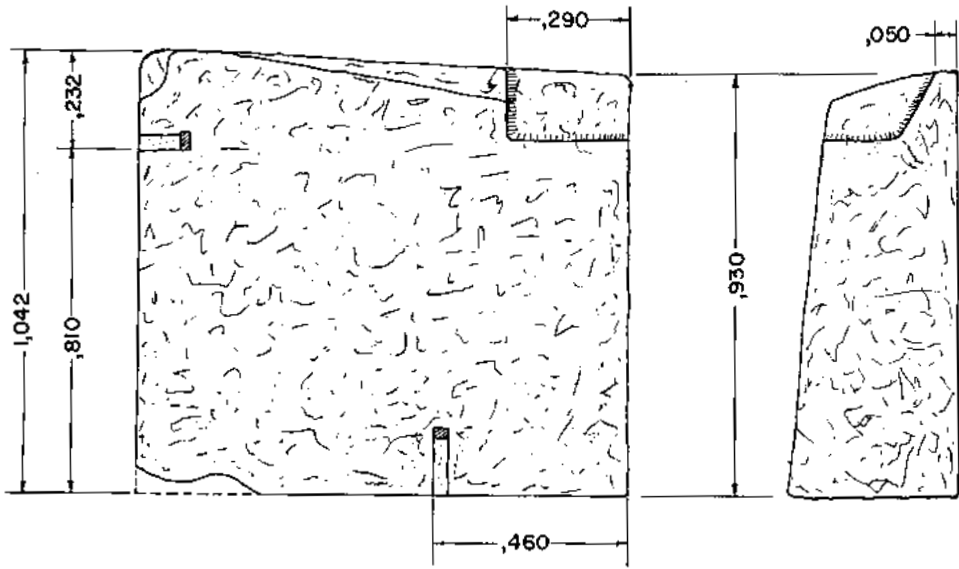


Figure 134. No. 34 (Charles Ehrhorn 1973).

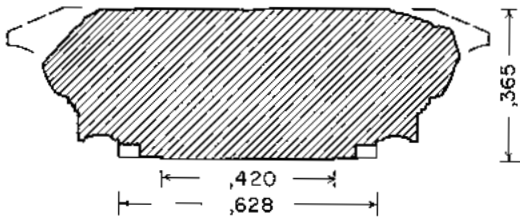
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N° 33  
1973  
c.a.e.

Figure 135. No. 33 (Charles Ehrhorn 1973).

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N° 28

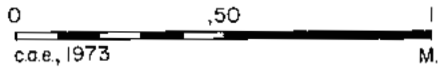
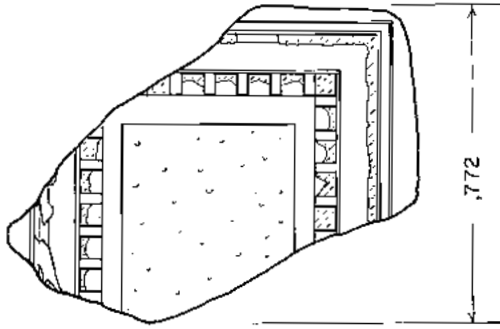


Figure 136. No. 28 (Charles Ehrhorn 1973).

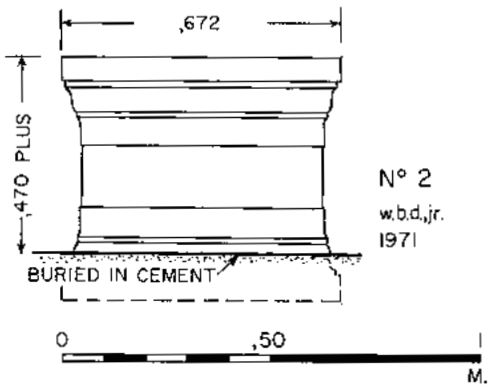
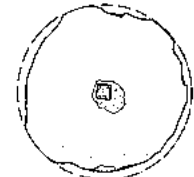
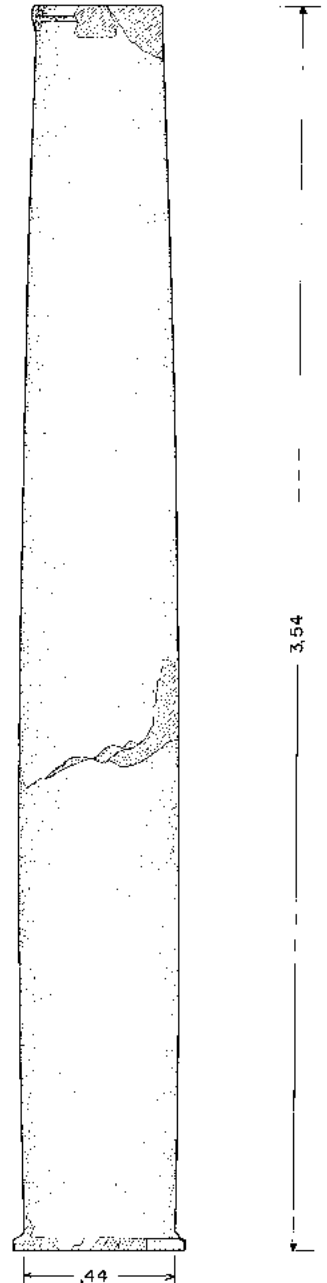
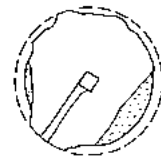


Figure 137. No. 2. Pedestal (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).



N° 12

f.p.h. 1979

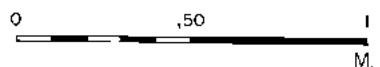


Figure 138. No. 12. Column (F.P.Hemans 1979).

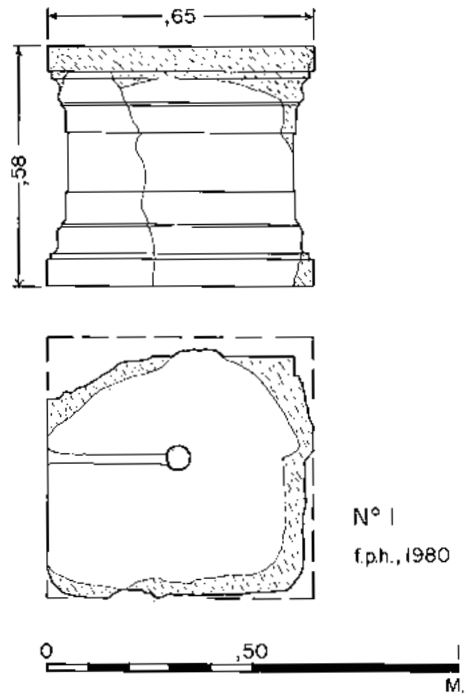


Figure 139. Pedestal reused in Theodosian Palace, no. 1 (drawing) (F.P.Hemans 1980).

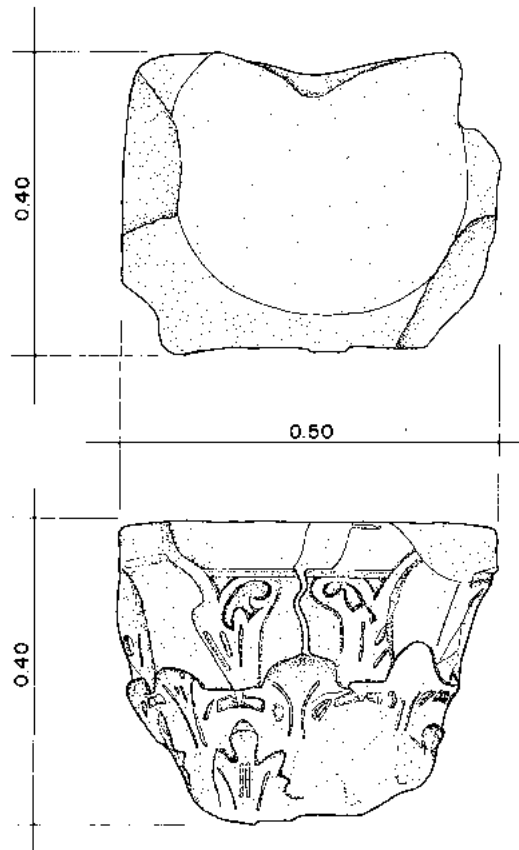


Figure 140. Pedestal reused in Theodosian Palace, no. 1.



Figure 141. Column, no. 15 in foreground.

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N° 20

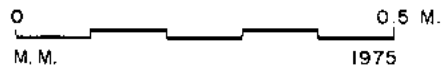


Figure 142. Capital, no. 20 (drawing) (M. Milojević 1975).



Figure 143. Capital, no. 20.

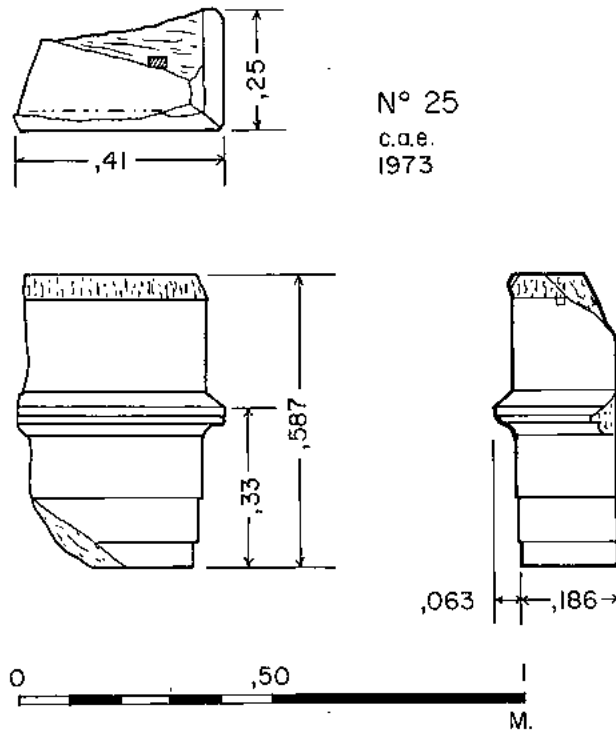


Figure 144. Architrave-frieze block, no. 25 (Charles Ehrhorn 1973).



Figure 145. Architrave-frieze block, no. 25.

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Figure 146. Architrave-frieze block, East Porch III, set into skene wall, no.21.

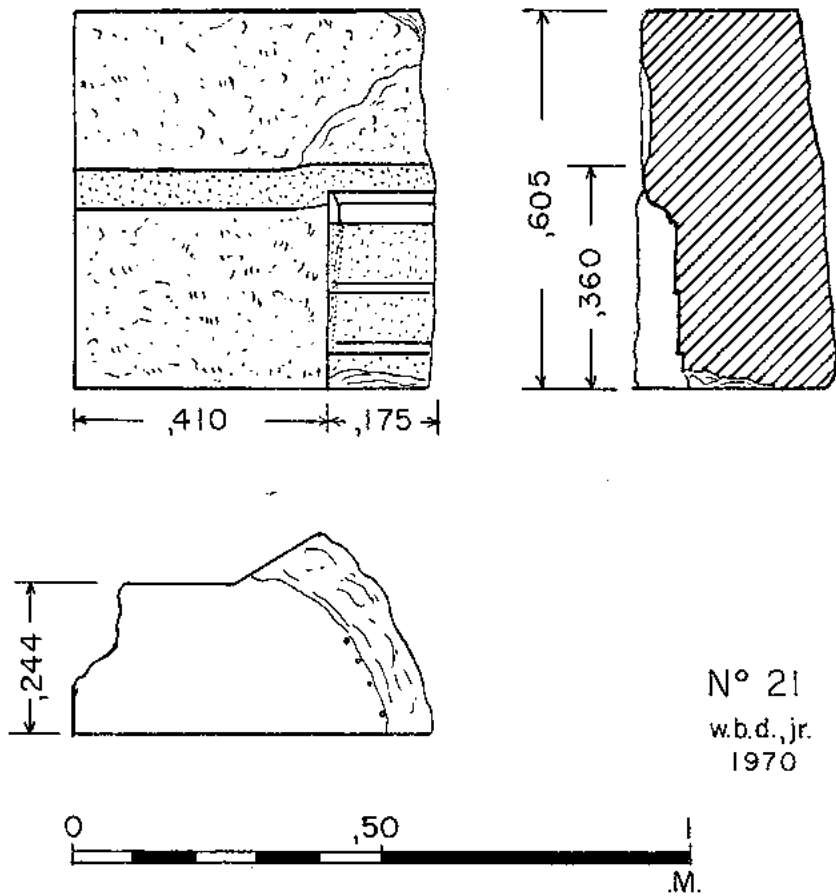


Figure 147. Frieze Block No. 21 (drawing) (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).

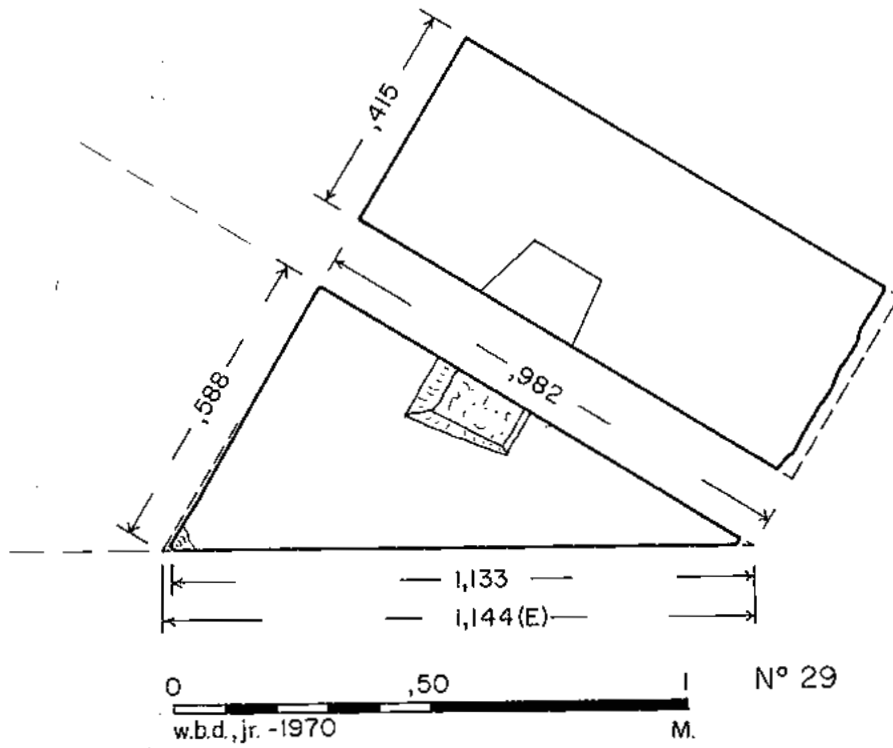
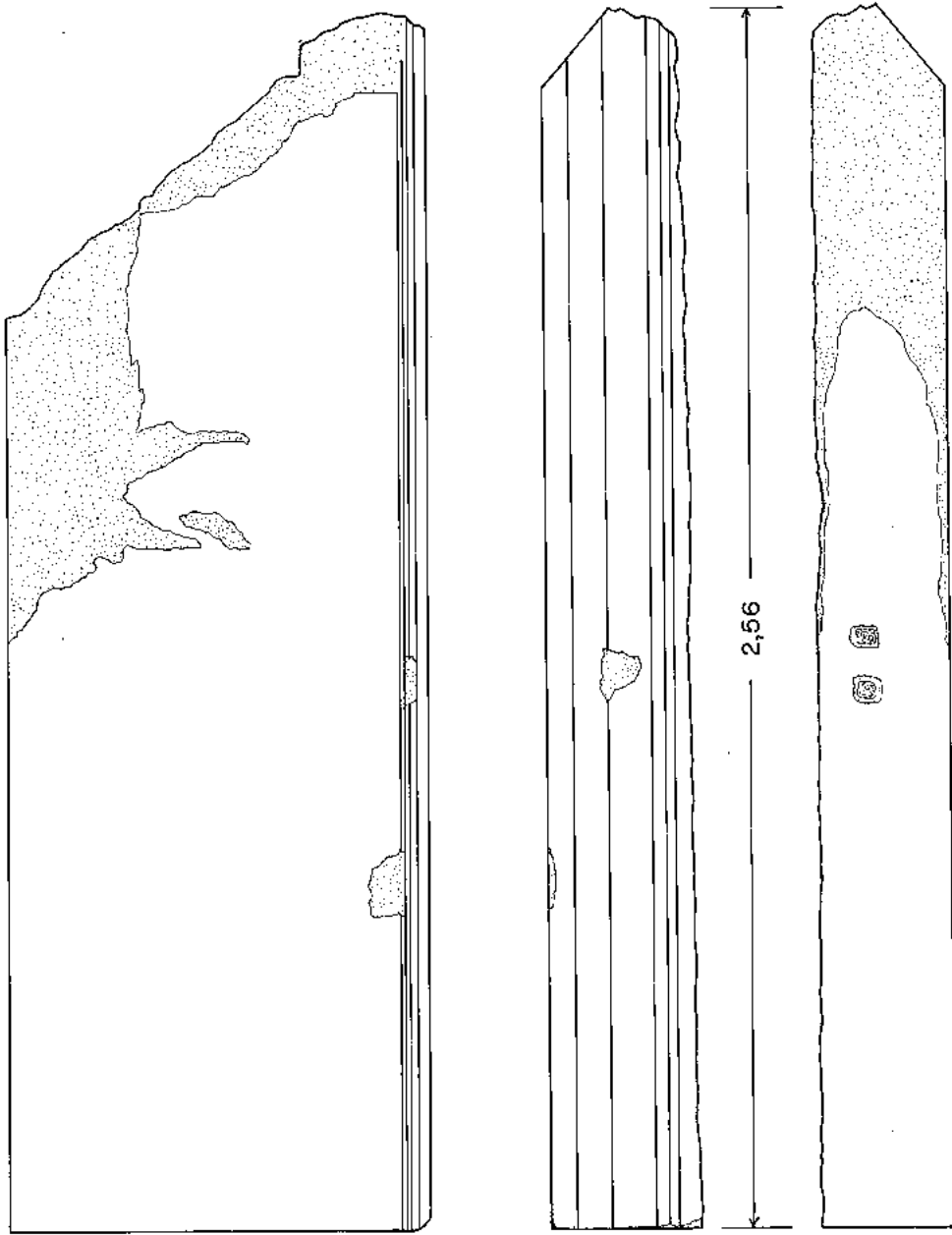


Figure 148. Block from Tympanum, no. 29 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).



Figure 149. Block from Tympanum, no. 29.

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N° 1

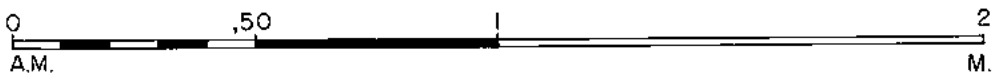


Figure 150. No. 1 (A. Milanov).

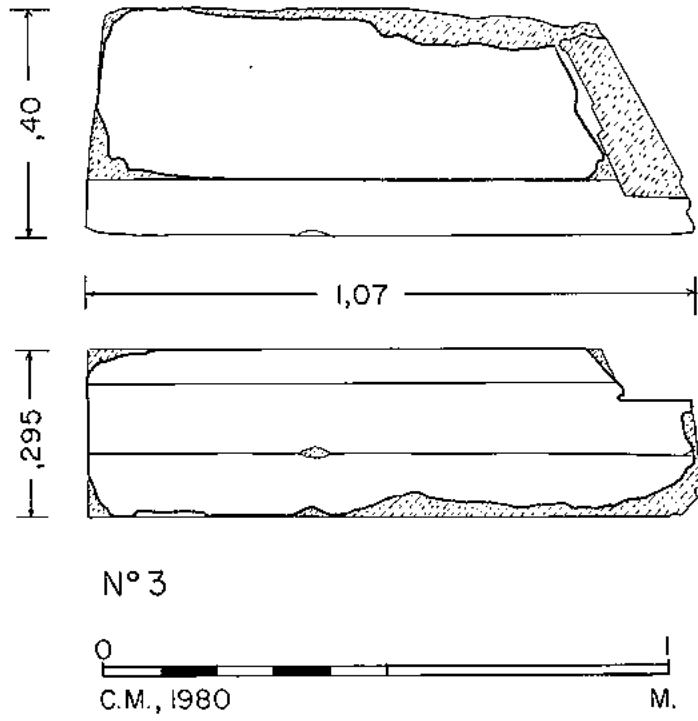


Figure 151. No. 3 (C. Morgan 1980).

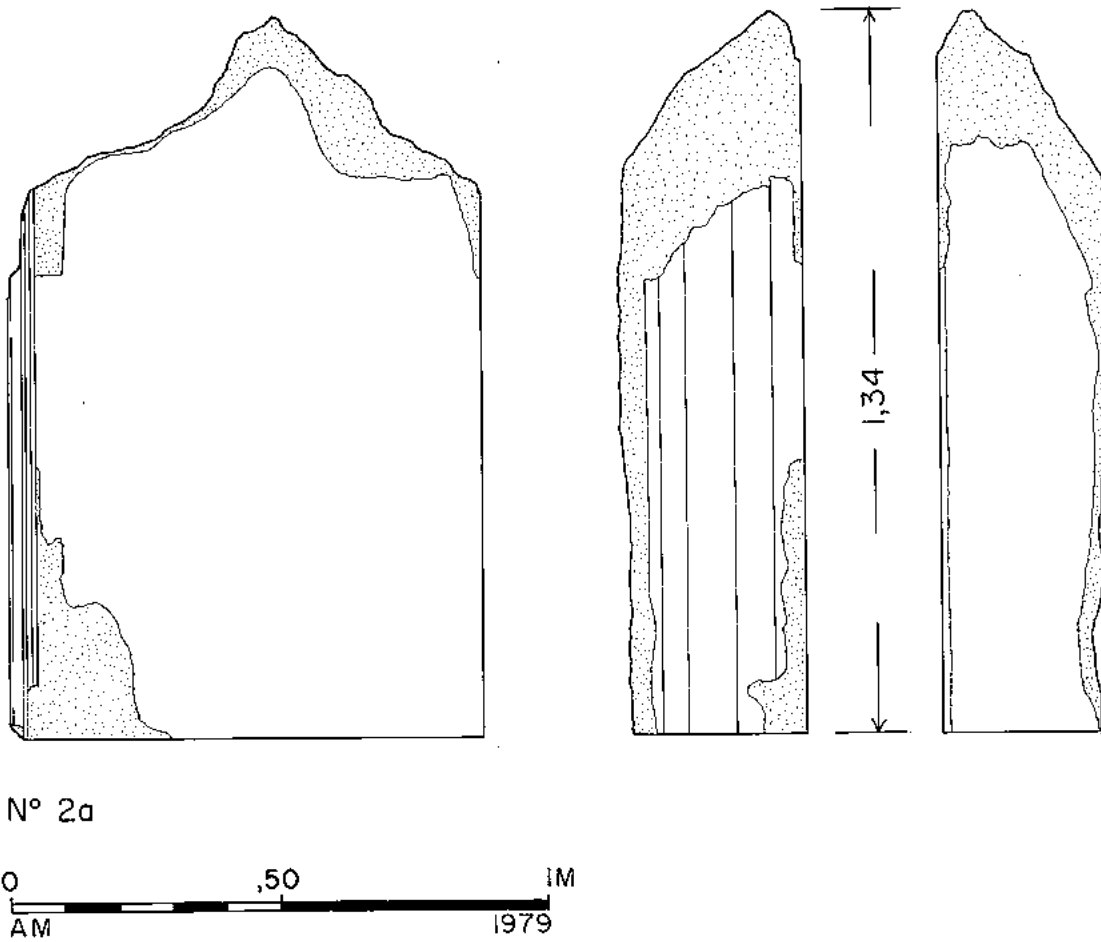


Figure 152. No. 2a (A. Milanov 1979).

FIGURES

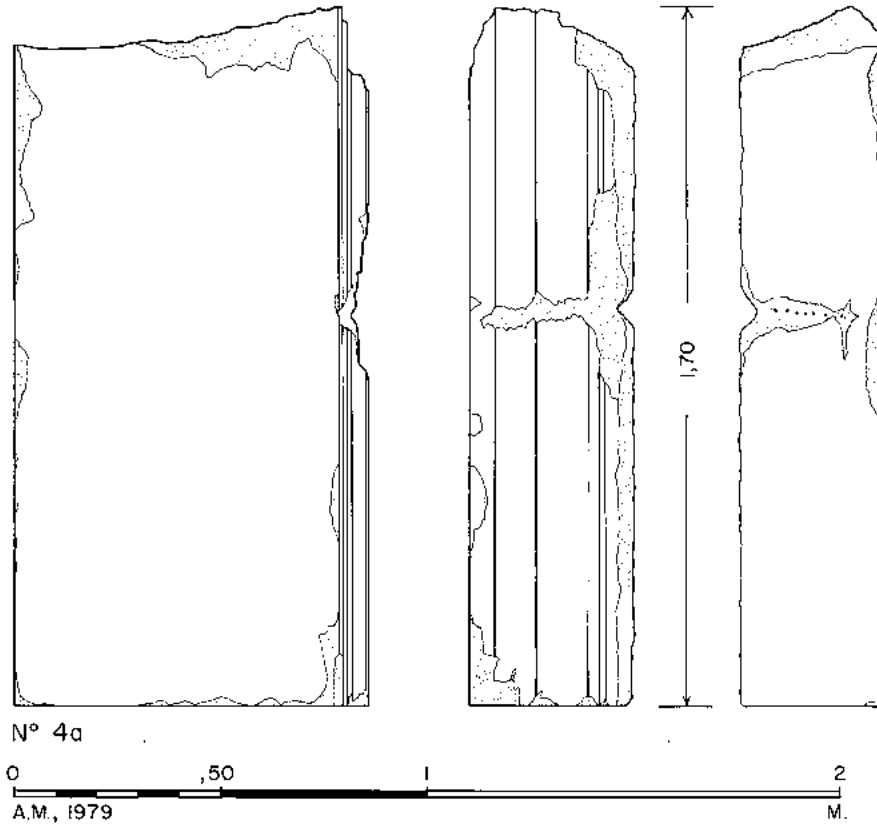


Figure 153. No. 4a (A. Milanov 1979).

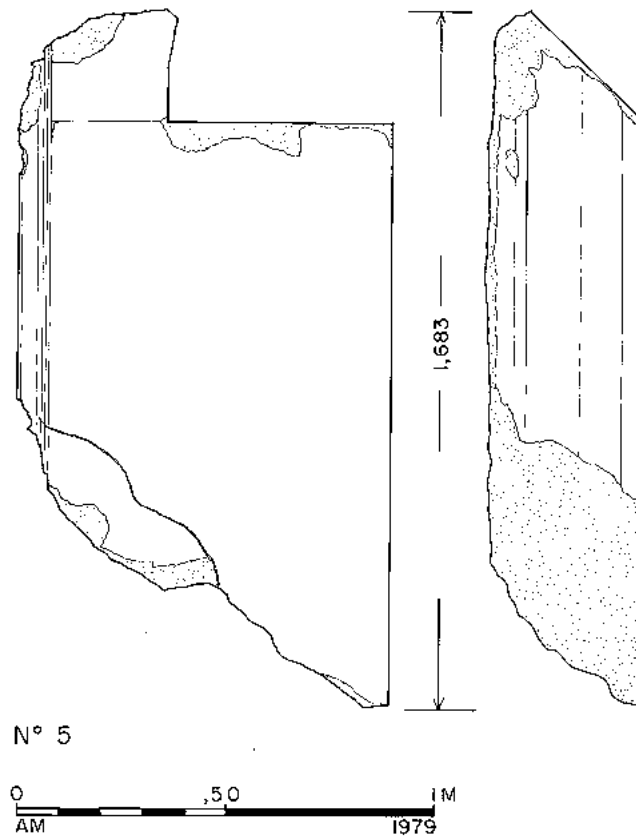


Figure 154. No. 5 (A. Milanov 1979).

THE THEATER AT STOBI

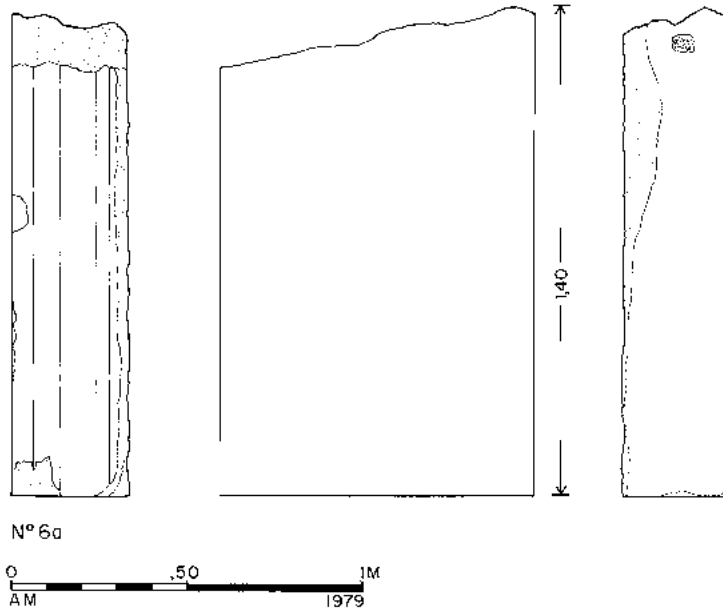


Figure 155. No. 6a (A. Milanov1979).

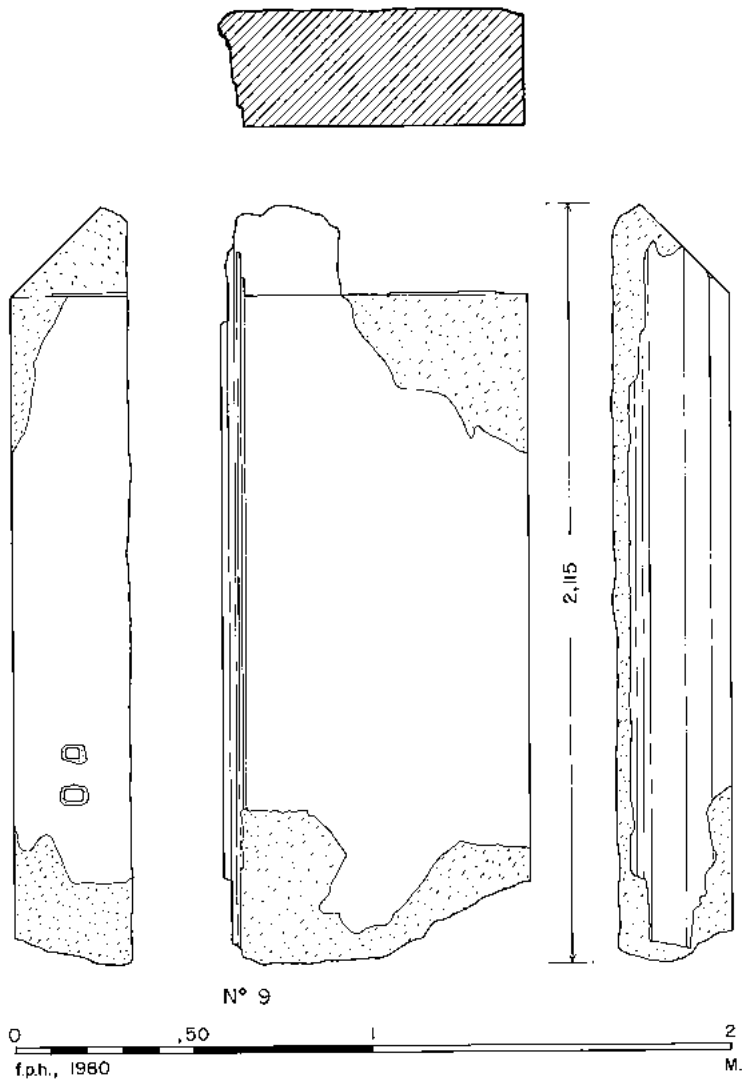


Figure 156. No. 9. (F.P.Hemans 1980).

FIGURES

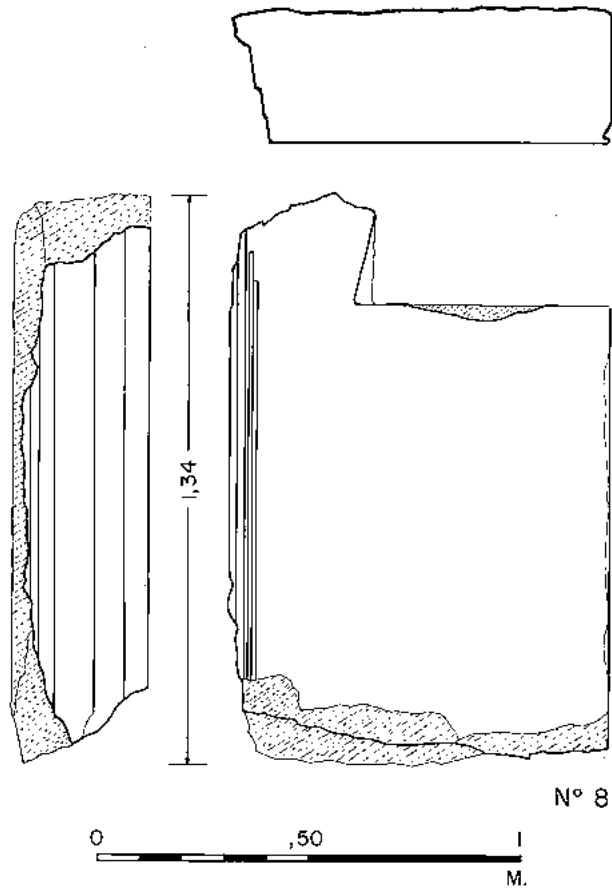


Figure 157. No. 8.

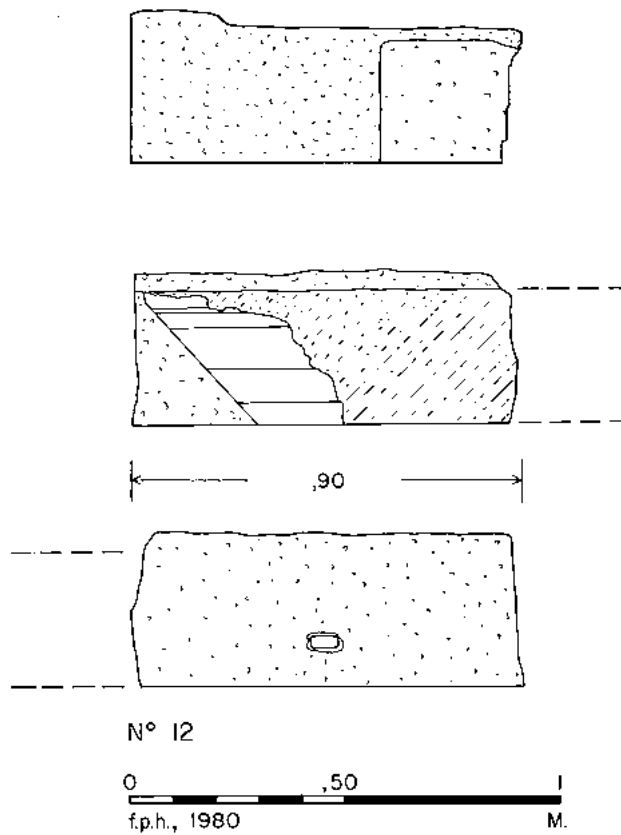


Figure 158. No. 12 (F.P. Hemans 1980).



Figure 159. Cuirassed statue, front (G. Pavlovski).



Figure 160. Cuirassed statue, rear (G. Pavlovski).



Figure 161. East additus maximus = east radial corridor vault from looking east.

FIGURES



Figure 162. Marble annalymma and wall 6 = Phase I analyma looking west.



Figure 163. West half of seats, looking southwest.

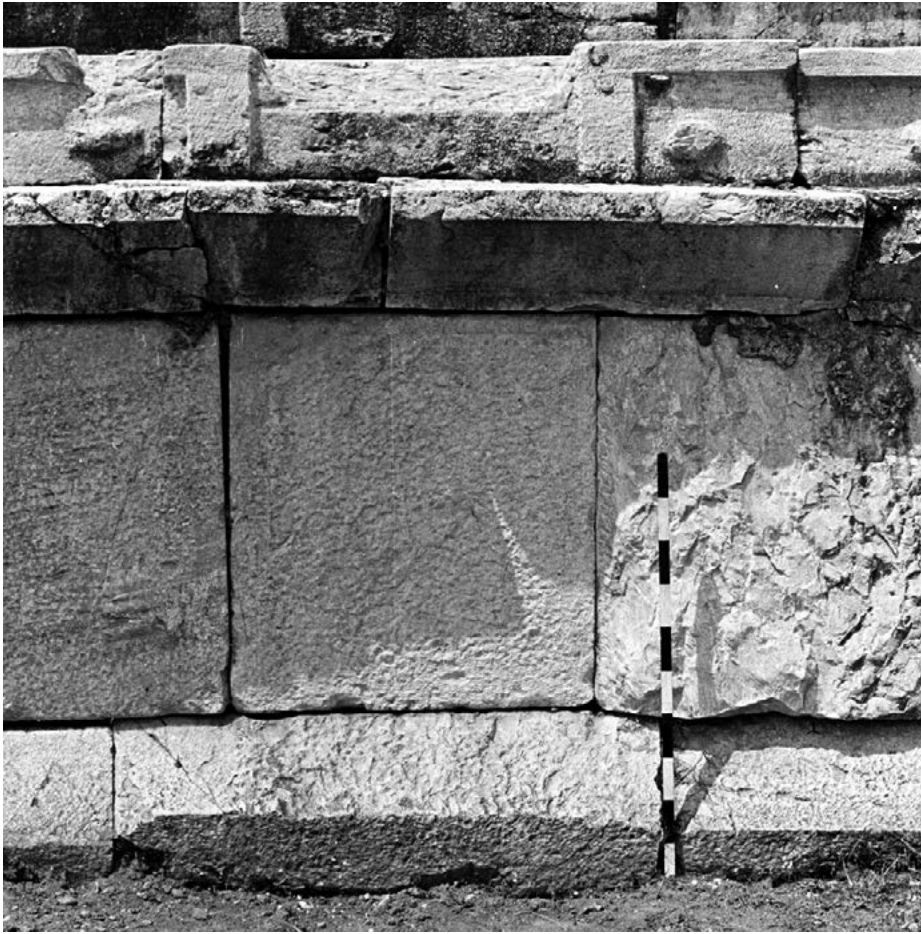


Figure 164. Podium below stair 3.



Figure 165. Packing behind podium at east end where orthostates are missing (1974).

FIGURES



Figure 166. Cavea, seat foundations, east half with east radial corridor and east analemma before restoration, 1975.



Figure 167. Cavea with stair 3 and podium below.



Figure 168. Seats in rows 1 and 2 behind post holes 11, 12, 13, with corresponding rope holes.

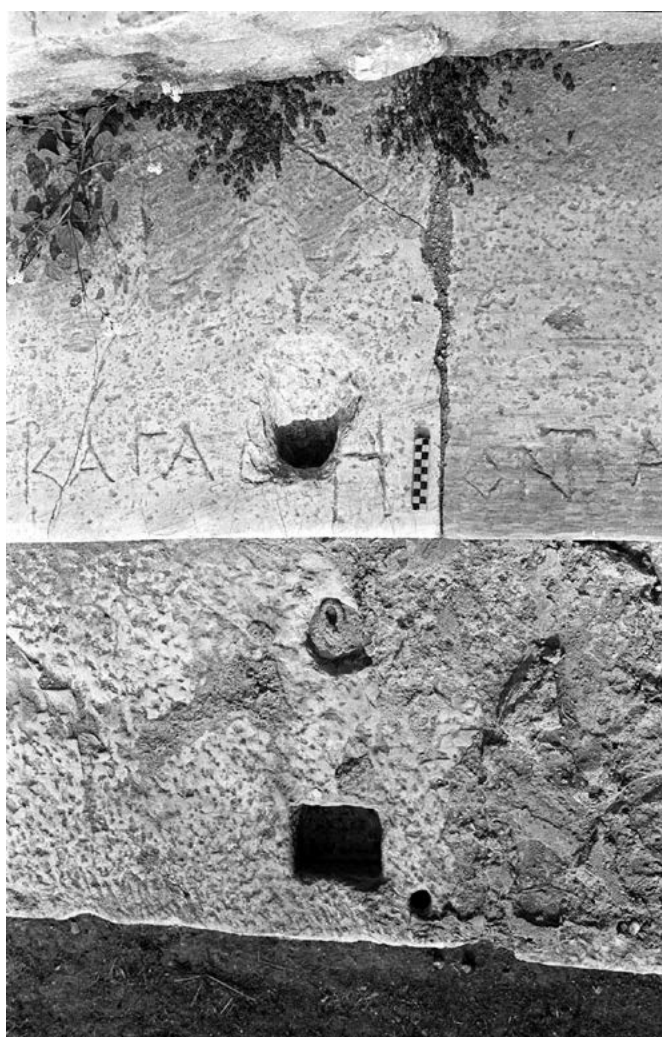


Figure 169. Detail of post hole 12, with iron ring and rope hole in seat above.  
Small cutting for metal grill next to post hole.

FIGURES

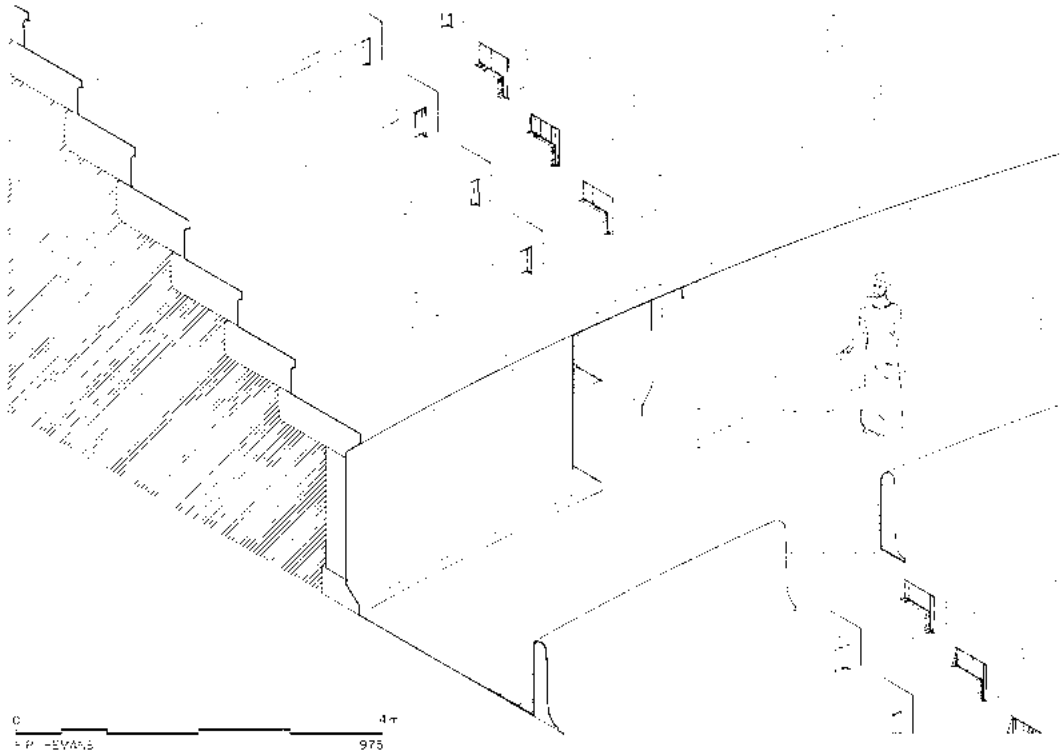
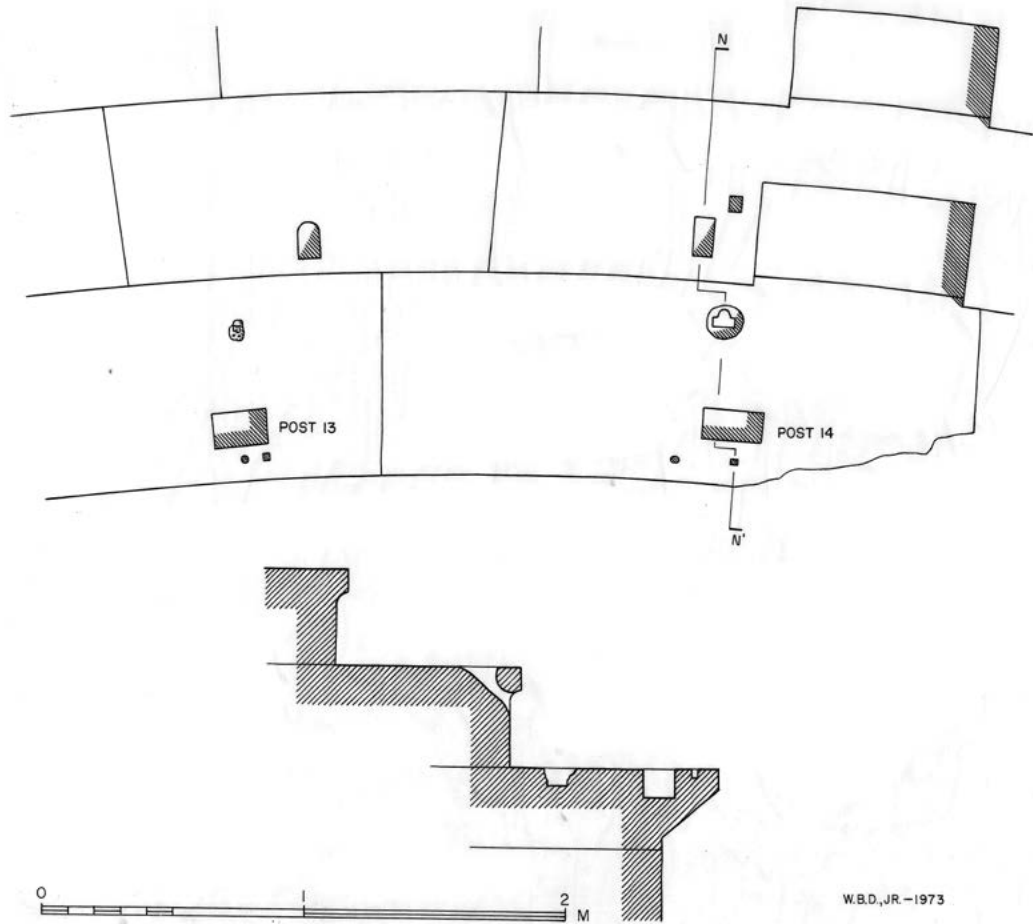


Figure 170. Diazoma, restored view (F.P.Hemans 1975).



W.B.D., JR. - 1973

Figure 171. Section N-N, podium, section and plan (W.B. Dinsmoor 1973).

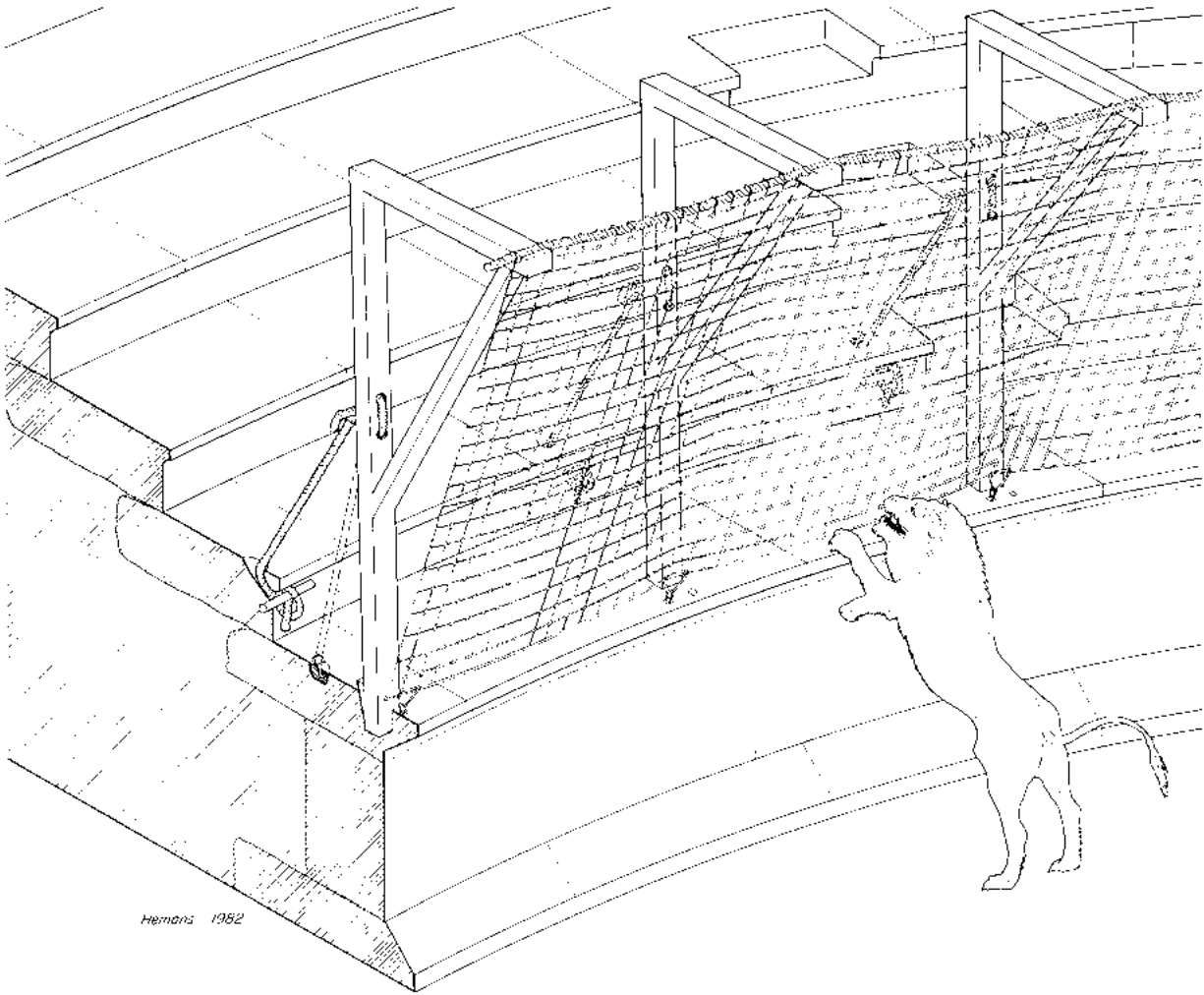


Figure 172. Post and net on podium, restored. (F.P.Hemans 1982).

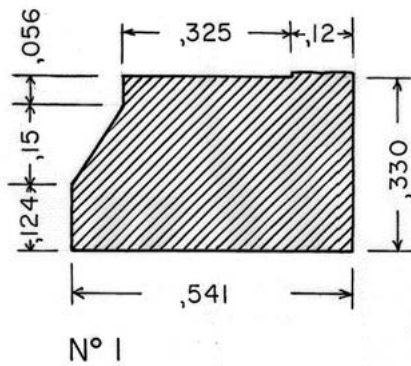
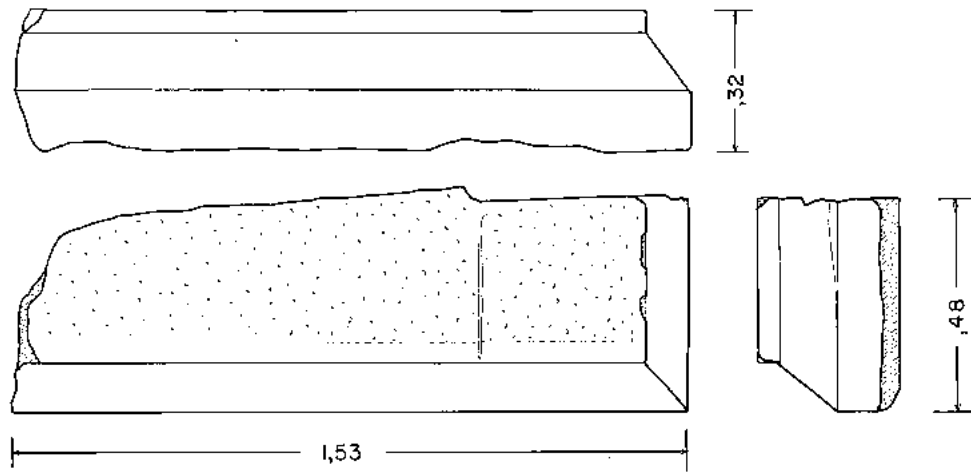


Figure 173. No. 1.

FIGURES



N° 2

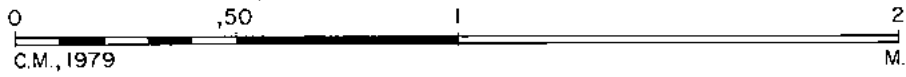
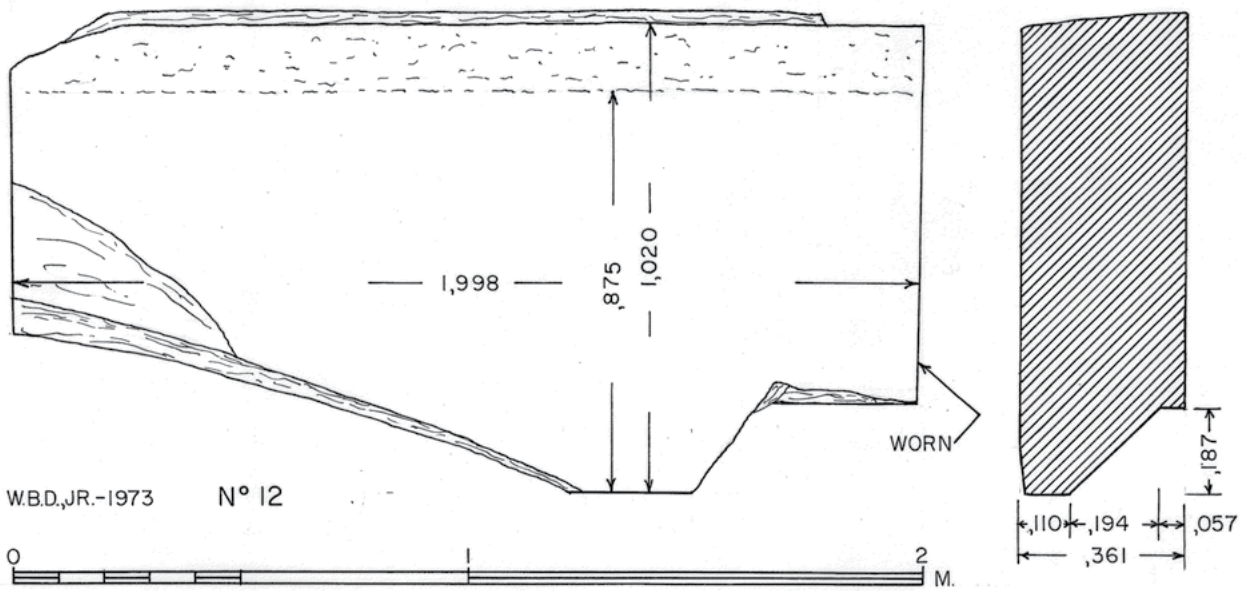


Figure 174. No. 2 (C. Morgan 1979).



W.B.D., JR. - 1973

N° 12



Figure 175. No.12 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1973).

THE THEATER AT STOBI

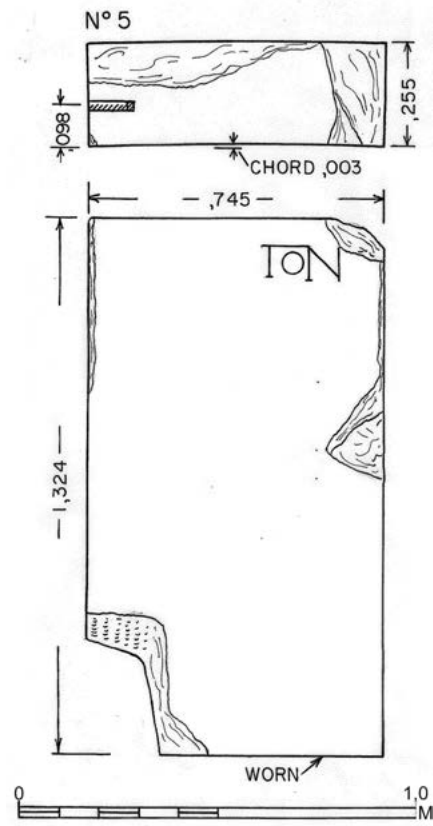


Figure 176. No. 5.

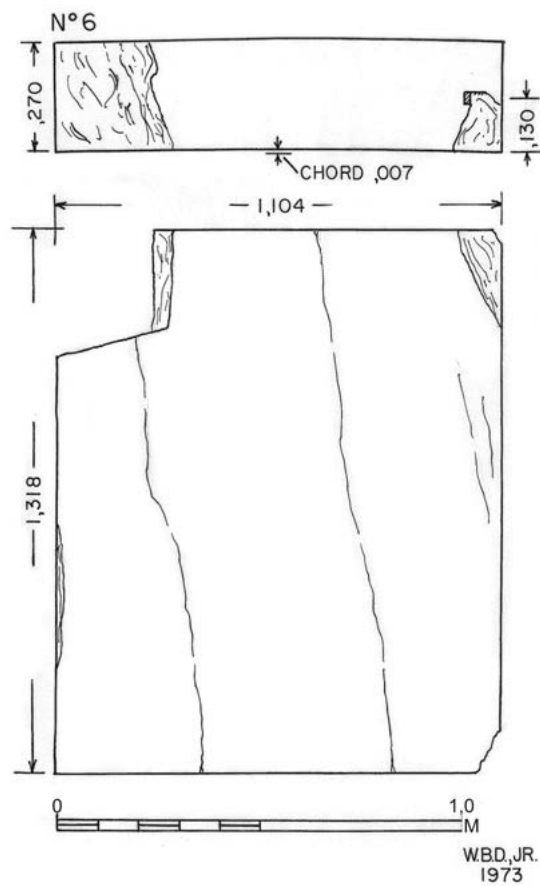


Figure 177. No. 6 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1973).

FIGURES

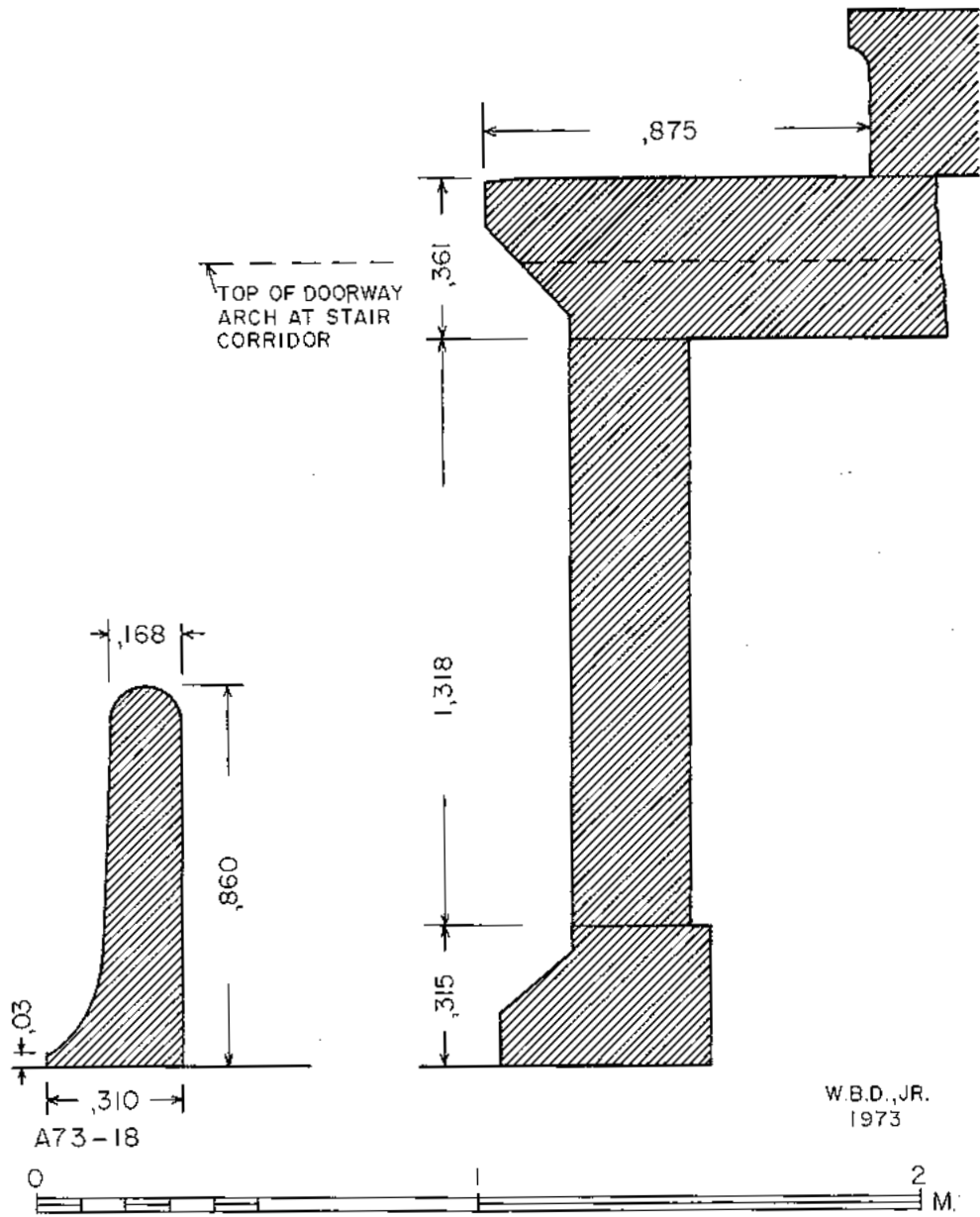


Figure 178. Restored section of diazoma podium (W.B. Dinsmoor 1973).

THE THEATER AT STOBI

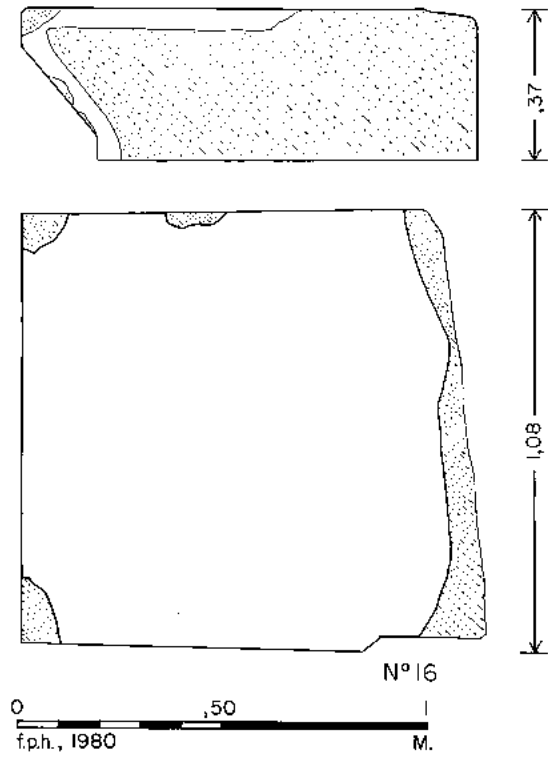


Figure 179. No.16 (F.P.Hemans 1980).

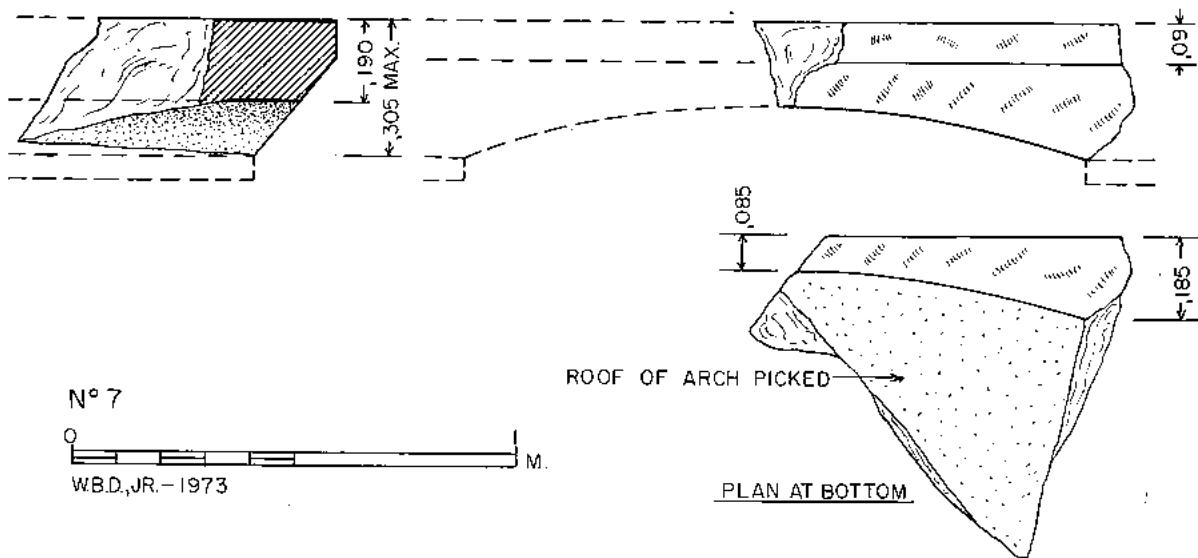


Figure 180. No.7 (drawing) (W.B. Dinsmoor 1973).

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Figure 181. No. 7. Flat arch over doorway.



Figure 182. No. 2 base course.



Figure 183. No. 5. orthostate.



Figure 184. No. 20. Parapet reused as post support in orchestra, Phase III.

FIGURES



Figure 185. Profile of parapet.



Figure 186. Stairway foundation inside cavea seen from above (1974).



Figure 187. Cavea, cuneus 1, stairs 1 and 2, rows 1-7.

THE THEATER AT STOBI

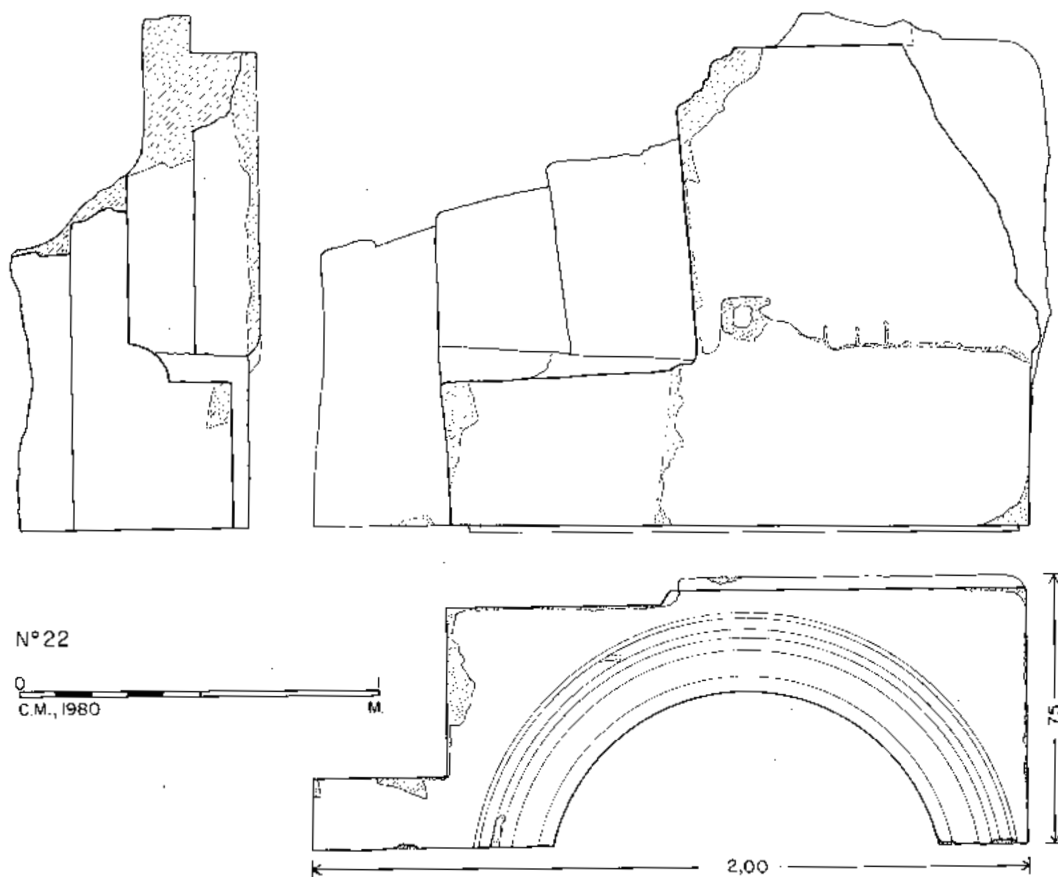


Figure 188. Block No. 22 (C. Morgan 1980).



Figure 189. Center room with side rooms and stairs from above looking south.

FIGURES



Figure 190. Center room with side rooms. Stairs to box of honor from above looking north.

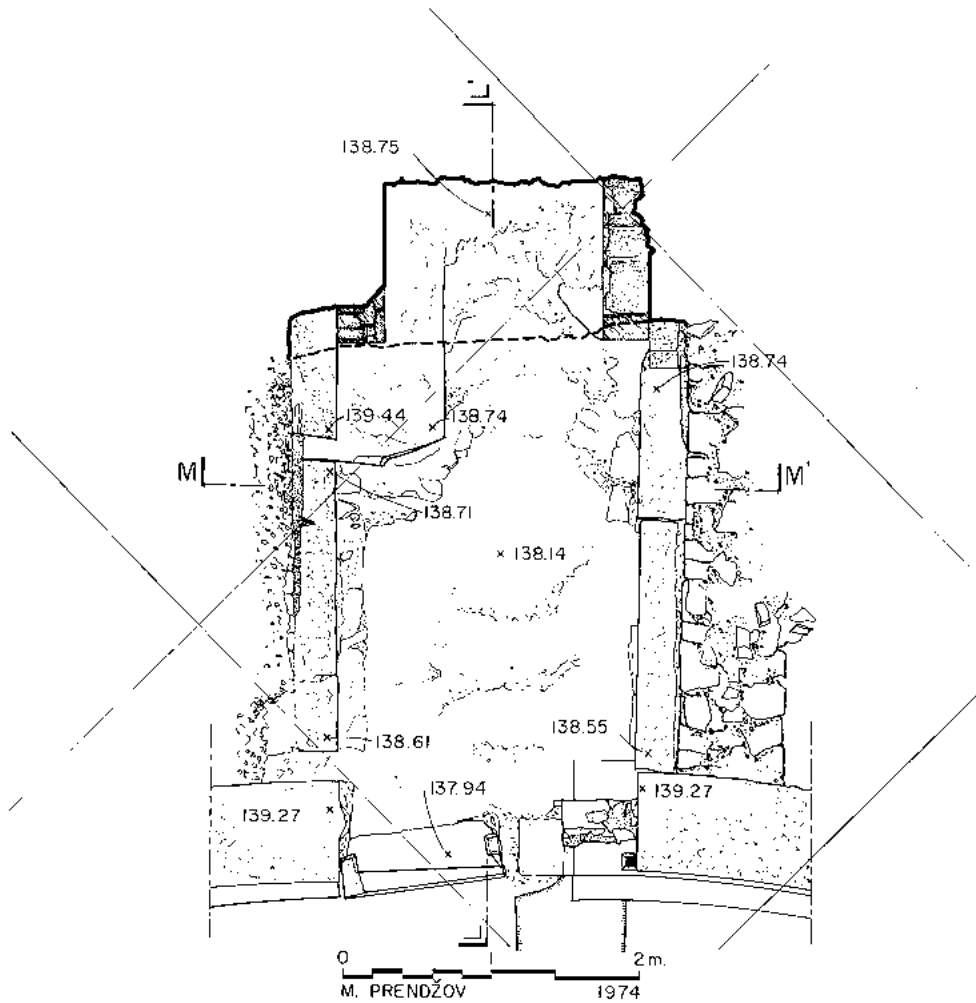


Figure 191. Plan of center refuge (M. Prendzov 1974).

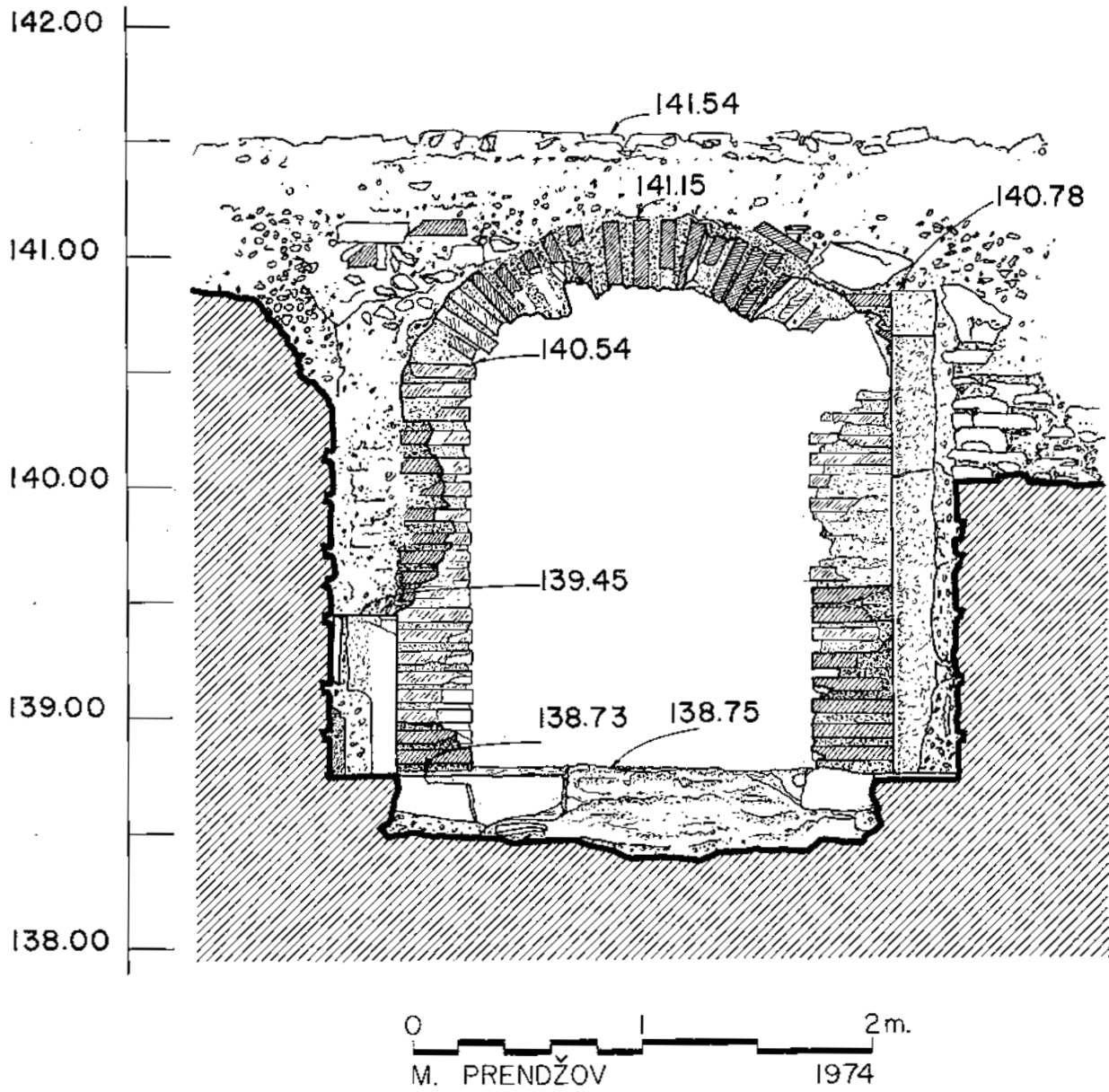


Figure 192. Section M-M, Center refuge. Looking north (M. Prendzov 1974).

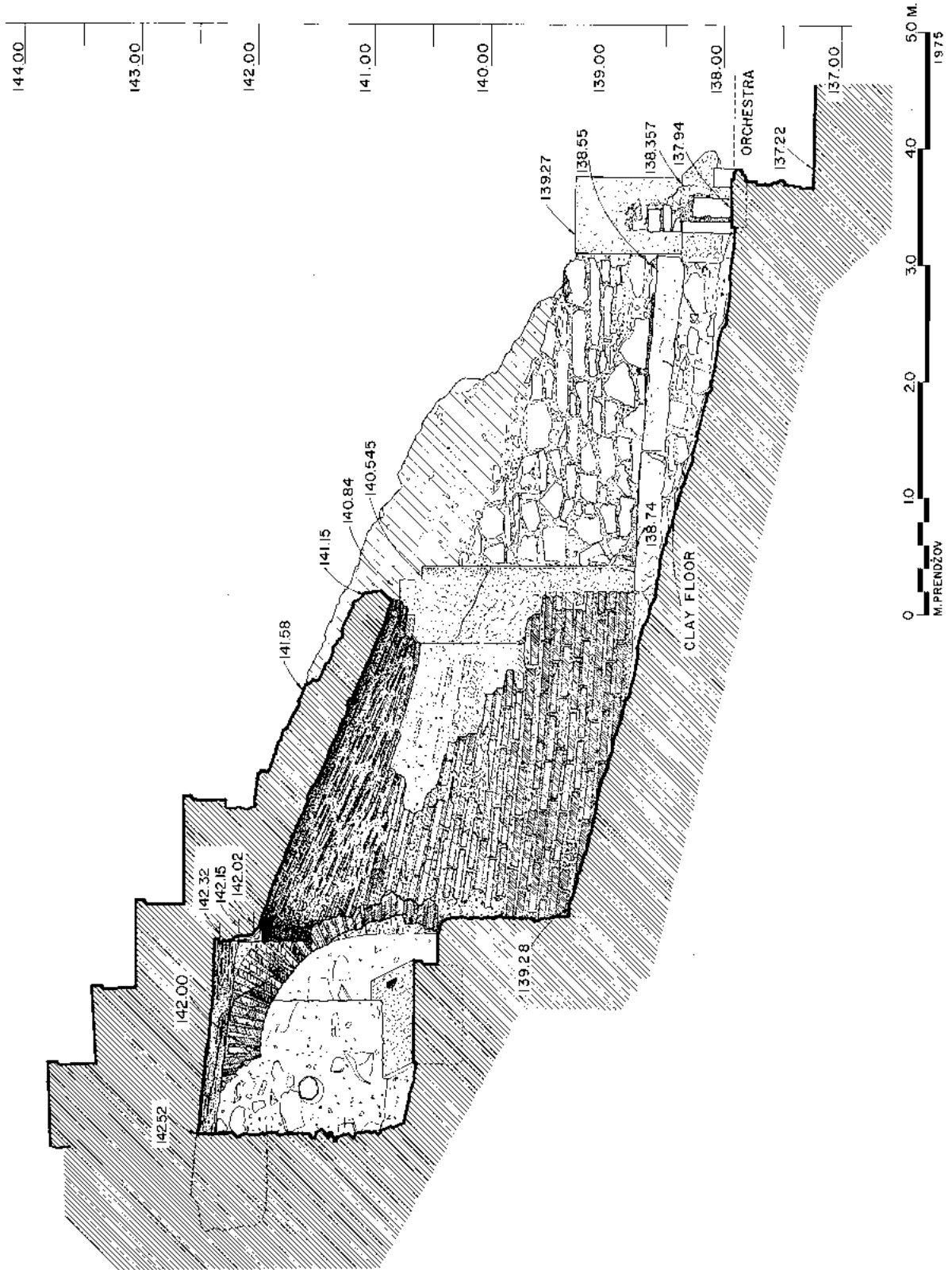


Figure 193. Section D-D, Center refuge looking east (M. Prendzov 1975).



Figure 194. West side of center room with marble facing and brick wall of corridor, 1974.



Figure 195. East side of center room and marble facing.



Figure 196. Center room, entrance to center corridor, looking north, 1974.

FIGURES

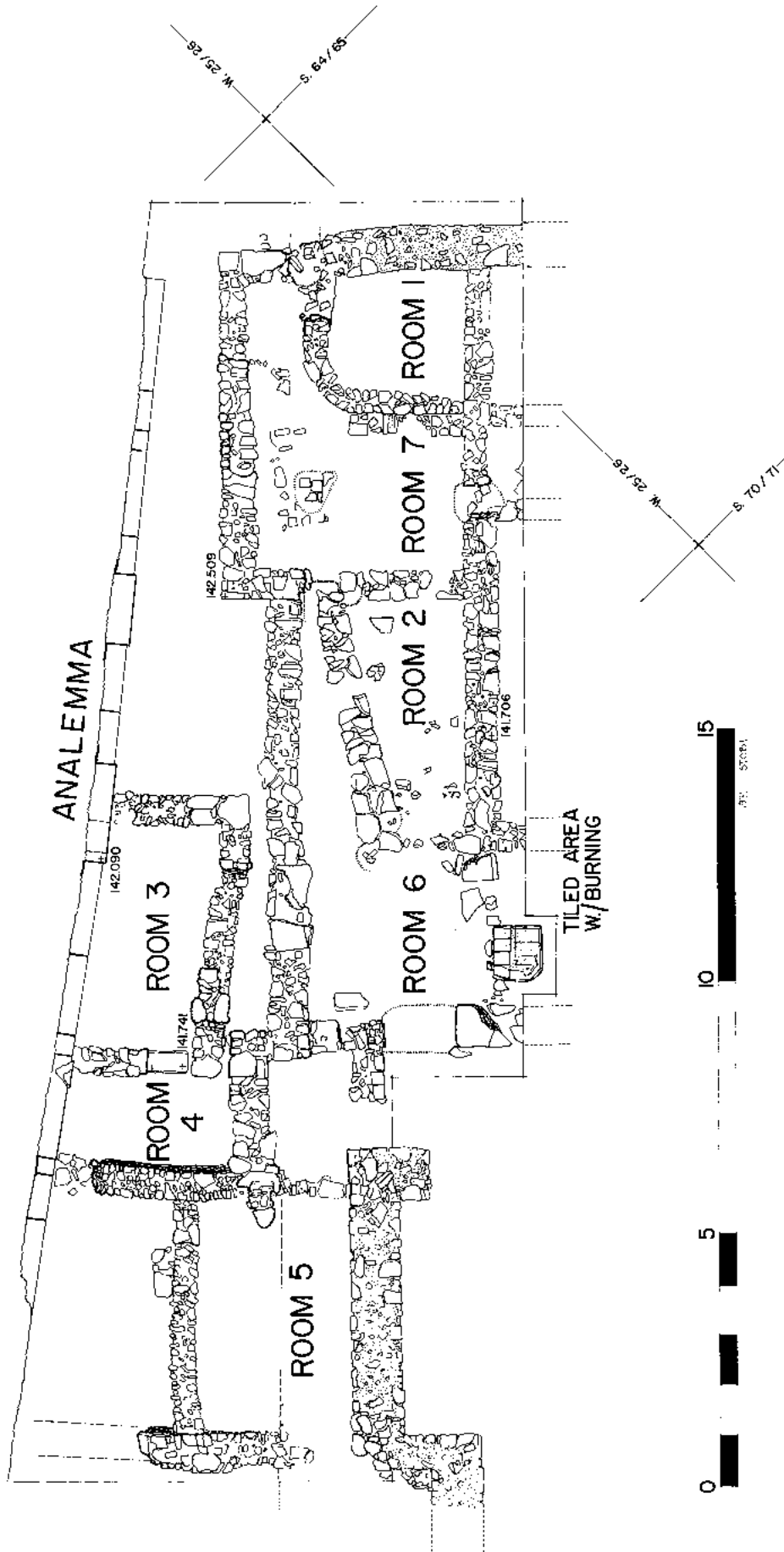


Figure 197. East Parados, Late Roman structures, 1971.



Figure 198. Center radial corridor at junction with outer circular corridor, looking north.



Fig. 199. Doorway to east anteroom.



Figure 200. Stairway to seats, west radial corridor.

FIGURES



Figure 201. Door in east analemma.



Figure 202. Vault over inner circular corridor seen from above (1981).



Figure 203. Arch on inside of outer circular wall (analemma).



Figure 204. General view, east cavea seat foundations after excavation and before restoration, looking northeast.

FIGURES



Figure 205. Foundation and base course of east analemma built over north end of Phase I wall 4. Trench XXV in foreground.

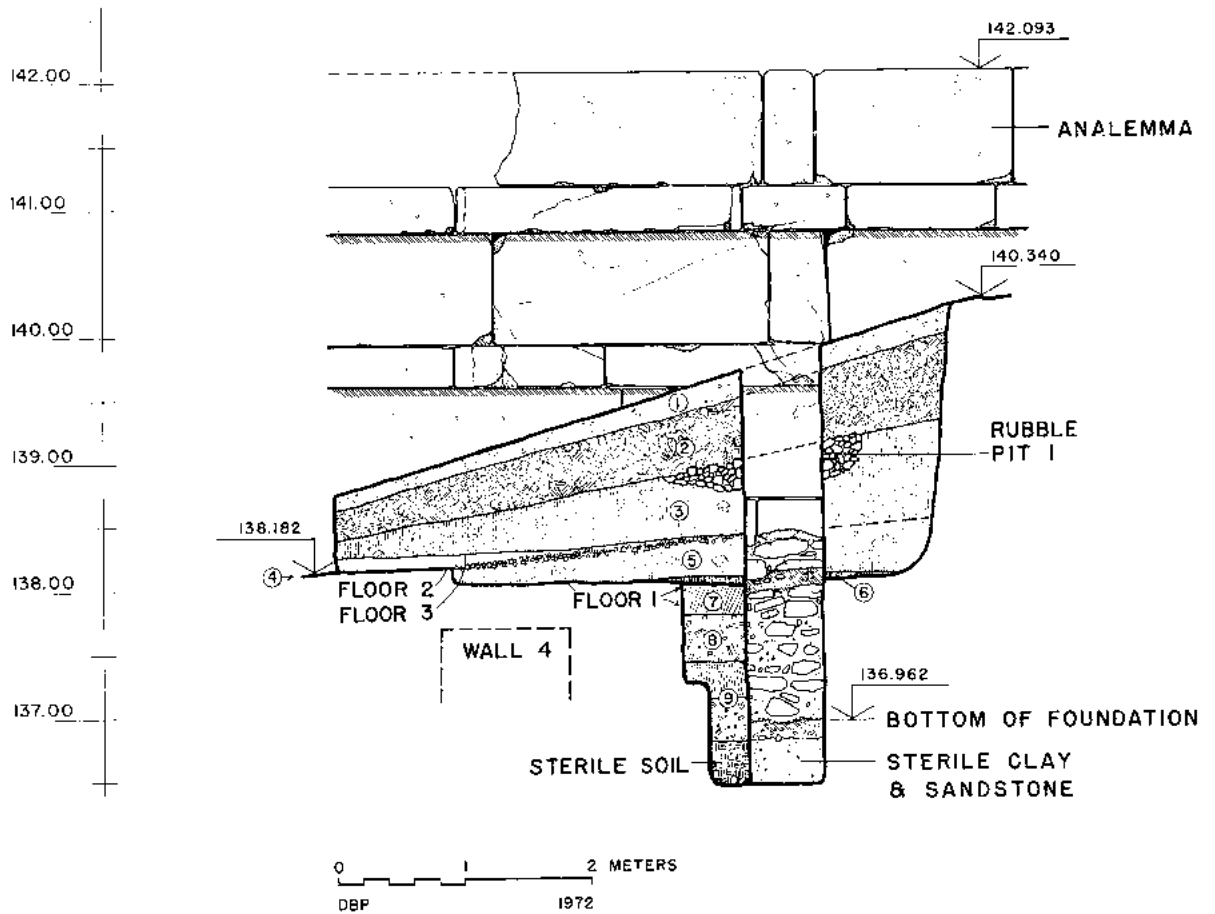


Figure 206. Section O-O, East Parodos (D. Peck 1972).

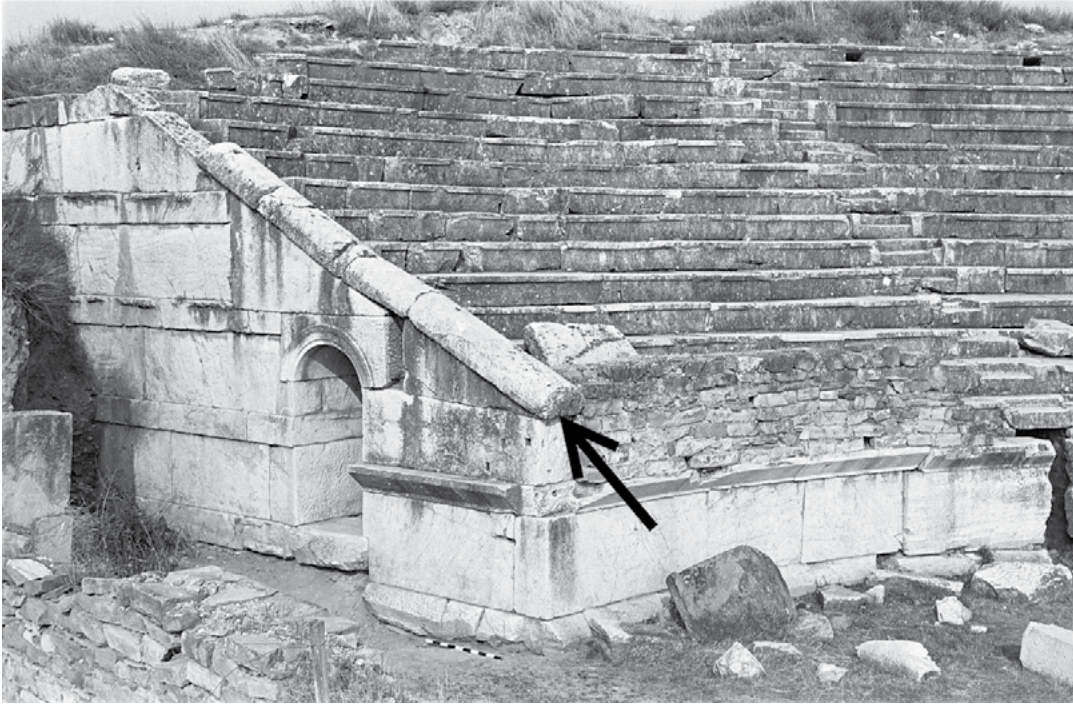


Figure 207. West analemma and seats of cuneus 1; arena wall of Phase III, 1981.



Figure 208. East analemma, detail.

FIGURES



Figure 209. East analemma and parodos, looking northeast. Before excavation, 1981.



Figure 210. West analemma and doorway to west corridor.

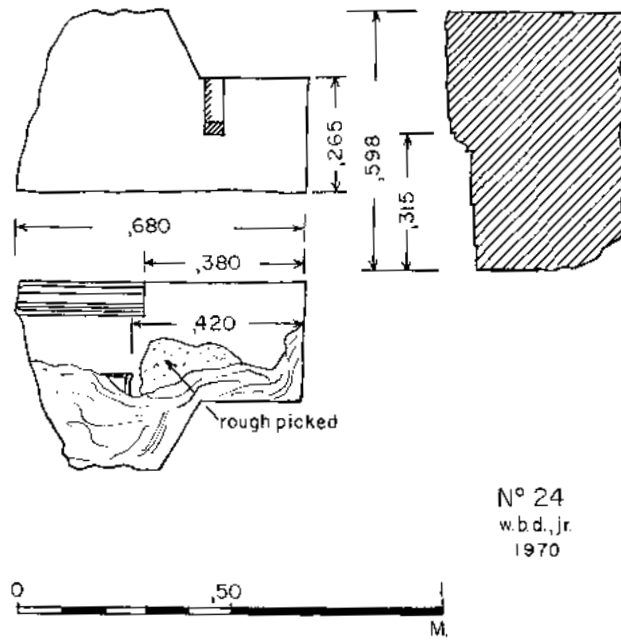


Figure 211. Coping block no. 24 (W.B. Dinsmoor 1970).



Figure 212. Detail of threshold doorway in west anamema.

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Figure 213. Cavea east entrance Phase II stairs to podium at right.



Figure 214. Aerial close-up of the Cavea and Episcopal Basilica (1974).



Figure 215. Aerial view, west wing (basilica), 1974.

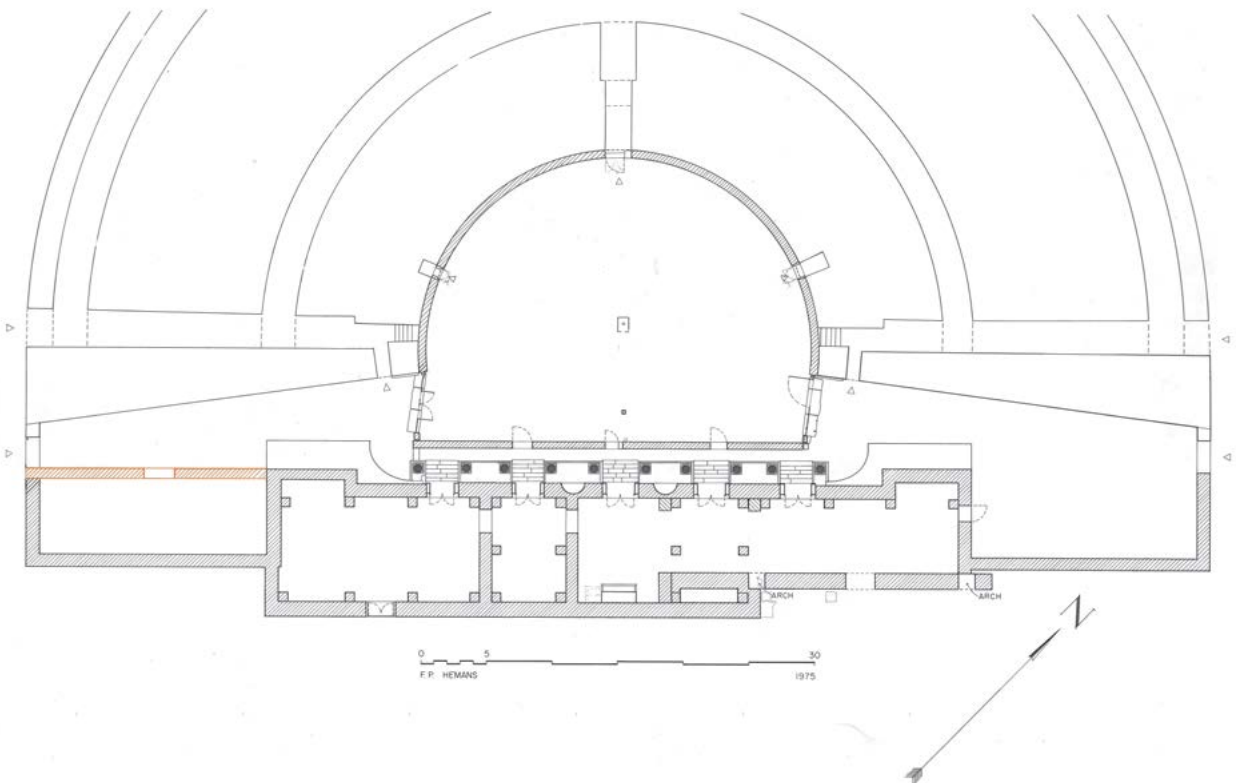


Figure 216. Restored plan, Phase III (F.P.Hemans 1975).

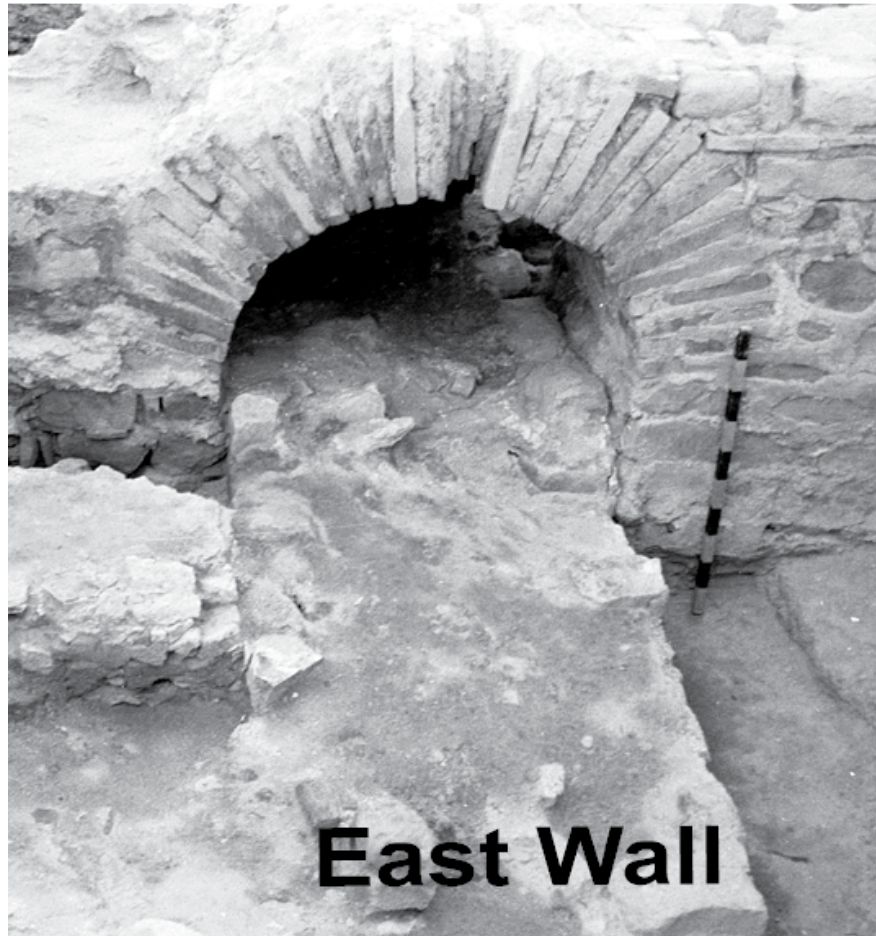


Figure 217. Southeast corner of scene-building, looking north. Relieving arch in South Wall III spans east wall of Phase II and ends in buttress at right.

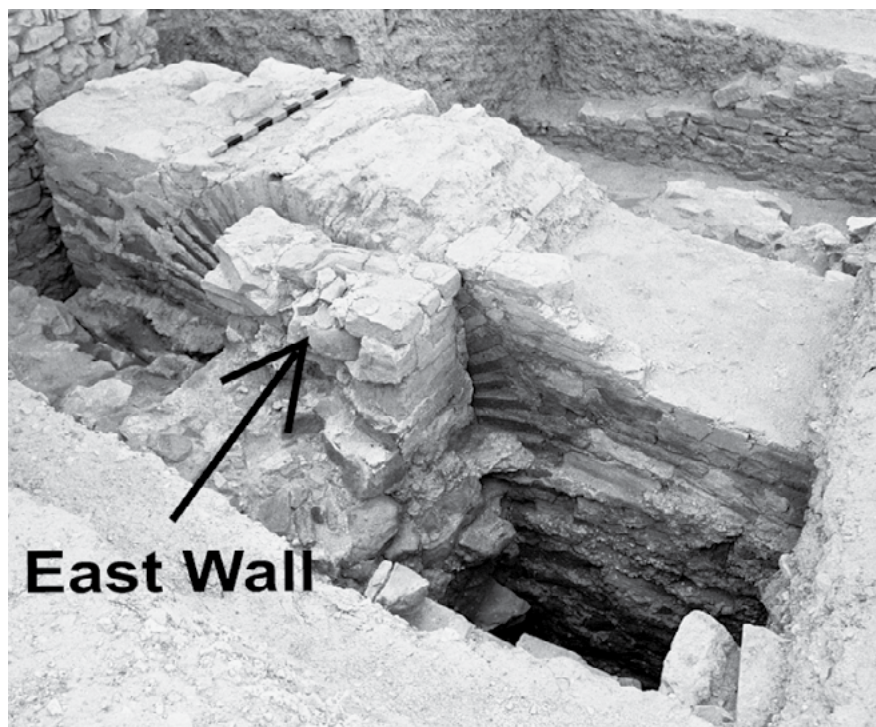


Figure 218. Same, looking southeast. East Wall III abuts South Wall III in center.



Figure 219. Door in east end of scene-building Phase III.



Figure 220. Phase III bonding of east wall with scene-building.

FIGURES



Figure 221. Dismantled wall between East Rooms I and II, looking north.



Figure 222. Doorway in west wall of Nemeseum, looking northwest, 1973.

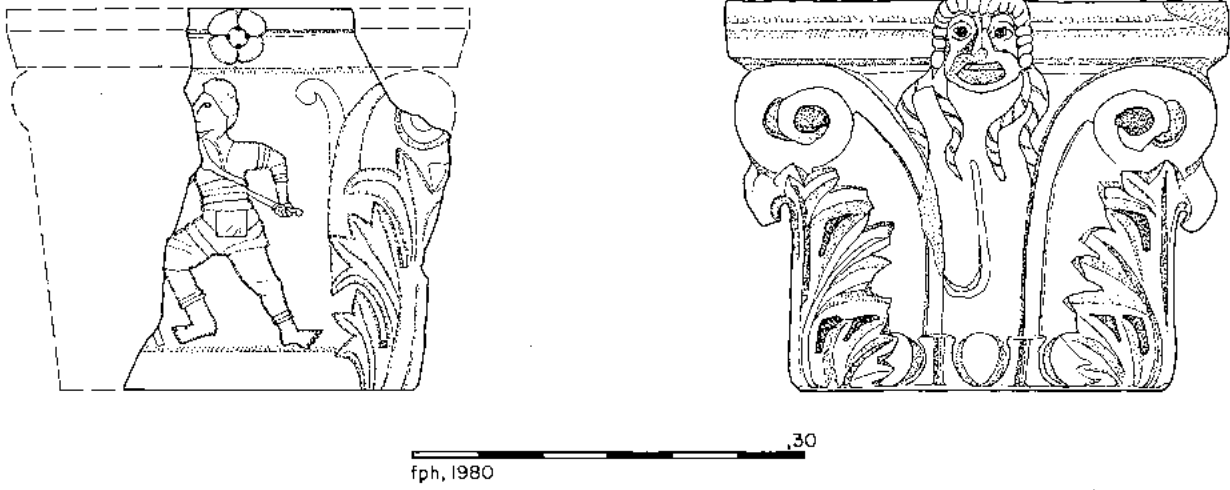


Figure 223. Pilaster capital found in scene-building by Saria, National Museum, Belgrade (F.P.Hemans 1980).



Figure 224. Pilaster found in cleaning the scene-building, 1990s by Žiki Vincič.

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Figure 225. Dedication of Ultrix Augusta by Augustales. Archaeological Museum, Skopje.



Figure 226. Nemeseum, cult statue base and second base in foreground, looking east.



Figure 227. Nemeseum, cult statue base and its foundation as uncovered in Trench III, looking south.



Figure 228. Block no. 1 in Table IV.1.



Figure 229. Block no. 2 in Table IV.1.



Figure 230. No. 6.

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Figure 231. No. 7.



Figure 232. Nemeseum, northwest corner, showing sculpture at the time of excavation (1975), deposit IV.13, looking northwest.

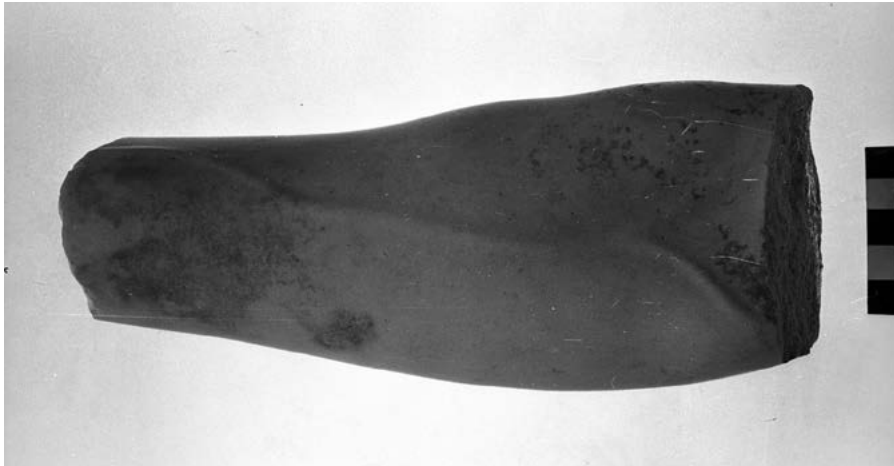


Figure 233. Marble arm. Inventory S-75-2.



Figure 234. Female torso, front view. Inventory S-75-6.



Figure 235. Female torso, side view. Inventory S-75-6.

FIGURES



Figure 236. Coin 74-42 ob.



Figure 237. Coin 74-31 ob.

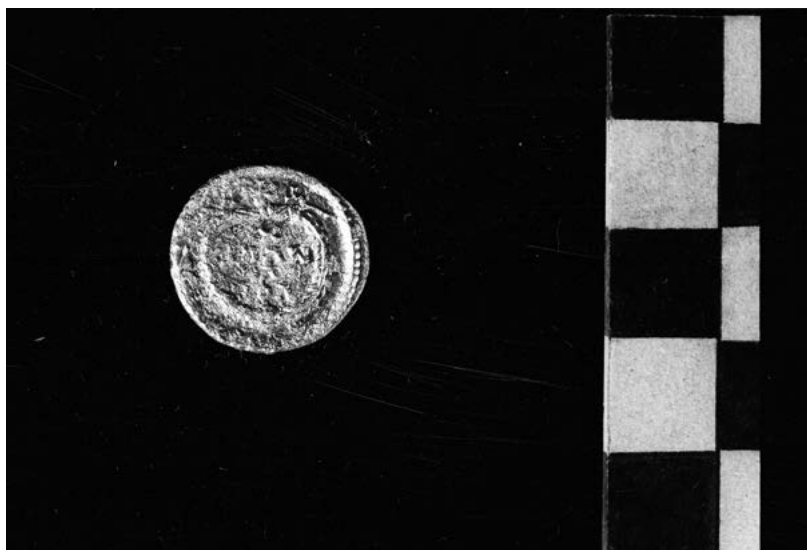


Figure 238. Coin 74-31 rev.



Figure 239. Coin 74-65 ob.



Figure 240. Coin 74-65 rev.



Figure 241. Coin 74-67 ob.



Figure 242. Coin 74-67 rev.

FIGURES



Figure 243. Coin 74-68 ob.



Figure 244. Coin 74-68 rev.



Figure 245. West wing basilica threshold in north wall (1974).



Figure 246. Lower level threshold in north wall of west wing basilica from above (2009).



Figure 247. Aerial view of orchestra and scene-building (1974).

FIGURES



Figure 248. Scaenae-frons and Scene-building, looking southwest (1981).



Figure 249. Front of Scene-building with arena wall, looking west. Foundation of wall 3 in foreground (1975).



Figure 250. West end of cavea with arena wall, looking northwest.

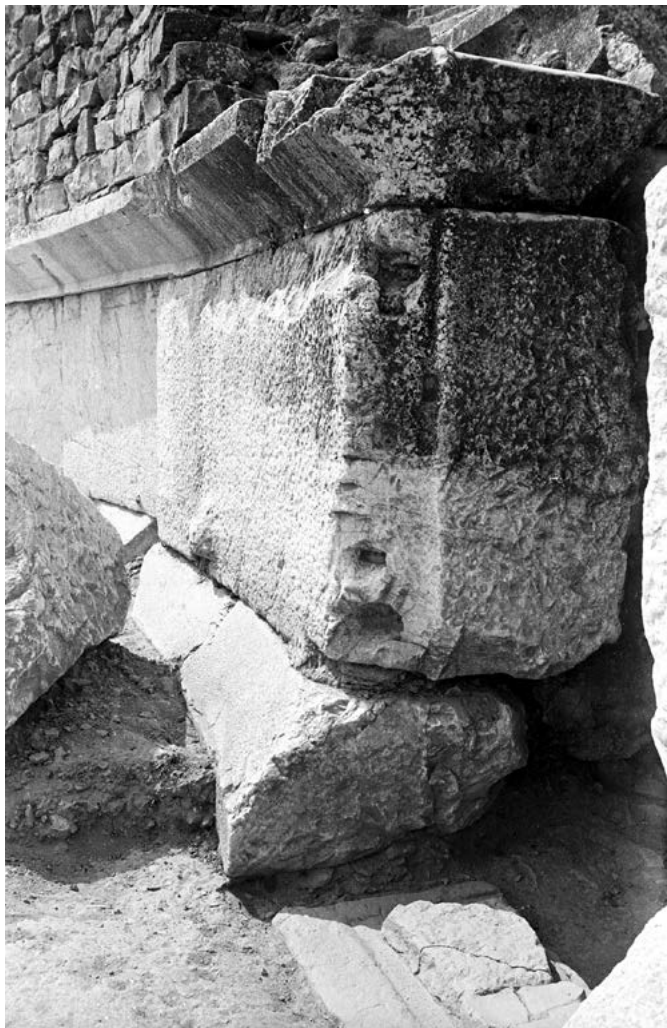


Figure 251. West refuge, south side of entrance through podium, looking south.

FIGURES



Figure 252. Crown course of podium broken, at west refuge.



Figure 253. West refuge.



Figure 254. Stair 2, rows 1-4 above west refuge.



Figure 255. East refuge (1975).

FIGURES

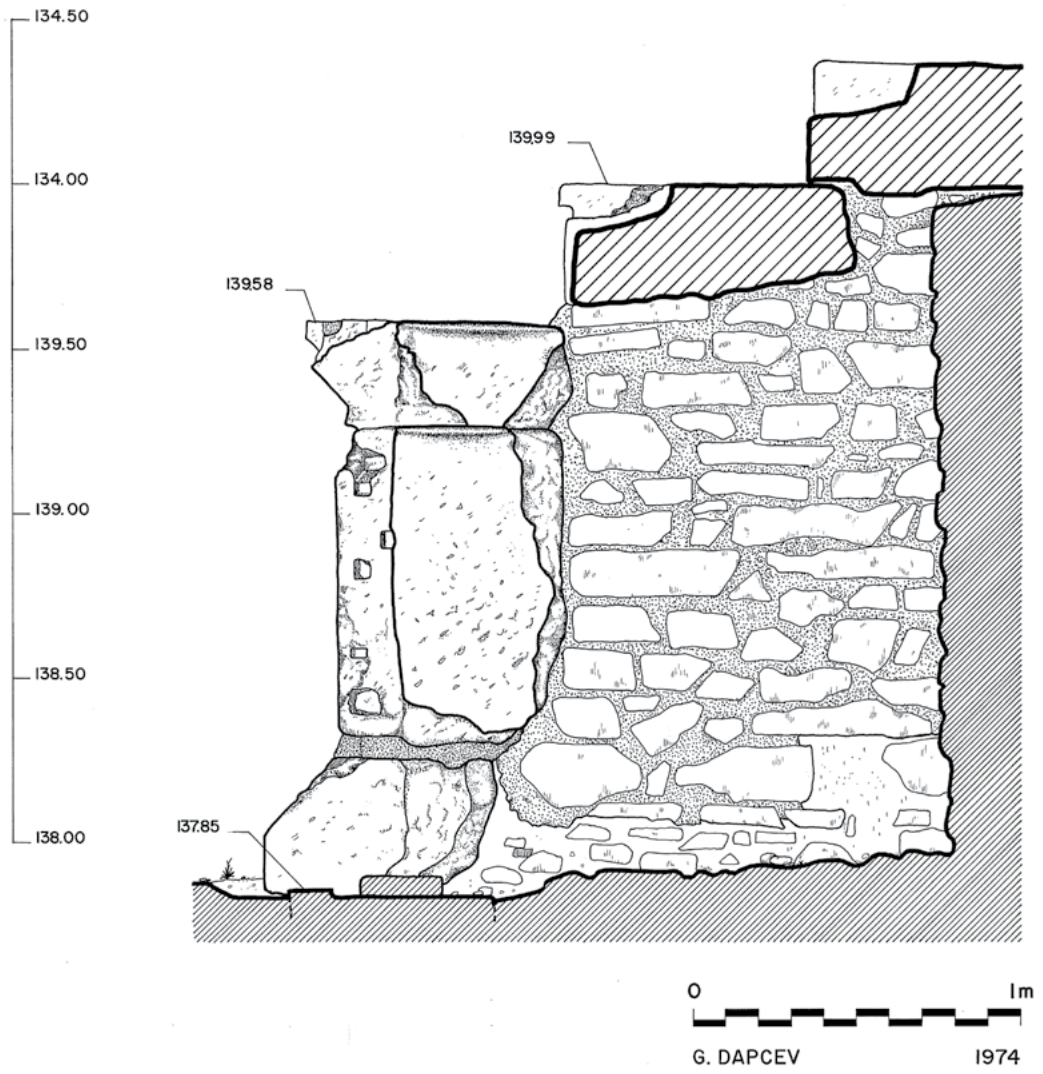


Figure 256. Section K-K, West refuge (G. Dapcev 1974).

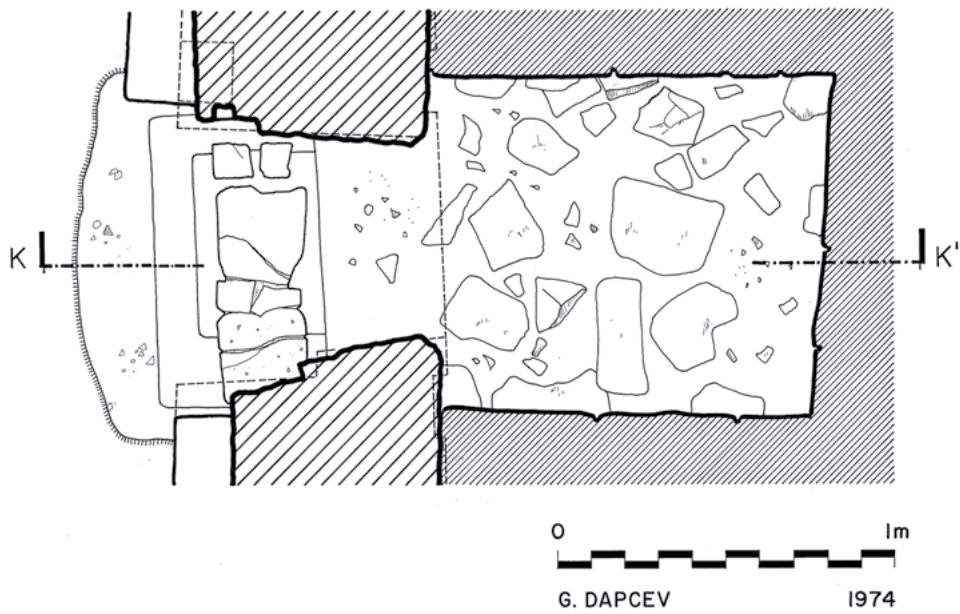


Figure 257. Section K-K, West refuge, plan (G. Dapcev 1974).



Figure 258. West refuge, north side of entrance.



Figure 259. Center refuge, east side of entrance, door jamb of Phase III (1974).

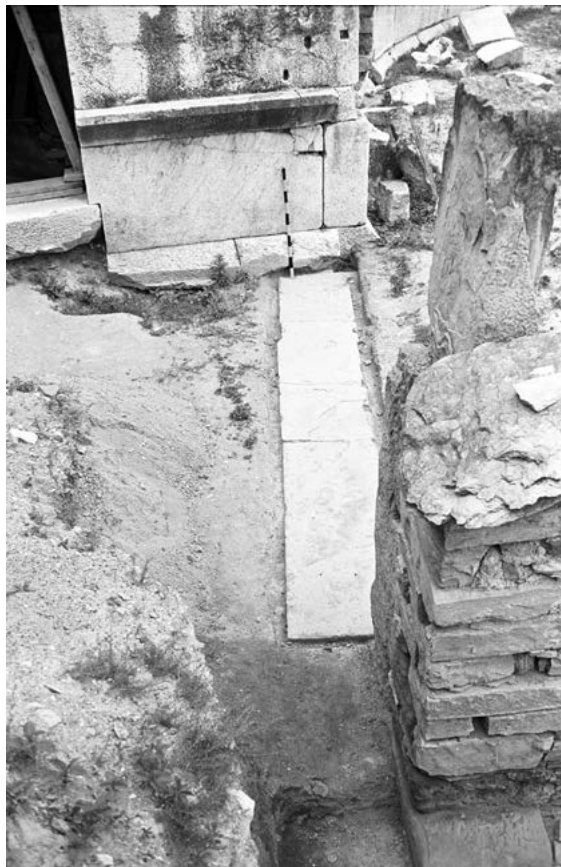


Figure 260. West gate sill.

FIGURES

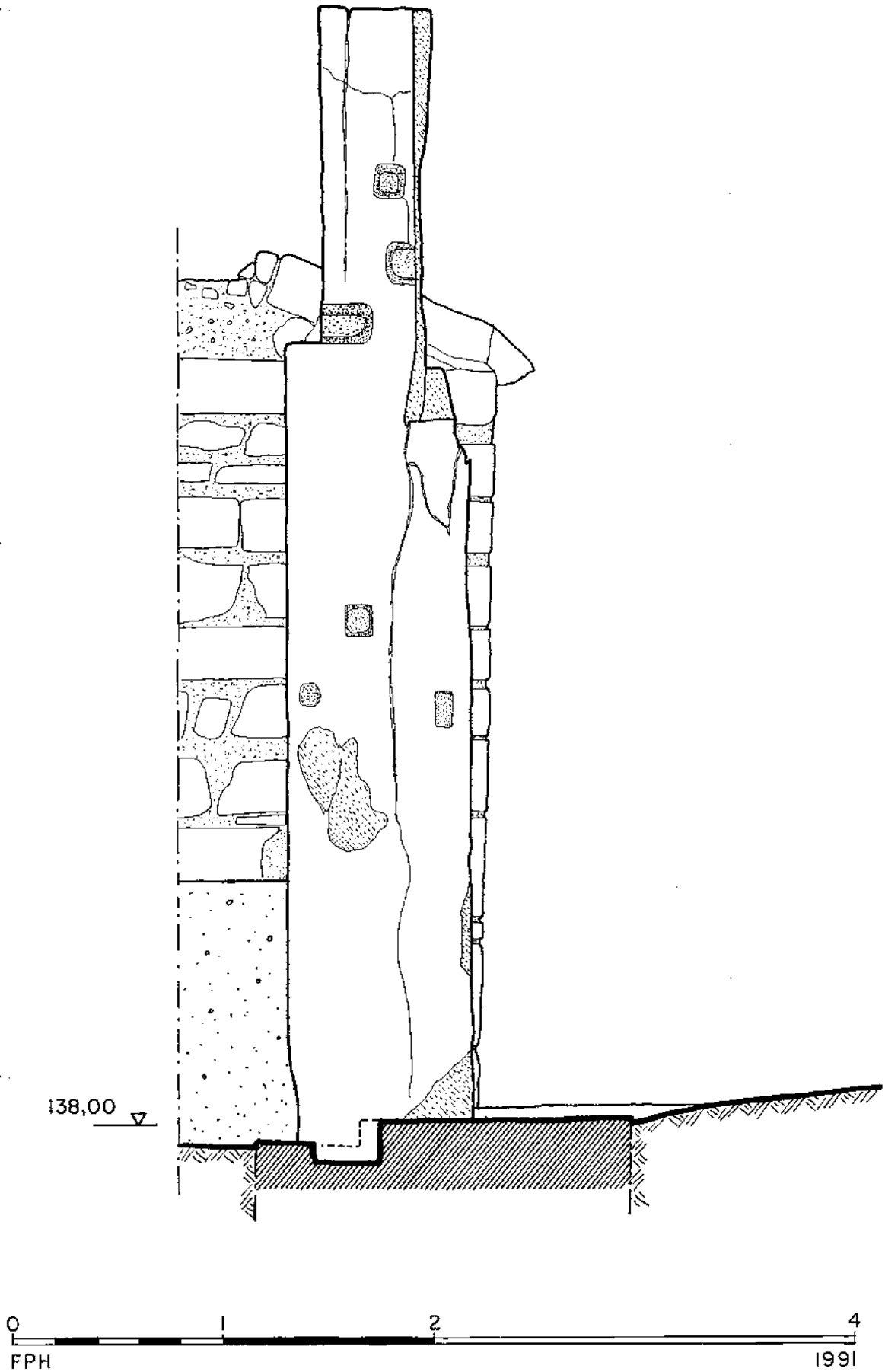


Figure 261. Elevation of west gatepost (F.P.Hemans 1991).

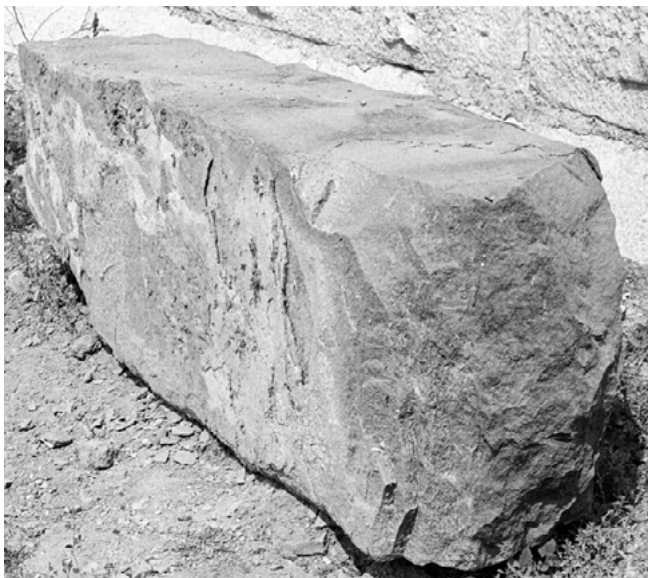


Figure 262. No. 13, gatepost.

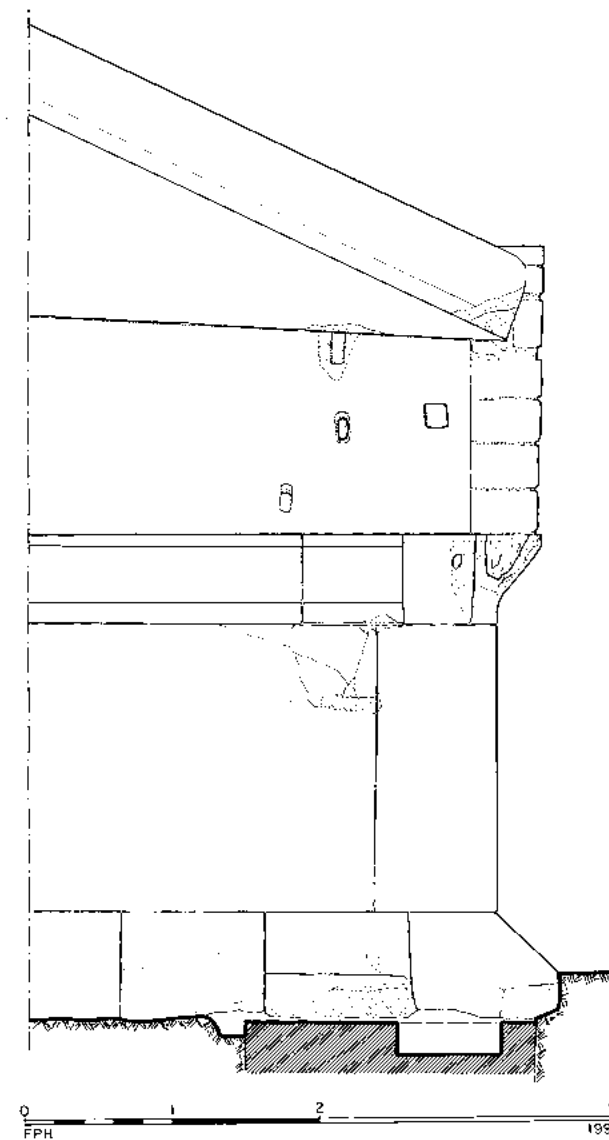


Figure 263. Elevation of west analemma (drawing) (F.P.Hemans 1991).

FIGURES



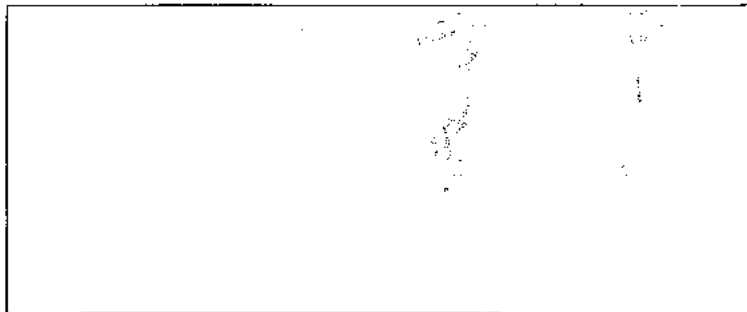
Figure 264. East end of west analemma.



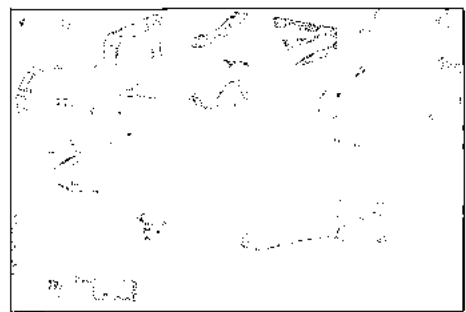
Figure 265. Post hole cut through reused parapet block, Table IV.1, no. 18, in center of orchestra, looking northwest.



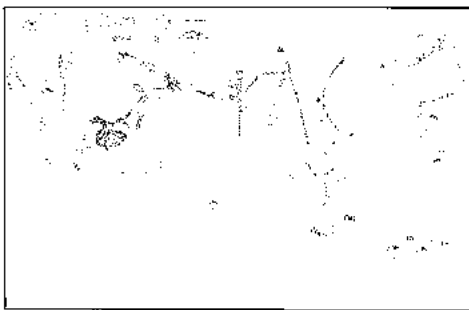
Figure 266. Post hole constructed in front of arena wall, center door in background looking south Trench XII.



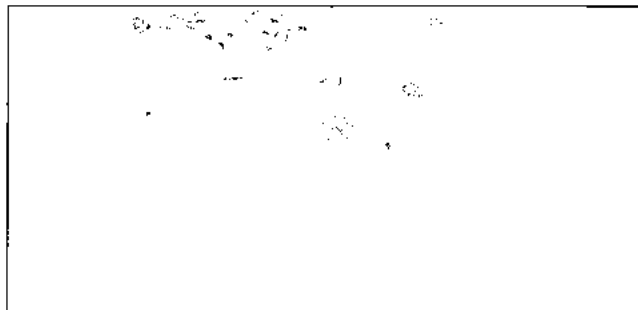
BLOCK 1



BLOCK 2



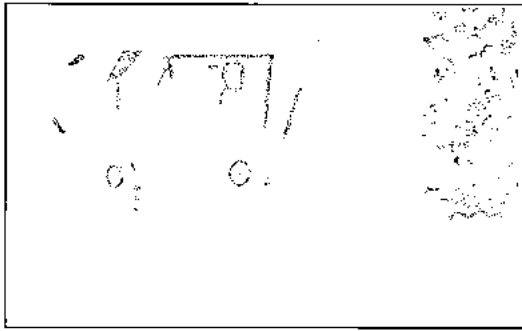
BLOCK 3



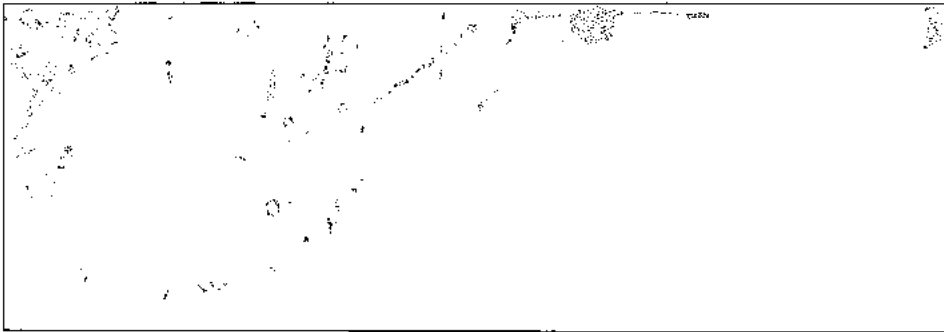
BLOCK 4

Figure 267. Traces of paint on orchestra podium, blocks 1-4.

FIGURES

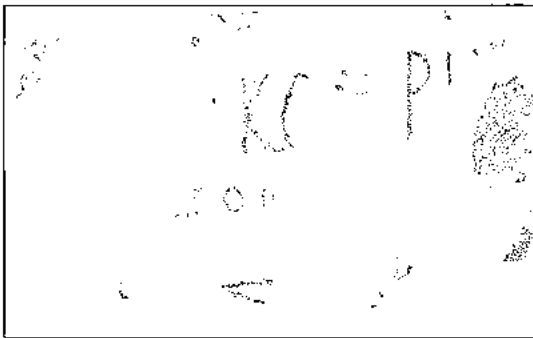


BLOCK 5

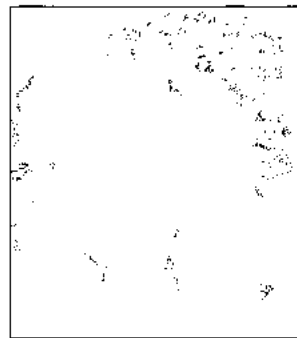


BLOCK 6

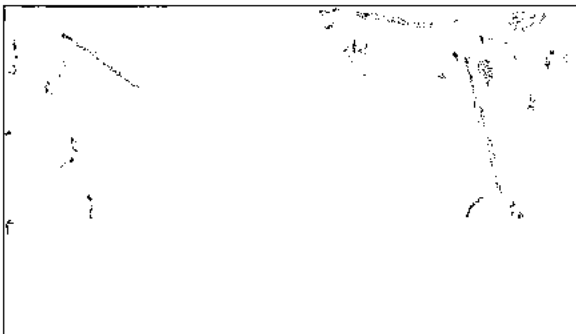
Figure 268. Traces of paint on orchestra podium, blocks 5, 6.



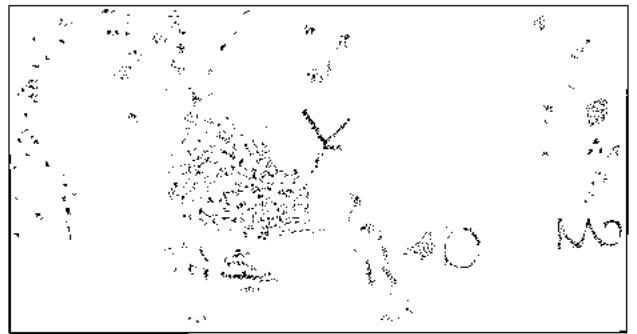
BLOCK 7



BLOCK 8

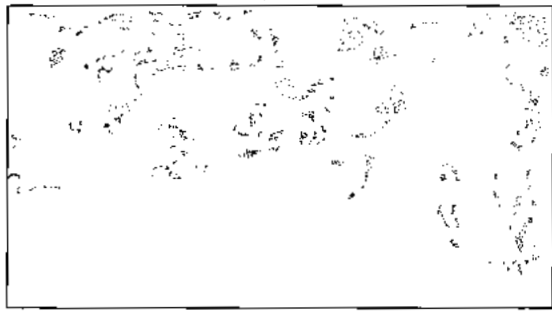


BLOCK 9

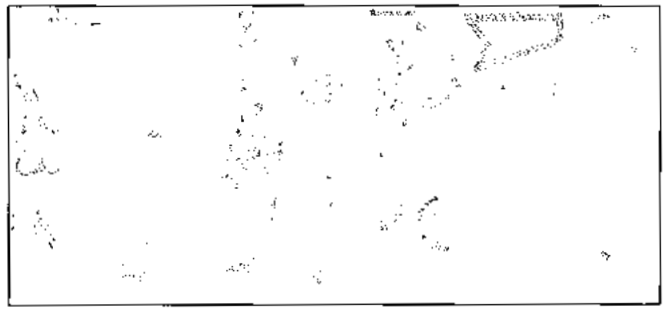


BLOCK 10

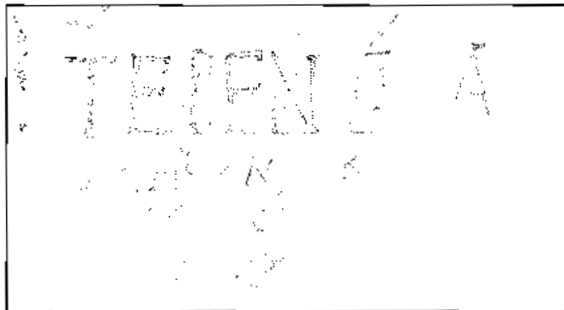
Figure 269. Traces of paint on orchestra podium, blocks 7-10.



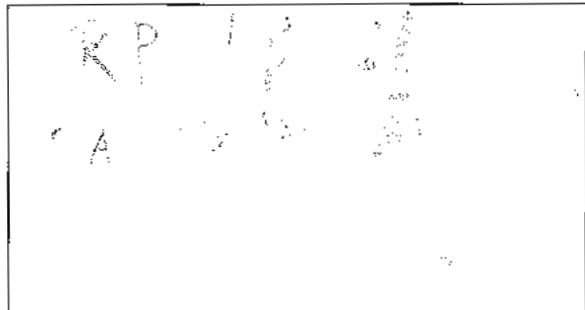
BLOCK 11



BLOCK 12



BLOCK 13



BLOCK 14

Figure 270. Traces of paint on orchestra podium, blocks 11-14.

All pottery drawings (#271-331) originally by V. Anderson-Stojanović and recreated digitally by D.Nenova.



Figure 271. Deposit I.1, cat. no. 1, Lot 1495/12.



Figure 272. Deposit I.1, cat. no. 2. Inv # C-74-462.



Figure 273. Deposit I.1, cat. no. 3. Inv # C-74-298.

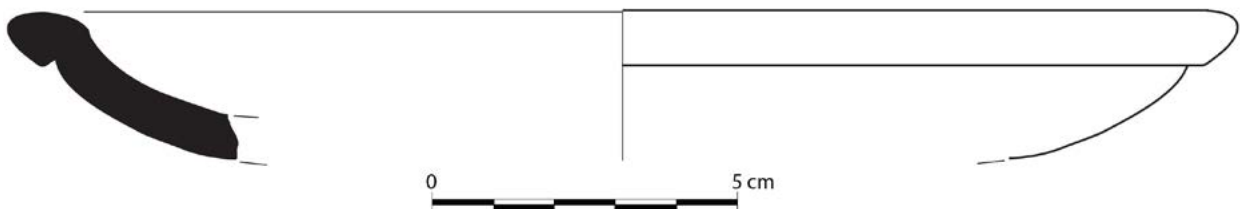


Figure 274. Deposit I.2, cat. no. 1. Lot 1538.2.

FIGURES

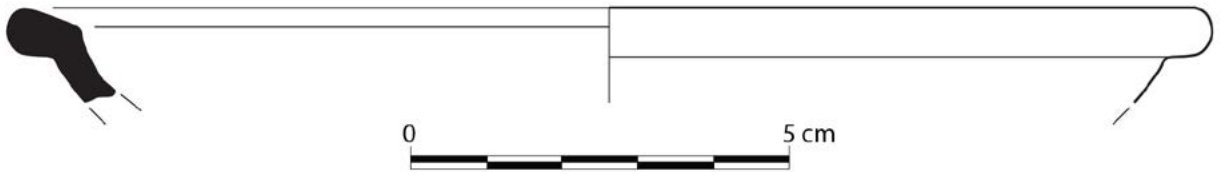


Figure 275. Deposit I.2, cat. no. 2. Lot 1538/23.

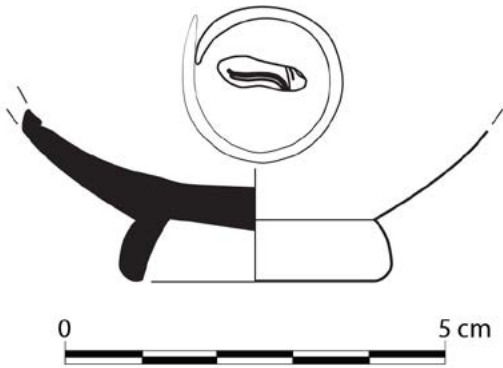


Figure 276. Deposit I.2, cat. no. 3. Inv # C-74-76.

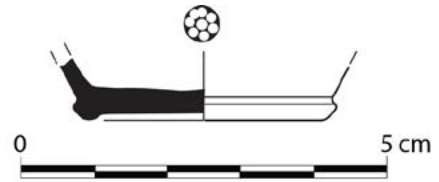


Figure 277. Deposit I.2, cat. no. 4.  
Inv # C-74-94.

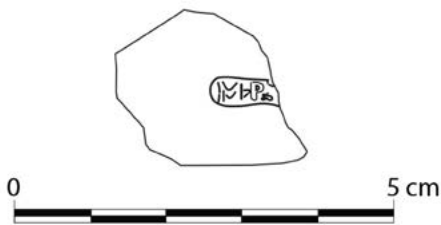


Figure 278. Deposit I.2, cat. no. 5.  
Inv # C-74-221.

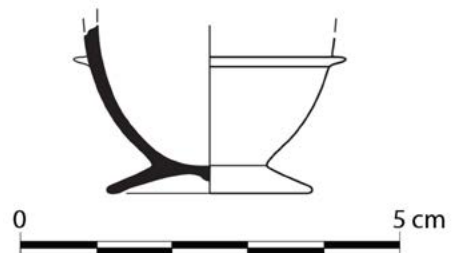


Figure 279. Deposit I.6, cat. no. 1.  
Inv # G-74-111.

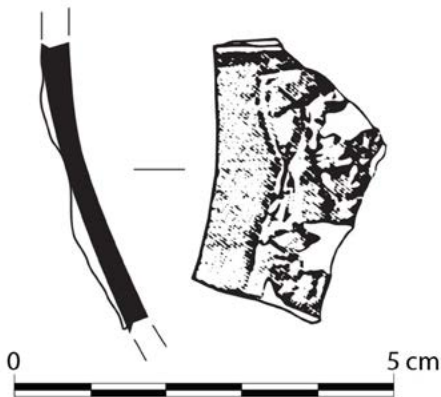


Figure 280. Deposit I.14, cat. no. 1  
Inv # C-74-64.



Figure 281. Deposit I.20, cat. no. 1, Lot 1501/11.



Figure 282. Deposit I.20, cat. no. 2, Lot 1501/8.

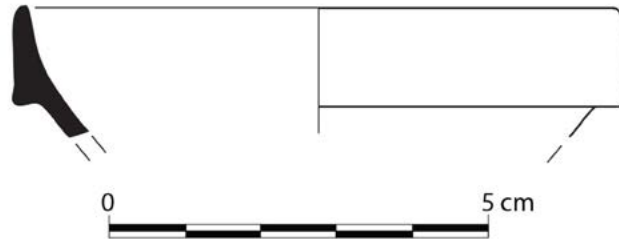


Figure 283. Deposit I.20, cat. no. 3 Inv # C-74-460.

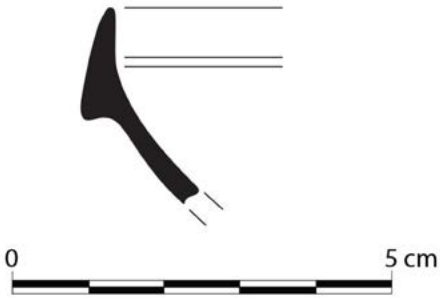


Figure 284. Deposit I.23, cat. no. 1  
Inv # C-74-461.

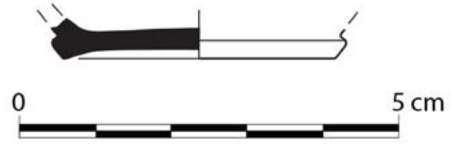


Figure 285. Deposit II.2, cat. no. 2, Lot 1471.

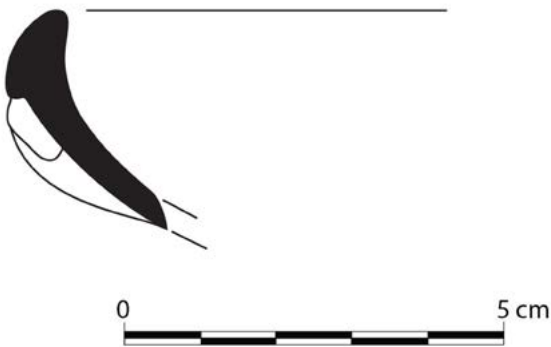


Figure 286. Deposit II.2, cat. no. 3, Lot 1471.

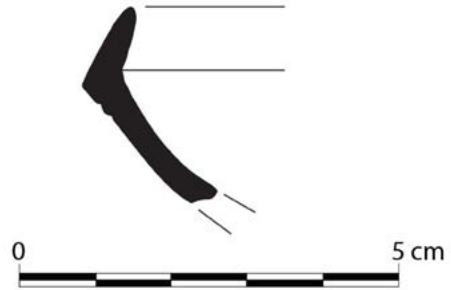


Figure 287. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 1  
Inv # C-74-428.

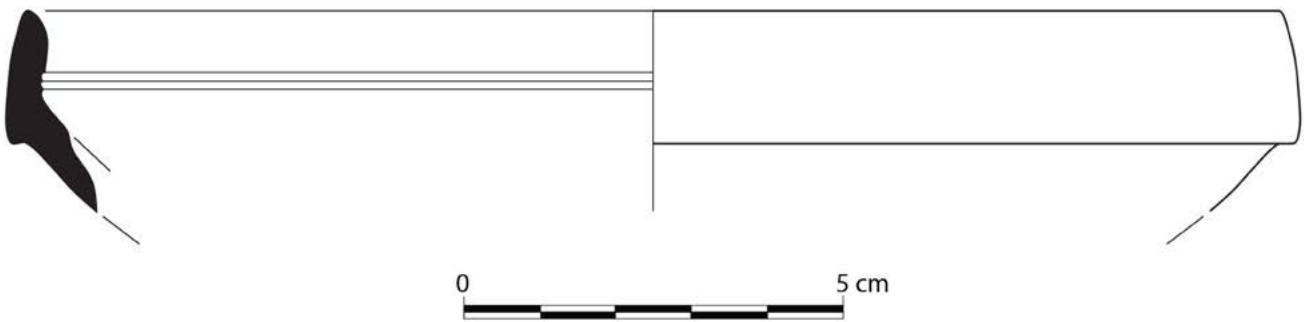


Figure 288. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 2, Lot 1472.

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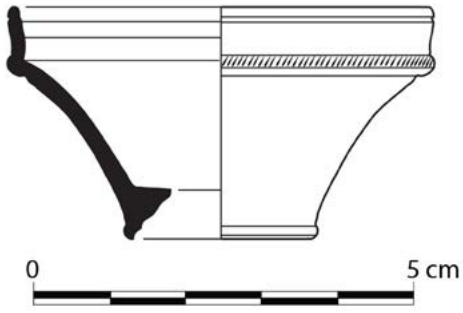


Figure 289. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 3, Inv # C-74-245.

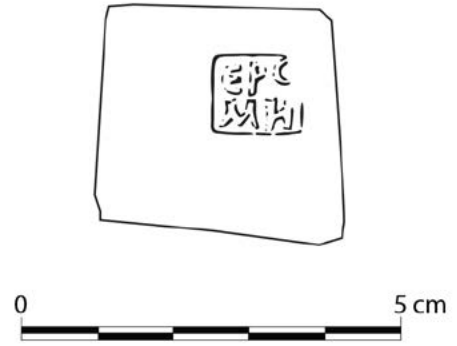


Figure 290. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 4, Inv # C-74-411.

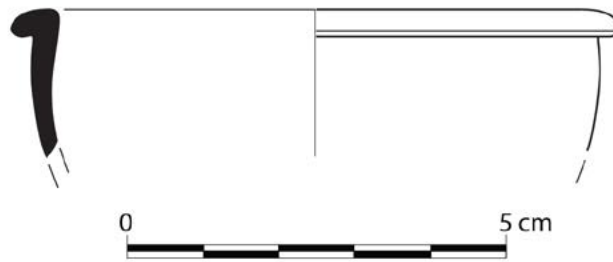


Figure 291. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 5, Inv # C-74-417.

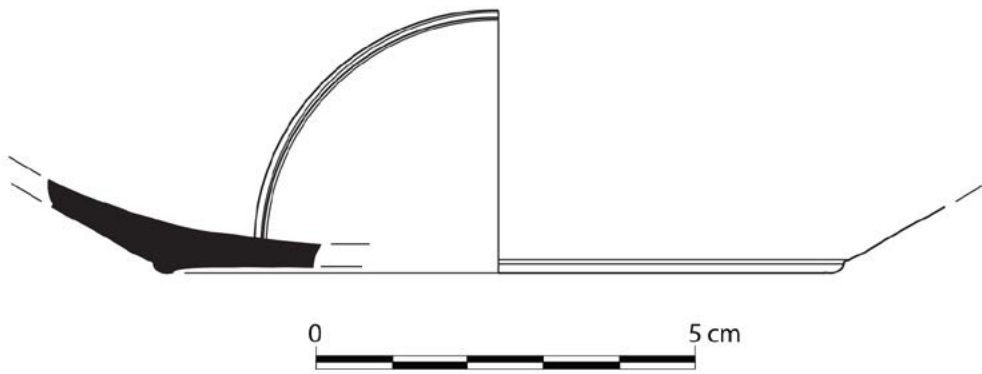


Figure 292. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 6, Lot 1478/1.

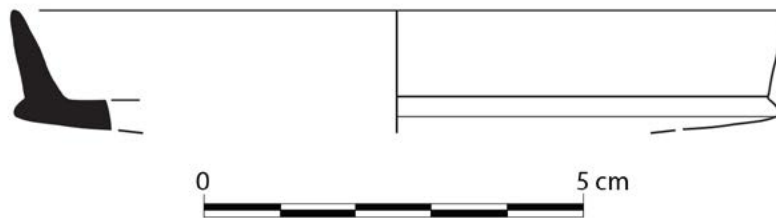


Figure 293. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 7, Lot 1472.

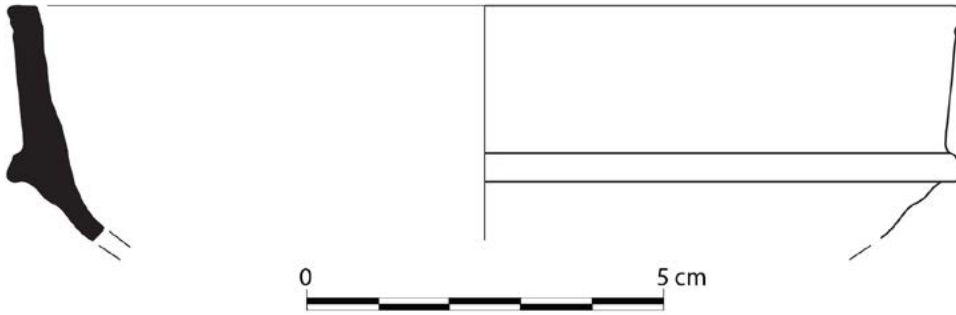


Figure 294. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 8, Inv # C-74-412.

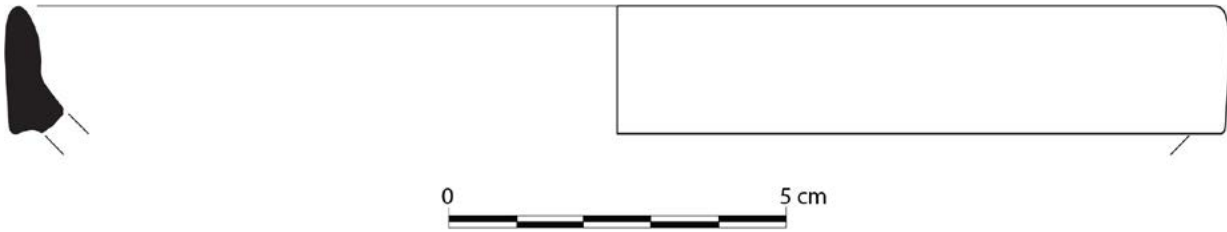


Figure 295. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 9, Lot 1472.

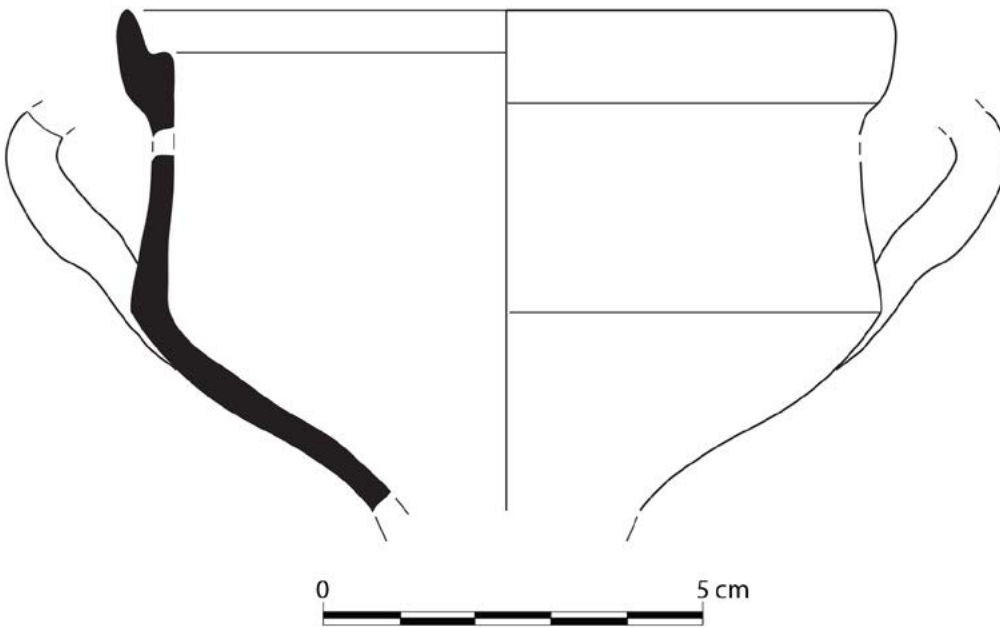


Figure 296. Deposit II.3, cat. no. 10, Inv # C-75-87.



Figure 297. Deposit II.4, cat. no. 1, Inv # MF-74-147.

FIGURES

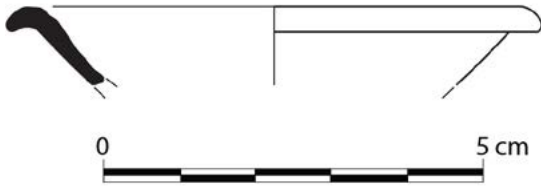


Figure 298. Deposit II.5, cat. no. 2 Inv # C-74-445.

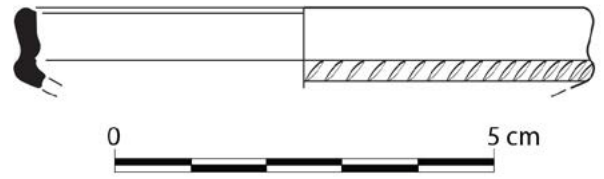


Figure 299. Deposit II.5, cat. no. 3, Inv # C-74-442.

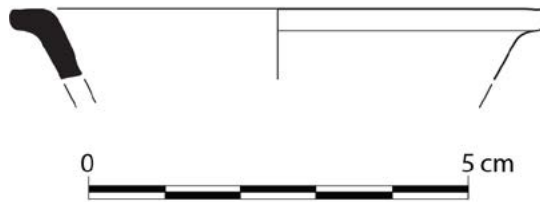


Figure 300. Deposit II.5, cat. no. 4, Lot 1510.

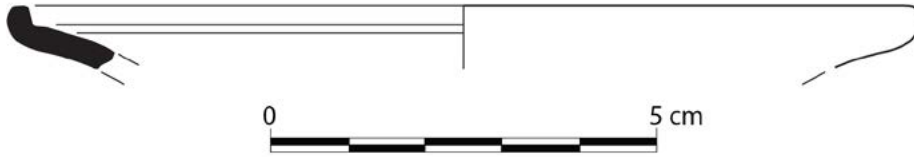


Figure 301. Deposit II.5, cat. no. 6, C-74-447.

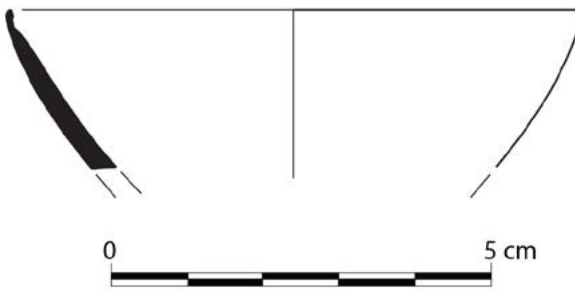


Figure 302. Deposit II.6, cat. no. 1, Inv # C-74-452.



Figure 303. Deposit II.6, cat. no. 2, Inv # C-74-454.

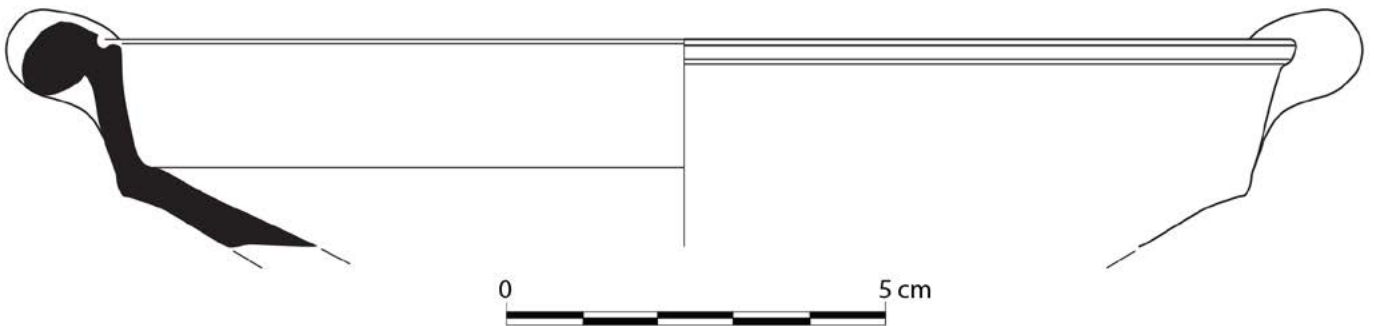


Figure 304. Deposit II.6, cat. no. 3, Inv # C-74-453.

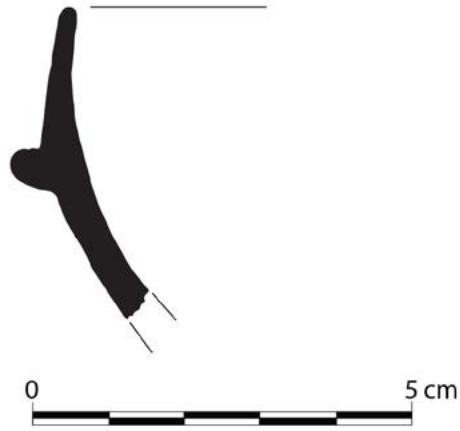


Figure 305. Deposit II.8, cat. no. 1, Inv # C-72-121.

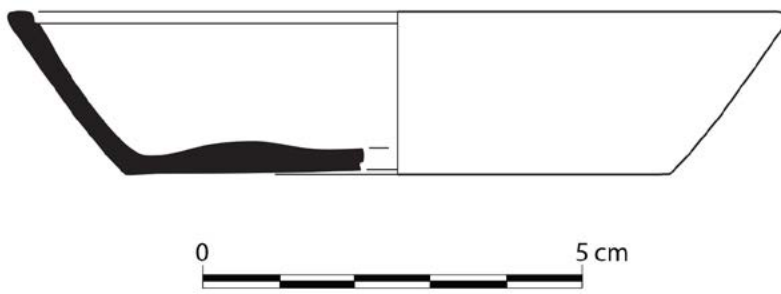


Figure 306. Deposit II.8, cat. no. 2, Inv # C-72-95.



Figure 307. Deposit II.9, cat. no. 1,  
Inv # C-75-68.

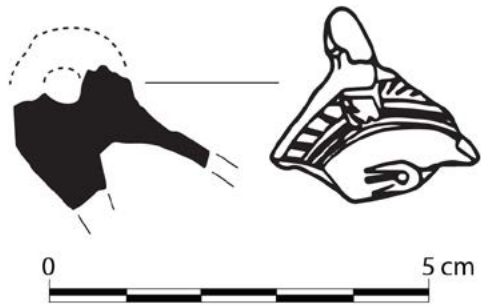


Figure 308. Deposit II.10, cat. no. 1, Inv # L-73-8.

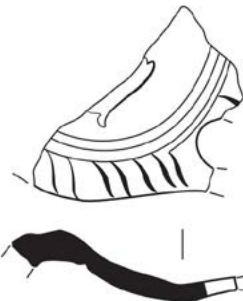


Figure 309. Deposit II.10, cat. no. 1,  
Inv # L-73-10.

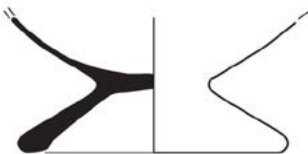


Figure 310. Deposit II.11, cat. no. 1,  
Inv # G-73-40.

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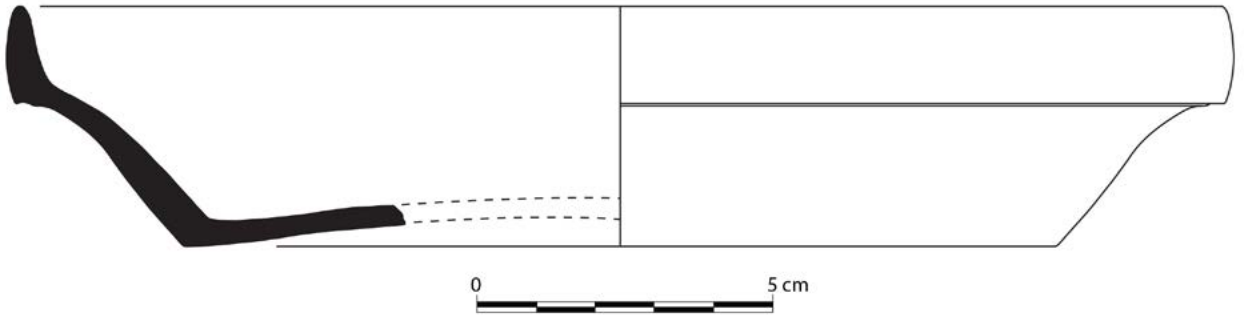


Figure 311. Deposit II.12, cat. no. 1, Inv # C-73-52.

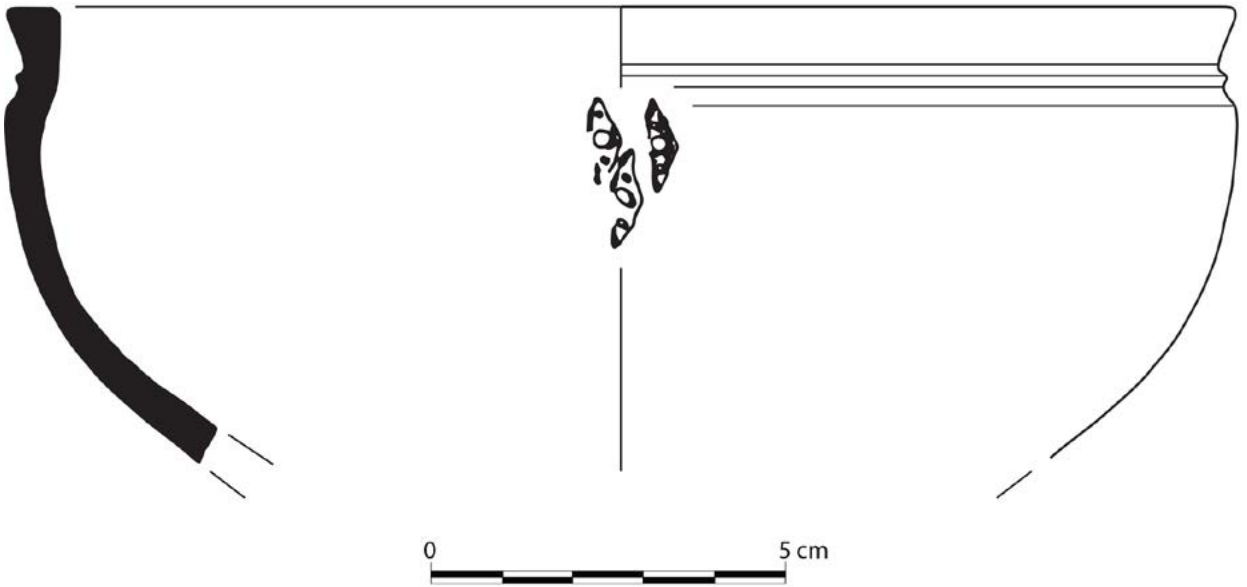


Figure 312. Deposit II.12, cat. no. 2, Inv # C-73-87.

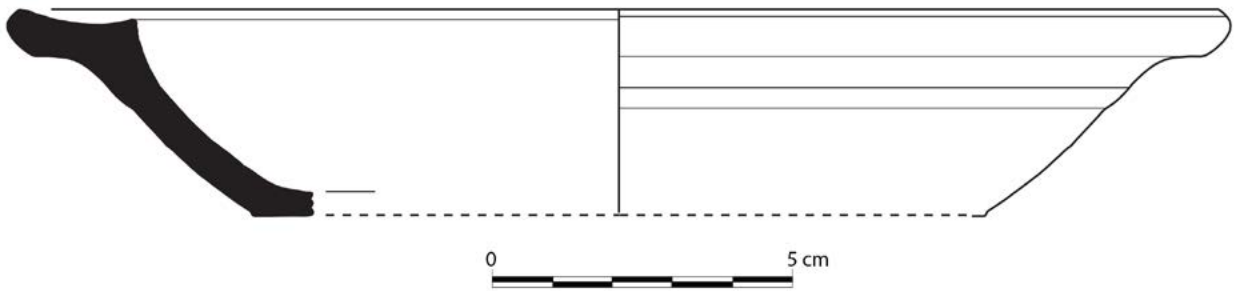


Figure 313. Deposit II.12, cat. no. 4, Inv # C-73-72.



Figure 314. Deposit II.14, cat. no. 1, Lot 1509.

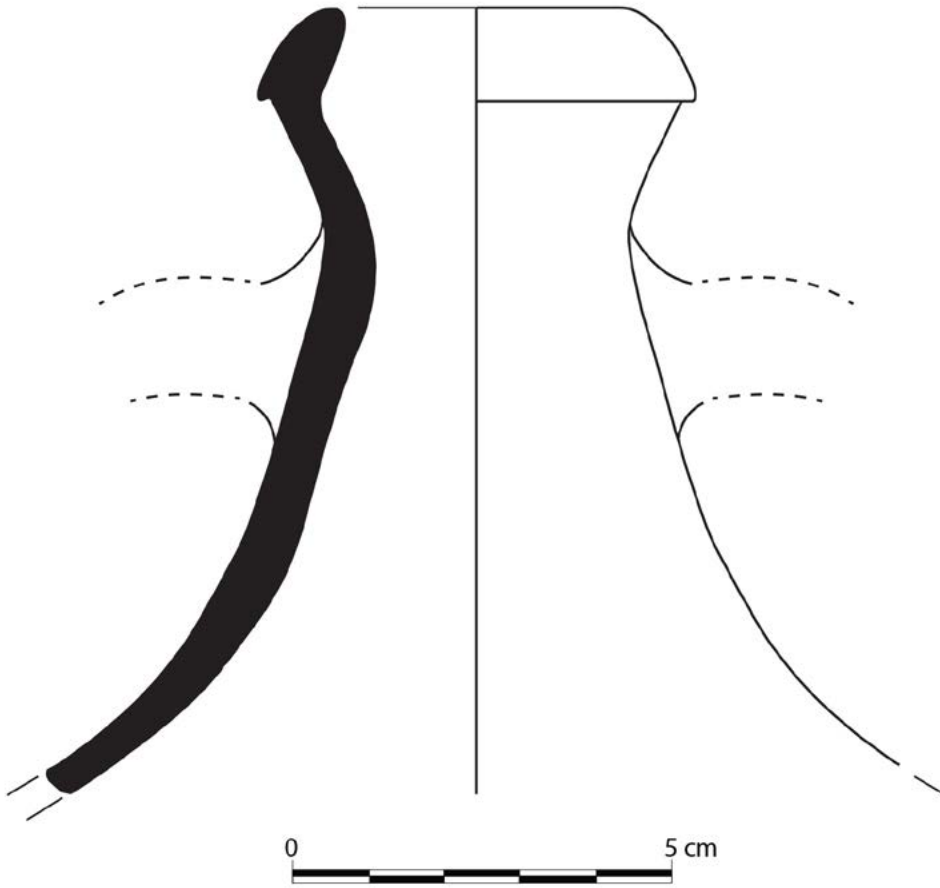


Figure 315. Deposit II.14, cat. no. 3, Inv # C-74-215.

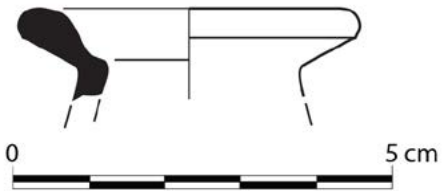


Figure 316. Deposit II.14, cat. no. 4,  
Inv # G-74-114.

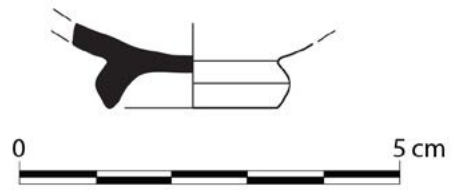


Figure 317. Deposit III.2, cat. no. 1, Inv # C-74-433.

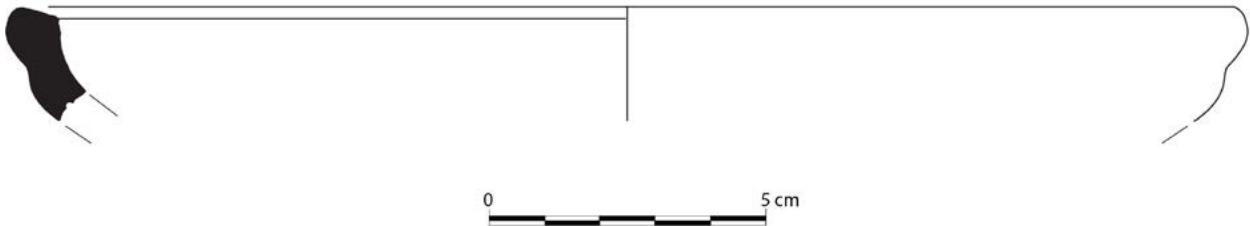


Figure 318. Deposit III.2, cat. no. 3, Inv # C-74-435.

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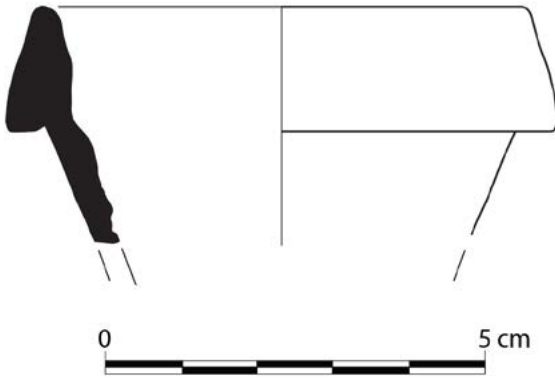


Figure 319. Deposit III.15, cat. no. 1, Inv # C-72-128.

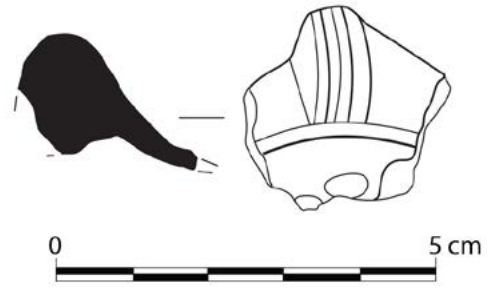


Figure 321. Deposit IV.20, cat. no. 1, Inv # L-70-16.

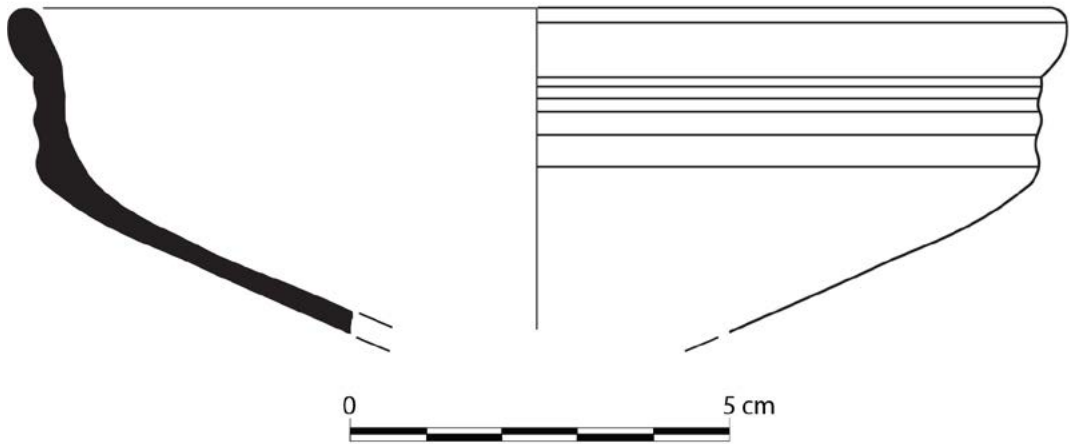


Figure 320. Deposit IV.2, cat. no. 1, Inv # C-72-142.

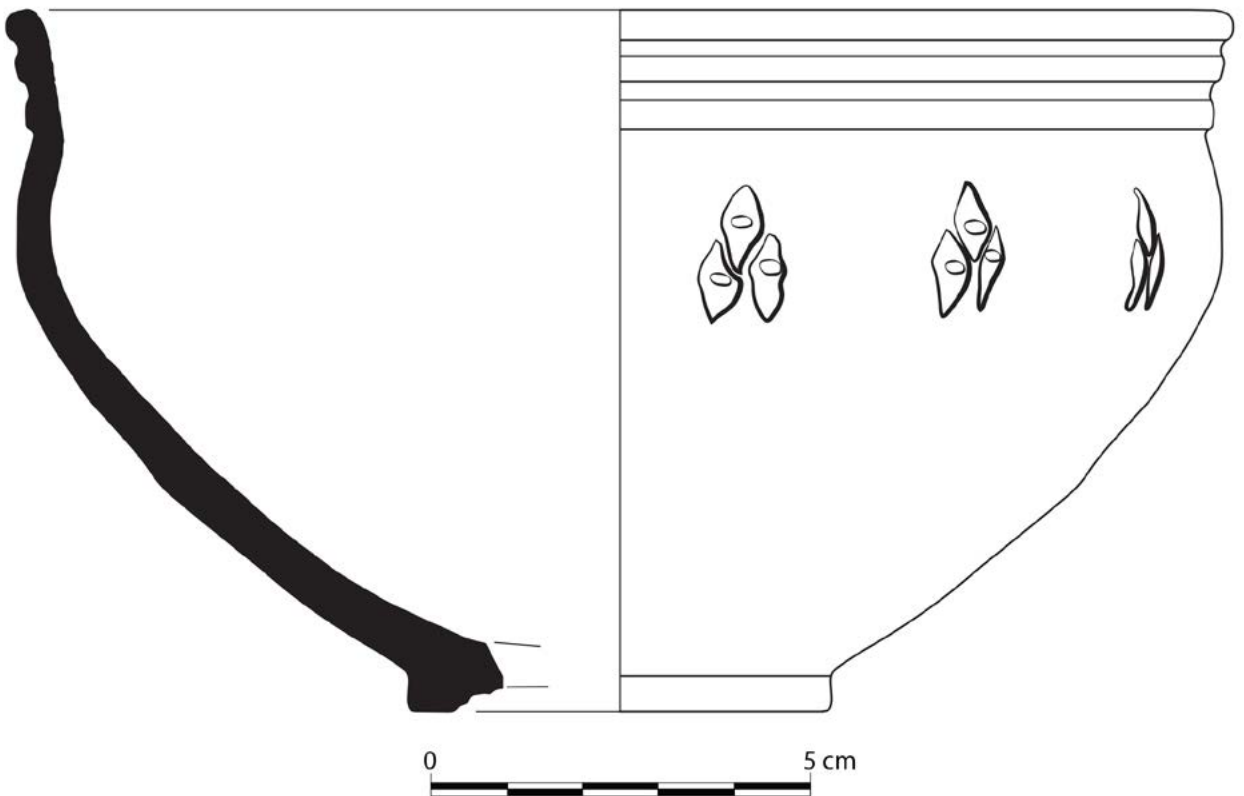


Figure 322. Deposit IV.29, cat. no. 1, Inv # C-74-12.

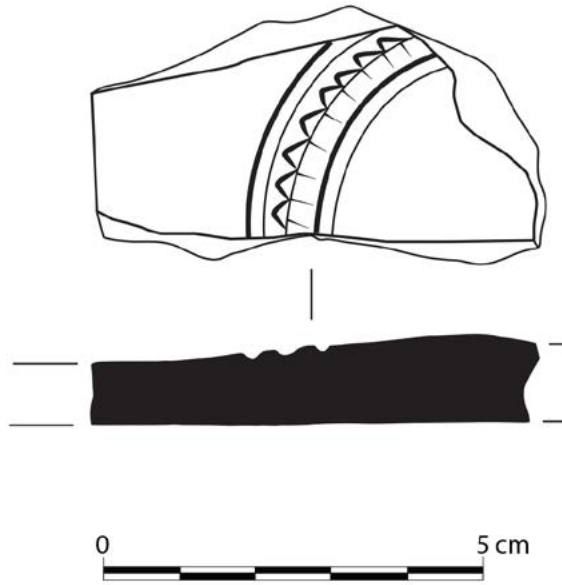


Figure 323. Deposit IV.32, cat. no. 1, Inv # C-74-463.

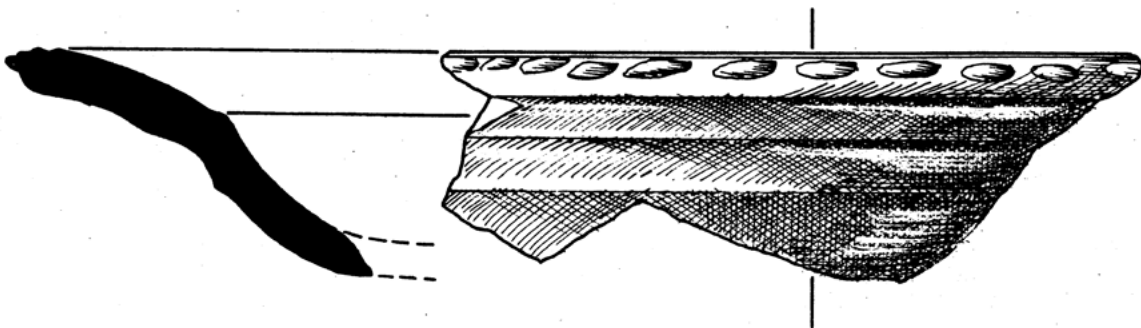


Figure 324. Deposit IV.33, cat. no. 5, Inv # C-73-33.

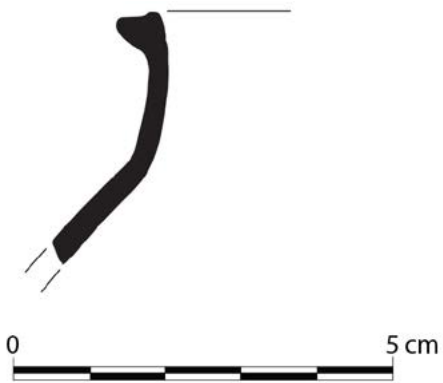


Figure 325. Deposit IV.40, cat. no. 1,  
Inv # C-72-127.

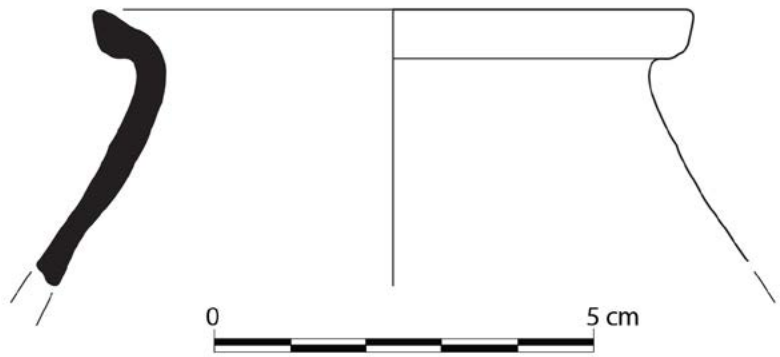


Figure 326. Deposit IV.40, cat. no. 2, Inv # C-72-129.

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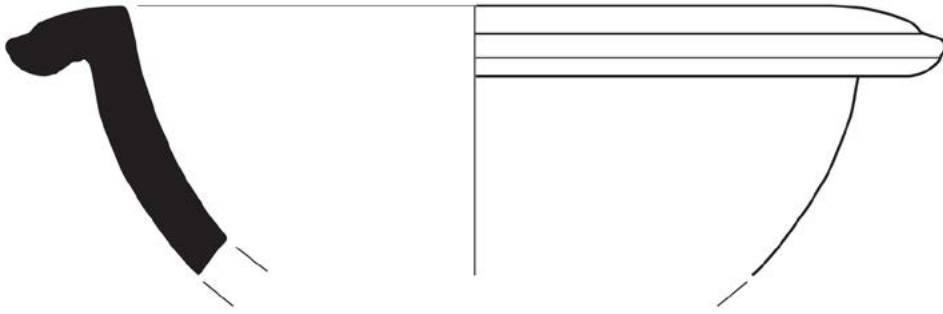


Figure 327. Deposit IV.42, cat. no. 3, Inv # C-73-82.

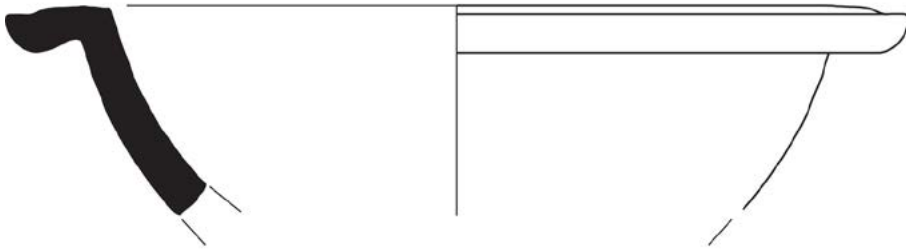


Figure 328. Deposit IV.42, cat. no. 4, Inv # C-73-83.

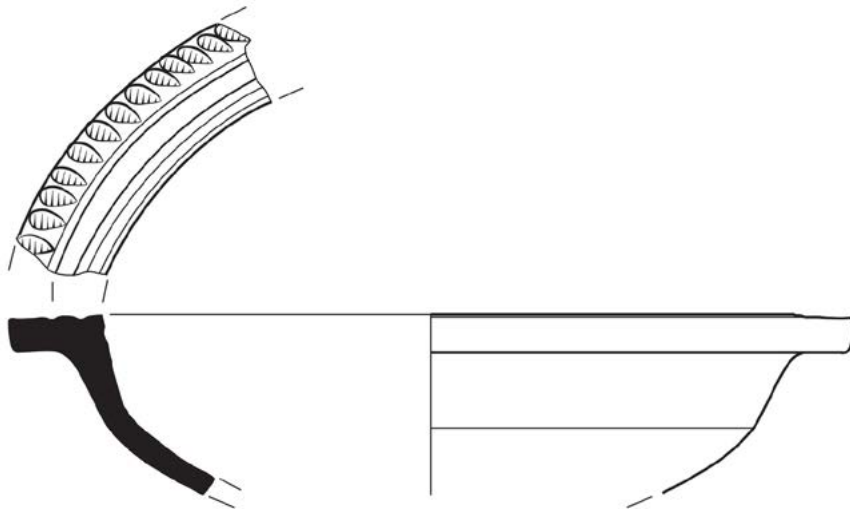


Figure 329. Deposit IV.44, cat. no. 4, Inv # C-75-15.

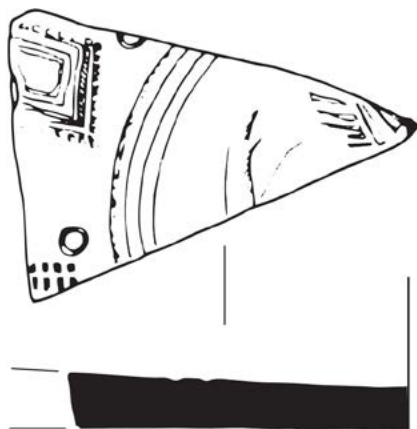


Figure 330. Deposit IV.45, cat. no. 2, Inv # C-74-96.



Figure 331. Deposit IV.46, cat. no. 2, Inv # C-74-35.