

# ROMAN BUTRINT AN ASSESSMENT

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OXBOW BOOKS FOR THE BUTRINT FOUNDATION

Published by  
Oxbow Books, Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN

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and the individual authors 2007

ISBN 978-1-84217-234-6 1-84217-234-4

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

This book is available direct from  
Oxbow Books, Park End Place, Oxford, OX1 1HN  
(Phone: 01865-241249; Fax: 01865-794449)

*and*

The David Brown Book Company  
PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779, USA  
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*Cover image: Portrait of Agrippa from the Theatre of Butrint. Archaeological Museum,  
Tirana (inv. 583). With permission of the Institute of Archaeology, Tirana*

*Endpapers: View of Butrint and the Vrina Plain from Mount Sotirës  
(BF, photo by L. Meredith-Vula)*

*Printed in Great Britain by  
Alden Press Ltd, Witney, Oxon*

# 1 Introduction

*Richard Hodges and Inge Lyse Hansen*

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Butrint, ancient *Buthrotum*, has taken many forms in different ages, shaped by the near-constant interaction between the place, its lagoonal landscape and the Mediterranean (cf. Figs 1.1 and 1.2). The exposed hilltop overlooking a deep-water lagoon abundant in fish has been an enduring feature in its many historical guises, and the site is an archetypal example of a port whose history was shaped by its context in the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>1</sup> Indeed today, other than tourism, its main income as a place is still from fish, caught up in a web of rusting, communist traps.<sup>2</sup> It is no surprise, then, to discover the lithic instruments of Neanderthal manufacture on the beaches surrounding the lagoon or that the hilltop is considered part of a network of late Bronze Age settlements in the region.<sup>3</sup> It is no less unsurprising that the acropolis has yielded finds of mid-8th-century BC and late 7th-century Corinthian pottery, providing evidence of the city's part in Mediterranean-wide trade networks.<sup>4</sup> Though Butrint does not appear on any of the records of early Greek colonisation to identify it as a Corcyrean settlement, strong links must have existed between it and the metropolitan Corinthian colony of Corfu.

Blessed with springs that possessed healing qualities, a small *polis* was created – extended to incorporate a healing sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius – and probably in the 3rd century BC the site became the administrative centre of the *koinon* of the Praesebes tribe.<sup>5</sup> Julius Caesar harbouring at Butrint in urgent need of supplies to sustain his struggle against Pompey must have viewed the sanctuary, ringed by largely dried-out marshland, as the perfect site to settle veterans as a colony.<sup>6</sup> It was an obvious cornerstone in controlling the passage from the Adriatic to the Aegean. Threatened by the prospect of new Roman colonists the city appealed to Titus Pomponius Atticus, who might have felt that his nearby estate would have been affected by new centuriation schemes. The early settlers seem to have been limited in number and possibly mainly of civilian status.<sup>7</sup> However, the political changes to the city's magistrature were

immediate, and within a relatively short time-span fundamental changes to the physical make-up of the city were set in motion. Its new Roman status also located Butrint directly before the highest authorities in Rome, and within fifteen years or so, under Augustus's guidance following his victory at Actium, the city was refounded as a colony and awarded a pivotal role in Virgil's court-sponsored foundation epic, *The Aeneid*. Now linked to the Victory City of Nicopolis rather than in the shadow of Corfu, Butrint prospered. The urban fabric evolved, sometimes faltered, but was essentially sustained until the later 6th century AD (cf. Fig 1.3).

Butrint, with its long history, port facilities and connection to a lagoonal micro-region and (intermittently) the Mediterranean basin, conforms well to the criteria of commonality recently proposed by Nicholas Purcell.<sup>8</sup> This approach, consciously re-framing Fernand Braudel's concept of history over *la longue durée*, informed, as it happened, the Butrint Foundation's project launched in 1994.<sup>9</sup> This was designed as a multi-stage project involving multi-disciplinary analyses of the archives, archaeology and environment at Butrint, culminating in major open-area excavations in 2000–4.

This present volume is an assessment of the Roman archaeology, a compilation of studies and field reports that focusses upon the foundation and early history of the colony. On-going excavations in the area of the Forum as well as in the suburb on the Vrina Plain, as well as the preparation of full excavation reports on the excavations of the Triconch Palace and at Diaporit will very probably enlarge this picture of the ancient city in Roman times. Our intention now, though, is to illustrate the range of new information presently available for this period and to invite debate on its meaning for Butrint itself and its wider setting in the Adriatic Sea area.

## **Roman Butrint re-examined: 1994–2004**

In his book *Butrinto. Il mito d'Enea. Gli scavi* the Italian

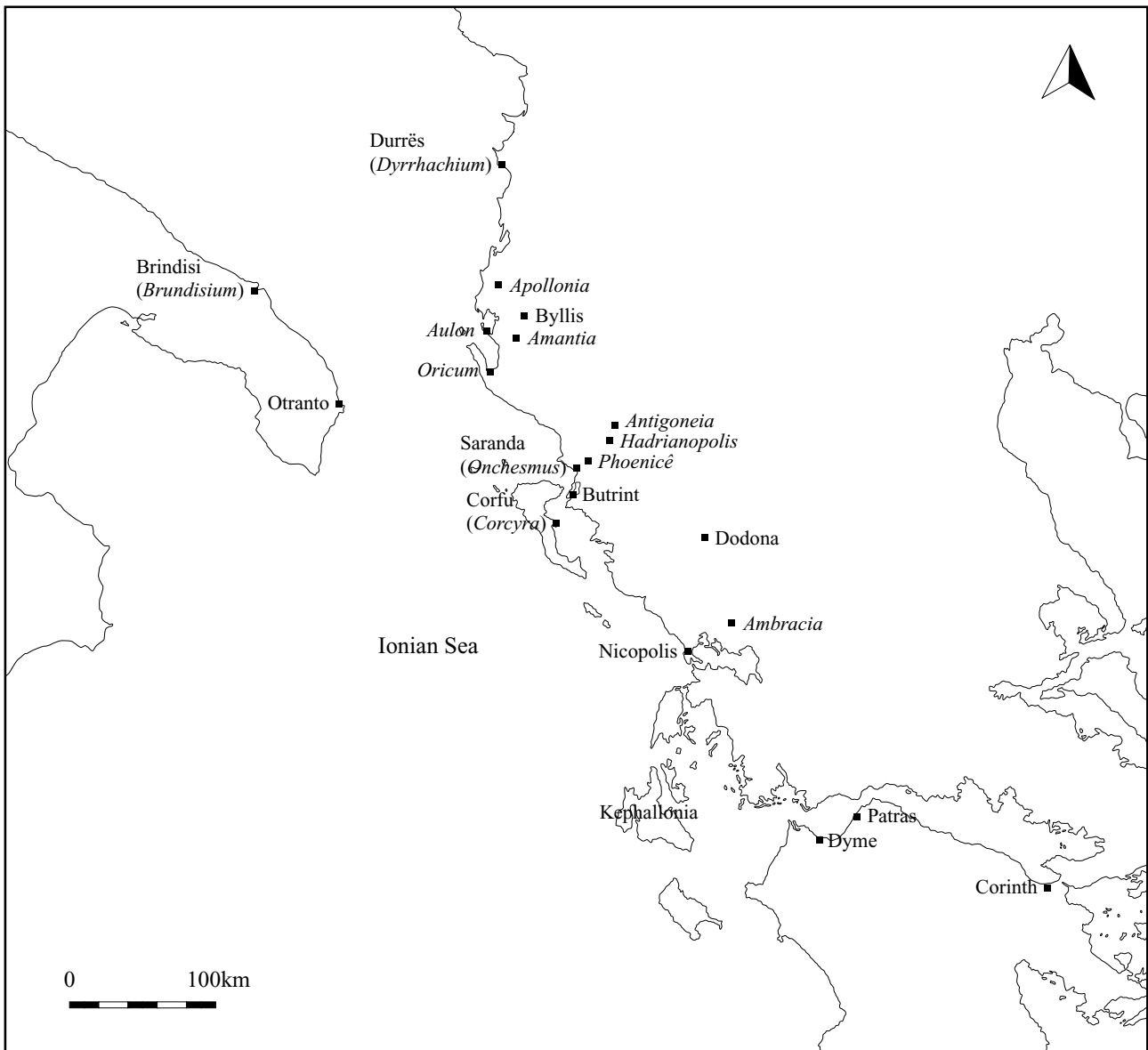


Fig. 1.1 The regional context of Butrint (BF)

archaeologist Luigi Maria Ugolini records how, sitting on the wall of ancient Mycenae in 1925, he mused upon on the links between Troy, Butrint and Rome.<sup>10</sup> In his own account he had discovered Butrint in 1924 during travels with the precise scope of finding the ancient city of Helenus and Andromache – deliberately emulating, we may assume, Heinrich Schliemann’s achievement in unearthing Agamemnon’s home.<sup>11</sup> Ugolini, a prehistorian by training, in his major excavations at Butrint from 1928–36 surprisingly gave little attention to either the early origins of the town and even less to understanding its Roman history. Instead, Ugolini’s real achievement was to establish a diachronic understanding of Butrint’s long history as a port situated on the Straits of Corfu.

After his untimely death in 1936, his successors Pirro Marconi and Luigi Mustilli sustained Ugolini’s vision of a long-running centre, and neither, for example, opted to examine one of its episodes in greater detail. After the Second World War, much in admiration of Ugolini’s energetic efforts, Albanian archaeologists tended to re-work details of Butrint’s long history, such as the phasing of its fortifications rather than reinterpret its history in any general form.<sup>12</sup> This was the context for the Butrint Foundation’s project, which began in 1994.

The first phase of the project between 1994–99 concentrated upon evaluating the archaeological, historical and environmental sources.<sup>13</sup> As a result a field survey of the immediate environs in 1994–96 established

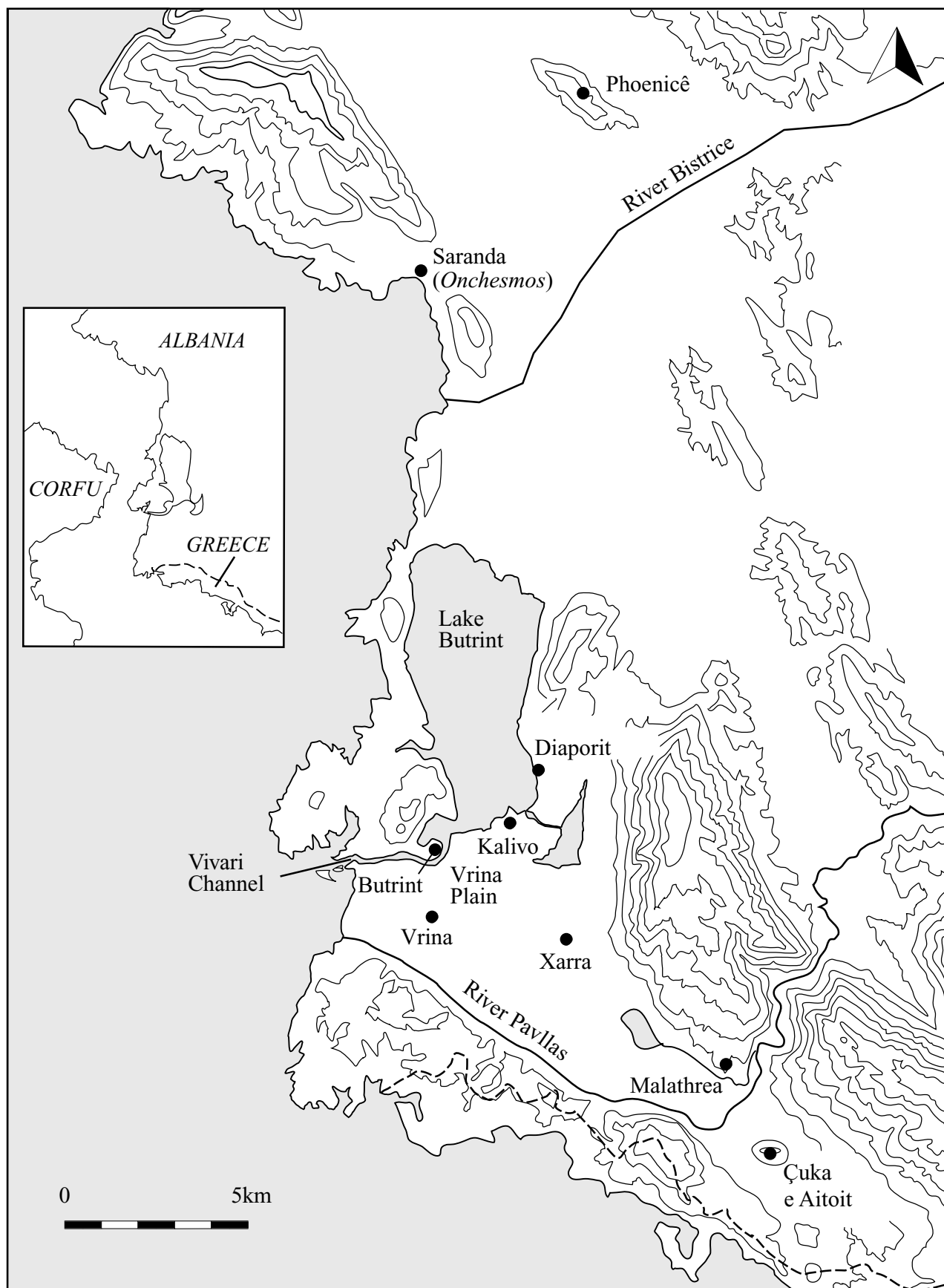
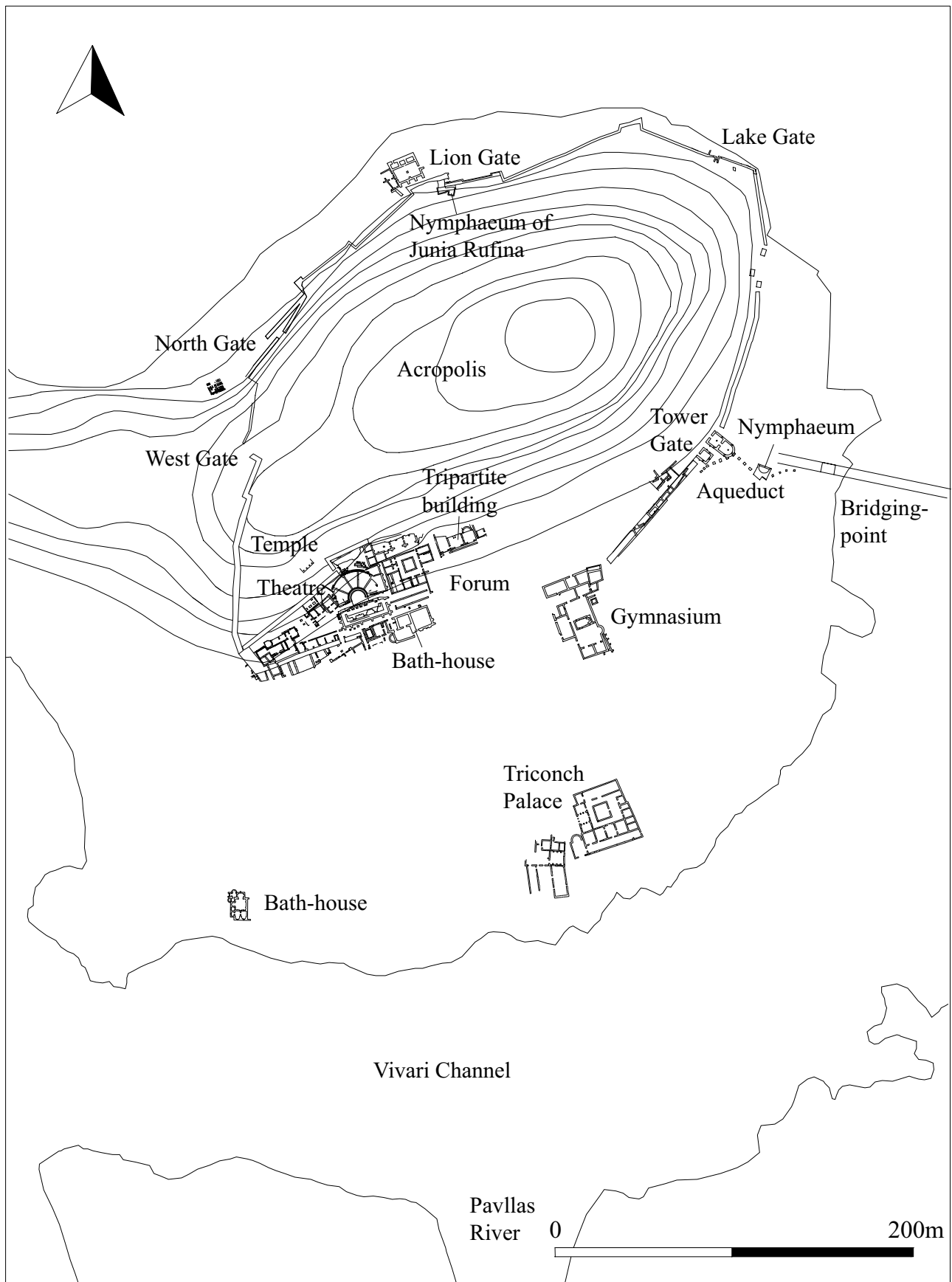


Fig. 1.2 The micro-region of Butrint (BF)



*Fig. 1.3 Location of the principal monuments at Butrint (BF)*

not only the remains of multi-period settlement around Butrint, but significantly, a large suburb or southern extension of the Roman settlement on the south side of the Vivari Channel.<sup>14</sup> This suburb on the Vrina Plain had hitherto been interpreted as a villa by the Albanian Institute of Archaeology in deference to Ugolini's interpretation of Butrint being confined to the promontory on the north side of the Vivari Channel.<sup>15</sup> In April 1995 a preliminary geophysical survey of a section of the Vrina Plain was made by members of the Albanian Institute of Geophysics. The survey was inconclusive. In 1998–99 a further survey, made by Neil Chroston and Mark Hounslow from the School of Environmental Sciences at the University of East Anglia, demonstrated that the area was occupied by a dense mosaic of buildings.<sup>16</sup> Parallel to this research, a new survey was made of the monuments in the main town, and assessment excavations at various points indicated the calibre of the archaeological deposits.<sup>17</sup>

Other research linked to this evaluation included an exhaustive study of the archives pertaining to the work by Luigi Maria Ugolini, including his unpublished manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> The material is mostly held by the archives in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome, while an important collection of Ugolini's photographs is housed in the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana. Following this, the Butrint Foundation reviewed the archives of the Institute of Archaeology to comprehend the scope of the post-war interventions at Butrint. In addition, the late Dhimosten Budina, head of the Institute's Saranda office from 1959–90, was interviewed. Other archival research pertinent to this early assessment phase included a study of the maps, drawings and prints made by topographers and earlier visitors to Butrint. Being situated close to Corfu, with its long history of Venetian occupation followed by a French, then British governorship, the sources proved to be rich and illuminating.

The final part of the assessment phase included a study of the lagoonal history. Started by Sarah O'Hara, it was completed by Adrian Lane.<sup>19</sup> These studies demonstrated a complex environmental history, much as N.G.L. Hammond anticipated in his seminal monograph on Epirus and similar to the more exacting survey made of the environment at Nicopolis, 200 km to the south.<sup>20</sup> In particular, the survey indicated a significant drop in the water table in relation to the land in the second half of the first millennium BC and a reversal of this beginning in the later Roman period.

The present volume arises from the next stage in the Butrint Foundation's research at Butrint. Since 2000 three investigations involving large-scale excavations have been made. First, a large part of an insula in the main town of Butrint, occupied by the later Roman Triconch Palace, was excavated between 2000–3.<sup>21</sup> Second, a major multi-period settlement identified in the 1995–95 field survey at Diaporit on the south-east shore of Lake Butrint was extensively excavated.<sup>22</sup> Third, the

Vrina Plain suburb has been examined in detail. The Vrina Plain project has involved a sequence of different approaches. In 2000–1 the earlier geophysical survey was re-evaluated and test-trenches were excavated to evaluate the suitability of the remote sensing techniques. This was followed in 2002–3 when a length of about 200 m of a 1960s drainage ditch was cleaned and, in places, subjected to detailed excavation. This assessment excavation provided a cross-section through the settlement. In 2003–4, working from identified points in this assessment, several large areas were excavated revealing specific monuments within the occupation area.

An artistic impetus for re-evaluating the sculptural finds made by Ugolini in the late 1920s, and the development of Butrint as a Roman town, was provided by the find of the monumental togate statue in the late summer of 2002.<sup>23</sup> As discussed by Iris Pojani in this volume, the statue represents an extraordinary find detailing a composite history of the erection and re-working of imperial statuary, and it became the focal point for an international academic workshop in 2003. With the assistance of Neritan Çeka, Sandro De Maria, Shpresa Gjongecaj, Muzafer Korkuti, Charles Brian Rose, R. R. R. Smith, Eric Varner, Susan Walker and Konstantinos Zachos, as well as members of the Butrint Foundation and the International Centre for Albanian Archaeology, new ideas were forged that have sustained much of the subsequent understanding of Roman Butrint.

The combination of assessments, re-evaluation of Butrint's archives containing unpublished excavations, and the new excavations is the context for this volume. As such, it shows how this combination enables us to view the history of the town from different angles, taking a new critical stance not only upon its long settlement history but also upon its changing status in antiquity before and after the battle of Actium in 31 BC when the town and medicinal sanctuary was designated as a Roman colony.

## Roman Butrint: a historical and archaeological outline

Strabo, the late 1st-century BC/early 1st-century AD geographer, describes the harbour of Butrint as *Pelodes Limen* or muddy harbour.<sup>24</sup> Whether he had actually visited the town is unknown, but his description of Butrint as situated on a peninsula at the mouth of the harbour is certainly correct. However, the marshy landscape around Butrint and the winding approach to it via the Vivari Channel would have been known to merchants and travellers for centuries. Epirus has high rainfall, and the river system from the mountains across the Vrina Plain would have brought down soil, leaving great muddy fans exuding from the mouth of the Vivari Channel into the Straits of Corfu. This particular landscape must have been a defining feature for any visitor in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. As the recent environmental studies have

shown, the drop in the water table was particularly marked from the 6th century BC, leaving a shallow skirt of land around the hilltop settlement of Butrint and elevating the land on the south side of the channel above the waterline.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, following these changes it is tempting to see the 3rd-century expansion of Butrint and the monumentalisation of the sanctuary as early examples of land reclamation schemes. So, when Julius Caesar briefly harboured at Butrint in early 48 BC, the combination of civic monumentality – in the series of imposing defensive walls ringing the city – and the open landscape must have been striking. The vistas articulate Butrint's regional connections and its position at a cross-road point between the valleys of the interior and the Mediterranean: from Butrint the view down the Pavllas Valley only terminates at Çuka e Aitoit; along the Vivari Channel it is possible to see the Straits of Corfu and the eastern flank of Corfu beyond; and once into Lake Butrint there is a direct visual link to Phoenicê and Mount Likurs behind Saranda, ancient *Onchesmos* (cf. Fig. 1.2).

Despite the monumental walls and the extensive excavation in the area around the sanctuary of Asclepius, the topographic history of Hellenistic Butrint is still relatively uncertain.<sup>26</sup> This issue, and a discussion of the available sources, are reviewed by Sandro De Maria, highlighting the historical and archaeological relationship with Phoenicê. The healing sanctuary of Asclepius is likely to have been a defining aspect of the city even as early as the Classical period, and the 'shrine' and stoa/portico on the slopes of the acropolis hill, as well as the temple above, pre-date the mid-3rd-century elaboration of the sanctuary.<sup>27</sup> The rather low acropolis hill, may not have permitted Butrint to be a settlement on a par with commanding cities such as Phoenicê or Çuka e Aitoit, but its easy communication-links with other cities in Chaonia made it ideal as a centre for the *koinon* of the Praesebes. Both leading magistrates of the *koinon* (*strategos* and *prostates*) were based at Butrint, and their names appear in inscriptions to date official enactments.<sup>28</sup> A similar status was granted to the priests of Asclepius, and civic structures, like the *prytaneum* and the agora, have been proposed as integral features of the structural landscape of the sanctuary area (cf. Fig. 2.8).<sup>29</sup> Both aspects are evidence of the significance of the sanctuary. Indeed, as David Bescoby's analysis of the early Roman centuriation scheme shows, the temple above the sanctuary is the only building in Butrint to follow the new land-division alignment, suggestively implying that it may have been a defining feature when this was laid out. Similarly, following the recent re-assessment of the archaeology of the theatre and surrounding structures, the re-interpretation of these elements presented in the contribution by Milena Melfi has significant consequences for the understanding of the Hellenistic sanctuary.<sup>30</sup> Firstly, identifying the so-called shrine next to the theatre as a treasury building, and associating the temple on the upper terrace with Asclepius, provides an

overall cohesion to the sanctuary. The various monuments excavated in the 1920s and 1970s can be related to the proper function of the healing ritual, and the area now appears as a cohesive religious complex comparable to other Asclepieia in the Greek Hellenistic world. Secondly, it highlights the symbolic significance of both buildings, and in the process explains respective continuity and changes in use. The elevated location of the temple provides a culminating focal point for the cult, as well as suggesting a system of diverse routes through the sanctuary area symbolically dividing civic and religious uses of the complex. Instead, the position of the treasury on major public thoroughfares through the area emphasises the administrative importance of the sanctuary. Similarly, the later incorporation of the structure beneath the extended seating of the theatre is symbolic of its loss of political influence as a result of the changes under Roman administration.

Caesar's visit to Butrint was to have a fundamental impact on the city. Returning to Rome, a formal decree was issued designating Butrint as a Roman colony. As Elizabeth Deniaux argues here, an intended settlement of veteran soldiers or of those displaced by veteran settlements in Italy would explain the excuse given as arrears in the payment of taxes (the origin of which is unknown) by constituting a formal claim on the *ager publicus*. The city sought the assistance of the most famous and influential of the *synepirotae*, Titus Pomponius Atticus, who had owned property in the vicinity of Butrint since 68 BC.<sup>31</sup> Despite the efforts of Atticus and Cicero, by mid summer 44 BC a group of settlers arrived at Butrint led by the praefect L. Plancus.<sup>32</sup> However, rather than veterans, the group was probably more limited in number and made up of civilians – possibly also by freedmen, as suggested in John Patterson's analysis of the dedicatory inscription of a shrine to Minerva – making Butrint analogous to the Caesarian settlement at Corinth.<sup>33</sup> Certainly, the archaeological evidence shows no trace of a sudden, large-scale influx of people. Neither on the Vrina Plain nor within Butrint itself are substantial urban changes evident at this date, and it is possible that the new arrivals may have been incorporated into the existing city. If physical change to the urban landscape is difficult to trace, the political changes to the city appear immediate and fundamental. The new constitutional format was modelled on that in Rome, creating a local senate, or council of *decurions*; two annual magistrates, the *duoviri*; as well as offices such as the *quinquennial*, indicating that a citizen roll was being kept. Simultaneously, the official language changed to Latin. For the first time Butrint received a grant to mint coins and, as illustrated in the contribution by Sam Moorhead, Shpresa Gjongecaj and Richard Abdy, the coinage became an important medium of display for members of the new local elite holding high office. The identification of a new issue type (SF 0433, Fig. 6.9) by the earliest known *duoviri* at Butrint, P. Dastidius and L. Cornelius, highlights the



continued importance of the cult of Asclepius by depicting the god on the obverse. More than a symbol of the city, the representation also articulates the political transference of power formerly associated with the priests of the sanctuary and the magistrates of the Praesebian *koinon*. As Elizabeth Deniaux points out in her essay, quite apart from possible land expropriations, the social and psychological impact on the old elite of the colonial changes must have been profound.

Fundamental to the formalised involvement in Butrint was its particular location, at the strategically important Straits of Corfu, on the sea-route between Italy and Greece at the southern head of the Adriatic. In the short term, the struggles fought in this area during the late Republic had not only proved the importance of controlling coastal sites, but they had highlighted the need to create an alternative (or complementary) harbour to Corfu – the theatre of naval command of the Pompeian camp, and later a supporter of M. Antonius.<sup>34</sup> In the long term, the control of the Straits gave access to the East and the further expansion of the Roman world. Hence, the colonial status granted by Caesar was renewed by Augustus – probably soon after his victory at Actium in 31 BC, and certainly by his provincial settlement in 27 BC. The evidence for Butrint during the Julian-Claudian period is particularly composite and detailed, not the least since the town was able to call upon ties of *clientelae* as well as a myth directly linked to the imperial family. The tradition of Trojan lineage had a long ancestry in Epirus, and Butrint could claim to be a genuine Trojan city founded by Helenus, and, as discussed in this volume, there is much to suggest that the city deliberately used this to define itself – not the least in its requests for imperial patronage.<sup>35</sup> Explicit evidence of the approval the city found in imperial circles is to be found in the extensive account and pivotal role accorded to it in Virgil's *Aeneid*. The meeting between Aeneas and Helenus at Butrint is now presented as the pact made between Rome and the east, and Butrint appears as metaphorically linked to Aeneas's foundation of a new Troy, as Nicopolis (Actium) was to be in Augustus' 're-foundation' of Rome. As implied in the numismatic iconography during the reign of Nero, Butrint seems to have attempted to build on this to establish itself as the prime regional Roman centre – a scheme that must have intensified the competition for status with its neighbouring cities, like Phoenicê.<sup>36</sup> The economic realities of expansion and patronage as revealed archaeologically are reviewed in the analysis presented by Sandro De Maria, who raises the important point of provincial re-organisation as a catalyst for civic change. Certainly, the creation of Epirus in the early 2nd century AD seems to have had a fundamental impact on the development of Phoenicê.<sup>37</sup> At Butrint the impact of the Augustan incorporation of the region into Achaea in 27 BC is more easily traced, but both events must have been of critical importance to both cities.

In the *Aeneid*, Butrint is poetically described as a mirror image of Troy. It is not known if Virgil ever visited Butrint, though he must have been intriguingly close by in the late summer/early autumn of 19 BC. According to Suetonius, Virgil set out for Greece and Asia Minor to put the final touch to the *Aeneid*, but meeting Augustus in Athens he resolved instead to return to Rome with him. However, he was to get no further than *Brundisium* (modern Brindisi), where on 21 September he died.<sup>38</sup> Crossing through the Ionian, twice, it is tempting to imagine that Virgil would have wished to see the city for himself. Had he, it is likely that the city he would have seen was one of change, as described in the contribution by William Bowden. The monumental Tower Gate, presumed to have given access to both the lower sanctuary area and the acropolis, was made the entry point for the aqueduct bridge.<sup>39</sup> The implications of this latter structure, the span and design of which may be comparable to the Augustan bridges at Cordoba or Mérida in Spain, as a public monument is analysed by William Bowden, as are the details and symbolism of the maintenance/destruction of the Hellenistic walls in this period.<sup>40</sup> An extra-mural road running along the southern fortification wall has been hypothesised by the location of the small gate giving access to the sanctuary at a point in front of the treasury, as well as the location of a monumental Republican tomb approximately 100 m to the east of this (later incorporated into the so-called Gymnasium), at a point where a second gate may have existed (cf. Fig. 1.3).<sup>41</sup> The former gate continued in use, but the stretch of wall from the theatre to the tomb was demolished. This destruction is explainable as making space for a Roman forum, and hence a desire to create a new monumental focal point for those entering the city. Indeed, as the reconstruction in Figure 11.12 shows, the piers of the aqueduct now effectively obscured the visual monumentality of the Tower Gate. The 'opening-up' of former formal demarcation lines in this way would also have recognised – and encouraged – the expansion of the urban fabric of Butrint across the marshland facing the Vivari Channel, an expansion that was continued onto the Vrina Plain.

As the contributions by David Bescoby and by Andrew Crowson and Oliver Gilkes show, the geophysical and archaeological evidence concur that the layout of the settlement on the Vrina Plain was conditioned by the alignment of the aqueduct. This structure, which in turn followed the alignment of the spur road linking Butrint to Aulon and Nicopolis (cf. Fig. 7.6), was most probably constructed during the Augustan period and it is possible that the land-division scheme on the Vrina Plain was laid out during at this time, too.<sup>42</sup> This new spur road appears later on, at least, to have led to an open area, perhaps a forum, immediately east of which lay an elevated temple, and beyond which, on the edge of the waterway, stood an honorific column monument (Monuments 1 and 2, see below). It is presently unclear whether

a road led from this open area past the column monument to the proposed bridge into Butrint.

There is little evidence from the excavations of any settlement before the later 1st century AD.<sup>43</sup> This development appears to find correspondence in the reference to the plain in the Butrint coinage of the Claudian and Neronian periods describing Butrint as *Colonia Campestris* (cf. Figs 6.15–17).<sup>44</sup> Though, as yet it is uncertain if this represents a renewed investment in the area or an entirely new development. The new suburb of Butrint was clearly a planned settlement organised on an *actus* grid and with a definite division between urban structures to the west of the aqueduct and cemeteries to the east. As the Vrina Plain settlement was laid out, so the area east of it in the Pavlass Valley, David Bescoby believes, was centuriated. This centuriation has yet to be defined on the ground, but the process is certainly consistent with the parallel development of Nicopolis and Phoenicê. The archaeological evidence indicates that the primary thoroughfares within the Vrina Plain settlement appear to be the east–west roads running parallel to the lakeshore (one of which, recent excavations have shown, was colonnaded), highlighting the continued importance of the Vivari Channel and Lake Butrint as a waterway and communication artery in the area. Further, the construction of the aqueduct would effectively have closed Lake Butrint to larger vessels and one would expect to see a corresponding concern with providing adequate anchorage at Butrint itself. It is quite possible that the Vrina suburb provided precisely these facilities or in other ways formed part of a reorganised harbour at Butrint.<sup>45</sup> The construction of the aqueduct may have had regional repercussions too. Strabo locates Phoenicê as lying “above the gulf that is at Buthrotum” suggesting that Lake Butrint traditionally provided a link to the Mediterranean for this city.<sup>46</sup> Hence, the closure of the lake to sea-going vessels may have had economic consequences for Phoenicê; though contemporaneously it may also have encouraged the development and expansion of *Onchesmos* in particular in its status, as Sandro De Maria mentions, as the harbour of Phoenicê.<sup>47</sup>

The organisation of the expanded city on the Vrina Plain appears intimately connected to the re-organisation of Butrint. The physical evidence at Butrint is somewhat ephemeral, but structural alignments suggest the presence of two regular orthogonal systems: one in the area in front of the sanctuary running down to the Vivari Channel, and another occupying the area between the so-called Gymnasium and the Tower Gate.<sup>48</sup> At present it is not possible to determine if the differing alignments were topographically determined or if they represent different chronological developments. A combination of the two seems a likely possibility. Certainly, the topographical restraints posed by the partial demolition of the Hellenistic city wall and incorporation of old extra-mural roadways into an extended civic space around a new Roman forum space would undoubtedly have conditioned

the layout of that part of the city. As summarised in Iris Pojani’s contribution, recent excavations in the area to the east of the theatre have established the location of the Forum by revealing part of the paved and porticoed space in front of the so-called Tripartite building (cf. Figs 1.3; 2.1 and 5.10). The southern extent of the Forum is still to be established – though, as noted above, it almost certainly extended beyond the alignment of the Hellenistic wall – as are the structural composition around this space. Supposing a new monumental southern entrance to the forum space, the Tripartite building against the acropolis hill gains an intriguing significance as a visual counterpoint to this.<sup>49</sup> The structure is being investigated as part of the current excavation programme, and preliminary results suggest that it formed a series of shrines. The dedicatory deities are unknown, though the discovery of an almost complete dedicatory inscription to Minerva Augusta provides a possible identification for at least one of these – though it is not without problems of archaeological context as John Patterson notes in his contribution to this volume. It is possible that a visual focal point within the forum space was provided by the monumental togate statue discussed by Iris Pojani. As she argues, the size of the figure, as well as the late Republican toga style, suggest that it originally depicted Augustus – an identification supported by the figure seemingly being depicted with the right arm raised in the gesture of *adlocutio*. The compelling stylistic similarities with the figures of senators included in the relief depiction of Augustus’s triumphal procession on the Actian monument suggests a date immediately after the Actium victory, and reinforces the close cultural identification between Butrint and Nicopolis noted in several of the present papers. The original location of the statue is unknown, but its sheer size makes it unlikely that it was transported far when it was reworked in late antiquity. Certainly, the public nature of the gesture tends to suggest that it was prominently displayed within this reconfigured and ‘Romanized’ urban landscape. The wide-ranging reorganisation of the city is substantiated by Elizabeth Deniaux’s discussion of the political organisation and administration of the city. Based on epigraphic evidence she demonstrates that the city was divided into *vici* (neighbourhoods) under the control of *magistri* – at a date seemingly earlier than the Augustan reform of the neighbourhoods of Rome in 7 BC.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, the adoption of an urban and civic layout closely modelled on that of Rome, indicates that Butrint, so William Bowden contends, was seeking to express its new identity in terms of its built environment.

By the 2nd century the Vrina Plain settlement had extended also to the west of the aqueduct, an expansion that appears associated with a new grid system on a slightly different alignment than that of the aqueduct. However, the reason for this as well as the precise date and relationship between these two alignments is far from resolved. In this respect the Temple is particularly

intriguing. Its central location beside an open area identified in the geophysical survey, perhaps a forum, at the northern terminus of the spur road hypothesized by David Bescoby, as well as its possible associated precinct to the west, suggests an early date for its construction. However, puzzlingly the surviving structure conforms to the proposed later alignment (alignment 2) (cf. Fig. 8.4). Still enigmatic in function, it clearly had a significant role within the urban fabric and recent research has suggested that it may be a *heroon*.<sup>51</sup> Equally interesting are the two freestanding monuments constructed on an elevated knoll immediately north of the open area forming the terminus of the spur road, close to the water's edge (Fig. 9.1). As discussed by Ryan Ricciardi, the later of the two (Monument 1) appears to have been constructed as a freestanding column monument, located so that it was immediately visible to anyone approaching from the Vivari Channel and serving as a symbolic connecting point into the urban area. The function of this monument remains elusive, but its continued preservation within its own walled precinct suggests that it, too, held a particular status. The analogies and functions suggested by Ryan Ricciardi are especially interesting, emphasizing the role such monuments played in proffering civic identity. Interpreted as honorific in function with either funerary or religious connotations, the monument may conceivably be linked to the status of the Temple as a *heroon* – and hence associated with the veneration of an outstanding individual. Alternatively, it might be seen as a monument linking Butrint to Nicopolis – and hence the imperial family – through the worship of Apollo. Indeed, of course, its role could well have been a combination of these serving as an award of honorific status.<sup>52</sup>

The combined results of geophysical survey and excavations highlight the mixed nature of the Vrina Plain suburb: other than the monuments discussed above there is evidence of elaborate villas, as well as more modest dwellings, bathhouses, a mixture of public buildings, a possible *collegium*, areas of possible industrial activity, and – to the west – tombs. The early division between urban and extra-urban structures (tombs) indicates the planned nature of the settlement, but the lack of a single common factor, such as activity or class, defining it should not surprise us. In character it bears a close resemblance to extramural areas of Ostia developing over time, highlighting its suburban status and close association with water traffic. William MacDonald's description of the area around the Porta Marina at Ostia bring to mind the essence of the Vrina Plain well: "An abbreviated, localised extramural armature encompassing most urban activities. A cat's cradle of functional connections: lodging, labouring, conducting business, warehousing, shopping, strolling, idling, meeting, worshipping, eating, and drinking were all accommodated".<sup>53</sup> Indeed, located on a roadway and at a crossing point of the Vivari Channel, it is possible that the area formed the focal point for a rural market, much as has

been proposed for the area near the extra-mural circus at Mérida.<sup>54</sup>

Ancient visual analogies for how the Vrina Plain suburb may have appeared are difficult to find. The suggestive seaside townscape depicted in frescoes from Stabiae are interesting for their inclusion of harboured boats, piers and rows of column monuments, but remain too rooted in a milieu of the upper class *villa maritima*.<sup>55</sup> Other, if not entirely reliable, sources are the 17th/18th-century representations of a now lost 2nd-century AD Roman fresco, recently proposed to show *Antium* south of Rome.<sup>56</sup> The image depicts a town organised as a tight block, facing the sea and laid out on a gridded network of streets. An arcaded pier with arches and column monuments dominates the front plane of the image, but behind it is possible to discern temples, villas, open porticoed spaces, and well as buildings interpreted as *horrea* and baths.<sup>57</sup> Though too monumental in nature, the harbour and cityscape in form captures some of the essence of the Vrina Plain suburb. Archaeologically, a parallel can be found in Roman *Arelate* (Arles) situated within the marshy riverine landscape on the River Rhône.<sup>58</sup> The city was granted colonial status in 46 BC with the establishment of a Caesarian veteran colony. Much developed during the reign of Augustus, the city boasted two aqueducts, a theatre, an amphitheatre and a stadium. An important port, a commercial centre grew up on the opposite riverbank (modern Trinquetaille), linked to the town by a pontoon bridge and a ferry crossing point. The commercial suburb – like the city itself – was laid out on a regular street grid, but at the former the layout was adapted to the line of the river, rather than the cardinal points. Further, the composition of the suburb was mixed including commercial, public and domestic buildings (many with fine mosaic floors), as well as docks, *horrea*, production areas and porticoed spaces associated with trade and local guilds. At Butrint, it remains to be established whether the Vrina Plain settlement was originally planned with a commercial aspect – the commercial traffic would have been much less intense than at an importance centre like Arles – or if it was conceived as primarily a residential quarter, and only gradually gained a mixed character in order to accommodate the trade in agricultural produce from the eastern valleys and lagoonal hinterland of Butrint.

The 2nd-century urban expansion described by Andrew Crowson and Oliver Gilkes for the Vrina Plain – with several bath-houses and other structures of public nature being incorporated into the fabric of the settlement, and a series of domestic building filling the available land – is mirrored also at Butrint. Around the Tower Gate a monumental fountain with associated cistern, and adorned by under life-size statues of Apollo and Dionysus, was constructed facing the street at the bridging point with the Vrina Plain.<sup>59</sup> William Bowden contends that the fountain might have been mirrored by a second nymphaeum on the opposite side of the street to create a

monumental entrance to the city resembling the western gate at Nicopolis. This suggestion is interesting not simply as a topographical detail, but as evidence of a continuity of symbolic and cultural links that had fundamentally informed Butrint during the early Principate. Construction techniques suggest that the enigmatic “Gymnasium” was also constructed or elaborated in this period, as may be the case for the bath-buildings near the Tower Gate and the Theatre. Further, many of the town houses in the area later dominated by the Triconch Palace may belong to this period.<sup>60</sup> Undoubtedly, dwellings now occupied the acropolis and residential Butrint expanded down to the water’s edge, with the city reaching the dimensions of the present-day site. The landscape around Butrint, too, appears to have been well populated between the mid-1st and mid-2nd century AD. On the northern entrance to the Vivari Channel, with unequalled (if somewhat exposed) views of Corfu, remains of a villa complex have been discovered on a terrace on the foreshore beside the modern Customs House.<sup>61</sup> A more elaborate villa complex was situated at Diaporit on the south-eastern shore of Lake Butrint, where an original Hellenistic villa was substantially enlarged and elaborated from the mid-1st century AD through the 2nd century.<sup>62</sup> As William Bowden points out, this bears strong similarities to the settlement pattern around Patras, and highlights the long-term effects of colonial foundations. The impact is not the least interesting for its effect also on the managed landscapes around cities not of colonial status, evident, as Sandro De Maria notes, in the centuriation schemes and public building works at Phoenicê.<sup>63</sup>

A further 2nd-century structure at Butrint highlights an aspect that in one way or another permeates all the contributions. Next to the Lion Gate a rock-cut well was aggrandised by a local woman, who gave her name as part of the dedication – *Junia Rufina, friend of nymphs* – on the marble slabs on front of the well shaft.<sup>64</sup> Despite her Roman name, the dedication is inscribed in Greek, conforming to the return to the use of Greek found elsewhere in Achaea in this period.<sup>65</sup> This example of civic munificence is one of the few that so far can be securely dated to the 2nd century AD; however, euergetic dedications and links of patronage to powerful families in or around the imperial court are a particularly prominent feature of Butrint during the Julio-Claudian period. The assistance by T. Pomponius Atticus to the city, as well as the prominent position of his son-in-law Agrippa in the court around Augustus, indicate why both were honoured with statue dedications at Butrint, and suggest why the Pomponii virtually dominated the office of *duovir (quinquennalis)*.<sup>66</sup> One of these, P. Pomponius Graecinus, and his colleague Milesius dedicated at least one public building in the city during their magistracy, as evidenced by a fragmentary marble inscription with their names.<sup>67</sup> A freedman of the Domitii Ahenobarbi, Cn. Domitius Eros, paid for the refurbishment of the

flooring to the west of the theatre – possibly even the entire area around the sanctuary – including his name in lead in the flagstones (Fig. 2.13). The Gnaeus to whom Eros owed his enfranchisement may have been the father or the son of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, celebrated as patron of the colony in 16 BC.<sup>68</sup> A similar effort was undertaken in paving a substantial area on the Vrina Plain, but the surviving letter-moulds are too fragmentary to give any firm name or date for this venture (Fig. 8.7). Other freedmen were involved respectively in the dedication of a shrine to Minerva and possibly in an early refurbishment of the so-called Gymnasium, both donations involving individuals associated with the Otacilii family.<sup>69</sup> The prominent presence of freedmen among the local elite of Butrint, as well as their close link with prominent families in Rome or with families of Roman businessmen (*negotiatores*) is entirely similar to other colonial cities in Achaea, such as Corinth and Dyme.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, the possibility of freedmen advancing to municipal decurion, and hence the office of *duovir*, is a feature of many Caesarian colonies, though only expressly stated in the legislation for Urso in Spain (the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Juliae/Lex Ursonensis*) discussed by Elizabeth Deniaux.<sup>71</sup> Though revoked by Augustus in 24 BC, the practise (and the continued prominent presence of freedmen) highlights an important underlying motivation for colonial settlements in general, something that is particularly significant for Butrint. Apart from considerations of land provisions to avoid social tensions in Rome, it ensured a powerful presence of people loyal not just to Rome but often directly to leading men in Rome, and hence guaranteed both the safety of the littoral routes between Italy and the East, and the political stability in an area previously a theatre of struggle in the civil wars. The intertwining aims of regional stability and personal influence may be measured in the rise to prominence of the Pomponii, which occur only after the Augustan refoundation of Butrint. In other words, their standing may not primarily be attributed to the status of T. Pomponius Atticus, but possibly rather to a familial connections with his son-in-law, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and in turn to his proximity to imperial power after 31 BC.<sup>72</sup>

The nature of this local euergetism follows a pattern common also in Italian cities. The principal phases of urban renewal correspond to the Augustan period and to the early 2nd century AD – from Trajan to the Antonines – and public activity undertaken by local individuals show an overwhelming interest in temples, baths, public buildings and spaces, and structures related to entertainment.<sup>73</sup> At Butrint the theatre is, Milena Melfi contends, closely linked to both public and religious concerns and, by virtue of the sanctuary, one of the defining features of the city. Hence it is hardly surprising that it was the object of significant refurbishment and enlargement.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, the hierarchical seating arrangement in theatres, brought in with Augustus’ *Lex Julia Theatralis*,

might also have appealed to the new elite at Butrint by providing an effective visual articulation of their local standing and hence have made it an attractive object of embellishment.<sup>75</sup> However, as several contributors to this volume point out, the date of this refurbishment is uncertain, with at best a *terminus post quem* date being furnished by the refurbishments of Cn. Domitius Eros since the stage building overlies the main route through the sanctuary. Excavating the *scaenae* building, Ugolini noted the use of reused materials, signs of secondary work and different construction techniques, and it is possible that the present remains represent the latest in a series of refurbishments of the theatre.<sup>76</sup> The erection of statues of benefactors and of the imperial family also conforms to common acts of local euergetism. At Butrint it is worth noting the early date and the unusually early combination of Augustus, Livia and Agrippa in a single group.<sup>77</sup> The identification and find spot of the portraits have for many suggested a close correlation in date between these and the theatre. However, the recent publication of the original excavation report has highlighted difficulties with such an interpretation.<sup>78</sup> The six niches in the *scaenae frons* building each only measure roughly 2.20 m in height, 1 m in width and 0.50 m in depth; in other words, they appear too small for the over life-size statues to have been set within them.<sup>79</sup> Archaeologically, the statues themselves are not unproblematic either.<sup>80</sup> Firstly, the statues were discovered lying face down with their heads towards the *scaenae* building. That is, even hypothesising that they pertain to the *scaenae frons* decoration, the figures could not have fallen from the niches but must have been deliberately placed on the stage. Secondly, statuary fragments were found across the area of the theatre and associated buildings and not just in front of the stage building. Moreover, we must recall that the body of material discovered is far from homogenous: Ugolini counts 19 heads and many tops of heads, none of which, significantly, he could link to the excavated figures.<sup>81</sup> Hence, it seems very likely that this extraordinary assemblage was partly or wholly brought from some other location(s) close by. Lastly, in support of this conclusion, several of the statues show sign of deliberate damage.<sup>82</sup> In other words, it is possible that the marble sculptures were gathered inside the then redundant theatre in preparation for being broken up. The monumental togate statue discussed by Iris Pojani may be part of the same sequence of events. In this case, though, several attempts at reconfiguring the piece were made before it was abandoned.

Where the statues were originally displayed is difficult to determine. The monumental size of the togate statue could suggest that it was reworked close to its original location in some part of the Forum. Indeed, the identification and *adlocutio* pose suggested for it by Iris Pojani would make it entirely suited for this space. For the group of Augustus, Livia and Agrippa, it is likely that the sanctuary was the object of the dedication. Based on

sightlines prior to the construction of the extended *scaenae* building, Milena Melfi suggests the so-called *prytaneum* as a possible location. The argument is compelling, not the least since a portrait bust in the manner of Antinous was discovered here, though it is difficult to envisage how the structure of the building would have provided enough visibility for the statues within.<sup>83</sup> However, the little piazza west of the theatre was clearly a significant area. The two dedications, erected by Aulus Granius as *magister* of a *vicus*, are both located on its northern side, opposite the small gate in the Hellenistic city wall (cf. Figs 1.3 and 2.1).<sup>84</sup> The gate continued in use during the Empire, and associated with the crossroad location of the compital shrines for the *vici*, it strengthens the impression of this area as being especially important in the early Roman city. Elizabeth Deniaux makes the compelling observation that one of these inscriptions is dedicated to the Lares, the traditional deities of the *vici*, and the other to Stata Mater, the deity associated with protection from fire, and significantly at this time in the Forum Romanum in Rome with the protection of pavement.<sup>85</sup> Might not this link Cn. Domitius Eros's refurbishment of the paving in the little piazza west of the theatre with the newly discovered Forum to the east of the theatre? Two shrine-like structures immediately west of the treasury (cf. Figs 1.3 and 2.1) could conceivably be associated with these cults, though their structural development remains uncertain.<sup>86</sup> Their location on the piazza immediately in front of the small gate, and, seemingly, the most visible monument on the piazza after the incorporation of the treasury building beneath the theatre seating, might suggest these as appropriate for the imperial portraits. Though here, too, the structure gives no hint at how the statues could have been displayed within.

As shown in the discussion by Andrew Crowson and Oliver Gilkes, by the later 2nd century AD the Vrina Plain settlement was palpably in decline. Recent excavations of the peristyle house and the Apsidal hall in 2005 show how many rooms were turned into either workshops or used for storage. The functional character of the suburb, it seems, was undergoing significant change. The town had become markedly less affluent and perhaps more agrarian in nature. This episode was followed by a distinctive phase characterized by extensive wall collapse and demolition debris over roads and in open spaces. This sudden and extensive damage has all the hallmarks of an earthquake. Support for such an interpretation comes from the abandonment of the lakeside villa at Diaporit and of the dwellings on the acropolis of Butrint at this time. Certainly evidence of severe earthquake damage has been found at the theatre at Phoenicê and dated to the very early 3rd century AD.<sup>87</sup> No historical reference records an earthquake at this date, but the archaeological evidence is compelling if still somewhat hypothetical.<sup>88</sup> The Vrina Plain settlement appears to contract severely after this, suffering a period of virtual abandonment.

However, Butrint was not deserted, as the major rebuilding of the Triconch Palace in the later 3rd century illustrates.<sup>89</sup> Further investigations may shed light on the nature of this 3rd-century change and its effects at Butrint. As the evidence from the Vrina Plain and the Triconch Palace site suggests, it is possible that the rebuilding of the city was undertaken unevenly and over a long period of time. Ugolini's excavation report on the theatre lacks analysis of datable material from later periods, though it is noteworthy that he records the presence of polygonal blocks, probably pertaining to a terracing wall fallen from the slopes of the acropolis.<sup>90</sup> Could the sanctuary and public spaces of Butrint have suffered harder, due to the collapse from the terraced slopes as well as the summit of the acropolis, restricting the reoccupation of this area? As Iris Pojani shows, although the reworking of the togate figure appears to belong to a late antique phenomenon, archaeologically it could have occurred earlier. It is at least possible that the figure, with its extravagant gesture, could have suffered irreparable damage during an earthquake and that the attempts at reconfiguring the figure were in response to this natural disaster. Unfortunately Ugolini's excavations do not shed light on whether the statues found inside the theatre were assembled here after the same disaster. As such it is not possible to determine when and over what period these statues were gathered and then broken up. Nevertheless, the deliberate damage to these figures appears qualitatively different to the reworking of the togate statue. Certainly, it is now clear that the spoliation and reuse of the theatre itself took place over a long period of time.<sup>91</sup>

Butrint recovered slowly after whatever misfortune overwhelmed it in the central decades of the 3rd century. The paucity of coins from the later 3rd and earlier 4th centuries as shown by Sam Moorhead, Shpresa Gjongecaj and Richard Abdy confirms the picture provided by the archaeological assessment to date. With the exception of the re-use of the outlying Bath-house 2 towards the eastern edge of the Vrina Plain suburb, virtually no 4th-century occupation was found, as Crowson and Gilkes point out. Instead, during this period the Triconch Palace and, alongside it, the so-called Merchant's House, began to grow in size beside the Vivari Channel. There is an impression, then, that the new nexus of wealth lay alongside the waterway with the old buildings on the Plain being plundered for materials during the early to mid-4th century, and from the later 4th century, even monumental buildings in the heart of Butrint being despoiled of their ashlar, judging from the Triconch Palace excavations. The volume of coins found in the excavations lends emphasis to the steady growth of the city in the 5th century. Certainly, by the later 5th century the old public area around the sanctuary and Roman Forum was now occupied by undistinguished dwellings as were the terraces rising up the south-facing side of the acropolis. At this time on the Vrina Plain a church, very possibly part of a

monastic community, was constructed in the ruins close to the Apsidal hall, while another monastery was made at Diaporit. By the early to mid-6th century Butrint and its satellite dependencies had reached their apogee. Then, quite suddenly around the third quarter of the century, the ecclesiastical centres on the Vrina Plain and Diaporit fell swiftly into disrepair, and over the next half-century, judging from the Triconch Palace excavations, a startling decline overwhelmed Butrint. By the mid-7th century, the city was almost certainly reduced to a tiny nucleus occupying the acropolis.

From its inception as a colony under Julius Caesar to its apogee in the Justinianic period, Butrint was first and foremost a Mediterranean port with a rich lagoonal hinterland. Smaller in scale than Nicopolis, it nonetheless took advantage of its Roman courtly connections, as several contributors show, to establish itself on the sea and land routes that joined Italy to the East. Although the colony took shape for the most part behind its Hellenistic walls, as William Bowden points out, it nonetheless assumed a new Roman identity, making effective use of all its resources, including the familial connections of local landlords, to lock its destiny into that of the Empire as a whole. These new studies show that in every respect the model of investment was carefully devised, and at least until the later 2nd century, followed a pattern of colonial development to be found, for example, at Corinth or indeed, further afield in southern Gaul. As such, until struck by some as yet undefined disaster in the 3rd century, Butrint became a secure and prosperous port on the Straits of Corfu, loyal to the aspirations of Rome.

## Notes

- 1 Hodges 2006; Hordern and Purcell 2000.
- 2 Hodges 2006.
- 3 Francis and Gjipali 2005.
- 4 Arafat and Morgan 1995; Haxhis 1998; Mustilli 1941.
- 5 Martin 2004, 80–85 with further references.
- 6 Caesar *Civil Wars* 3.16.
- 7 Purcell 1987: 75.
- 8 Purcell 2003: 10.
- 9 Braudel 1972.
- 10 Ugolini 1937: 11–12.
- 11 Ugolini 1937: 15–18.
- 12 Hodges *et al.* 2004: 7–8.
- 13 Hodges *et al.* 2004; cf. Carver 1993.
- 14 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004: 51, 54–57.
- 15 Çondi 1988: 237–40.
- 16 Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002: 219–21; Chroston and Hounslow 2004; Hounslow and Chroston 2002.
- 17 Martin 2004.
- 18 Cf. Gilkes 2003.
- 19 Lane 2004. The study was originally presented as a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Sheffield.
- 20 Hammond 1967; Wiseman 2001.
- 21 Gilkes and Lako 2004.
- 22 Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002; Bowden and Përzhita 2004.

- 23 See Pojani in this volume.
- 24 Strabo 7.7.5.
- 25 See Lane 2004: 31–33 and Bescoby in this volume.
- 26 See Martin 2004: 79–85 (with further references) for a discussion of proposed settlement models.
- 27 Wilkes 2003: 166–69; see also Melfi in this volume.
- 28 Cabanes 1982; Wilkes 2003: 165–6.
- 29 On the *koinon* of the Praesebes, see Cabanes 1974; Cabanes 1998; Ceka 1976; Hammond 1967: 655. On Hellenistic Butrint, see Cabanes 1986; Ceka 2002: 44–48; Bergemann 1998: 18–46.
- 30 On the archaeology and structural details of the theatre, see Gilkes 2003. For a recent study of the uses of healing sanctuaries, see Petsalis-Diomidis 2005.
- 31 For detailed discussions of the intervention by Atticus and Cicero, as well as their links with Epirus, see Deniaux 1987; 1988; 1993a: 362–66; 1993b.
- 32 See, in particular, the direct appeals made to Plancus and his associates (Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 16.16a–f), as well as reports of the rumours regarding the settlers (Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 16.2.1, cf. 15.29.3, 16.1.2, 16.4.3).
- 33 Cf. Strabo (*Geography* 8.6.23) who states that most of the settlers at Corinth were freedmen. Appian (8.136) refers to Caesar making arrangements for the urban poor, presumably from Rome, to be given land at Corinth and Carthage. Strabo's comment on Butrint that it had "alien settlers consisting of Romans" may be an indication of the Roman metropolitan origin – rather than any (mixed) military origin – of the early settlers, Strabo *Geography* 7.7.5. See further discussion below.
- 34 See Deniaux in this volume and Deniaux forthcoming.
- 35 See Hansen in this volume. For recent research on numismatic imagery and civic identity in the Roman provinces, see Howgego, Heuchert and Burnett 2005.
- 36 For a discussion of the Neronian numismatic iconography see Hansen in this volume. It is worth noting how language was an important expression of identity for both cities: Butrint adopting Latin to highlight its colonial status, Phoenicê continuing to use Greek for its numismatic legends; however, the close correspondence in articulation of imperial honours on their respective coinages reveal how both were informed by Rome, cf. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 278–9. On the use of Latin in Achaëa in general, see Rizakis 1995.
- 37 Bogdani 2003: 124–25.
- 38 Suetonius *On Poets, Vergil* 35; Halfmann 1986: 158.
- 39 On the Tower Gate, see Martin 2004: 83; Mustilli 1941. Ugolini never saw the Tower Gate excavated and instead associated the Lake Gate with that described in Virgil, cf. Ugolini 1937: 117–9; Ugolini 1942: 49–56.
- 40 For the low, arched bridges at Cordoba (across the Guadalquivir) and Mérida (across the Gadiana), see respectively Raventòs 2004a: fig. 66, plate 1 and Raventòs 2004b: fig. 7.
- 41 Martin 2004: 83; Mustilli 1941: 695. For the suggestion of a Republican rather than a Hellenistic date as suggested by Mustilli, see Ceka 2002: 55.
- 42 On the communication networks of the region during the Empire, see Rougé 1987.
- 43 It should be noted, though, that the high water table precludes examining the earliest Roman levels in the lower city of Butrint and on the Vrina Plain.
- 44 For a discussion of the ethnic of CCIB used on the Claudian and Neronian coinage as *Colonia Campestris Iulia Buthrotum*, see Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 276 with further references, and the contribution by Hansen in this volume.
- 45 N.G.L. Hammond (1967) suggested that the number of gates in the northern part of the Hellenistic defensive wall indicated the location of the harbour in the bay north of Butrint; cf. Martin 2004: 82, fig 6.5. No structures have as yet been found to identify the Hellenistic or later harbour.
- 46 Strabo *Geography* 7.7.5 (Loeb Classical Library 1924, translated by H.L. Jones).
- 47 See further Hodges forthcoming, as well as Hodges *et al.* 1997: 214.
- 48 Martin 2004: 89.
- 49 See the contributions by Pojani and Bowden in this volume.
- 50 For a recent discussion of the neighbourhoods of Rome, see Lott 2004.
- 51 Unpublished interim report on the Butrint Foundation's 2005 excavations.
- 52 For the dual triumphal and funerary role embodied in freestanding column monuments, see also Davies 2000: 72 & note 80.
- 53 MacDonald 1986: 266 (slightly abbreviated).
- 54 Raventòs 2004b: 35–36.
- 55 See in particular, the seascape with boats and buildings currently in the Archaeological Museum, Naples, cf. *In Stabiano* 2004: 30.
- 56 Brandizzi Vittucci 2000: figs 37–38 and pl. 26 (reviewed by Pasqualini 2003, cf. her fig. 1).
- 57 Brandizzi Vittucci 2000: 99–115.
- 58 Droste 2003, in particular 77–79 and figs 43, 106, 107; Heijmans and Sintes 1994: 141–51. For aspects of the riverine trade, see Long and Sintes 2003.
- 59 Martin 2004: 91; Ugolini 1937: 150–1; Ugolini 1942: 81–90.
- 60 Gilkes and Lako 2004. On the so-called Gymnasium and the bath-house near the theatre, see respectively Bowden and De Maria in this volume.
- 61 Unpublished Butrint Foundation survey, 2004.
- 62 Bowden and Përzhita 2004.
- 63 See further Giorgi 2002 and 2003.
- 64 Ugolini 1937: 151–2; Ugolini 1942: 68–75.
- 65 Rizakis 1995: 385–6. Note also the statue base written in Greek honouring Marcus Ulpius Annius Quintianus, the proconsul of Macedonia, as patron and benefactor at Butrint in the late 2nd–early 3rd century AD, *AE* 1949.265; Cabanes 1996: 97–98 (with further bibliography); Ugolini 1942: 208–9, fig. 212. See also Cabanes 1996: 90, who note the presence of 6 funerary cippi from the imperial period dedicated to persons with Roman names and using Roman formulation but written in Greek.
- 66 Cf. M. Pomponius Dionysius, attested as a freedman of Atticus (manumitted 55 BC). His *praenomen* Marcus was given in honour of Cicero. Cicero *Letter to Atticus* 4.15.1; Treggiari 1969: 119–20. For the dedication to Atticus, see de Franciscis 1941: 281–2; for the portrait statues of Agrippa, see Bergemann 1998: 132, 161 and Hansen in this volume.
- 67 Bergemann 1998: 57; de Franciscis 1941: 282–4.
- 68 See Deniaux and Melfi in this volume. The older Gnaeus,

- imperator in 42 BC and consul in 32 BC, initially supported Marcus Antonius but famously defected to the side of Octavian shortly before the Actium battle; already ill, he died soon thereafter. The younger Gnaeus, consul in 32 AD, married Agrippina the Younger, the granddaughter of Agrippa, in 28 AD with whom he had one son, the future emperor Nero; he died around 40 AD.
- 69 For a discussion of the Otacilii and the dedication of the shrine to Minerva, see Patterson in this volume; for the inscription found near the so-called gymnasium, see Deniaux 2004 and in this volume.
- 70 Rizakis 2001; Spawforth 1996. In Achaëa, Patras is significantly different by being a veteran settlement, and hence its local elite was composed of veterans, cf. Rizakis 2001: 48.
- 71 See also Crawford 1996: 409/428 no. CV; Rizakis 2001: 41–42; Treggiari 1969: 63.
- 72 As the letters of Cicero indicates, Atticus clearly had a well-established client base in the area; cf. Treggiari 1969: 107–8, 151–2. Note also the evocatively named Q. Caecilius Epirota, the freedman of Atticus who is the *grammaticus* and teacher of his daughter Caecilia Attica after her marriage to Agrippa; cf. Suetonius *De grammaticis* 16; Rawson 2005: 224; Treggiari 1969: 123.
- 73 Cf. Lomas 2003: 29 and table 2.2. Italian cities further have a pre-Augustan period of activity, not pertinent to Butrint. Lomas's (2003: 29, see also p. 37) discussion of the uncertainty regarding the impetus and financing for these chance is valid also for Butrint, though here, as noted above, the colonial refoundation and provincial reorganisations in these periods may have provided a motivation.
- 74 Wilkes 2003 and Melfi in this volume. See also De Maria and Bowden in this volume on dating of construction techniques.
- 75 Rawson 1987.
- 76 Gilkes 2003: 96–97. The moulding on the podia of the scaenae frons is dated to the mid-1st century BC by Johannes Bergemann (1998: 56 figs 34–35), on basis of comparative material from Ostia. That is, roughly contemporary with the inscriptions removed from the Hellenistic theatre building – and hence possibly pertaining to that, as suggested by Ugolini – or possibly to be associated with an earlier Roman Republican structure, as hinted at by Wilkes (2003: 158).
- 77 Cf. Hansen in this volume.
- 78 Gilkes 2003; cf. page 176, fig. 6.78 for a reconstruction done by Ugolini's colleague, Carlo Ceschi.
- 79 This obvious fact was first pointed out by the participants of the May 2003 sculpture workshop, for which we are very grateful. Ugolini details that he found six statues roughly 2.20 m high and two statues roughly 1.50 m high, cf. Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 199, 212.
- 80 Much of the following has already been summarised in Gilkes 2003: 177–8; which is particularly interesting for the contextual relationship made with the spoliation of the theatre as a whole.
- 81 Gilkes 2003: 211. Ugolini did not seem to be aware of the apparent join between a female statue and a portrait head in the manner of Agrippina the Younger both found in the theatre (see Fig. 4.11), nor does he here discuss the relationship between the Antium Apollo head and the Nemesis of Rhamnous body-type that he was later to propose (Fig. 5.5); Ugolini and Pojani 2003: figs 8.14, 8.25 and 8.34.
- 82 Gilkes 2003: 206. The damage to the forehead, eyes and mouth of several of the heads could be due to a fall, but appears closely linked to characteristics identified by Eric Varner as indicative of deliberate defacement, Varner 2001: 42, 51.
- 83 For the bust of "Antinous", see Pojani in this volume.
- 84 See also Wilkes 2003: fig. 6.65. The inscriptions appear to be in their original location, despite later being incorporated into a wall running behind the fountain in the centre of the piazza. For details of the inscriptions, see Deniaux in this volume.
- 85 See also Lott 2004: 167–8 for a discussion of Stata Mater as recipient of compital worship.
- 86 Budina 1971; Pani 1988.
- 87 Villa at Diaporit: Bowden and Përzhita 2004; acropolis dwellings: Arafat and Morgan 1995; theatre at Phoenicë: Villicich, Bogdani and Giannotti 2005.
- 88 For a discussion of the evidence for earthquakes in the Mediterranean, see Guidoboni 1994.
- 89 Gilkes and Lako 2004: 154–60.
- 90 Gilkes 2003: 79, 177.
- 91 Gilkes 2003: 177–8.

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