ROMAN GREECE: MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT AND CONTINUITY

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To date, much of the debate concerning the relationship between Rome and the provinces of the Empire has focused on ideas of cultural exchange. Recent trends have concentrated more on the mechanisms and practicalities of such, particularly in terms of networks (see, for example, the *Tracing Networks Project*: http://www.tracingnetworks.ac.uk/content/web/introduction.jsp; the *Roman Port Networks Project*: http://www.romanportnetworks.org/; and the *Entrepôt and Storage Project*: http://www. entrepots-anr.fr/). In contemporary scholarship, the network society is based around sharing of information and communication (Castells [1996]; Van Dijk [2005]). Cities or areas may be the nodes or hubs through which various lines of communication may run, but it is, of course, individuals who mediate these. The success of an area is often directly related to the number of communication links it has. In terms of individuals, those who can mediate between different groups of people (local élites, traders or even craftspeople) often appear to be most successful. The network society is not static and the roles that places and people play within it can change over time, in part due to fluctuations in elements like demand for and availability of goods and services.

The application of network theory to the analysis of Rome and the provinces enables a more holistic perception of the past without diluting the manifold roles of different provinces, areas and people. It allows for diversity within individual parts of the network depending on their function within the whole. In terms of the Roman Empire, development of places and areas may in part depend on their importance to the Roman network, as well as to the aspirations of a community or certain parts of a community. Networks are not simply the trajectories along which people travel, communicate, exchange ideas and undertake trade. The concept can also be applied to represent elements of decision making and choice on the part of individuals, communities and government.

The operation of a social network may also be reflected in choices relating to cultural elements, such as the design of houses and interior décor, burial practices and religion. While some areas or groups may strive to be part of a network and others may be coerced into it, studies of networks enable a contextualized understanding of why there was investment in a particular location, by whom, whether it was a success or a failure. The sorts of networks that have been identified throughout the Roman Empire include trade and economic routes; religious commitments and innovations; social webs and patronage of people and places. An understanding of networks can play a significant part in identifying the roles of areas or provinces within the Empire over time (for a range of examples, see Malkin *et al*. [2009]; for Crete, see Sweetman [forthcoming]).

This brief synopsis of the provinces of Roman Greece focuses on the kind of evidence that may reveal the roles that different areas played within Roman networks. I will explore the role of networks by examining evidence for investment and evidence of various long-term practices (domestic and mortuary data). With this in mind, different provinces will be contrasted and others will be presented in more detail, as the 2011 material has filled in some significant gaps in terms of understanding the provinces of Greece.

Patronage and investment: provinces and Rome

By their nature, studies of Roman networks allow the interpretation of the same material through a range of perspectives, from the macro (Imperial) to the micro (local) views. Examples might include Roman investment in a Greek city (which can be seen in the provision of a gymnasium by Hadrian to the Athenians with which a recently excavated bath complex in **Plaka** may be associated [**ID2478**] or the dedication of the Temple of Hermes at **Sybrita**, Crete, by Titus Flavius, on which see **ID2855**) to local investment to attract Roman attention (such as investment in Imperial Cult). The fact that this can change over time is well illustrated by the find of an honorific imperial statue at **Cleonai** whose accompanying inscription seems to have been erased in an act of possible *damnatio memoriae*, according to the excavators K. Kissas (Director 37th EPCA) and T. Mattern (Trier/DAI) (**ID2409**) (**Fig. 36**).



36. Cleonai, agora area: exedra blocks. © DAI.

Application of network society theory enables analysis of the evidence as much in terms of the local contribution to being part of the Roman Empire as Rome's desires to maintain areas and provinces. Criticisms of the study of the Roman Empire have emphasized issues of focus (a very Rome-centred view of the provinces). However, is it not always easy to identify who undertook the development of certain areas (local or Imperial), particularly after the foundation of the Greek provinces. In saying that, the striking number of Roman harbours that have been investigated and reported in 2011 is indicative of the important roles that Greece played in the Roman network society. This was not always the case, as the evidence of the recent study of the shipsheds at **Pireaus** shows that they were still in use during the Roman period but they may have possibly been destroyed during the Sullan sack of Athens (**ID2440**). At **Anemomylos** on Corfu, a mole from the **Alkinoos** harbour was investigated and it became clear that the harbour was re-used and remodelled in the Roman period after a temporary abandonment of the area (**ID2609**) (**Fig. 37**). At **Mavra Litharia** in the Gulf of Corinth, excavations revealed harbour moles dating to the late second or the first half of the third century (**ID2498**) (**Fig. 38**). This may be connected with the third-century reconstruction of the theatre at **Aigeria**, and, if all of this happened in the third century, this is interesting in terms of investment at a time when life begins to be a little unsettled in the Empire under Maximinus Thrax. The natural geographical uplift meant that the team excavated the harbour on dry land. It is interesting that the harbour

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37. Anemomylos, Alkinoos harbour: section of the breakwater. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 8th EPCA.



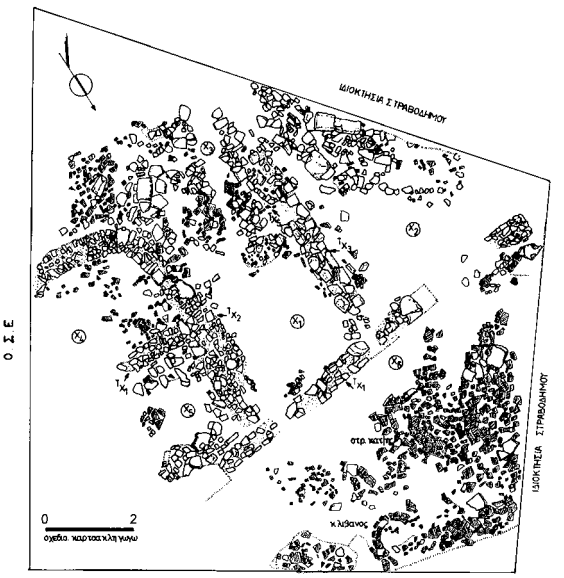
38. Mavra Litharia, harbour of ancient Aigeira: east–west harbour mole. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 37th EPCA.

investment is located here, which may have been in part to help facilitate trade through the isthmus at Corinth. As the evidence of the Achaean, Cretan and Epiriot harbours indicate, rather than seeing Rome imposing change, it is possible to see that diverse areas within provinces underwent development at different rates and times which were in part dependent on their roles or aspirations within the Roman network. It is clear even from the 2011 material that the Greek provinces had a range of different roles in the Empire, as trade facilitators (for example **Crete** and **Delos**), suppliers of products and skills (for example **Chania** and **Vathy**) and as destinations for cultural experiences and development (**Sparta** and **Athens**).

While some of the evidence for manufacturing indicates local or even home industries, some, such as the murex-production workshops, indicate use for export. **Nikopolis** has three known harbours, and work at one of them, **Vathy**, has revealed a Roman and Late Antique murex-production workshop (**ID2530**). A second murex-processing area has been excavated at Metaxaki Street, **Chania** (*Kydonia* 196–201). In Achaea and Epirus, a new installation with finds of glass and sandstone was revealed at **Agios Konstantinos** (John Kennedy Street), Agrinion (Aitolia) and dated to the Late Roman or Late Antique period (**ID2379**). A similarly dated workshop was found at **Kainourio** with a wine vat and press and storage pithoi (**ID2382**) (**Fig. 39**). At **Petrina**, Arcadia, a second- to fourth-century Roman workshop with water and drainage has been investigated (**ID2431**). It is not always easy to define overall functions on the basis of rescue data, but when these sites are plotted in their topographic and archaeological context, it is possible to apply network theory to help understand the role of the area concerned in the Roman period. The evidence of another industrial space at Agrinion, **Agiovasiliotika**, has revealed extensive remains of two workshops, one with a Hellenistic to Roman and possibly Late Antique potter's kiln, another kiln of uncertain date and a Late Roman or Byzantine agricultural installation (**ID2358**) (**Fig. 40**). The presence of the agricultural processing areas is to be expected, given the rich agricultural land that surrounds the area, and the focus of the workshops in the north of modern Agrinion helps to locate the Roman city in this area.



39. Kainourio, Taratsa property: wine press and vat. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 36th EPCA.



40. Agrinion, Agiovasiliotika: plan of the excavation of the industrial area. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 6th EPCA.

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Diversity within and between the provinces

Crete

Even allowing for the historical research focus on Achaea and more recently Crete, it is clear that the Greek provinces had multifarious roles to play at different times within the Empire. This also applies to areas within the province too. It seems that Crete played a key role as an entrepôt for Roman trade networks from the late first century onwards, and it is likely that this was reflected in the development of the northern ports and the diversity between areas of the island. It is clear that the southern part of Crete, which was used already by Roman traders, changed much more rapidly when the island was included in the Empire than most areas of the northern part of the island (Sweetman [2010]). It is suggested that the northern part of the island saw much more focused development from the late first century, nearly 100 years after the foundation of the province (Sweetman [2007]), and the rescue excavations along the coast, particularly around Rethymnon, support this assessment. For example, at **Chamalevri** the extensive remains were very well preserved and, although the first phase of occupation appears to have been in the second to third century with a second one in the fourth/fifth century, there are earlier finds on site (**ID2828**) (**Fig. 41**). An oil press and potter's kiln of this industrial quarter were identified, and it is notable that, although amphorae were produced in the kiln, there was still evidence for imported amphorae as well as lamps on site. The long-term use of this area is complemented by recent evidence at the coast at sites such as **Stavromenos** (bath-house) and **Sphakaki** (**ID2803**) (a well-embellished seaside residence). Further evidence for industrial activity in the northern half of the island comes from **Argyroupolis**, (**ID2772**) where a two-roomed glass workshop was brought to light, and at **Kyani Akti** (Aptera) (**ID1870**) an industrial installation was also investigated. At **Chania** a potter's workshop with kilns and kiln furniture was found at Skalidi and Manoussoyannakidou Streets (**ID2852**). Such finds help to illustrate the levels of self-sufficiency on the island, while its export of wine and murex (from Kouphonisi and now Chania) indicate the ability to generate a reasonable income. The role as a trade facilitator surely would have allowed access to luxury items which were not regularly available.

The research agenda at the provincial capital, **Gortyn**, has primarily been on the public centre of the city which was swiftly developed as a Roman civic centre. Recent holistic overviews (**ID2829**, with individual area reports as **ID2820**) have noted a great deal of continuation in the public core from the early Imperial investment until after the AD 365 earthquake. The civic focus has more recently been diversified with work reported in 2011. For example, rescue excavations in the nearby village of **Kastelli** (**ID2814**) have provided evidence of a Roman rural villa which will in due course provide some invaluable evidence concerning the occupation of the hinterland of **Gortyn**.

Rural Crete

It is becoming clear that Crete was a significant province in the Roman network society, which is not surprising given its crucial location in the Mediterranean. While its roles in Mediterranean trade networks of the first and second centuries can be well assessed, it has been less easy to see what was happening to the island in the third and fourth centuries. As Sanders postulated in 1982, it is likely that there was a much greater emphasis on agriculture, and this makes sense in the broader context of the somewhat unsettled times of the third century. While extensive and important work has been undertaken on the farmstead on **Gavdos** (*AR* 47 [2000–2001] 141), elsewhere on Crete such facilities are primarily identified through survey data, as at, for example **Galatas** (**ID266**) and **Vrokastro** (Elleniko) (Hayden [2004] 274). Now, as the 2011 material shows, increasing evidence for extensive agricultural complexes, particularly from the third century, is filling the gap, with the examples of the third- to sixth-century agricultural villa at **Maroulas** (Rethymnon) (**ID2791**) and the multi-phase farmstead at **Phounardos** (**ID2796**). The Late Antique occupation of the island has also been enhanced with the excavation of the agricultural establishment at **Vryses**, where five rooms containing storage areas and a workshop have been investigated (**ID2808**) (**Fig. 42**).



41. Chamalevri: view of the site. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 35th EPCA.



42. Vryses: storage and workshop areas. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 38th EBA.

Provincial comparisons

Comparisons between areas within Crete can be understood in terms of the chronological developments of different parts of the island according to their changing roles within the networks of the Roman period. The islands too can be compared. Even with all the recent work on Roman Greece, the Cyclades are still an understudied resource. By contrast, in the Ionian islands, evidence of significant development is already apparent.

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The Cycladic and Ionian islands

Study of the Cycladic islands in the Roman period is at a preliminary stage, even though islands such as **Amorgos** and **Milos** have extensive Roman remains. Material from 2011 includes the workshop and villa excavated at Minoa on Amorgos and two dwellings in Klima on Milos. Ongoing studies of shipwrecks (for example that in the Livadia Bay of Tilos) will enhance this work (**ID2693**). Much more is known about those like **Delos** where less extensive Bronze Age remains have not distracted scholars from study of later periods. Fundamental to the study of networks is the study of storage, and the ANR (l'Agence Nationale de la Recherche) sponsored project *Entrepôts et lieux de stockage du monde gréco-romain antique* (http://www.entrepots-anr.fr/) is already changing the way we understand the role of islands like Delos in the Roman economic network. At Delos, a major spatial analysis of key areas (such as the theatre district and stadium area) on the island has been undertaken (**ID2636**). The survey has identified areas of storage in domestic and commercial space and has also shown the extensive use of rooms as storage within a range of buildings along the coast of the agora area. A study of the shops also revealed cavities in the walls which would have helped make the most of the space available and increase storage capacities. The roles of the Cycladic islands in the Roman period were diverse: even those that had little Imperial investment would have played a role in the network, albeit a passive one. According to the sources, many of the islands were used as places of exile with punishment increasing in accordance with their remoteness.

In contrast to the Cycladic islands, the Ionian islands were early acquisitions in the Imperial expansion. Because of their strategic location they were of more immediate interest to the Romans, and evidence from ongoing work there reflects this. While work at the **Alkinoos** (**ID2609**) harbour in Corfu is showing diversity of use over time, other finds on the island, such as bath-houses (**Aharavi**) and villas (**Kassiopi**) and Late Antique churches, are indicative of continuous occupation. At **Vathy** in Ithaca, a Roman to Late Roman complex with domestic shrine (**Fig. 43**) and associated bath was revealed (**ID2597**) and at **Lefkada** a Roman agricultural installation for olive-oil production and a wine press were found (**ID2617**) (**Fig. 44**). Other Ionian islands show more evidence for civic occupation. For example, a number of inscribed bases was found in a Π-shape around a rectangular paved area in **Fiskardo** (ancient **Panormos**, Kephallonia) which may well belong to a Roman agora (**ID2593**, **ID431**). One of the bases mentions the special relationship that the citizens of Panormos had with Hadrian. Other buildings, such as the odeion or theatre and bath, confirm the public character of this area. At **Same** and **Krane** public and private areas were investigated: public baths and a potter's workshop respectively (**ID2592**, **ID2602**) (**Fig. 26**). The variety of material found at Kephallonia, also including material from older excavations by archaeologists such as Kallipolitis (the Roman villa at Skala and the baths and graves at Same), indicates strong potential for understanding the island in terms of its changing roles in the Roman network. Here, its early connections with Italy, and then with mainland Greece as it became part of the Empire, are in evidence. In comparison with the other Ionian islands, it is likely to have been a hub in the Roman network. This makes sense given its location at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth. The work of the *Kephallonia Survey Pottery Project* (undertaken by C. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood and the 6th/23rd EPCA) may provide more detailed diachronic evidence (www.iihsa.ie/kephalonia.html).

Colonies over time and space: Patras and Thessaloniki

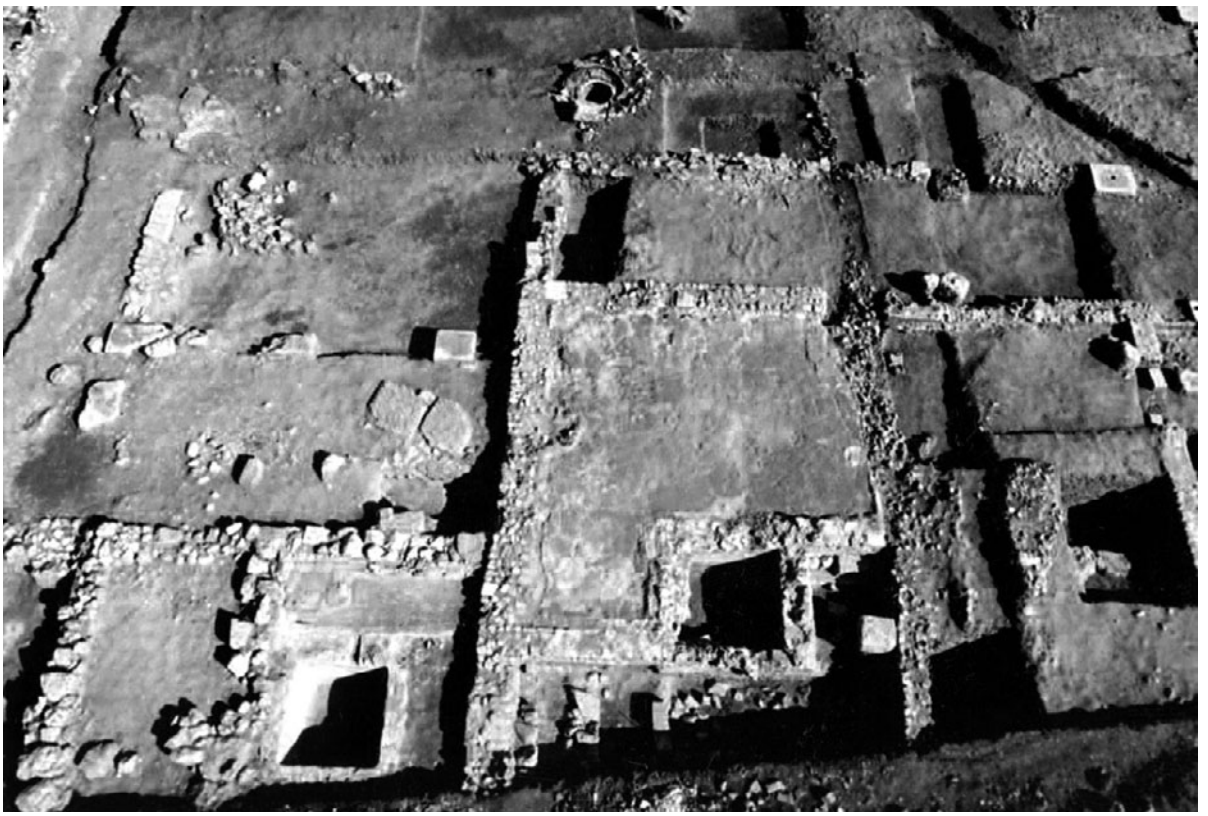
As the networks and nodes within changed over time, so too might the roles that other towns or areas played in them. Applying the concept of networks enables us to break down periodization without the flattening effects of decontextualization. Other generalizations regarding similarities between cities of a certain status, such as Roman colonies, can be challenged. An examination of the recently discovered material in terms of networks helps to highlight diversities between colonies of different provinces and periods within Achaea and Macedonia.

The nature of the Roman to Late Antique city of **Patras** (**ID2341**) continues to be elucidated with excavations at Psila Alonia Square (a key focus within the Roman city). The extent of knowledge of this Roman city and hinterland is now impressive, with several key conferences (for example Rizakis and Lepenioti [2010]) and publications (Petropolous and Rizakis [1994]; Rizakis [1998]; [forthcoming]). The museum is an impressive showcase for an understanding of the topography of the Roman city as well as highlighting different types of spaces within the urban fabric. The private spaces of the houses and shops are well documented through the mosaics, which, wherever practical, are displayed on the floor. There is a marked contrast between private and industrial spaces which can be seen in the reconstruction of one of the



43. Vathy, Ithaca: bronze figurine of Asklepius or philosopher. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 35th EPCA.

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44. Lefkada: Roman agricultural installation. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 12th EPCA.

agricultural installations from Thermopylon Street that post-dates the foundation of the colony and lies to the north of the northern cemetery of the town. Of note is the associated container for separating olive oil from water, a thoroughly Roman form. Other than the domestic space, the most recently opened rooms depict elements of public life with various zones of the city which are described and supplemented with evidence from Pausanias. With the area defined by the locations of the cemetery areas of the public city, religious space (particularly along the coast) and harbours, nymphaea (Germanou Street and also Vlachou Street) and bathing establishments (Aiolou St), entertainment areas (Stadium and Odeion) and the civic buildings of the agora are all attractively displayed so as to encourage the visitor to engage and associate the material with the overall topography of the Roman city. The evidence of mortuary practices as displayed in the museum is particularly striking, with a range of different types of tombs and burials reconstructed, and there is an unusual but striking display of a burial wreath resting on a skull rather than by itself (see also the excavations of the northeast cemetery: **ID2343**). The extent of knowledge of Roman and Late Antique Patras is impressive, particularly considering the successive layers of occupation that cover the city (**ID2344**, **ID2345**). It is in many respects a model for what can be achieved, despite the limitations set by the modern city.

In a similar vein, the on-going work to present Roman, Late Antique and Byzantine **Thessaloniki** is notable, and the forum in particular is attractively presented. Much of what has been known about Thessaloniki is dated to the third century (when it became a colony and then a capital), but more recent excavations are helping to reveal its earlier Roman periods. Given its location on the Via Egnatia and with a profitable harbour, Thessaloniki must have been a hub in the Roman trade network and contextualizing the evidence of the city in its wider provincial landscape is expanding this view. In the city centre, metro excavations are now focusing on the stations, for example Agia Sophia, where a section of the Roman road was revealed which had marble pavements lined by a portico (**ID1970**, **ID2704**). Its original construction dates to the third century and was finally replaced in the sixth century by a dirt track. While much of the Palace of Galerius can be seen from the surrounding streets, it is tantalizingly laid out and labelled, and it is a great pity that current circumstances prevent it from being opened to the public. Excavations around this area (in the South Portico and Germanou Street) (**ID2711**) revealed further evidence of Hellenistic buildings and Roman houses with evidence for mosaic floors, wall-painting, polychrome plaster and imported ceramics (from Italy and Asia Minor), as well as evidence for home industries (loomweights and stone and bone objects). The periods of occupation seem to be the first and third centuries AD.

In other areas of the Roman province of Macedonia, at **Panagia Diporou** in **Haliakmon**, a Hellenistic house which continued to be occupied in the Roman period was excavated (**ID2162**). A range of network connections is likely at Haliakmon with its location at the mouth of the river Aliakmon and at the southern end of the Bay of Thessaloniki (**ID2722**). Lines of communication would

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likely have run along the coast north and south of here, and across the bay at the Angelochori harbour and inland along the river, which also enables rich agriculture. In advance of the **Haliakmon** dam construction, a large third- to fourth-century AD complex was uncovered with at least two rooms, one of which contained an impluvium and the other a tomb (**ID2722**). At the Poutakidis plot, **Akrini**, **Kozanis**, a public building or a sanctuary in a complex, which also included terracotta pipes, cisterns, architectural fragments and parts of a tessellated floor, was revealed (**ID2725**). The find of a possible sanctuary is one of the few Roman religious finds reported for 2011. This one is interesting in that it has potential to provide some architectural evidence for Roman cult practice in the area, which is already known from inscriptions such as the dedication to Zeus Despotes (*SEG* 34.643). Nearby, at **Kleitos**, a multi-period site was investigated, providing evidence for Roman domestic occupation as well as a cemetery containing an array of grave goods such as glass and jewellery (**ID2726**). At **Dimitrias** (Thessaly) a third-century bath-house was excavated, located beside a glass workshop (**ID2715**).

Greece over time: chronological networks

While issues of diversity between and within provinces have been emphasized, it is worth noting that elements of similarity and continuity are essential to understanding the nature of the provinces within the Empire. One of the directions that the development of theories such as creolization (Webster [2001]) or globalization (Hingley [2005]; Sweetman [2007]; Hitchner [2008]) has facilitated is the study of the diversity of people and places within the Empire. And while diversity certainly existed, it is also useful to be reminded that some areas may have been less different than they might have considered themselves, and, in fact, the Greek provinces are one such case.

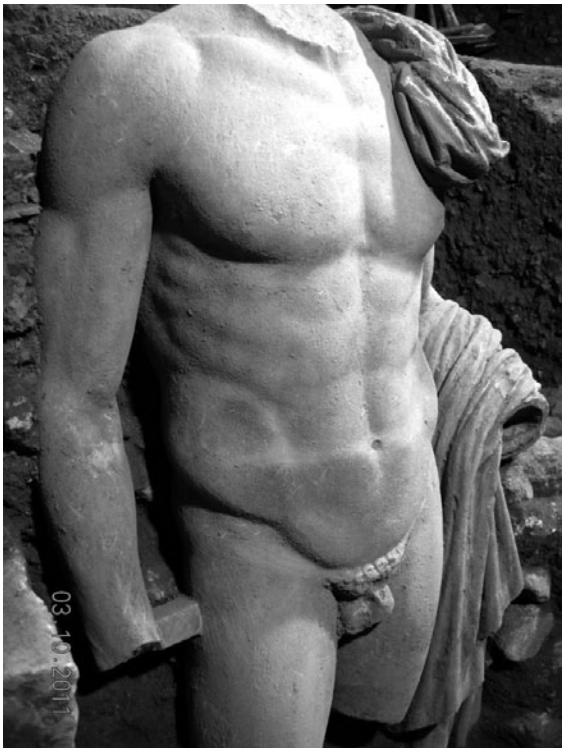
An image of the Greek provinces as remaining Greek under the Romans has been sustained throughout scholarship. In their early stages, the provinces of Roman Greece were often seen as being different or less 'Romanized' than other provinces, in part as a result of a level of respect from the Romans (from Augustus onwards) and in part due to the strength of Greek culture. The extent to which this is a true reflection of the situation or a reproduction by scholars of an image of Greek self-representation has been called into question. Whether the Greeks really saw themselves as being different or special throughout the Imperial period is debatable. Such a view has often been adopted by scholars studying Roman Greece.

Achaea: not so special?

One of the themes that emerges from the most recent data is that, over a period of some four centuries, Achaea was often broadly similar to other provinces despite its special relationship with Rome and the level of cultural independence that may have followed. As with other cities and provinces, it is clear that certain periods saw particular investment. A diachronic view highlights targeted investment and the reasons for it may relate to varying roles in the Roman network society. At least one of its roles might have been to attract visitors, particularly to places like **Athens**, **Sparta** and indeed **Epidauros** on the basis of a historic past and cultural credibility. At certain periods some targeted investment in the cities may reflect these roles, for example under Hadrian and in the time of Herodes Atticus. Evidence for their investments continues to be found. For instance, on **Ragavis and Tatoiou Streets, Kifissia** (Attica) a second-century building was investigated which may belong to Herodes Atticus' villa there (**ID2484**). At the **Little Theatre at Epidauros**, the find of the torso of a slightly over-life-sized marble male statue is likely to have been a second-century example of a fourth-century Polykleitan-style Hermes (**ID2407**) (**Fig. 45**). It is suggested that its date coincides with the date of Hadrian's visit to Epidauros.

Sparta was another popular destination in the Roman period, and excavations at Sparta continue to produce impressive quantities of Roman material – from *villae urbanae* (such as that from the Katsari property; **ID2552**) (**Fig. 46**) to cemeteries defining the extent of the city. More of the north cemetery was revealed during the widening of the Sparta-Karava road (**ID2552**) (**Fig. 47**). Part of the southwest boundary was defined by cemeteries found in the rescue excavations in the Mavridi-Katsari and Dimitrakopoulou-Zachariadi plots and in Byzantinou Street (**ID2552**). On the northeast side of the city, in the area of Limnai, excavations of the cemetery revealed a burial in the Sotiriou plot which was accompanied by a set of medical equipment (**ID2552**).

In other parts of Achaia, at **Mousga**, Kyparissia in Messenia, three construction phases of a house were identified, dating from the first century BC, the third century AD and the fourth/fifth century AD. Two other houses in the area by the shore were also occupied from



45. Epidauros, Little Theatre: Polykleitan-style Hermes. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: Committee for the Conservation of the Monuments of Epidauros.

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46. Sparta, Katsari property: mosaic. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 5th EPCA.



47. Sparta–Karava road: view of the north cemetery. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 5th EPCA.

the Roman to the Late Roman period (**ID2568**) (**Fig. 48**). Work also continued at **Petalidi** (ancient Koroni) (**ID2572**) (**Fig. 49**), where the on-going rescue excavations are bringing to light an extensive city with baths, workshops (glass and metal-working), domestic spaces and cemeteries. At **Skafidia** in Elis a significant large Roman building with mosaics, marble wall revetment and prominent views was excavated over two building plots. Sixteen rooms and a peristyle courtyard associated with the first- to fourth-century bath complex have been identified (**ID2503**). Finally, at the First Public School at **Nafpaktos** a large Roman complex of two buildings and at least nine rooms, many with geometric mosaics, was excavated (**ID2394**) (**Fig. 50**).

Continuity and no change?

Scholars have a natural urge to compartmentalize cultural horizons within chronological boundaries (often established by evidence from literary sources). However, there does not always have to be transformation of occupation or material culture in accordance with large-scale political, administrative or social change (for example when provinces became part of the Empire). While periodization enables the archaeologist to understand the material, at the same time evidence of continuity may be sidelined. This in turn emphasizes perceptions of cultural isolation – and a point of note from the 2011 material is the fact there is so much evidence for continuity from the Hellenistic to the Roman period to Late Antiquity. While



48. Kyparissia, Mousga: view of the domestic complex. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 38th EPCA.

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49. Petalidi (ancient Koroni): glass furnace. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 38th EPCA.



50. Nafpaktos, First Public School: view of building with mosaic floors. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 36th EPCA.

the idea of continuity is not new, the on-going work in Greece is beginning to fill in lacunae that may have been ascribed to periods of desertion or depopulation. This holds true for both urban and rural space.

Urban space

Theories of abandonment were commonly used to explain alterations in many cities at key periods of known historical change, for example in the first century at Corinth and Arta and in the fourth century at Knossos. It is increasingly clear that during the Late Antique period, the Greek city, far from diminishing, was actually flourishing, and that some cities, rather than being abandoned, simply experienced a change of focus. The material from 2011 certainly shows this to be the case for **Corinth** where the identification of more of the city wall at the edge of the theatre indicates that the Late Antique city is likely to have been located somewhat east of the Roman one (**ID2488**). This is also the case for cities like **Knossos**, where the Late Antique city seems to have moved northwards somewhat and graves marking the edge of the city occupy what was previously domestic space (Sweetman [2010]). A similar situation may also be identified at **Magoula** (Sparta), where work at the Arapissa baths continued and an interesting fourth-century mosaic with scenes from the palaestra in eight panels was exposed in an associated building (**ID2549**). The baths were originally constructed in the second to third century but were destroyed in the late fourth. Following this, they were remodelled to form a house, and then graves were inserted into the space in the Late Antique period, indicating a changing focus. The change in type of occupation is not limited just to the Roman to Late Antique transition. For example, at **Chersonisos** (Crete) there is some evidence for Roman and Late Antique domestic occupation over what was previously a Classical and Hellenistic cemetery (**ID2775**). In the Zabetakis plot in Agia Photini, **Sybrita** excavations exposed a Roman tomb in an earlier Hellenistic house (**ID2855**).

Naturally, the situation of changing focus is not true of all Roman cities in all Greek provinces. In contrast, for example, the evidence for **Chania** on Crete seems to indicate that the Late Antique walls were set on top of the Hellenistic town walls (**Fig. 51**). Also, at **Cleonai** in Achaea the location of the Late Antique church in the agora indicates long-term continuity in the use of religious space, even from the Classical period in this case (**ID2409**). In some cases, rather than an overall transformation, pockets of changing use within a city may be visible. At **Pallantion** several test trenches were sunk in order to study the occupation of an area which seems to have been at its greatest extent during the Hellenistic to Roman period (**ID2418**). Here, a Late Antique potter's workshop was constructed over part of the city wall. Elsewhere, re-use of buildings for different purposes is demonstrated in the **Athenian Agora** excavations which focused on a well in the area of the Stoa Poikile. This building, it is suggested, may have been appropriated by a private individual and the colonnades filled in to create rooms within the building (**ID2471**). Also, in Achaea, at **Makyneia**, the bath complex of a (likely) Roman villa was refashioned with the construction of a potter's kiln, then a tomb was cut into the *eschara* of the kiln and then it was remodelled in the Late Antique period (**ID2369**). Regarding other provinces, the **Daskaloyianni** excavations in Chania, Crete have shown that the substantial building saw long-term and continuous occupation, but that there were changes and alterations of the space within to suit the changing needs of the occupants (**ID2838**). In



51. Chania: Hellenistic and Late Antique town walls. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 28th EBA.

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terms of these changes, further contextualization within the area is needed, and comparative analysis with burial data would also ideally help to shed light on the possible reasons for such changes. At **Kastelli Chania** (Syngekali Street) rescue excavations brought to light a circular building with a sixth-century mosaic floor, thus increasing the evidence for the Late Antique city which until recently was relatively paltry (**ID2784**). Already, the indications are that the Late Antique city seems to have flourished as the Roman one did. At **Rethymnon,** the only evidence thus far revealed for the Early Byzantine occupation of the town is a coin found during the excavations of Agioi Apostoloi (**ID2793**).

Rural space

The 2011 material shows a significant increase in the availability of more refined data regarding non-urban space. Until recently, the Greek evidence was generally limited to excavations from the urban sphere or survey evidence from the rural. Extensive archaeological surveys have provided scholars with invaluable evidence for understanding landscapes and sites within them, and one of the trends to note here is that material in rural areas is now being excavated as well as surveyed. Such work is making a steady contribution to the long-term view of occupation of a region and not just of isolated urban spaces. In addition to those areas in Crete mentioned above, and Epirus mentioned below, in Achaea agricultural complexes have been excavated at **Salamis** (**ID2638**), **Nafpaktos Gipedo** (**ID2388**), **Manari** (Arcadia) (Late Roman; **ID2425**) (**Fig. 52**) and **Monastiriako rema Ambelakiou Petrinas** (third to fourth century; **ID2431**). The latter two are multi-functional sites with workshops or processing areas.



52. Manari, Arcadia: wine press. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 39th EPCA.

Epirus: a diachronic view

These issues regarding reinterpretation of archaeological lacunae in cities and rural spaces and for specific periods are encapsulated in recent and striking work in the province of Epirus. At **Arta** (ancient Ambracia), the evidence for Roman material continues to grow, to supplement the survey of known material undertaken by V. Karatzeni in 2001. For example, the fourth- to third-century BC northwest cemetery space was re-used for an olive-oil workshop until its destruction in the late first to early second century (**ID2512**). Although studies of Ambracia still largely focus on the extensive Hellenistic and Byzantine remains (examples of which are noted in the Ephoreia reports), the steady discoveries of Roman material here and in other parts of Epirus indicate that devastation wreaked by Romans and then Thracians on the area was not as debilitating as once thought. As with other cities which are presumed to be abandoned, in part based on an assessment of historical data, the archaeological evidence for Arta indicates that it did continue after the population moved to Nikopolis in the late first century (Karatzeni [2001] 168). Evidence for Roman and Early Byzantine building remains were also identified in the plain of Arta (**ID2540**). At **Astakos** a Late Roman and Late Antique settlement with a fourth-century mosaic floor was revealed, where the apse of the church may also be identified (**ID2389**) (**Fig. 53**).



53. Astakos: mosaic from Late Roman and Late Antique settlement. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 8th EBA.

While excavations in Epirus continue to show evidence for a strong occupation of urban spaces in the Roman period, even in areas previously thought to be abandoned, work undertaken to elucidate rural occupation has produced dramatic results. Farmsteads and rural villas have been located all around the province, in valleys and on mountains, providing excellent potential for an up-to-date study of the countryside in the Roman period. This is further enhanced by the publication of the second volume of the **Thesprotia Expedition** (Forsén and Tikkala [2011]). In the **Arta area**, data is increasing with the study of the agricultural residence at **Sellades** (ID2513) (just south of Arta) which was in use from the second half of the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD (**Fig. 54**) and the impressive Roman rural villa on the Louros river

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54. Sellades: agricultural residence. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 33rd EPCA.

(**ID2535**), near **Agios Georgios** in the Preveza prefecture. The five rooms here had mosaic floors and an associated bath-house, and located nearby are sections of the already known aqueduct (Karatzeni [2001] 169). In the Ioannina prefecture, an agricultural complex and Hellenistic house were revealed to the south of **Ioannina** city. At Ioannina itself, a new study of the diachronic occupation of the Kastro has been undertaken (**ID2520**). In the north, close to the modern Albanian border, a first-century agricultural residence was excavated at **Ktismata Delvinaki** (**ID2517**). The volumes produced by the 32nd EPCA in 2008 on **Gitana**, **Dymokastro**, **Dolianis** and **Elea** are welcome additions to publications of the area (Kanta-Kitsou [2008]; Kanta-Kitsou and Lambrou [2008]; Lazari *et al*. [2008]; Riginos and Lazari [2008]). In the area of **Thesprotia** (**ID1929**), the Paramythia valley has proved to be particularly well occupied in the Roman period. Here, a number of rural residences was discovered in an area which had in the previous periods (Classical and Hellenistic) only been used for burial purposes. In the southern plains of **Louros** and **Zalongou** remains of the aqueduct and a large agricultural complex were investigated, revealing pebble and mosaic floors as well as cisterns and workshops (**ID2535**). At **Pnevmatikos Pharos Tarana**, two agricultural residences and graves were dated to the late third or fourth century (**ID2530**). Extensive work on the cemeteries has also been undertaken at **Neochori** (**ID2523**), **Gitana** (**ID2524**) and **Elatos** (**ID2539**).

Mortuary evidence: need for contextualization

To date, much of the work on mortuary practices in the Greek provinces has been focused on discrete areas. There is significant potential to undertake a wider-scale provincial study of the different types of practices, grave goods and epigraphic data in relation to the domestic and civic evidence of communities. The burial evidence in some cases may indicate lack of impact in terms of Roman involvement in Greece. It is clear that many of the cemeteries continue to be used, often without interruption, from the Hellenistic through to the Roman period. The cemetery at 90 E. Venizelos Ave in **Salamis** (**ID2638**) has Middle Geometric to Late Roman remains, and at Langadoula, **Nafpaktos** (**ID2387**), the Hellenistic cemetery continued to be used into the Roman period. In context, this may be indicative of the extent (if any) of the impact that the changing political and administrative status of the area had on certain sections of the population. The interruptions in use of a cemetery can only really be understood when seen in relation to the wider context, including other mortuary and domestic evidence. In **Megalopolis** (Lyktora Street and Kephala Sreet) (**ID2427**) a late Hellenistic cemetery also has mid-Roman burials, and at Pharmaki Square, **Nafpaktos** (**ID2372**) the Hellenistic cemetery also contains a Late Roman building with five graves. In **Chania**, at Hatzidaki Street, the Hellenistic cemetery was re-used in the late first to early second century, but more work is needed to understand what was happening in the intervening period (**ID2846**). Burial practices may evolve or be used by various members of the community, as seen at Apokoronou Street where an unusual Roman funerary monument was restudied. This evolved from the Hellenistic *loculus* type (**ID2851**), and it is suggested that this type fills in a gap in the evidence of the development of mortuary practices in Chania. Multiple forms of burials in a single cemetery may also be indicative of different populations, or at least tastes and aspirations, and many of the Greek cemeteries have evidence for a variety of different burials in the Roman period, from cist graves, to monumental tombs (for example one with a dromos at **Tsingouna** on the north of Kephala hill in Crete: **ID2855**) to rock-cut tombs (for example there were rock-cut tombs and cist graves nearby the Apokoronou Street cemetery in Chania with the large tomb). Some idiosyncrasies continue to be found, for example at **Andritsa Cave** (**ID2404**) groups of burials (some 40 individuals) and pottery dating to the Late Roman period were excavated from the cave. At **Mantineia** in Arcadia excavated burials were notable for the richness of the associated grave goods, considered unusual for Arcadia (**ID2417**).

Change and continuity are understandable in terms of individuals (local, Roman and other provincials) and their varying social roles. Similar processes may be seen in terms of religion, where in many examples the same cemetery and mortuary practices continued to be used even when Christianity became the state religion. The cemetery at 105 Eleftherias Street in **Moschato, Athens** (**ID2451**) is an example where a Late Roman cemetery continued in use until Late Antiquity. Associated epigraphic evidence from the 2011 material covers a rich variety of types: for example stelae (from **Sybrita** [**ID2855**] and **Chania**) and the two seals found in the **Thessaloniki** east necropolis (excavated in the 1970s), one of which had a magical inscription and the other showing the Egyptian deity Bes Pantheos (*Eleutheros Typos* 23.02.12; http://www.makthes.gr/news/arts/84328).

Overall, the vast quantity of mortuary material and related epigraphy in the Greek provinces could usefully be synthesized to analyse evidence for different groups within various communities. Cemeteries from different provinces and areas within them could be compared. Continuity and change in multi-period sites (such as **Langadoula** in Nafpaktos [**ID2387**] or **Sphakaki** on Crete, both Hellenistic and Roman cemeteries) could be contrasted with sites of a single period but with extensive numbers of burials and variation in mortuary practices (for example **Loutres** at Ierapetra in Crete or **Elatos Korphovouni** in Epirus [**ID2539**]).

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Conclusion: contacts and networks

While much of the material that has been reported for 2011 can be used to help in broader discussions of contacts and networks, it is refreshing that there are also new finds that could alter the way we traditionally think about certain buildings, sites or even areas. At **Kenchreai** an area of the harbour which had been identified as the *Atrium Veneris* (part of a cult building) is now possibly a library of a large seaside villa or public facility (**ID2490**). In the foundations of the first hotel in **Athens**, the Aiolos, the southeast corner of Hadrian's library and part of a gate or a tower of the post-Herulian wall was excavated (**ID2478**) (**Fig. 55**). There are plans to renovate the building and to maintain the archaeology and make it visible. During work at the theatre in **Gortyn** (**ID2818**), finds of horse bits may be associated with earlier finds of a manger with skeletons of horses which had been caught in the collapse caused by the AD 365 earthquake. Altogether the finds indicate the use of the area as the stables which are commonly found at the end of the circus. In **Opagia Doliana**, the walled settlement which contained two Early Christian churches was investigated (**ID2543**). The mosaics of the north and south aisles of one of the churches depicted hunt scenes, wild animal combats and marine personifications, which are unusual images for mosaics of this period in Greece. The use of figural decoration like this is much more akin to mosaics of the East, in areas such as Palestine or Syria. Mosaics such as that found in the Alkman Street excavations in **Sparta**, of a fifth- to sixth-century basilica with geometric designs in panels, are much more like the standard for Greece (**ID2559**). Finally, studies of the Odeion at **Dion** in 2011 have contributed greatly to the understanding of the architectural form and interior décor, and their roles in the acoustics of the buildings (**ID2697**). For example, here it seems that curtains were used primarily to enhance the sound quality, as were the wood-lined floor, seats, ceiling and even the decorated plaster on the walls.

Roman Greece may never escape from the shadows of its great Classical past or Byzantine future, but it is a period that has been receiving attention for its own sake rather than as an inconvenient means to reach earlier levels. Although innovative approaches (Horden and Purcell [2000]) and large-scale studies such as that of the Roman economy undertaken by the *Oxford Roman Economy Project* (http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/; see also Bowman and Wilson [2009]; [2011]) are making a significant contribution to macro-scale understanding of the Mediterranean, there is a great deal of work to be done on networks. Current work on the pottery and broader studies of areas such as the Cyclades in the Roman period should make a solid contribution to this. Evidence of networks and contexts plays a much greater role in the interpretation of Roman provincial archaeology. Much of the archaeological material in *AR* 2011 pertaining to Roman Greece has implications for the approach to its study. By examining evidence for chronological continuity and geographical contact it is possible to gain insights into the various roles which the Greek provinces may have played in the larger Roman network, while allowing for diversity of areas and social groups. Although evidence of religious roles is clearly absent from the 2011 material, on-going contextualization and more detailed study will allow a developed understanding of the various roles played by the different provinces in Greece at various times.



55. Athens, Aiolos Hotel: the southeast corner of Hadrian's library. © Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports: 1st EPCA.

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