

ANNUARIO

DELLA SCUOLA ARCHEOLOGICA

DI ATENE E DELLE MISSIONI

ITALIANE IN ORIENTE

VOLUME 97

SCUOLA ARCHEOLOGICA ITALIANA DI ATENE

2019

ANNUARIO

DELLA

SCUOLA ARCHEOLOGICA DI ATENE

E DELLE

MISSIONI ITALIANE IN ORIENTE

VOLUME 97

SCUOLA ARCHEOLOGICA ITALIANA DI ATENE

2019

DIRETTORE

Emanuele Papi, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

COMITATO SCIENTIFICO

Riccardo Di Cesare, Università degli Studi di Foggia (*condirettore*)

Ralf von den Hoff, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

Emeri Farinetti, Università degli Studi Roma Tre

Pavlina Karanastasi, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης

Vasiliki Kassianidou, Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου

Giovanni Marginesu, Università degli Studi di Sassari

Maria Chiara Monaco, Università degli Studi della Basilicata

Aliki Moustaka, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

Nikolaos Papazarkadas, University of California, Berkeley

Dimitris Plantzos, Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών

Simona Todaro, Università degli Studi di Catania

Paolo Vitti, University of Notre Dame

Mark Wilson-Jones, University of Bath

Enrico Zanini, Università degli Studi di Siena

COMITATO EDITORIALE

Maria Rosaria Luberto, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene (*responsabile*)

Fabio Giorgio Cavallero, Sapienza Università di Roma

Niccolò Cecconi, Università degli Studi di Perugia

Carlo De Domenico, Università degli Studi di Pisa

VALUTAZIONE DELLA RICERCA

Anvur CNR: Elenco delle riviste di classe A di Area 8 e 10, Elenco delle riviste Scientifiche di Area 8, 10 e 11

Scopus –SJR. SCImago Journal & Country Rank: Arts and Humanities; Archeology (arts and humanities); Classics; Social Sciences; Archeology; H Index 2

ERIHplus: Approved in 2019 according to ERIH criteria

INCLUSIONE IN DATABASE INTERNAZIONALI DI CITAZIONI E ABSTRACT

Elsevier's Scopus, abstract and citation database

TRADUZIONI

Ilaria Symiakaki, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene (*revisione greca*)

Elizabeth Fentress, Roma (*revisione inglese*)

PROGETTAZIONE E REVISIONE GRAFICA

Angela Dibenedetto, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

CONTATTI

Redazione: redazione@scuoladiatene.it

Comunicazione: comunicazione@scuoladiatene.it

Sito internet: www.scuoladiatene.it

Gli articoli dell'*Annuario* sono scelti dal Comitato scientifico-editoriale e approvati da *referees* anonimi.

Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

Parthenonos 14

11742 Atene

Grecia

Per le norme redazionali consultare la pagina web della Scuola alla sezione Pubblicazioni.

© Copyright 2019

Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

ISSN 0067-0081 (cartaceo)

ISSN 2585-2418 (on-line)

Per l'acquisto rivolgersi a / orders may be placed to:

All'Insegna del Giglio s.a.s.

via Arrigo Boito, 50-52 - 50019 Sesto Fiorentino (FI)

www.insegnadelgiglio.it

SOMMARIO

SAGGI

Ilaria Caloi	Breaking with tradition? The adoption of the wheel-throwing technique at Protopalatial Phaistos: combining macroscopic analysis, experimental archaeology and contextual information 9
Elisabetta Borgna, Gaspare De Angeli	Ordinary people in the flow of history. Tomb 6 from the Trapeza cemetery, Aigion, and the Mycenaean in Eastern Achaia. 26
Manolis I. Stefanakis	Evidence and some speculations on Bronze Age presence at the wider area of Kymissala, Rhodes 58
Germano Sarcone	Statue arcaiche in terracotta da Efestia (Lemno) 72
Paolo Persano	L'amazzone tardo-arcaica dagli Horti Sallustiani: riesame di una scultura greca a Roma 93
Federico Figura	Il destino di un vaso. La <i>lekanis</i> del Pittore di Berlino, dalla bottega al <i>Persephoneion</i> locrese 114
Tommaso Serafini	<i>Telesterion</i> : contributo alla definizione di una tipologia architettonica e funzionale 130
Barbara Carè	Bones of bronze: new observations on the astragalus bone metal replicas 157
Paolo Storchi	Ricerche sull'urbanistica dell'antica Calcide 171
Paolo Carafa	Paesaggi di Magna Grecia 182
Anna Anguissola, Sara Lenzi	La policromia degli elementi non figurati nella scultura greca e romana. Proposte per uno studio del colore di puntelli, sfondi, basi . . 199
Filippo Coarelli	Tessalonica, Segni e il culto isiaco. 216
Jessica Piccinini	The Roman Agora of Apollonia in Illyria: a space for the imperial cult 221
Antonella P. Merletto	The <i>forica</i> of Kos in the peristyle typology of Roman public toilets . . 231
Niccolò Cecconi	L'edificio di od. Misaraliotou ad Atene e il suo contesto urbano . . 260
Simona Antolini, Sivia Maria Marengo, Yuri A. Marano, Roberto Perna, Luan Përzhita	La prima attestazione del culto dei santi Cosma e Damiano nell' <i>Epirus Vetus</i> dagli scavi della fortificazione di Palokastra (Valle del Drino, Albania) 295
Maria Cecilia D'Ercole	Measures, prices and the value of salt in ancient societies 311
Massimiliano Santi	La Scuola e il Possedimento 321
Giacomo Fadelli	L'esplorazione dell'isola di Gavdos di Antonio Maria Colini e Doro Levi (agosto 1925). 347

IN RICORDO DI DINA PEPPA DELMOUZOU

Giovanni Marginesu	Segreti di bottega e trasparenza amministrativa. Il caso della fusione del bronzo nell'Attica classica	381
Daniela Marchiandi	Ancora sul peribolo di Menyllos ovvero la microstoria di una famiglia di Halai Aixonides	387
Enrica Culasso Gastaldi	Kabirion di Lemnos: le iscrizioni rinvenute nell'Esedra e nel quartiere tardo-romano	410
Manuela Mari	Un regno e le sue "capitali". Frammenti della storia di Anfipoli in età ellenistica	428
Adalberto Magnelli	Per una ipotesi di rilettura dell'accordo fra Gortina e Festo, <i>ICr</i> IV 165 (240-222 a.C.?)	435
Francesco Camia	Sacrificare agli imperatori: una dedica su altare a Settimio Severo da Filippi (<i>CIPh</i> II.1, N. 24)	441

SCAVI E RICERCHE

Creta

Eleonora Pappalardo	Urne figurate da Priniàs (Creta). Il "Protogeometrico B" tra <i>Dark Age</i> e alto arcaismo	451
---------------------	--	-----

Lemno

Riccardo Di Cesare	Il santuario arcaico dell'acropoli di Efestia (Lemno): l'Edificio con stipe. Seconda relazione preliminare (scavi 2019).	473
Carlo De Domenico, Dario Anelli, Rossana Valente	La basilica del porto orientale di Efestia (Lemno). Relazione preliminare delle ricerche del 2019	494
Rossella Pansini, Luca Passalacqua	Le cave orientali di Efestia (Lemno). Relazione delle attività del 2019	516
Ilaria Trafficante	Il teatro di Efestia (Lemno): scavi 1937 e 1939	520

Argolide

Barbara Davide Petriaggi, Panagiota Galiatsatou, Salvatore Medaglia	The submerged "Villa of the dolia" near ancient Epidaurus. The preliminary results of the first excavation and conservation campaign	543
Panagiota Galiatsatou, Barbara Davide Petriaggi, Angelos Tsompanidis	The 2018 underwater survey in Hormos Agiou Vlassi (ancient Epidaurus): preliminary results.	565

Megaride

Emeri Farinetti, Panagiota Avgerinou	Ricerche nella Megaride occidentale	570
---	---	-----

Emanuele Papi	ATTI DELLA SCUOLA: 2019	583
---------------	-----------------------------------	-----

Saggi

THE ROMAN AGORA OF APOLLONIA IN ILLYRIA: A SPACE FOR THE IMPERIAL CULT

JESSICA PICCININI

Riassunto. Il contributo analizza il processo di monumentalizzazione di Apollonia in Illiria tra il I sec. a.C. e il III sec. d.C., soffermandosi in particolare sull'area alle pendici della collina 104. Se considerate nel loro complesso, le fonti letterarie, epigrafiche e archeologiche concorrono a individuare in questo spazio il luogo utilizzato dalle élites locali per la propria celebrazione e quella degli imperatori romani.

Περίληψη. Το άρθρο εξετάζει τη διαδικασία μνημειοποίησης της Απολλωνίας της Ιλλυρίας ανάμεσα στον 1ο αιώνα π.Χ. και τον 3^ο αιώνα μ.Χ., ιδιαίτερα στους πρόποδες του λόφου 104. Αν ληφθούν υπ' όψιν στο σύνολό τους οι γραπτές, οι επιγραφικές και οι αρχαιολογικές πηγές συμβάλλουν στο να εντοπιστεί σε αυτόν τον χώρο ο τόπος που χρησιμοποιήθηκε από τις τοπικές élites για την αυτοπροβολή τους και για τη λατρεία των Ρωμαίων αυτοκρατόρων.

Abstract. This paper focuses on the monumentalization of Apollonia in Illyria between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD, with particular attention to the area at the foot of the hill 104. All the gathered literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence stress how this space was continually exploited by the members of the local elite to celebrate themselves and the Roman emperors.

Under the Empire, the urban landscape of the Greek cities underwent major changes, which also determined shifts of function and significance of most of public areas, notably the agoras. From the age of Augustus onwards, spaces and civic institutions that previously featured the autonomous political activity of the *polis* were modulated according to new needs and parameters¹.

The agoras, more than any other public area, lying at the centre of the city, provided the ideal place, where to meet and give emphasis to the demands of a new society and culture. From being an open space, suited to meetings and markets, the agoras became a “crowded” place, punctuated by numerous statues and monuments, which enriched the existing structures and showed off the strength of the new power and the devotion of the local elites. The monumental growth of the agoras represents a mark of the new significance of these areas as, in Evangelidis’ words, «the renovation of public spaces (modernisation, enhancement of infrastructure, monumentality) is a process inherently connected to the functionality and public image of the city»².

Agoras also worked as showcases as monumentality implies the interaction between different actors, the dedicator(s) and the honorand(s), both moved by the desire to embellish the *polis*, but the dedicators also by the wish to take advantage of their euergetism; when members of the local elites or of the imperial family donated or were honoured through the construction of new buildings, statues and altars, both parties, besides the city, profited.

Besides emphasizing the multifunctional character of these spaces across time, research on the topic has pointed out the ways in which Greek communities reacted and adapted themselves to the socio-cultural transformation undergone in Roman times. Though different from *polis* to *polis*, the monumental blooming of the various centres of Greece, has common features, such as an axial grid plan based on cohesion and symmetry, the prominence of a building or a buildings group, normally linked to civic and imperial cult, the presence of Roman type constructions, like the *basilica* and *curia*³.

This phenomenon affected the whole of Roman Greece, but great attention has been devoted mainly to those *poleis* – Athens⁴, Sparta⁵, Corinth⁶ *in primis* –, which had a key role in the archaic and classical

¹ THOMAS 2007; SIELHORST 2015; DICKENSON 2011, 47-49; 2017; ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΔΗΣ 2014.

² *Ibid.*, 336.

³ *Ibid.*, 350-352.

⁴ SHEAR 1981; WALKER 1997; BURDEN 1999, 29; ALCOCK 2001, 337; 2002, 53-53; HOEPFNER 2006.

⁵ CARTLEDGE-SPAWFORTH 2002, 137.

⁶ GROS-TORELLI 1988, 428-434.

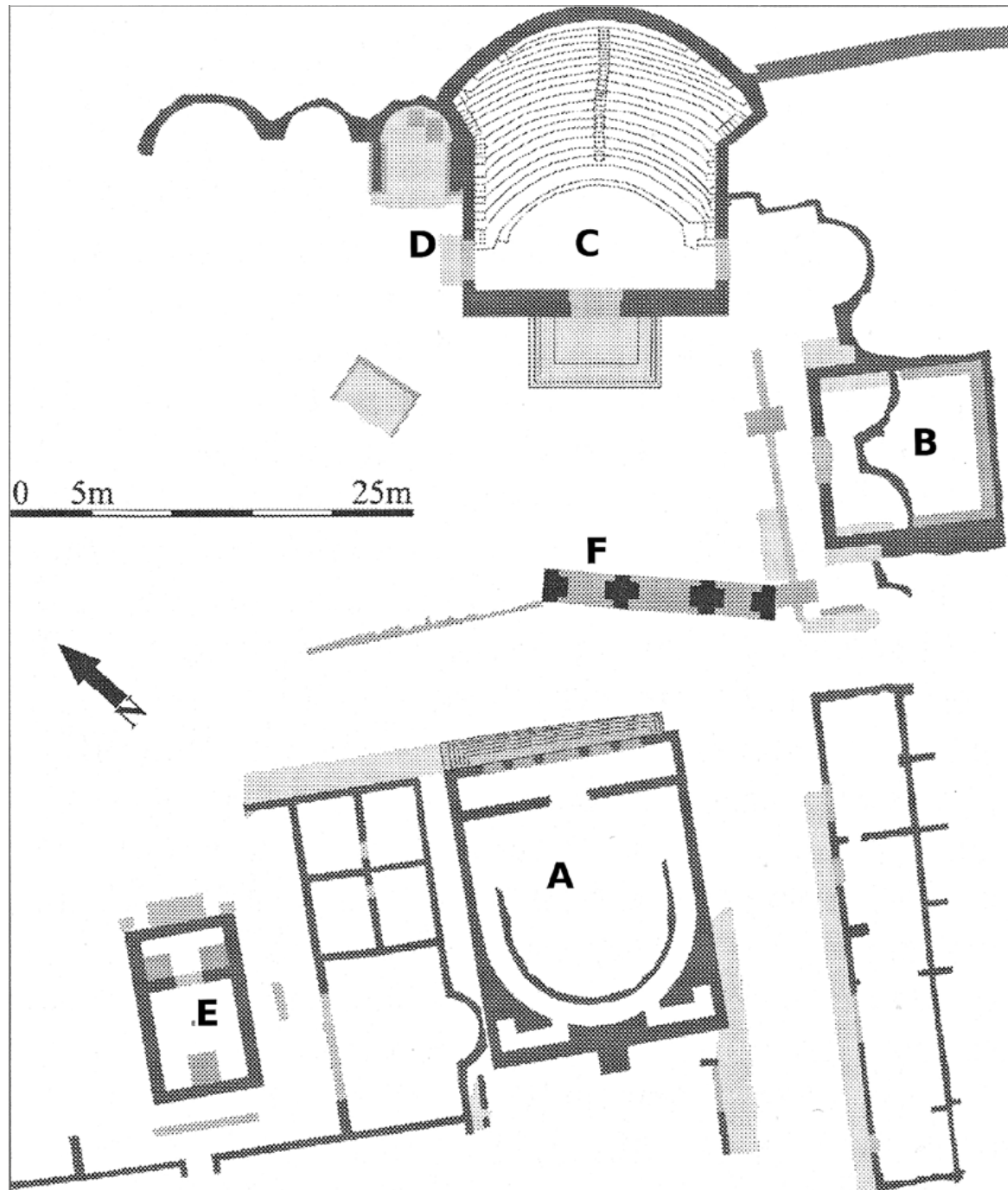


Fig. 1. The *centre monumental* (riel. from FOLLAIN 2015): A. Agonotheion; B. 'Library'; C. Odeion; D. Sacellum; E. Ionic temple; F. Honorific arch.

history. Yet *poleis* of lesser importance, like Apollonia in Illyria, may offer an interesting case for historians thanks to the major archaeological, epigraphical and topographical works carried out by the French-Albanian equipe working on the site since 1993⁷, which have highlighted, *inter alia*, traces of a progressive monumentalization, dating between the time of Trajan and Caracalla, in the area below hill 104, until that moment open⁸.

⁷ Of primary importance for the archaeological evidence discovered in the so-called *centre monumental* the work of Rey on the site between 1923 and 1939 (*Atlas Apollonia*, 30-32). On the history of archaeological investigation in Apollonia before the beginning of the current collaboration between the French archaeologists and the Albanian Institute of Archaeology at Tirana, see *Atlas Apollonia*, 25-38; see also

FIEDLER-VON HESBERG 2012/2013.

⁸ The only existing structures preceding the monumentalization are the retaining walls and porticos stretching along slopes of the hill. To date the archaeological investigations have not brought to light structures dating after the time of Caracalla (*Atlas Apollonia*, 186-217; FOLLAIN 2015, 41).



Fig. 2. The so-called *agonotheion/bouleuterion* (photo A.).

This space, more generally known as *centre monumental* (Fig. 1), located between the major road axes⁹, is punctuated by public buildings, starting from the 17 niches *stoa*, marking northwards one of the entrances to the area. While there is no reasonable doubt in recognising the honorific arch¹⁰, the temple, the *odeion*, a *sacellum*, and several *stoai*, problems arise with the identification of other structures as those known, by convention, as *agonotheion*¹¹, *prytaneion*¹², and “library”, whose actual function is object of discussion. In any case the high concentration of public buildings in a rather limited space can hardly be accidental: these structures, which filled progressively the area¹³, were displayed according to a precise order and responded to a planned organization.

Despite the prominent position of the *centre monumental* within the urban plan and its monumentality, French scholars are generally rather skeptical in reading it as a *forum* or as an *agora*¹⁴. Yet Follain, in his recent study on the monuments and urban plan of the *centre monumental*, assumes convincingly that the area is to be interpreted as a 2nd century AD *agora*¹⁵, lying near the older one¹⁶. Less persuasively, he escludes the possibility that this new public space was created in connection with the imperial cult because of the lack of appropriate facilities – first of all an *augusteum*¹⁷ – for this practice. Follain’s prudence might be commendable, but the exam of all the sources – literary and material – suggests that the

⁹ *Atlas Apollonia*, 217-221, 217, 341-345; FOLLAIN 2015, 44-50, 216-219.

¹⁰ Persuasive interpretation of this structure, also in relation to the plan of the *centre monumental*, as an honorific arch *ibid.*, 84-85, who draws a series of parallels with the arches at Sufetula in Tunisia, Jerash in Jordan and Bosra in Syria.

¹¹ Also defined as *bouleuterion*.

¹² The structure in between the so-called monument of the *agonotheites* and the Ionic temple was investigated by H. Čeka in 1948 and was interpreted as *prytaneion* because of its proximity with the *agonotheion/bouleuterion*. Nowadays French scholars are more inclined to consider it as the house of the priests pertaining to the temple (*Atlas Apollonia*, 206-207). Yet, its closeness to the Ionic temple and its plan

(squared and with an apse: GROS 1996, 362-273, part. 368-370) might support its reading as a Roman *basilica*.

¹³ The earliest structures are the porticos (*Atlas Apollonia*, 195-196, 198-200; FOLLAIN 2015, 220), although the southern one perhaps is contemporary to the *agonotheion* (*Atlas Apollonia*, 200).

¹⁴ *Atlas Apollonia*, 217.

¹⁵ As initially suggested by REY 1928, 31; FOLLAIN 2015, 223-224.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 222-224. Also GILKES 2013, 43-45.

¹⁷ Although first FOLLAIN 2015, 201-204 seems to interpret the so-called library as an *Augusteum*, recently his position is more cautious [*Id.* 2018, 378 n. 10: «si cette interprétation (n.d.r. bibliothèque) est la plus vraisemblable, on ne peut totalement écarter l’hypothèse d’un *Augusteum*»].

monumentalization of this space, i.e. the Roman *agora*, was connected to the role of the *polis* in the region during the Imperial period and to the diffusion of the emperor's worship, at least from the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Apollonia occupied a special position in the region and was a place of respect to Augustus, as recorded by literary sources¹⁸. Under the Romans¹⁹, Apollonia grew and acquired fame as a cultural centre and attracted many brilliant students from distant parts of the empire²⁰, among which Augustus himself. In the 1st century BC Apollonia was such a renowned centre for the study of rhetoric that Caesar, in the autumn of 45, sent his nephew Octavian there to study for six months along with his teacher Apollodorus of Pergamum²¹. When Octavian had to return to Rome following Caesar's death, «the inhabitants of Apollonia came in multitudes and for some time affectionately begged Octavian to stay with them, saying that they would put the city to any use that he wished²²». Once Octavian became Augustus, he conceded Apollonia the status of *civitas immunis et libera* as well as «some other not inconsiderable favours», marking it as one of the most fortunate cities²³.

Despite these premises, no secure element attests the Imperial worship already at the time of Augustus. The inscribed statue basementioning *Ioulia Sebasta* cannot be considered as evidence of the Imperial cult as its reading is controversial²⁴.

More substantial arguments come from later sources, particularly from the so-called *agonotheion* (Fig. 2)²⁵. Along the six blocks of the architrave of the monument, dating to the first decades of the 2nd century AD, run an inscription mentioning the *archiereus*²⁶:

1. εἰς μν[ή]μην ·καὶ· τεῖμην [- - τοῦ] Οὐίλλιου Οὐ[αλεντ]εῖ[ν]ου
Φουρίου Πρόκ[λο]υ τοῦ ἀδε[λφ]οῦ, ἐπ[ί] ἀρχουσ πε[ί]ρης - -]ης ἐν Συρία,
2. χειλ[ι] ἀρχου λεγιώνος [— Τεμίν]ης ἐ[ν] Π[αν]νονί α, ἀγωνοθέτου ἀποδεδι[γμ]ένου· Κό[ιν]τος
· Οὐίλλιος Κρισπείνος Φούριος Πρόκ[λ]ος, πρύτανις, ἀγνωθῆτης, ἀρχιερε[ῖ]ς διὰ βίου κατεσκεύασεν,
3. δοθέντων εἰς τὴν ἀποίερωσιν {ἀφιέρωσιν} τοῦ [- - (?) μον]ομ[ά]χων ἀκατίζευγῶν εἰκοσπέντε.

«To the memory and honour of [...] his brother Villius Valentinus Furius Proclus, prefect of the cohort [---] in Syria, / *tribunus* of the legion [--- Gemin]a²⁷ in Pannonia, *agonothetes* designated, Qu(intus) Villius Crispinus Furius Proclus, prytan, *agonothetes*, *archiere[us]* for life erected (this monument), / to the consecration of this (monument) [...], twenty-five pairings *vacat* of gladiators were offered».

¹⁸ Despite its crucial location in proximity of the coast, with a harbour well connected to the most important river valleys of the interland (MELFI-PICCININI 2012, 41-42; SPHUZA 2016, 33-43), Apollonia in Illyria is barely mentioned by ancient sources after its foundation (THUC. I.26.2; PLUT. *Mor.* 552E; Ps.-SCYMN. 439-440; *Atlas Apollonia*, 44-49). In the course of the centuries, its territory was theatre of various military operations (CAES. *BC* III.11.3) and the *polis* maintained its autonomy up to the last decades of the 2nd century BC, when along with Epidamnus, became a Roman permanent possession: Polybius describes the joyful welcome bestowed on the Roman forces by the Apollonians in 229 BC (POLYB. II.11.8).

¹⁹ LIV. XLII.18.2-3; 16.3-8; 36.8-9; 49.1; 53.2.

²⁰ VELL. *PAT. HR* II.59.4; SUET. *Aug.* II.8; according to Suetonius (*Aug.* XCIV.17) Apollonia was also a major centre for the study of astronomy and this testimony acquires a special significance in the light of the supposed Apolloniate origin of the so-called Antikythera Mechanism on which the Epirote calendar and the Naia festival were recorded (CABANES 2011, 259-260).

²¹ PLUT. *Ant.* XVI.1; PLUT. *Cic.* XLIII.8; PLUT. *Brutus* XXII.1-3; CASSIUS DIO XLV.3.1; 4.3; SUET. *Aug.* VIII.2.1; 4-6; 89, 1; NIC. DAM. *FGrHist* 90 F 130 (16); APP. III.9-10. Augustus came back to Rome only at the news of Caesar's death.

²² NIC. DAM. *FGrHist* 90 F 130 (17).

²³ NIC. DAM. *FGrHist* 90 F 130 (17).

²⁴ According to Cabanes the limestone statue base, dating between AD 14 and 29, mentions Livia Augusta, here called Ioulia Augusta. Two readings of the text are suggested (*I. Apollonia* 173):

(1) [Αρι]στῶι· Ἀριστωνίδ[ου] / Εὐθυκλέουσιν[νὰ] / Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστά[ν] / Ἐλευθί[αι].

(2) [Αρι]στῶι· Ἀριστωνίδ[ου] / Εὐθυκλέουσιν[νὰ] / Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστά[ν] / Ἐλευθί[ων(?)].

Cabanes thinks that the block, later reused in a burial, might have honoured Livia Augusta, the wife of Augustus, and not Iulia, his

daughter, who had the title of Augusta from AD 14 up to her death in AD 29. Moreover, it is not altogether clear whether (1) the portrait was dedicated to the goddess Eileithyia (or Eleuthia) or (2) the sculpture testifies to the assimilation of Livia Augusta to the goddess [Both readings in *SEG* XLVII.847 (= *I. Apollonia* 173, ll. 3-4)]. Chaniotis rightly pointed out that Cabanes' hypothesis is plausible, but there might be the chance that the statue was portraying indeed Iulia as a few instances of epigraphic evidence from the Roman East show (*SEG* XLVII.847; CHANIOIOTIS 2003, 342-344): the daughter of Augustus was called Ἰουλία θεὰ Σεβαστή in Paphos and perhaps also in Aphrodisias (*JGR* III.940; *SEG* XXX.1249). According to Chaniotis, «the Greeks were familiar with honorary titles and names that were used by members of the imperial family, but they were not always familiar with the mechanism behind their official awards». In this sense these titles were in their eyes similar to divine epithets. For this reason, it is likely that they were subject to official authorisation and «the official name of an emperor [and of an imperial family member] was for the Greeks a cultic epithet» (CHANIOIOTIS 2003, 344). Such a hypothesis is also confirmed by her association with the goddess Eleithyia, connected to childbirth, see *LIMC* III.1, s.v. «Eileithyia», 685-699 [R. Olmos]. The few inscriptions bearing the names of emperors do not straightforwardly reveal the practice of imperial cult there, not even when the emperor is mentioned with the epithet Olympius (*I. Apollonia* 185).

²⁵ The monument is variously interpreted as a *bouleuterion* or as a *curia* or as an *agonotheion* (CABANES 2004, 123-126; *Atlas Apollonia*, 206).

²⁶ Most of the times the *ἀρχιερεύς* in the Imperial time indicates the highest priest appointed for the worship of the emperor and his family: *PW* II, s.v. «ἀρχιερεύς», coll. 473-483 [K.G. Brandis]; *MAGIE* 1905, 21, 40, 64, 142-143; *MASON* 1974, 12, 26, 115-116; *FRIJA* 2012, 93-94; *CAMIA* 2017, 453-454.

²⁷ Perhaps *legio X Gemina* or *XIV Gemina* (MANN 1983, 161; FITZ 1995, 1490; CABANES 2004, 124).



Fig. 3. The so-called "library" (photo A.).



Fig. 4. The *sacellum* (photo A.).

This inscription, the longest so far found in Apollonia, records the euergetic act of a certain Quintus Villius Furius Proclus, who erected an imposing monument in honour of his dead brother Villius Valentinus Furius Proclus, that had accomplished a brilliant military career²⁸.

On the occasion of the erection of the monument, *munera* (μονομάχων ζεύγος), in which twenty-five pairings of gladiators fought, were offered²⁹. Such an impressive act, besides showing the fraternal love of a man for his sibling, manifested the enormous financial resources of the family of the Villi of Apollonia: Quintus Villius Crispinus Furius Proclus was, in fact, prytan of the city, *agonothetes* of local games – as was his brother – and *archiereus* for life of some civic cult.

Modern scholarship agrees in associating the games offered by Quintus Villius with the *Nymphaia*³⁰, local festivals attested epigraphically in Apollonia up to the beginning of the 1st century BC³¹. Yet nothing points to the survival of the *Nymphaia* in imperial times, rather the aforementioned *archiereus* might have been the high priest of some other, more prestigious, games. Contemporary evidence from the East usually connects such an honorific office to the practice of imperial cult³². Therefore we should consider the possibility that the festivals, which Quintus Villius Crispinus Furius Proclus and his brother oversaw, might have been the Sebasteia. The fact that Quintus Villius Crispinus Furius Proclus was one of the most notable citizens of Apollonia, as his euergetic acts, his office and finances show, is an argument in support of this hypothesis.

The role of the *archiereus* as a minister of the imperial cult in Apollonia is also confirmed by the mention of the *munera* offered by Quintus Villius Furius Proclus. As Ducros recently pointed out for the region of the Northern Aegean Sea, i.e. Macedonia, Thrace and Thasos, the diffusion of gladiators contests was linked to the spread of imperial cult as they were staged in the Greek world as part of the Imperial cult festival and their organization was a prerogative of the high priest of the emperor worship, i.e. the *archiereus*³³.

Moreover, and most importantly, the location of the monument, one of the largest buildings so far brought to light on the site, deserves attention. It is NE-SE oriented, it measures 19×15 m and consists of an inner chamber with semicircular banks, accommodating circa 160 persons, around an orchestra (Fig. 1, A)³⁴. The monumental structure hosted several statues as can be deduced from the numerous fragments of togates, perhaps the two brothers (or other local notables), and from the portraits of imperial family members found in the inner chamber and in the front portico³⁵.

Looking across the *centre monumental*, dotted with buildings, the so-called monument of the *agonothetes* was surrounded by a series of other significant structures, most of which were built between the first half of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the 3rd century AD³⁶ and superimposed on a pre-existing portico, abutting the so-called hill 104³⁷.

The very first structure built dates to the first half of the 2nd century AD, as does the so-called monument of the *agonothetes*: it is a squared building (11.05×11.52 m) called “the library” by Rey, the first investigating the area (Fig. 1, B)³⁸. The structure superimposed over the two last apses of the pre-existing Doric portico, which became an integral part of the inner chamber along with benches all around the walls (Fig. 3). Its function is controversial³⁹, but its key position in relation to the other structures within the *centre monumental* and its close resemblance to the Augusteum at Naronia and to that at Eretria⁴⁰ are strong arguments in support of its reading as a building devoted to the Imperial cult⁴¹.

The other later buildings within the *centre monumental*, both in their orientation and also in their function hinge on the so-called “library”. This is the case of the two buildings placed respectively at the left of and in front of the monument of the *agonothetes*: the mid 2nd century AD Ionic prostyle temple (10.85×7.06 m)⁴², oriented as the monument of the *agonothetes*⁴³, in which a statue of a female figure

²⁸ *I. Apollonia* 187.

²⁹ According to Robert «nous avons ici quelque trace de l'ancien caractère funéraire du *munus*, la seule en pays grec» (ROBERT 1940, 76 n. 6, 269-270). *Munera* in the North-western Greece were also offered by Lucius Flavius Tellurius(?) Gaeticulus on the occasion of the construction of the library at Dyrachium (*LLA* 40 = *CLA* 35; CRISTOFORI 2011, 155-156; CABANES 2004, 126-128).

³⁰ *Atlas Apollonia*, 78; CABANES 2004, 123-124, spec. n. 4; CRISTOFORI 2011, 157.

³¹ *I. Apollonia* T 320 (= *ID* 1957), 200-130 BC; *I. Apollonia* T 321, 200-130 BC; *IG* II² 3149a, end of the 2nd-beginning of the 1st century BC; according to MOUSTAKIS 2006, 179-186, part. 185-186, up to the 2nd century BC.

³² See *supra*, fn. 26.

³³ DUCROS 2018.

³⁴ *Atlas Apollonia*, 201-206.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 112-119.

³⁶ The only exception is the obelisk dating to the 3rd century BC (QUANTIN 2011; *Atlas Apollonia*, 199-200).

³⁷ *Atlas Apollonia*, 186-200. The 3rd century BC portico originally had the function to sustain the hillsides (*Atlas Apollonia*, 195).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 215-217; FOLLAIN 2015, 193-210.

³⁹ *Atlas Apollonia*, 215-217; FOLLAIN 2015, 201-204, but later expresses a more cautious stance (*Id.* 2018, 378, n. 10).

⁴⁰ Respectively MARIN 2001 and SCHMID 2001.

⁴¹ The benches of the so-called library in Apollonia are large enough to allocate life-size statues.

⁴² FOLLAIN 2015, 123-140.

⁴³ *Atlas Apollonia*, 207-208.

with a dog at her feet, identified with Artemis⁴⁴, was found (Fig. 1, E), and the *sacellum*⁴⁵, consisting of an apse that exploits one of the niches belonging to the reinforcement of the *analemma* wall and a vestibule (Fig. 1, D). The *sacellum*, dating to the third quarter of the 2nd century AD, hosted an equestrian statue as the remains of a base indicate⁴⁶ (Fig. 4).

Then, between the *sacellum* and the so-called library, in the course of the 2nd century AD an *odeion* was built (Fig. 1, C)⁴⁷ and later, at the end of the 2nd-beginning of the 3rd century AD an honorific arch (14.20 m)⁴⁸ was erected (Fig. 1, F) between the monument of the *agonothetes* and the *odeion*⁴⁹, within a short distance of the “library”⁵⁰. According to Deniaux the arch was built after Caracalla’s victory in the East in 217 AD, when the emperor returned to Rome via Apollonia⁵¹. To the meaning of this monument in such a location I will refer later.

In addition to this high concentration of multifunctional structures, which might have hosted gatherings, imperial worship, the performance of rituals, public expressions of imperial devotion and spectacles, the fact that most of the 250 fragments⁵² of statues, often portraying imperial family members, found in Apollonia were discovered within or near the *centre monumental* completes the picture.

Near the so-called monument of the *agonothetes*, togates, likely representing one or more of the notables of Apollonia⁵³, and a portrait of the emperor Marcus Aurelius⁵⁴ were found. Among the most interesting pieces from the area close to the 17-niche portico are a 2nd century AD marble female head⁵⁵, perhaps a portrait of Vibia Matidia⁵⁶, a male head, likely portraying the emperor Hadrian⁵⁷, and a bearded head of an *homme agé*⁵⁸, according to the definition of the French archaeologists, that nevertheless closely resembles the portraits of Caracalla⁵⁹.

Portraits of emperors and imperial family members were also unearthed in a monumental tomb in the Kryegjate Valley, 800 m East of the *centre monumental* to which they probably belonged: they are a colossal marble head of Antoninus Pius⁶⁰ and a female head, probably Faustina Maior⁶¹, both dating to the first years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius⁶².

Likewise, during the excavations of a domus from the end of the 2nd-beginning of the 3rd century AD close to Apollonia, at least six statues were found⁶³, among which a togate next to a *capsa*⁶⁴ (i.e. an allusion to the education of the person portrayed).

These monuments and portraits of the emperors and their family found within or close by (and thus likely from) the *centre monumental* at Apollonia should be considered along with all the archaeological and epigraphical evidence and cannot be dismissed as fortuitous.

Moreover, in the light of this overview, the inscriptions, which mention unidentified emperors found as reused blocks in the fortification wall of the town and in the adjacent monastery of St. Mary⁶⁵, acquire a different significance and cannot be interpreted only as honorary inscriptions.

In particular, a 2nd century AD inscription from the architrave of a monument⁶⁶, rightly interpreted by Chaniotis as a building inscription because of the *incipit* with the name of the emperor in nominative⁶⁷, fits perfectly into this scenario:

[Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τ[ραϊανοῦ — —].

«The emperor [...] son of the divine T[rajan ---]».

⁴⁴ Together with the statue, fragments of lamps and votive vases were also found (*ibid.*, 208).

⁴⁵ Called *fanum* by REY 1939, 13, pl. 18-25.

⁴⁶ *Atlas Apollonia*, 212-214; FOLLAIN 2015, 180-191.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 180-186.

⁴⁸ Only four limestone bases from the monument are preserved (*Atlas Apollonia*, 214).

⁴⁹ It is oriented differently from the other buildings, mainly obstructing the view of the monument of the *agonothetes*, the *odeion* and the *sacellum* (*Atlas Apollonia*, 214).

⁵⁰ FOLLAIN 2015, 144-178.

⁵¹ DENIAUX 1999; *Atlas Apollonia*, 215.

⁵² Perhaps a consequence of the «*furia distruttiva dei cristiani*» largely attested in the Mediterranean world (GASPERINI 1999, 177-178).

⁵³ *Atlas Apollonia*, 113, fig. 27-28. More togates were also found in the so-called *prytaneion*, the building backing the *agonothecion* (ÇEKA 2005, 48; FOLLAIN 2015, 220).

⁵⁴ *Atlas Apollonia*, 113, fig. 29. Similar to the portrait of Marcus Aurelius from the Roman forum, now in Rome at Museo Capitolino (KLEINER 1992, 272, fig. 238).

⁵⁵ *Atlas Apollonia*, 115, fig. 31.

⁵⁶ Similar to a portrait of Vibia Matidia now preserved in Rome at Museo Capitolino (KLEINER 1992, 180 fig. 149).

⁵⁷ *Atlas Apollonia*, 115, fig. 32. Similar portraits of Hadrian in Rome: KLEINER 1992, 239-240, figs. 202-204.

⁵⁸ *Atlas Apollonia*, 115, fig. 33.

⁵⁹ KLEINER 1992, 324 fig. 287.

⁶⁰ SESTIERI 1942, 4, fig. 1; *Atlas Apollonia*, 116.

⁶¹ SESTIERI 1942, 4; *Atlas Apollonia*, 116, fig. 34. On Faustina portraits KLEINER 1992, 277-280.

⁶² *Atlas Apollonia*, 116.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 116-117, 290-300, figs. 193, 196, 36, 37.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 117, fig. 38.

⁶⁵ In two cases inscriptions were found *in situ* (*I. Apollonia* 187, 270; cfr. *Atlas Apollonia*, 79).

⁶⁶ *I. Apollonia* 181.

⁶⁷ Chaniotis (*SEG XLVII.843*) observes that the nominative suggests that the building was offered by the emperor himself, contradicting Cabanes, who interprets the text as an honorary inscription (*I. Apollonia* 181).

It is reasonable to assume that the inscription is related to a structure built as a the euergetic act by the emperor.

Other texts, dating between the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century AD, although rather fragmentary and out of context, can be classified as pertaining to a place where emperor(s) were honoured and worshipped⁶⁸, as in the case of the second century AD inscription on a limestone block in which the emperor Antoninus is associated with Zeus Olympius⁶⁹:

Αὐτοκράτο[ρι]/ Ἀντωνείνωι/ Ὀλυμπίω

To sum up, the *monumental centre* at Apollonia was a special space within the civic landscape where the Apollonians showed their devotion and loyalty to the ruler⁷⁰, where the presence of the sovereign materialised itself and the emperor and his family were worshipped. In this sense, the erection of a monumental arch by Caracalla, in the middle of the square, makes sense.

Leaving aside the debatable piece of evidence dating to Augustan times⁷¹, mentioned at the beginning, it should be pointed out that the area began to be monumentalized or changed its function at least in the first half of the 2nd century AD, at the time of Trajan and Hadrian. These interventions should be connected to the creation of the province of Epirus at the beginning of the 2nd century AD⁷², likely under Trajan.

The re-functionalization of these spaces was, on the one hand, promoted by the emperors, wishing to affirm their power over these communities, on the other, it was stimulated by the local élite⁷³, who played a crucial role in the assertion and dissemination of imperial worship. The central authority relied, since the very beginning, on local aristocracies to affirm and consolidate its authority. The upper echelons of society, being appointed as priests (*archiereis*, *flamines* and *Augustales*) and *agonothetes*, engaged in the organization and financial management of festivals, could make the most of these duties, having the chance to show off their power and wealth, to establish their primacy within the community and to manifest their loyalty towards the emperor. These euergetic acts were, not the least, also a challenge for the other communities of the regions.

jessica.piccinini@unimc.it
Università degli Studi di Macerata

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atlas Apollonia = V. DIMO - P. LENHARDT - F. QUANTIN (éd.), *Apollonia d'Illyrie. 1. Atlas archéologique et historique*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 391, Athènes-Rome 2007.

CIA = S. ANAMALI - H. CEKA - É. DENIAUX, *Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie*, Rome 2009.

I. Apollonia = P. Cabanes - N. Ceka, *Corpus des Inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire. I. Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia. 2. Apollonia*, Paris 1997.

LLA = U. EHMIG - R. HAENSCH, *Die lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien*, Bonn 2012.

ALCOCK S.E. 2001, «The Reconfiguration of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire», S.E. Alcock - T.A. D'altroy - K.D.

Morrison - S.M. Sinopoli (eds.), *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Cambridge, 323-350.

ALCOCK S.E. 2002, *Archaeology of the Greek Past Landscape, Monuments and Memory*, Cambridge.

BURDEN J.C. 1999, *Athens Remade in the Age of Augustus. A Study of Architects and Craftsmen at Work*, Berkeley.

CABANES P. 1976, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine (272-167)*, Paris.

CABANES P. 2004, «L'évergétisme à l'Apollonia d'Illyrie et à Dyrrachium à l'époque romaine», M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni - L. Lamoine - F. Trément (éd.), *Autocélébration des élites locales dans le monde romain. Contexte, tectis, images (II^e s. av.-C.-III^e s. ap. J.-C.)*, Clermont-Ferrand, 121-128.

⁶⁸ a) Inscription in honour of Septimus Severus from a fragmentary marble block inscribed on both sides, found near the *bouleuterion* and dating between 193 and 211 AD (*I. Apollonia* 270):

face a [Σεπτίμ]ω Σεβήρ[ω]; face b: [— — —] Σεβασ[τῶ — — —]/ [— — — — — — — — —];

b) Inscription on a marble altar dating between 193 and 211 AD (*I. Apollonia* 271): [Σ]εβήρω Σεβ(αστῶ) / ἀνεικήτω ☩/ Αὐτοκράτορι/ εὐτυχῶς;

c) Inscription in honor of the emperor Elagabalos, later erased (*SEG* XLVII, 843), on a marble block (*I. Apollonia* 269). It dates between 218 and 222 AD: [ὑπέρ]Αὐτοκράτορος/ [Καίσαρ]ος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου[ν]/ [Ἀντ]ωνείνου Εὐτυ[χ]οῦς/ [Εὐ]σεβοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ, ἡ πόλις;

d) Fragmentary limestone inscription from a monument in honour of Gordian III dating to 239 AD (*I. Apollonia* 272): Αὐτοκράτορι/ Καίσα[ρι] Μάρκω/ Ἀντω[ν]ίω Γορδι[αν]ῶ/ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβαστῶ/ ἀρχιερέιμεγίστωι/ δημοαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας/ τὸ β, ὑπ[ά]τω, [π(ατρι)] π(ατρίδος).

⁶⁹ *I. Apollonia* 185.

⁷⁰ At Apollonia, as at Dyrrachium (*LLA* 69 = *CIA* 61), two brothers hold an office connected with the imperial cult.

⁷¹ See *supra*, fn. 24.

⁷² *PTOL. Geogr.* III.14.

⁷³ *PALLI et alii* 2016.

- CABANES P. 2011, «Le Mécanisme d'Anticythère, les Naa de Dodone et le calendrier épirote», *Tekmeria* 10, 249-260.
- CAMIA F. 2009, «Imperatori romani tra gli dei greci: riflessioni sull'associazione tra culto imperiale e culti tradizionali in Grecia a partire dalla documentazione epigrafica», F. Camia - S. Privitera (a cura di), Obeloi. *Contatti, scambi e valori nel Mediterraneo antico. Studi offerti a Nicola Parise* (TEKMERIA 11), Paestum-Atene, 205-222.
- CAMIA F. 2011, Theoi Sebastoi. *Il culto degli imperatori romani in Grecia (provincia Achaia nel secondo secolo d.C.)* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 65), Atene.
- CAMIA F. 2017, «La titolatura dei sacerdoti del culto imperiale in Grecia: terminologia ed evoluzione», *Historiká* 7, 451-489.
- CAMIA F. - KANTIRÉA M. 2010, «The Imperial Cult in the Peloponnese», A.D. Rizakis - C. Lepenioti (eds.), *Roman Peloponnese III. Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire. Continuity and Innovation* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 63), Athens, 375-406.
- CARTLEDGE P. - SPAWFORTH A. 2002, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A Tale of Two Cities*, London.
- ÇEKA N. 2005, *Apollonia. Its History and Monuments*, Tiranë.
- CHANOTIS A. 2003, «Livia Sebaste, Iulia Sebaste, Caius Caesar Parthikos, Domitian Anikētos Theos. Inofficial Titles of Emperors in the Early Principate», *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43, 341-344.
- CRISTOFORI A. 2011, «Le occupazioni nell'epigrafia dell'Epiro e dell'Iliria meridionale in età romana», G. De Sensi Sestito - M. Intrieri (a cura di), *Sulla rotta per la Sicilia: l'Epiro, Corcira e l'Occidente*, Pisa, 133-172.
- DENIAUX É. 1999, «La traversée de l'Adriatique à l'époque des guerres civiles: liberté et contrôle: Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus et le canal d'Otrante (40-42 av. J.-C.)», P. Cabanes (éd.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité III, Actes du III^e colloque de Chantilly* (Chantilly, 16-19 octobre 1996), Paris, 249-254.
- DICKENSON C. P. 2011, «The Agora as Political Centre in the Roman Period», A. Giannikouri (ed.), *The Agora in the Mediterranean from Homeric to Roman times* (Kos, 14-17 April 2011), Athens.
- DICKENSON C. P. 2017, *On the Agora. The Evolution of a Public Space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece (c. 323 BC-267 AD)*, *Mnemosyne. History and archaeology of classical antiquity* Suppl. 398, Leiden-Boston.
- DUCROS M. 2018, «Organisation et importances des combats de gladiateurs dans les régions nord-égéennes: Macédoine, Thrace, Thasos», J. Fournier - M.G. G. Parissaki (éd.), *Les communautés du nord Égéen au temps de l'hégémonie romaine. Entre ruptures et continuité* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 77), Athènes, 341-356.
- EVANGELIDIS V. 2014, «Agora and Fora: Developments in the Central Public Space of the Cities of Greece during the Roman period», *BSA* 109, 335-56.
- FIEDLER M. - VON HESBERG H. 2012/13, «Apollonia (Albanien) in der Zeit des Hellenismus. Eine Stadt zwischen italischem Westem und griechischem Osten», *AM* 127/128, 213-258.
- FITZ J. 1995, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit IV*, Budapest.
- FOLLAIN E. 2015, *Le centre monumental romain d'Apollonie d'Illyrie. Images de synthèse et paysage urbain*, Autun.
- FOLLAIN E. 2018, «Les aménagements et les occupations tardives du centre monumental romain d'Apollonia d'Illyrie: un rendez-vous manqué», J.-L. Lamboley - L. Përzhita - A. Skenderaj (éd.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité VI, Actes du Vie colloque international* (Tirana, 20-23 mai 2015), Paris, 377-387.
- FRIJA G. 2012, *Les Pretres des empereurs. Le culte impérial civique dans la province romaine d'Asie*, Rennes.
- GASPERINI L. 1999, «Considerazioni sull'arredo epigrafico e scultoreo degli Augustei di età primo-imperiale in Italia», J. González (ed.), *Ciudades privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano, Actas del congreso internacional* (Sevilla, 26-30 novembre 1996), Sevilla, 177-185.
- GILKES O. 2013, *Albania. An Archaeological Guide*, London.
- GROS P. 1996, *L'architecture romaine: du début du III^e siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire*, Paris.
- GROS P. - TORELLI M. 1988, *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il mondo romano*, Roma-Bari.
- HILLIER B. - HANSON J. 1984, *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge.
- HOEPFNER W. 2006, «Die griechische Agora um Überblick», W. Hoefner - L. Lehmann (Hrsg.), *Die griechische Agora. Bericht über ein Kolloquium* (Berlin, 16. März 2003), Mainz, 1-28.
- KANTIRÉA M. 2007, *Les dieux Augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens. Études épigraphiques et archéologiques* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 50), Athènes.
- KLEINER D. E. 1992, *Roman Sculpture*, Yale.
- MAGIE D. 1905, De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnis in Graecum sermonem conversis, Leipzig.
- MANN J.C. 1983, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate*, London.
- MARIN E. 2001, «The temple of the imperial cult (Augusteum) at Narona and its statues: an interim report», *JRA* 14, 80-112.
- MASON H.J. 1974, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis*, Toronto.
- MELFI M. - PICCININI J. 2012, «Geografia storica del territorio di Hadrianopolis nella valle del Drino (V sec. a.C.-44 a.C.)», R. Perna - D. Çondi (a cura di), *Hadrianopolis II*, Bari, 37-65.
- MOUSTAKIS N. 2006, *Heiligtümer als politische Zentren. Untersuchungen zu den multidimensionalen Wirkungsgebieten von polisübergreifenden Heiligtümern im antiken Epirus* (QUELLEN UND FORSCHUNGEN ZUR ANTIKEN WELT 48), Munich.
- PALLI O. - RIGINOS G. - LAMPROU V. 2016, «Local elites in West Roman Greece. The Evidence from Thesprotia and Preveza», R. Varga V. Rusu-Bolindeț (eds.), *Official Power and Local Elites in the Roman Provinces*, London, 1-21.
- QUANTIN F. 2011, «L'Aguieus d'Apollon à Apollonia d'Illyrie», J.-L. Lamboley - M. P. Castiglioni (éd.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité V, Greonoble* (Grenoble 8-11 octobre 2008), Paris 215-231.
- REY L. 1928, «Fouilles de la mission française à Apollonie d'Illyrie (1926-1927)», *Albania. Revue d'archéologie, d'histoire, d'art et des sciences appliquées en Albanie et dans les Balkans* 3, 13-31.
- REY L. 1939, «Fouilles de la Mission française à Apollonie d'Illyrie: I, l'odéon; II, le sanctuaire; III, le musée archéologique de Valona», *Albania. Revue d'archéologie, d'histoire, d'art et des sciences appliquées en Albanie et dans les Balkans* 6, 5-15.

- RIZAKIS A.D. 1996, «Les colonies romaines des côtes occidentales grecques. Populations et territoires», *DHA* 22.1, 255-324.
- ROBERT L. 1940, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Paris.
- SCHMID S.G. 2001, «Worshipping the emperor(s): a new temple of the imperial cult at Eretria and the ancient destruction of its statues», *JRA* 14, 113-42.
- SESTIERI P. C. 1942, «Sculpture romane rinvenute in Albania», *Bollettino del museo dell'impero romano* 13, 3-7.
- SHEAR JR. T.L. 1981, «Athens. From City-State to Provincial Town», *Hesperia* 50, 356-377.
- SHPUZA S. 2016, *La romanisation de l'Illyrie méridionale et de la Chaônie*, Rome.
- SIEHLORST B. 2015, *Hellenistische Agorai: Gestaltung, Rezeption und Semantik eines urbanen Raumes. Urban Spaces* 3, Berlin-München-Boston.
- THOMAS E. 2007, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire. Architecture and the Antonine Age*, Oxford.
- WALKER S. 1997, «Athens under Augustus», M.C. Hoff - S.I. Rotroff (eds.), *The Romanization of Athens, Proceedings of an International Conference* (Lincoln, Nebraska, April 1996), Oxford, 67-80.
- ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΔΗΣ Β. 2007, *Η αγορά των πόλεων της Ελλάδας από τη ρωμαϊκή κατάκτηση ως τον 3^ο αι. μ.Χ.*, Θεσσαλονίκης.

ANNVARIO
della
SCUOLA
ARCHEOLOGICA
DI ATENE
e delle
MISSIONI
ITALIANE
IN ORIENTE

VOLUME 97
2019



€ 100,00

ISSN 0067-0081 (cartaceo)
ISSN 2585-2418 (on-line)