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light of a shared 8-man tent: it would be more logical to assume that these bundles are the personal kit of each legionary soldier.

The identification of the water skins on Trajan's Column means that the soldiers in the departure scene are carrying short rations of food and water, not their full baggage. Perhaps the stake and its associated equipment can be understood as a visual device to denote a quick forced march, reinforcing the idea of a hasty summons to appear before the emperor (who is visible in the following scene), rather than a review of troops. A general call of troops, followed by the delivery of the emperor's orders to invade Dacia, would explain why sacrifices were performed after the legions had arrived at the first fort, and not at the departure.

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The Roman forum at Butrint (Epirus) and its development from Hellenistic to mediaeval times

David R. Hernandez and Dhimitër Çondi

Butrint (*Buthrotum, Bouthrotos*) lies on a headland (area *c.*16 ha) at the mouth of a lagoon (Lake Butrint) that is linked to the Ionian Sea via a short navigable waterway, the Vivari Channel (fig. 1). Occupying a favorable position on the rugged Epirote coast, Butrint prospered as a seaport on the E–W maritime trade routes. In 1928, the Italian Archaeological Mission, directed by L. M. Ugolini, began excavations, revealing the Hellenistic theater and other monuments surrounding the sanctuary of Asclepius.[1] His excavations, sponsored by the Italian government, sought to promote a relationship between ancient Rome and Butrint based upon Aeneas' legendary visit to the latter, which is described as a 'parva Troia' in the *Aeneid*, and on the material culture related to the Roman colony of *Buthrotum*.[2] One of our project goals was to re-assess the archaeology of the urban center, following almost 70 years of intermittent excavations, by recovering a diachronic stratified depositional sequence to elucidate the Hellenistic, Roman, and mediaeval phases of urbanization. Because little was known about the archaeology and topography of the Roman colony, we sought to locate the Roman forum, which the Butrint Foundation hypothesized fronted the tripartite building near the theater (fig. 2).[3] The excavations (2004-7) have recovered an extensive archaeological record. Although the results are still preliminary, they imply a significant re-assessment of the chronology and topography of Hellenistic and Roman Butrint. The first part of this article re-examines the Hellenistic monuments of the urban center in light of the present excavations. We propose a new phasing scheme and consider historical factors that may have contributed to the urban transformation of Hellenistic Butrint. The second part explores the archaeology and topography of the Roman forum and its associated buildings. We discuss the construction of the forum in relation to the Roman colony and trace the forum's development and eventual abandonment.

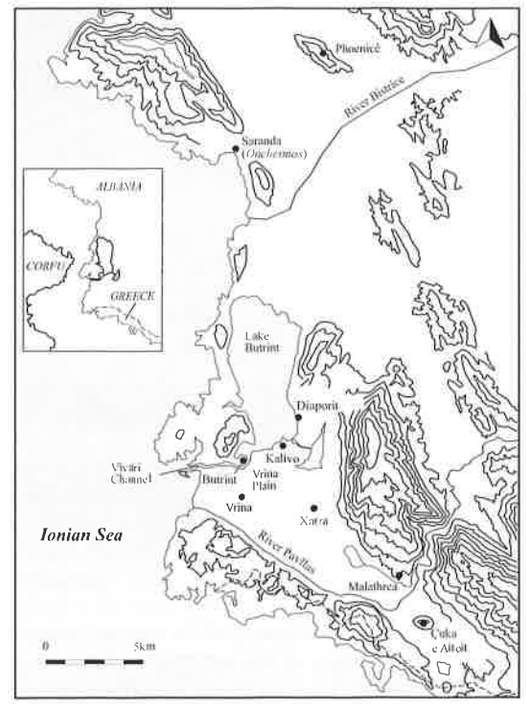

Fig. 1. Butrint and its region.

The topography and chronology of the Hellenistic sanctuary of Asclepius (fig. 3)

The theater has been thought to date either to the 4th or 3rd c. B.C.[4] Following Ugolini, scholars have also assigned an early date (between the 4th and 3rd c. B.C.) to the temple above

1 Ugolini 1935; 1937; 1942; 2003.
2 Verg., *Aen.* 3.292-505; Ov., *Met.* 13.719-23; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.51. See Hansen 2007, 44-61; Gilkes 2003a, 15-18; Bowden 2003, 28. For Ugolini's finds related to the Roman colony, see Bergemann 1998.
3 Hodges *et al.* 1997, 215-16; Martin 2004, 86-87. For an overview of Butrint, see Hodges 2006.
4 Ugolini (1937, 135) dated the theater to a "periodo classico", which is thought to refer to the 4th c. B.C. Budina (1988, 71) and Wilkes (2003, 166) propose a date in the 3rd c. B.C.

Fig. 2. The tripartite building.

the theater, on the basis of its unique masonry technique.[5] The temple is set on a rock-cut temenos on the slope of the acropolis.[6] Because the theater's upper *cavea* respects this temenos, the theater either post-dates or is contemporary with the temenos.[7] The temple stylobate, made of dressed ashlar blocks attached by lead clamps, has delta-shaped lifting bosses along its lowest course.[8] This masonry technique is the same as that of the south stoa (Building 2.A), recently discovered, and represents a distinct type that is rarely encountered in Butrint or more generally in Epirus. Pottery from stratified deposits below the foundation stones of the south stoa (see below) indicates that the building cannot date earlier than the 2nd c. B.C. In light of this, it is more likely that the temple above the theater dates to the 2nd c. B.C. This same masonry style and building technique is visible on two parts of the theater.[9] The lowest course of the *cavea* beneath the seats is similar to the architecture of the south stoa.[10] Spolia in the foundations of the Roman *scaenae frons* are identical to the masonry of the south stoa: dowel-holes and delta-shaped lifting bosses are identical in shape.[11] The distinct masonry type suggests that the spolia derive from the original construction of the theater. On the basis of the date of the south stoa, we propose an (early) 2nd c. B.C. date for the theater.

This date has been substantianted recently by the date of the Greek inscriptions engraved on the theater.[12] On the second row of seats, a dedicatory inscription commemorates the construc-

5 The temple was excavated by Ugolini (1937, 122-23, figs. 71-72). Budina (1988, 61) dates the temple to the 4th, Baçe (1984, 24-25) to the 3rd c. B.C.

6 For the location and architecture of the temple, see Pani 1988, 31, fig. 14.

7 Wilkes 2003, 166-67.

8 Pani 1988, 32; Budina 1988, 61.

9 Budina 1988, 61.

10 The lifting bosses beneath the seats were re-worked into lion heads: Ugolini 2003, 90, figs. 6.31, 6.34.

11 For photographs of the *scaenae frons* showing this masonry, see Ugolini 1935, 85; 2003, 96, figs. 6.53-56.

12 Cabanes and Drini 2007, 71-125, 289-316. For the theater inscriptions, see also Bozhori and Budina 1966, 143-91; Cabanes 1974, 105-209; id. 1976, 386-477.

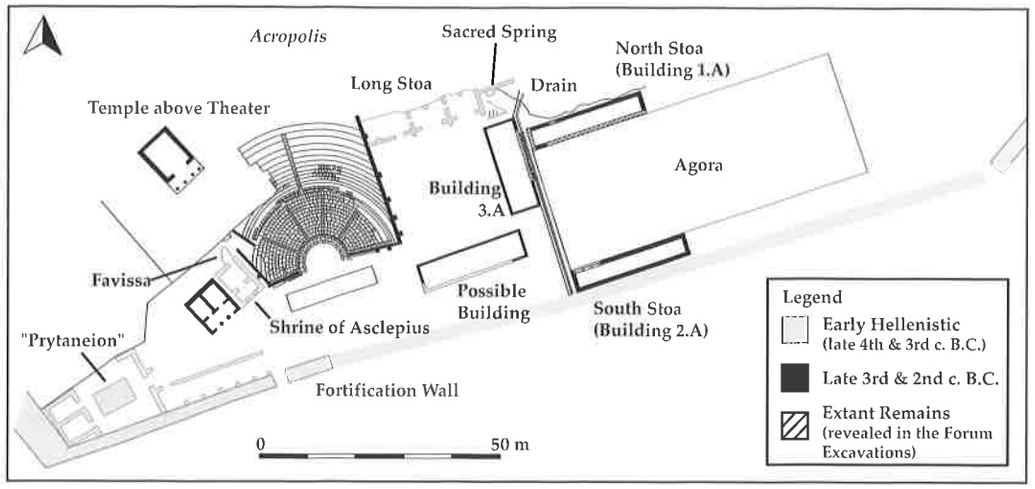

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of Hellenistic Butrint in the 2nd c. B.C.

tion of the theater: 'from the public revenues of the god [Asclepius].'[13] P. Cabanes and F. Drini show that the inscription dates to the Epirote Republican Period (232-168 B.C.), arguing that it dates to the 2nd c. but earlier than 168 B.C.[14] Fifty-six inscriptions on the W *parodos* and *diazoma* consist of annual acts of manumission, listing the names of freed slaves, magistrates, and priests of Asclepius.[15] All the manumission inscriptions engraved on the theater post-date 163 B.C., when *Bouthrotos* gained autonomy and became capital of the *koinon* of the Praesebes, controlling a large fertile plain extending to Konispol.[16] This date for the theater is also supported by excavations at Phoenice, the capital of Chaonia,[17] where stratified deposits show that the earliest architecture of the theater dates to the late 3rd or 2nd c. B.C.[18]

The long stoa, which dates to the 4th or 3rd c. B.C., was truncated on its W side when the theater was constructed.[19] G. Pani suggests that the building served as an *abaton* for ritualistic incubation where worshippers received dreams from Asclepius prior to treatment.[20] The shrine of Asclepius, dating to the 4th or 3rd c., takes the form of a temple *in antis* with *cella* and *pronaos*.[21] The rear of the shrine contains a *favissa*, a chamber built around a small natural grotto that was found replete with votive offerings to Asclepius.[22] The *favissa* (which Ugolini

13 Ugolini 2003, 89; Cabanes and Drini 2007, 71-72, n.7.

14 Cabanes and Drini ibid. and 289. Constructing absolute and relative chronologies for the Greek inscriptions of *Bouthrotos* based on named magistrates and priests, Cabanes and Drini demonstrate that the dedicatory inscription of the theater probably dates to the (early) 2nd c. B.C. On the Epirote Republic, see Hammond 1967, 595-635; Cabanes 1976, 198-396.

15 Cabanes and Drini 2007, 79-125. A few inscriptions include the names of priests of Zeus Soter.

16 The precise date when the *koinon* of the Praesebes became independent is now thought to be between 163 and 158 B.C.: Drini 1984, 104-6; Cabanes and Drini 2007, 64 and 290. Cabanes (1996, 378-79) previously favored a date between 170 and 168 B.C.

17 For a synthesis of the current results at Butrint and Phoenice, see Giorgi *et al.* 2007.

18 Villicich 2005, 67-68; 2007, 71; Giannotti 2005, 82-84. Although the Hellenistic architecture of the theater at Phoenice dates to the late 3rd or 2nd c. B.C., the excavators believe that there may have been an earlier theater built by Pyrrhus in the early 3rd c.

19 Budina 1988, 58; Pani 2001, 18, n.16; Wilkes 2003, 166-67, figs. 6.35-40. The building was first excavated by Ugolini (1937, 123-25, fig. 73).

20 Pani 2001, 19; Melfi 2007, 23-24.

21 Ugolini 1942, 104-8. The temple is often dated to the 4th c. B.C.: Pani 2001, 16; Wilkes 2003, 166; Martin 2004, 82. A 3rd-c. date is also possible: Budina 1988, 63; Baçe 1984, 21. Melfi (2007, 22-23) interprets the building as a treasury. Because the location and form of the building were determined by a spring, integrated into the building as a *favissa*, we retain the identification as a shrine.

22 Ugolini 1937, 152-57; 1942, 91-146. The *stipe votiva* contained nearly 340 dedications.

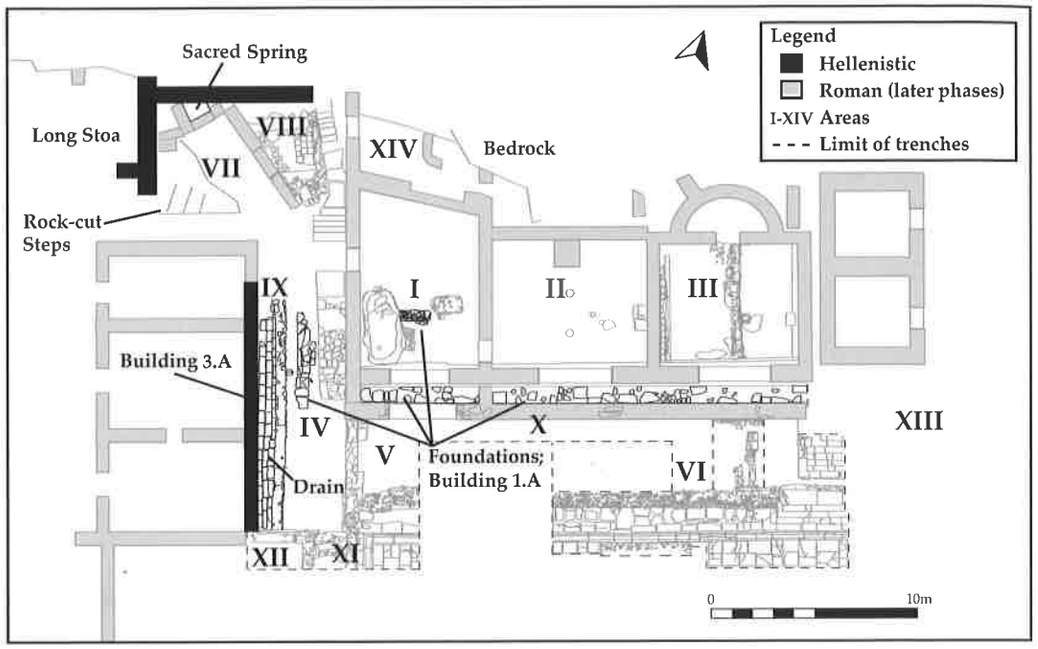

Fig. 4. Hellenistic phase of the tripartite building complex (Areas I-XIV).

thought dated to the prehistoric period) probably served as the primary source of healing water for the sanctuary.[23] Our investigation of the sacred spring in 2006 revealed a subterranean fissure in the bedrock that appears to run along the S foot of the acropolis. It is possible that the *favissa* tapped into the water of this fissure, which may form the basis for the original development of the sanctuary of Asclepius.

The Hellenistic complex: archaeological evidence

The north stoa (Building 1.A) (figs. 3-4)

At the S foot of the acropolis, the foundations of the N wall of Building 1.A appeared in Area I. Previous excavations exposed the S and W sides of the building, made of large grey rabbeted ashlar blocks.[24] The three extant walls reveal the building's form (*c*.25.5 x 4.5 m), which we identify as a stoa. Its construction deposits yielded 5 coins, the latest being a drachma minted in Corcyra with a *terminus post quem* of 229 B.C. The ceramic assemblages from construction deposits belong to the 3rd c. B.C. Building 1.A probably dates to the early 2nd c., although a date at the end of the 3rd is possible.

The south stoa (Building 2.A) (figs. 3, 5-6)

Excavation in Area XV revealed a 6-m length of stylobate of Building 2.A, two steps of limestone blocks set above limestone foundations joined by lead clamps. Four circular cut marks are the impressions of columns, each containing a central dowel-hole and a lead spillover channel. The columns were 0.58 m in diameter, spaced regularly at 1.81 m. Because the column diameter and the size and shape of the dowel-holes are identical to those of the granite column fragments now seen near the Roman fountain, it is probable that the same type of granite columns rested on the stylobate of Building 2.A. The N faces of the two steps are decorated with delta-shaped lifting bosses. The lifting bosses are spaced at intervals (0.90 m) that coincide precisely with the spacing of the columns. The form of building 2.A with its two-step stylo-

23 Ugolini 1942, 100.

24 The site was first excavated by S. Islami in 1982 and later (1990-91) by Dh. Çondi. Much of the excavated evidence is lost as a result of the looting of the archaeological stores during Albania's civil turmoil in 1997. For a brief description of the excavations, see Çondi 1990, 264-65.

Fig. 5. View of the SW corner of the Roman forum (Area XV).

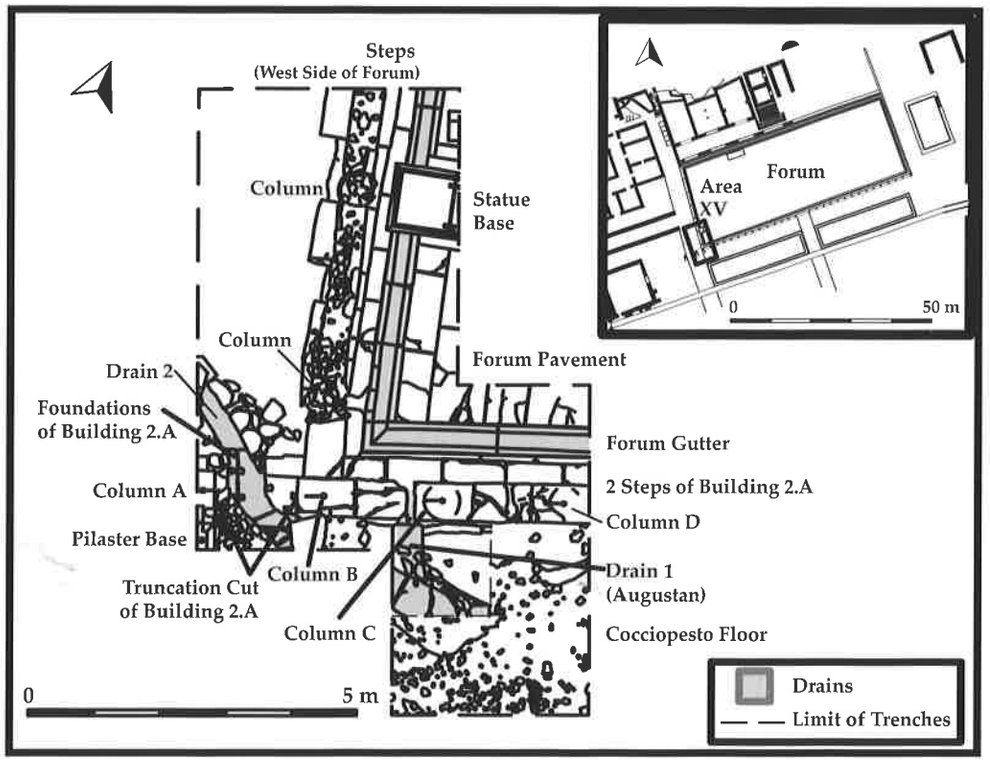

Fig. 6. Plan of the SW corner of the Roman forum (Area XV).

Fig. 7. The sacred spring, triangular room, and steps to the acropolis (Areas VII and VIII).

bate suggests a stoa. Excavation below the foundation stones recovered imports from Campania and Megara that date the building to the 2nd c. B.C.

Building 3.A and a drain (fig. 4)

Excavation in Area IX exposed an open drain (12 m in length) consisting of downward-pitched flagstones. A wall of ashlar masonry (Building 3.A), 4 courses high and 10.4 m long, sits next to the drain's W side. Its technique is similar to that of Building 1.A (north stoa). The drain and Building 3.A appear to be an integral construction and contemporary with the north stoa, dating to the late 3rd or more probably the 2nd c. B.C. The drain would have redirected water running down from the acropolis away from the north stoa.

The sacred spring (figs. 4, 7)

Adjacent to the north stoa, a grotto (4 m deep), utilizing a fissure in the bedrock, created a natural spring.[25] Because its back wall (ashlar blocks) is keyed into the long stoa, which predates the theater, the spring will have been in use by at least the 3rd c., serving as part of the sanctuary of Asclepius. In the Roman period, the spring was adorned with a marble parapet set between two large limestone blocks. Deep grooves along the top of the marble parapet were created by ropes as water was drawn from the spring. The Roman reconstruction uses spolia that also feature rope marks, suggesting that the block was part of the Hellenistic parapet.

The topography and phasing of Hellenistic Butrint (fig. 3)

Based on the evidence outlined above, we propose the following phasing of the Hellenistic urban center. The earliest phase (late 4th or 3rd c.) included the shrine of Asclepius, the long stoa, and the sacred spring (and perhaps also the 'prytaneion').[26] The area between the shrine

25 The spring was discovered in excavations of 1982; Budina 1988, 58-60, pl. 9.

26 The 'prytaneion' was excavated by Budina and remains unpublished. Pani (2001, 21) assigns a 3rd-c. date to its earliest phase.

of Asclepius and the sacred spring may have served as the *temenos* of Asclepius. With the exception of a few residual sherds possibly dating as early as the 5th c., no traces of this phase were recovered in the area of our excavations.[27]

Large-scale changes to the urban center occurred in the 2nd c. with the construction of the theater, the temple above it, and Buildings 1.A, 2.A, and 3.A. The healing rituals may have taken place in the *abaton* (long stoa) and in other buildings (e.g., Building 3.A) surrounding a small delimited space that gave access to the spring. South of this delimited space are two parallel (but quite different) courses of foundations, one of which might have been part of a Hellenistic building.[28] The urban center also appears to have expanded eastward. The two new stoas (Buildings 1.A and 2.A) defined an open space that in all likelihood was the agora (26.5 m N–S, an estimated 40-60 m E–W), not least because this area later became the forum of the Roman town. The development of Hellenistic Butrint in the 2nd c. reflects an urbanization program that emanated from a sanctuary.

Hellenistic Butrint and Epirus: historical considerations

The prosperity of Butrint in the 2nd c. B.C., shown by the architectural developments and by the preponderance of 2nd and 1st c. B.C. pottery, may have been connected to a sudden change in the dynamics of Epirote maritime trade. In the 3rd c., a burgeoning trade network passing through Epirus from the E Aegean to Sicily and Italy[29] benefitted the coastal sites of Epirus, especially those in the south around the Ambracian Gulf, which was often under the control of the powerful *koinon* of the Molossians. This pattern of trade changed abruptly in 170 with the disintegration of the Epirote League during the Third Macedonian War, when the Chaonians and Thesprotians allied with Rome, while the Molossians allied with Macedonia.[30] After the defeat of the Macedonians at Pydna, a *senatus consultum* of 167 ordered the victorious consul, Aemilius Paullus, to plunder the Molossian kingdom.[31] He enslaved 150,000 Molossians and razed 70 cities to the ground.[32]

The impact of the destruction of the Molossians on the economic development of N Epirus has generally been overlooked.[33] N. G. L. Hammond pointed out that "the area which gained most from Rome's settlement was northern Epirus".[34] Indeed, the leader of the pro-Roman faction of Chaonia, Charops, possibly spearheaded Roman policy to plunder Molossia.[35] The annihilation of the Molossians must have brought about a shift in trade, to the advantage of Epirus' northern coastal sites. After the collapse of Molossian exports and the elimination of perhaps their greatest economic competitor, Butrint and Corcyra will have witnessed an increase in ships coming to port in their harbors and in demand for goods. In 1977, 104 manumission inscriptions were discovered re-used as spolia in the tower of inscriptions at Butrint: all

27 Although we excavated more than 1 m below the water-table with the help of pumps, we did not reach natural deposits in most of the trenches (except Areas I-III).

28 The building is unpublished. The two parallel foundations are not of the same masonry and do not appear to be contemporary. The S line, which is probably Hellenistic, is faced on both sides and has a return for the W limit of the building. The N line, which is faced only on the S side, may have served as a colonnaded road in the Roman period, as suggested by Pani (2001, 25).

29 Hammond 1967, 579-80 and 587-90.

30 Several Thesprotian cities also allied with Macedonia: Hammond 1967, 628; Cabanes 1996, 378-79.

31 Polyb. 30.15 (the primary source for this event); Livy 45.34.5; Strabo 7.7.3; Plut., *Paul.* 29.4.

32 Strabo (7.7.9) describes Epirus as 'desolate'. For the extent of the destruction, see Hammond 1967, 634-35 and 686-90. Recent research has shown that, although central and southern Epirus may not have been 'desolate' after the plunder of Molossia, the area was relatively impoverished until the time of Augustus, lacking many of its formal urban centers: Isager 2001, 17-27; Gravani 2007, 101-22; Riginos 2007, 163-73.

33 Ziolkowski (1986, 69-80) considers the economic implications from the point of view of Rome, arguing that the primary motivation for the destruction of Molossia was the acquisition of slaves; he considers this event to be "the greatest slave-hunting operation in the history of Rome".

34 Hammond 1967, 688.

35 Scullard 1945, 60-64; Cabanes 1976, 15 and 304-5.

but 4 post-date 163 B.C.[36] Many record the liberation of slaves by individuals (rather than the annual groups recorded on the theater inscriptions). This points to increased slave ownership in this period. The catalogue of 219 Greek inscriptions from Butrint by P. Cabanes and F. Drini indicates that the earliest inscriptions date to the first quarter of the 2nd c. and that most date between 160 and 100 B.C.[37] The spike in the number of manumissions in the second half of the 2nd c. signals the town's burgeoning wealth and a substantial increase in the slave population.[38] As Roman allies, the *koina* of N Epirus, including the Praesebes centered at Butrint, may have acquired Molossian slaves, either by purchase or as a share of plunder. After 167, enhanced maritime trade may have contributed to increased prosperity, leading to remodelling of the sanctuary of Asclepius and the construction of the agora.

The Roman colony of *Buthrotum* and the identification of the forum (fig. 8)

Following the assassination of Julius Caesar, Cicero led a vigorous effort to terminate Caesar's decree calling for the Roman colonization of *Buthrotum*; the evidence is given in 26 letters written between April and July 44 B.C.[39] Cicero aimed to protect the interests of T. Pomponius Atticus, who possessed a villa and major landholdings at *Buthrotum*.[40] Ostensibly, *Buthrotum* was scheduled to receive a colony because the city defaulted on taxes, but it was part of a larger colonization program aimed at the coastal sites of the western Balkans.[41] As the executor of Caesar's decrees and plans, Antony was largely in control of the colonization enterprise at *Buthrotum*. In three letters, Cicero impatiently inquires about the outcome of the colonists who had been despatched to *Buthrotum* under the praetor-designate, L. Plancus.[42] Although hoping to divert these settlers elsewhere in Epirus, it is likely that Cicero failed and that the settlers colonized *Buthrotum* in 44.[43] To commemorate the newly founded colony, *Buthrotum* issued coinage, one series having the legend COL(onia) I(ulia) BVT(hrotum).[44] After Actium, Augustus refounded the colony, though whether it was a nominal grant of colonial status alone or included the infusion of additional colonists is unknown. Two series of coins commemorating Augustus's refoundation contain on the obverse his portrait and the legend C(olonia) A(ugusta) BVT(hrotum), and on the reverse the aqueduct of Butrint.[45]

As the hallmark of imperial patronage and executed under the purview of skilled military engineers, the construction of the aqueduct was probably an Augustan benefaction.[46] The series of standing aqueduct piers on the Vrina plain and others inside Butrint show that the aqueduct crossed the Vivari channel and fed the Nymphaeum at the E end of the city. From the Nymphaeum, the aqueduct piers run toward the tower gate, where they start to turn west before terminating at the Hellenistic fortification wall.[47] From that point, the aqueduct, which appears to have been built up against (abutting) the fortification wall, ran westward toward the urban center. Dismantling of the tower of inscriptions revealed bases of aqueduct piers, confirming the aqueduct's course along the fortification wall.[48]

36 Cabanes and Drini 2007, 59 and 125-72. Four inscriptions from the tower date to the Epirote Republican period (232-168 B.C.), probably to the early 2nd c. See also Drini and Budina 1981; Drini 1984.
37 Cabanes and Drini 2007, 289 and 316.
38 Cabanes 1976, 466.
39 Cic., *Att.* 14.10-12, 14, 17, 19-20; 15.2, 4, 12, 14-15, 18-20, 29; 16.1-4, 16A-F.
40 For Atticus and *Buthrotum*, see Deniaux 1975, 283-96; 1987, 247-54. For the possible association of the villa of Atticus with Diaporit, see Bowden and Përzhita 2004, 413-33.
41 Cic., *Att.* 16.16A. For a discussion of the colonization programs of Caesar and Augustus in W Greece and Epirus, see Rizakis 1997, 15-36.
42 Cic., *Att.* 15.29; 16.1, 4.
43 Deniaux 1987, 252. Cicero's conciliatory letter to Atticus (16.3) implicitly shows that Atticus did not achieve his goal and was not ultimately able to prevent the colonization.
44 Burnett *et al.* 1992, 276, n.1379.
45 Burnett *et al.* (1992, 277, nn. 1381-82, 1387-93) identify the 4-arched piers on the coins as a 'bridge', but because the monument is two-tiered, it probably depicts the aqueduct, as Ugolini (1942, 46 and 233) already proposed.
46 For the relationship between imperial benefactions and aqueducts, see Coulton 1987, 72-84. For the aqueduct of Butrint, see Budina 1967, 145-52; Çondi 2000, 211-22. Recent excavations on the Vrina plain have dated the foundations of an aqueduct pier to the Augustan period.
47 The aqueduct piers running from the Nymphaeum into the city appear to be a later phase than those running to the Nymphaeum from the Vrina plain. We thank A. I. Wilson for this observation and for his study of the aqueduct.
48 Çondi 2000, 217.
49 Hernandez 2007, 94-97.
50 Zachos 2007, 285 and 293-95. The date of the aqueduct at Nikopolis is uncertain (it was originally thought to have been built during the foundation of the city by Augustus; recently, a date in the Hadrianic period has been proposed: Doukellis *et al.* 1995, 232-33; Zachos 2007, 273-95).
51 Bescoby 2007, 112-13; Crowson and Gilkes 2007, 121-28.

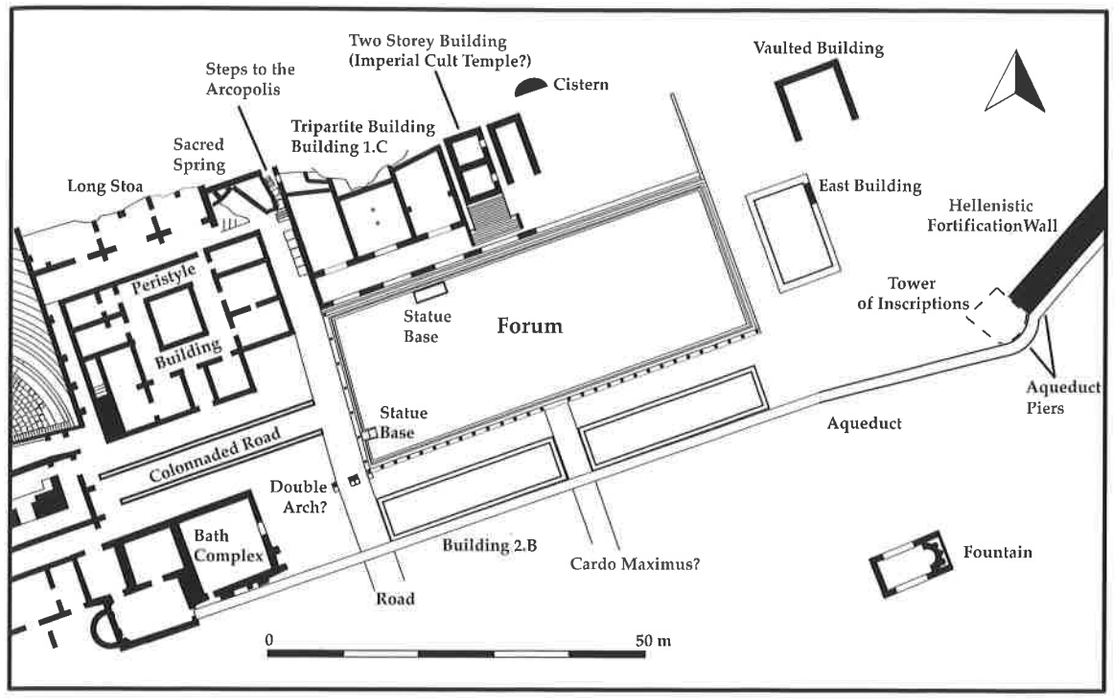

Fig. 8. Reconstruction of the center of Roman Butrint in the 2nd c. A.D.

The discovery in 2005 of the forum pavement and its NW corner showed that the tripartite building fronted the N side of the forum.[49] Postulating that the aqueduct extended from the tower of inscriptions to the bath complex in front of the theater, we surmised that the forum ran E–W and that the Hellenistic fortification wall in this area was demolished to make room for Roman buildings lining the S side of the forum. On this hypothesis, we unearthed in 2007 the SW corner of the forum (Area XV). The discovery of the southern limit of the forum proves that the forum runs E–W and supports our belief that the aqueduct ran along the forum's southern structures. The topographical layout of the urban center suggests that the aqueduct crossed the main S entrance of the forum where the *cardo maximus* probably arrived. Further south at Nikopolis, part of the aqueduct runs above the fortification wall and W gate, where it crosses the *decumanus maximus*.[50] As K. Zachos notes, a similar arrangement existed at Rome, where the *Aqua Claudia* and *Anio Novus* crossed the Porta Maggiore. At Butrint, geomagnetic prospection and excavations of the Roman suburb on the Vrina plain have shown that the centuriation and *actus* alignment of the planned Roman extramural settlement were determined by the course of the aqueduct.[51] Owing to the uncertainty of the date of the aqueduct in the urban center, it is unknown whether the construction and topography of the forum and urban center were determined in part by the line of the aqueduct.

Fig. 9. The forum pavement with steps leading to the two-storey building (Area VI).

The forum pavement (figs. 5, 8-9)

Excavation revealed the white limestone pavers of the Roman forum *in situ*. A limestone gutter around the perimeter of the pavement, serving as part of a drainage system for the surrounding buildings, is integral to it; on the N, S, and W sides, two marble steps lead up from the pavement. The N–S width of the forum is 20.1 m; the E–W length can be estimated from the remains of the E building (excavated in 2004-5 under N. Ceka and D. Çondi).[52] An *opus mixtum* face of that building, seen in the section of a trench, marks the rear of a building fronting the E side of the forum. This means that the pavement's E–W length falls in the range of 52 to 61 m.

Excavations in the general vicinity in 1977 unearthed an honorific inscription to Germanicus of A.D. 12 when he became quinquennial *duovir* of the town;[53] the inscription may have belonged to a monument at the E end of the forum. The excavations revealed two statue bases set directly above the pavement on the perimeter of the forum. In Area VI, a large brick-built podium (l. 4.5 m; h. 2.1 m) may have supported a group of honorific statues. In Area XV, excavation revealed a smaller podium (l. 1.87; w. 1.06; h. 0.47 m) made of fine marble that may have served as a base for an inscription or statue.

The best evidence for the construction of the forum pavement comes from the date of the W steps and from a drain running from room 3 to the forum (see below). The evidence points to an Augustan date for the forum pavement and the large-scale remodeling of the urban center. The basic design, a paved rectangular space with integral gutter, outlined by two steps and a portico, is quite similar to the Roman Market at Corinth and the Roman Agora at Athens.[54]

52 For a preliminary report of these excavations, see Ceka 2006, 177-85.

53 Pollo 1988, 213-15; Deniaux 2007, 35.

54 Scranton (1951, 180-94) dated the Roman market at Corinth to the first half of the 1st c. A.D. Construc-

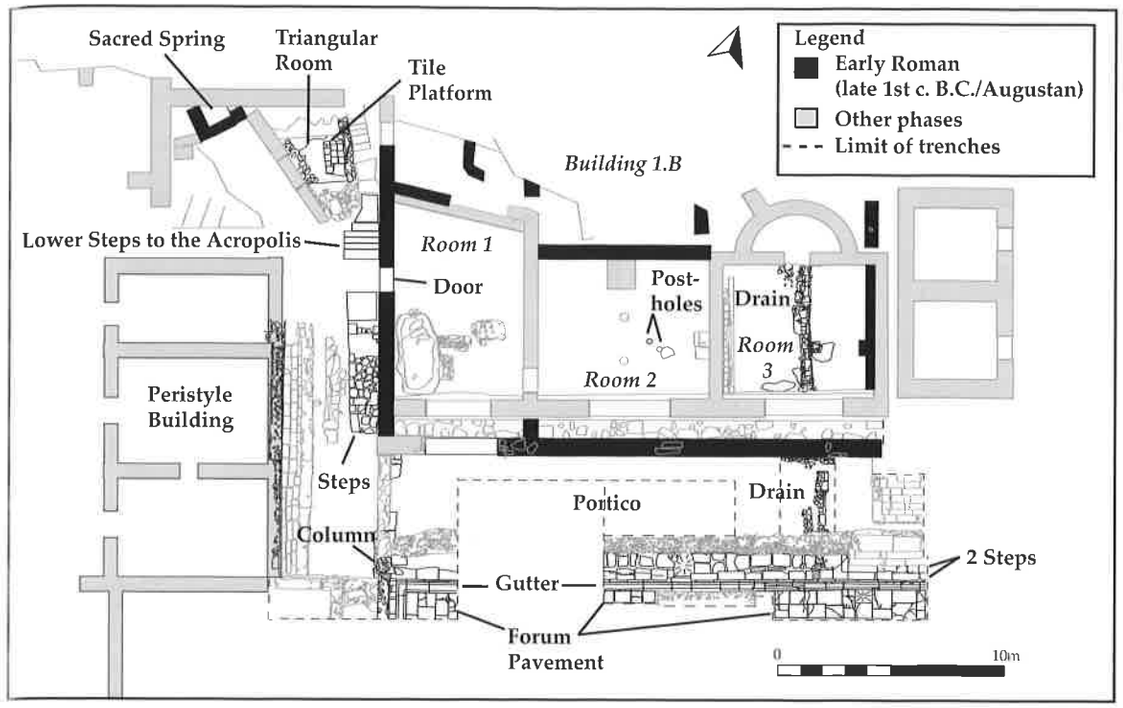

Fig. 10. Plan of the tripartite building complex in the Augustan phase.

The tripartite building

(a) Building 1.B (late 1st c. B.C. or Augustan) (fig. 10)

Demolition of the north stoa (Building 1.A) preceded construction of the tripartite building (1.B) in *opus incertum*. The latter (22.7 x 11.4 m) was divided into three rooms, each of which was entered by a central door facing a portico that led down to the forum. A working surface for the construction of Building 1.B yielded, in addition to traces of stone and metal working, a silver amulet of a *caduceus* and a terracotta fragment of a head probably associated with Bacchus. In room 3, a drain running through an aperture constructed in the foundations of the S wall proves that the drain and S wall are contemporary. The drain terminates at the first marble step, where water drained into the forum gutter. This drain is vital evidence linking Building 1.B, the portico, its two marble steps, and the forum pavement to the same program. The construction deposits contain Hellenistic to Late Republican (Roman) pottery, the latest of which dates to the last half-century B.C. Twenty-nine coins (27 Hellenistic; 1 of *c.*44-20 B.C.; 1 Augustan) were recovered from the working surface and construction deposits. The evidence suggests an Augustan date for the construction of Building 1.B, the portico, the two steps, and the forum pavement.

Although the function of the tripartite building remains unknown, some evidence suggests that the three rooms were Roman temples. Previous excavations revealed an inscription within room 2 in a late antique or early mediaeval floor, re-used as spolia. The inscription commemorates the construction of an *aedes* to Minerva Augusta by M. Otacilius Mystes by decree of the *decuriones*. J. R. Patterson, who dates the inscription to the Augustan period or early 1st c. A.D., refers to the stated approval of the city council as evidence indicating that the building was public, not private.[55] Later phases of the tripartite building included statue bases centrally in rooms 2 and 3. The surviving architecture of the rooms, the size of the inscription, the reference

tion of the Roman Agora at Athens was begun by Caesar and completed by Augustus: Hoff 1988, 95-124. Like Butrint, Corinth received a colony of non-veteran Italian settlers: Hodges and Hansen 2007, 6.

55 Patterson 2007, 41.

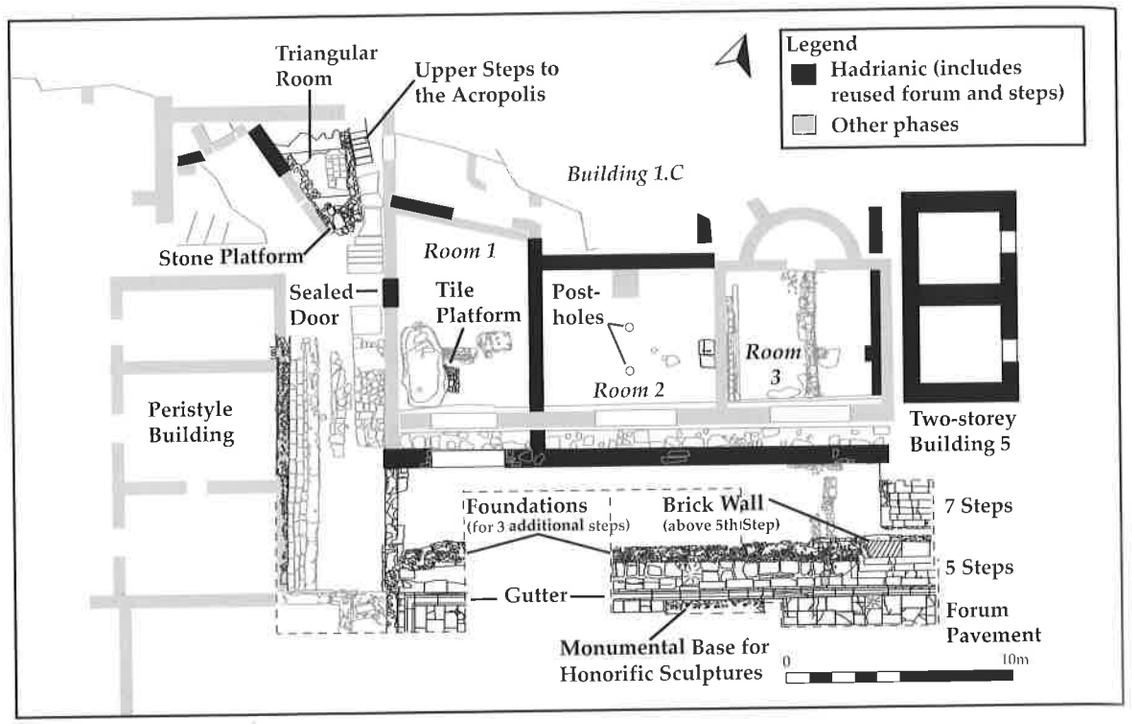

Fig. 11. Plan of the tripartite building complex in the Hadrianic phase.

to a public temple, and the presence of statue bases indicate that in all probability the inscription originally belonged to this building, which possibly functioned as the colony's *Capitolium*, dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.[56]

(b) Building 1.C (Hadrianic period) (figs. 9 and 11)

A major remodeling aggrandized and elevated the tripartite building. Following the installation of three additional steps, five ashlar steps along the N side of the forum pavement led up to the portico of Building 1.C. Part of a brick antechamber was discovered *in situ* on top of the fifth step. Unearthed in room 1 was an exquisite fragment of cast cameo glass. This exceptionally rare find probably originated at Rome and dates between the late 1st c. B.C. and the mid-1st c. A.D. Internal decoration of the building included wall-paintings and marble wall-revetment. Construction deposits yielded 23 coins: 11 Hellenistic (one is a forgery of a silver Alexander type, cut in half in antiquity after it was found to be counterfeit); 4 Roman Republican; 1 Augustan; 1 Neronian; 1 Trajanic; 2 Hadrianic; and 3 illegible. The pottery is predominantly of the mid-1st to early 2nd c. A.D., suggesting a Hadrianic date for Building 1.C.

(c) Building 1.D (late 2nd c.) (fig. 12)

Building 1.D in *opus incertum* marks a large-scale reconstruction. A deep rectangular mortar structure in room 1 appears to have served as a foundation for an internal column. The construction deposits yielded 3 coins (Hadrianic, Antonine, and illegible) providing a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 138. The pottery points to the late 2nd c. for the construction of Building 1.D.

(d) Building 1.E (mid-3rd c.) (fig. 13)

The final phase of reconstruction is characterized by an unusual *opus incertum* masonry with regularly dressed quoins. It entailed the demolition of the entire front wall of 1.D, which was felled southward into the area of the portico following spoliation of the portico floor (the N section in Area X contains an 11.3 m stretch of the fallen wall). An elliptical pit in room 1 with

56 Martin 2004, 86-87.

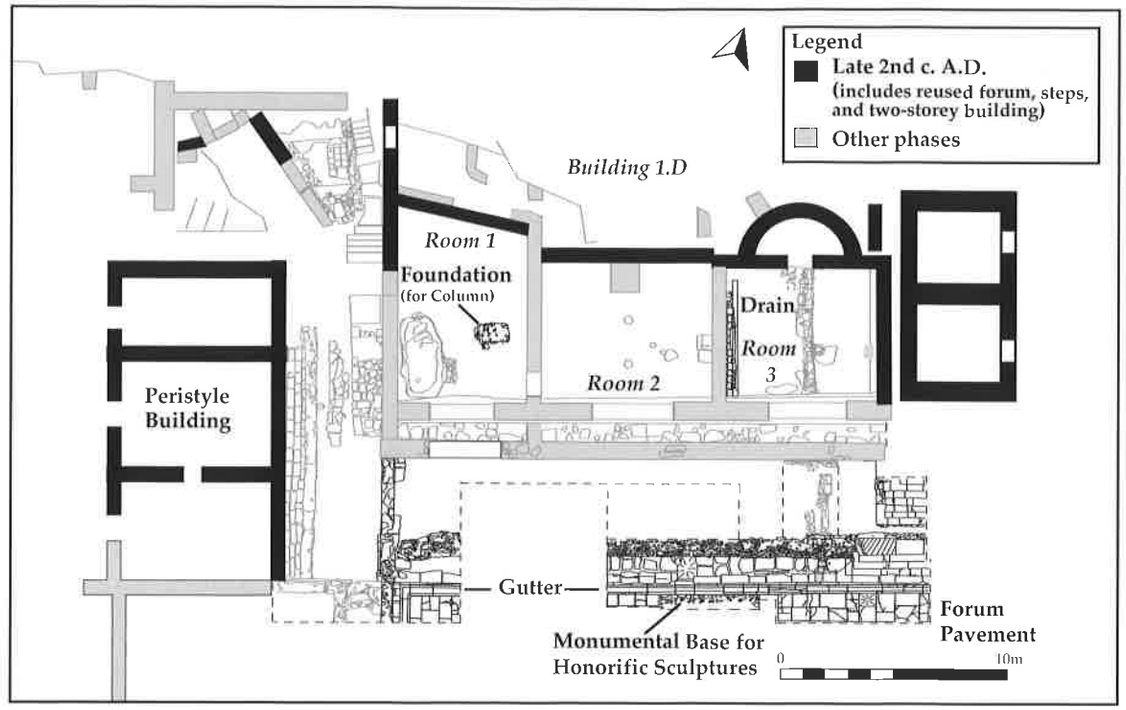

Fig. 12. Plan of the tripartite building complex in the late 2nd c. A.D.

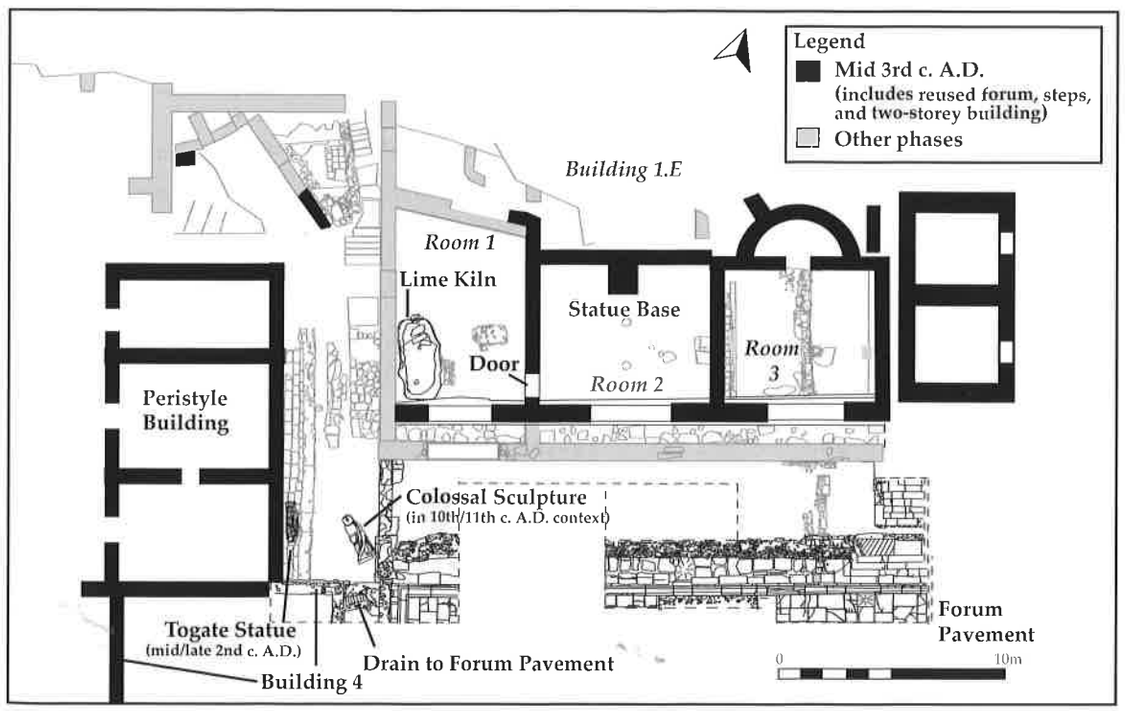

Fig. 13. Plan of the tripartite building complex in the mid-3rd c. A.D.

a thick fired lining created by a prolonged fire probably served as a lime kiln for constructing Building 1.E. The building had stuccoed ceiling decoration of interwoven floral designs. An Early Roman intaglio glass gem (2 x 1 cm) found in Room 1 depicted an incised semi-nude stand-

ing female, possibly Venus. The construction deposits contained fragments of J. A. Riley's Late Roman Amphora 3 imported from Asia Minor of the early 3rd c. A.D., and 9 coins (4 Hellenistic, 1 Augustan, 1 Neronian, 1 of Otho, 2 Hadrianic). The pottery ranges from the mid-2nd to the early or mid-3rd c., pointing to a mid-3rd c. construction date.

Building 5, a two-storey building (Hadrianic period) (figs. 8-9 and 11)

Adjacent to the tripartite building, two barrel-vaulted rooms in *opus vittatum* act as a substructure for a two-storey building (Building 5). Seven additional steps leading up to it were found beyond the forum's fifth step. The upper level of the building was raised *c.*7 m above the forum and originally was reached by a flight of some 22 steps leading up from the pavement. Construction of the steps can be correlated with the construction of Building 1.C in the Hadrianic period. Building 5 would have been the most visible structure in the urban center and have constituted the forum's architectural and visual focus. We speculate that it functioned as an imperial cult temple, placed opposite the main southern entrance to the forum.[57]

Building 2.B, the road, and the W steps of the forum (figs. 5-6 and 8)

The south stoa (Building 2.A) was substantially remodelled and integrated into the S/SW side of the forum (Area XV). The W side of the south stoa was truncated and its marble steps between two columns (A and B) were removed in order to construct an entrance for a new road along the W side of the forum. A pilaster base moulding of white marble, found *in situ*, may have supported an arch (width 1.3 m) into the forum; because the road is 3 m wide, it may have been a double arch. A channel cut into the second step adjacent to column C formed the terminus of the drain (1) for Building 2.B. The latest pottery from the drain construction deposit is Augustan.

The W side of the forum consists of two steps of white limestone blocks. Remains of brick columns with painted stucco indicate that a colonnade stood above the second step. Pottery pointing to an Augustan date was recovered from the backfill beneath the two steps of the W side of the forum. The form and function of Building 2.B is unclear. To judge by a later drain (2) and a *cocciopesto* floor, the southern steps appear to lead to the portico of Building 2.B. We hypothesize that Building 2.B lies south of the excavated trench.

The sacred spring, the triangular room, and steps to the acropolis (figs. 7-8 above and 10-11)

The road running parallel to the W side of the forum led to the sacred spring and steps to the acropolis. The point of entry to the acropolis is indicated by a gate in the fortification circuit located above the steps.[58] The triangular room, which is contemporary with Building 1.B, contained a tile platform and associated burned material possibly indicating that it functioned as a small shrine adjacent to the spring. Alterations to the triangular room in the late 1st or early 2nd c. A.D. entailed a remodelling of the upper steps to the acropolis and the installation of a stone floor ceiling the room, which perhaps supported a cult image.

The peristyle building, Building 4 (mid-3rd c.) (fig. 13)

In Area XII, a large room (10.3 x 12.4 m) was constructed in *opus mixtum* as an integral addition to the peristyle building. A drain runs from it to the forum gutter. As the new N terminus of the road, the building blocked the road leading to the sacred spring, which now appears to have been reached from the peristyle building alone. Given its size and its location in the forum, the large room may have served as a *curia* for official assembly. Ceramic evidence dates it to the mid-3rd c.

Spoliation and the destruction of statuary (phase 1: A.D. 230-250; phase 2: 10th/11th c.)

The excavations revealed two phases in which statuary was systematically dismantled and destroyed. The first occurred during the spoliation and demolition of Building 1.D, prior to

57 The distinct masonry type of Building 5 is identical to the masonry of the *scaenae frons*. This may point to a Hadrianic date for the latter and the major rebuilding of the theater.

58 The plan at Bowden *et al.* 2002, 200, fig. 2, shows the position of the gate, north of the tripartite building.

Fig. 14. Togate statue (mid-2nd c. A.D.) *in situ* (Area IX).

the construction of Building 1.E. The archaeological evidence reveals a comprehensive effort to destroy and discard marble statuary and inscriptions. In Area IX, a large quantity of material was dumped into a defunct Hellenistic drain in *c.*230-250.[59] The dumped material includes a life-size marble sculpture, unearthed in 2005 (figs 13-14). Dating to the mid-2nd c. A.D., it represents a local dignitary or an emperor wearing an imperial-style toga and patrician boots.[60] Other sculptural fragments include a fragment of a statue base and a separate piece of a leg. Eight fragmentary inscriptions and over a metric ton of pottery were recovered from the dump. The material was dumped prior to the construction of Building 4, probably as part of the same construction program. Because a drain in Building 4 was connected to the forum gutter, the forum was still in use when the statue was discarded. A fragment of a marble arm was discovered beneath Building 1.D's front wall which had been brought down onto the robbed-out portico. The same deposit contained another sculptural fragment, fragmentary inscriptions, and architectural marbles. The pottery of this deposit dates to the mid-3rd c. The destruction deposits also yielded an honorific inscription with the letters TPOM, referring to T. Pomponius, a member of the *gens* of Atticus. The large pit excavated in room 1 is probably a lime kiln that operated during this phase of spoliation. It is unclear whether the destruction of statuary was caused by a natural calamity (e.g., an earthquake) or was the result of sociopolitical factors.

Roman statuary was destroyed on a second occasion during the town's mediaeval revival in the later 10th and 11th c. Part of a colossal Roman marble statue, perhaps Augustus, was unearthed in the forum in 2002.[61] Other sculptural fragments, such as head, arm and leg pieces, and a base for a bronze statue were found in rubble deposits and masonry structures associated with the construction of tenement buildings on stepped terraces.[62]

The end of the Roman Forum (mid- to late 4th c.)

A rubble deposit containing abundant marble veneer and architectural fragments seals the forum pavement. The latest pottery dates to the 4th c. Above this deposit, a second, very compact deposit contains much demolition rubble, mixed building débris that apparently was deliberately thrown into the forum. The latest pottery dates to the mid- to late 4th c. The two deposits are probably more or less contemporary, the first representing a spoliation and demolition of buildings framing the forum, the second a backfilling of the forum with demolition rubble in order to raise the level of the open space.

59 For the ceramic assemblage, see Reynolds, Hernandez and Çondi 2008.

60 Pojani 2007, 64. We thank I. L. Hansen for offering an interpretation of this statue.

61 Pojani 2007, 62-77.

62 R. Hodges identified this terracing program in the mediaeval sequences of the forum excavations.

The forum pavement now possesses a slope of *c.*1.7°, the pavement on the S side being 0.6 m lower than on the N side. Drain 1, which took water from Building 2.B into the forum gutter, shows that this slope was not an original feature of the forum and must be due to seismic activity or subsidence. The pavement is *c.*1 m below the present water-table. The urban center, like other coastal sites in Epirus, clearly witnessed a significant increase in sea level.[63] Similar spoliation and destruction deposits of the 4th c. have been noted in other excavations at Butrint (e.g., the triconch palace) and at the suburban site on the Vrina plain,[64] and recent research on that plain has demonstrated that the aqueduct fell out of use in the 4th c.[65] Acording to Libanius, an earthquake devastated Greece during the reign of Julian (361-363), an event that may have been the same as the 'sea wave' that Cedrenus claimed devastated Epirus during the reign of Gratian (375-83).[66] Sources also attest an earthquake and tsunami of 365 that caused extensive damage throughout the Balkans.[67] An earthquake in the second half of the 4th c. may have brought about a tectonic shift in Butrint that resulted in the inundation of the forum and surrounding urban center.[68] That may explain why the civic center shifted to the E side of Butrint during the late-antique period, around the great basilica, where the ground remained above the water-table. The spoliation and destruction phases of the forum were followed by backfilling the forum space, presumably to create a new surface above the higher water-table. In the 5th c., hard water-resistant *cocciopesto* floors were laid over what had been the forum to prevent water intruding during seasonal flooding. Nevertheless, the water level continued to rise, coinciding with and possibly accelerating the abandonment of the urban center in the 7th c.[69] A thick and relatively sterile alluvial deposit confirms that the urban center lay partially submerged in a shallow pond until the major terracing program undertaken in the 10th or 11th c. Occupation then continued in the forum area until Butrint was abandoned by the Venetians in 1572.[70]

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63 Hammond 1967, 42, 47, 109, 127, 133; Ugolini 1935, 93.

64 Crowson and Gilkes 2007, 122; Gilkes and Lako 2004, 155-67, fig. 9.5; Gilkes *et al.* 2007, 222-26. An earthquake in the late 4th c. A.D. may explain the major transformation of the 4th-c. *domus* into the triconch palace in the early 5th c., a reconstruction that made extensive use of spolia.

65 Crowson and Gilkes 2004, 122. The disuse of the aqueduct has been reconfirmed by current excavations.

66 Hodges *et al.* 1997, 217; Guidoboni 1994, 261-67.

67 Hodges *et al.* 1997, 217; Kelly 2004, 141-67. Theophanes and George the Monk, whose accounts derive from a common source, list the Adriatic and Epirus, respectively, as areas devastated by the tsunami.

68 Pavlides and Caputo (2004, 159-88) argue that Butrint was the epicenter of a large earthquake in A.D. 358 (we thank D. Bescoby for this reference).

69 Six inhumation burials across the site mark the abandonment of the area in the mid-6th to early 7th c. They correlate to those at the triconch palace (Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002, 209; Gilkes and Lako 2004, 170-72).

70 Hodges 2004, 14; Crowson 2007, 15-17.

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Fishbourne, Chichester, and Togidubnus *rex* revisited

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Barry Cunliffe excavated the Roman palace at Fishbourne (Sussex) from 1961 to 1969, publishing the two-volume final report in 1971;[1] a supplementary report, dealing with the area south of the palace, appeared in 1996.[2] A useful popular book was also published in 1971,[3] and *The Regni*, an account of the Roman *civitas* in which the palace is situated, appeared in 1973.[4] Cunliffe's excavations were essentially confined to the area eventually occupied by the palace of the late 1st-c. A.D. Here he was constrained by the need to preserve elements for eventual public display, successfully achieved thanks to I. D. Margary, with the site's continuing ownership and management by the Sussex Archaeological Society. More recently, limited work has been carried out within the area of the palace in the gardens of no. 80 Fishbourne Road.[5] In 1982-83, a two-phase structure (the later phase being an agricultural aisled building) was excavated *c.*500 m southwest of the palace, close to the shore of Chichester harbour,[6] but most of the new work has occurred east of the palace, greatly amplifying the evidence found by Cunliffe for Period 1 (preceding the construction of the palace). Cunliffe's three periods (1, pre-palace; 2, construction of the palace; 3, modifications to the palace down to its destruction by fire in *c.*A.D. 280) will be retained here. Figure 1 is a composite plan showing the outline of the palace in relation to earlier structures underlying it and immediately to the east.

The rôle of Fishbourne before and after the invasion of A.D. 43 (Periods 1A-1B)

Period 1A was represented by two timber buildings, one on either side of the stream (T1 to the east, T2 to the west), which resembled military granaries or store-buildings; slight traces of a third structure (T3) were noted.[7] Gullies and fence-lines were located, as well as two parallel metalled roads running E–W and crossing the stream by fords; a third (N–S) road linked the other two. Although there was no satisfactory dating evidence, in view of the military parallels Period 1A was tentatively identified as a military supply-base and an historically-derived starting-date of A.D. 43 was assigned to it.[8]

It is indeed now clear that there was significant pre-A.D. 43 occupation at Fishbourne. A major E–W ditch (ditch 11) traced over almost 100 m to the east of the later palace (beyond the area shown on fig. 1) contained imported and local pottery that can be dated to *c.*10 B.C.–A.D. 25.[9] Pottery of this date, recovered as residual material in earlier excavations, can now be given a context, and the question arises whether some of the early undated features[10] underlying the palace might belong to this period.

In Period 1B, dating broadly to the Neronian period, the more northerly E–W road continued in use while the southern road (at least in the stretch east of the stream) was disused. East of the stream were found traces of 4 timber buildings (T4-T7) which seem to have been aligned, presumably on the N–S road, their western boundaries being marked by gullies (6 and 10) close

1 B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969*, vol.1. *The site* (Soc. Ant. Monog. 26); *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969*, vol. 2. *The finds* (Soc. Ant. Monog. 27).
2 B. Cunliffe, A. Down and D. Rudkin, *Chichester Excavations* 9. *Excavations at Fishbourne 1969-1988* (Chichester 1996) 2-8.
3 B. Cunliffe, *Fishbourne. A Roman palace and its garden* (London 1971), with id., *Fishbourne Roman palace* (rev. edn., Stroud 1998).
4 B. Cunliffe, *The Regni* (London 1973). M. Russell's *Roman Sussex* (Stroud 2006) takes up the story of the Regni a generation on.
5 D. Rudkin in Cunliffe *et al.* (supra n.2) 69-87.
6 D. Rudkin, "The excavation of a Romano-British site by Chichester Harbour, Fishbourne," *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 124 (1986) 51-77.
7 Cunliffe (supra n.1) vol. 1, fig. 11 facing p. 46.
8 Ibid. vol. 1, 73-74.
9 J. Manley and D. Rudkin, "A pre-A.D.43 ditch at Fishbourne Roman Palace, Chichester," *Britannia* 36 (2005) 75 and 91-92.
10 E.g., the curving Gully 8A just east of the original course of the stream: Cunliffe (supra n.1) vol. 1, 43.