

**A TYPOLOGY OF ANCIENT THEATRES IN MODERN SPAIN AND GREECE
A GEO-HISTORICAL APPROACH**

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Zeynep Aktüre

ABSTRACT

A TYPOLOGY OF ANCIENT THEATRES IN MODERN SPAIN AND GREECE A GEO-HISTORICAL APPROACH

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This study offers an inquiry into the historical context of the invention, consolidation, and on-going popularity of the ancient theatre typology based on the Greek-Roman 'binarism', for a better understanding of its philosophical and theoretical foundations. It scrutinises those foundations in order to discover, in their limitations for an assessment and restitution of the architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains, a new set of variables for devising an alternative method of classification that adopts the 'network' model. The classification made on the basis of the geographical distribution of the extant ancient theatre remains in modern Spain and Greece according to their size, their construction period, and the construction technique applied in their *cavea* enables an interpretation of Roman period theatre construction activity in these two regions of the Mediterranean from a 'geo-historical' point of view, in the light of the variety of processes expressed by the term 'Romanisation'. A comparative analysis of the examples in the two study areas along Fernand Braudel's three historical time planes reveals the structural differences between the two corresponding provinces of the Roman Empire, highlighting the usefulness of adopting a 'rhizomatic' model instead of a 'binary' one in typological studies of ancient theatre architecture for their better integration into contemporary discourses emphasizing 'cultural diversity' and 'change' in the Mediterranean basin.

Keywords: ancient theatre architecture, Spain, Greece, Romanisation, Fernand Braudel

ÖZ

İSPANYA VE YUNANİSTAN'DAKİ ANTİK TİYATROLARIN BİR SINIFLAMASI JEO-TARİHSEL BİR YAKLAŞIM

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Bu çalışma, Yunan-Roma ikili karşıtlığı üzerine kurulu antik tiyatro sınıflamasının ortaya çıktığı, kalıplaştığı ve hala süren popülerliğine ulaştığı tarihsel ortamı inceleyerek, felsefi ve kuramsal temellerini daha iyi anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu temellerin günümüze gelen antik tiyatro kalıntılarının değerlendirilmesi ve tamamlanmasına getirdiği kısıtları irdeleyerek, 'ağ' modelini benimseyen farklı bir sınıflama yöntemi geliştirebilecek yeni bir değişken dizisine ulaşmayı denemektedir. İspanya ve Yunanistan'daki antik tiyatro kalıntılarının izleyici kapasitesine, inşa dönemlerine ve *cavea* bölümünün inşasında kullanılan tekniğe göre coğrafi dağılımını temel alarak yapılan sınıflama, Akdeniz'in bu iki bölgesinde Roma döneminde gerçekleşen tiyatro inşa faaliyetine, 'jeo-tarihsel' bir yaklaşımla, 'Romalılaşma' terimi ile ifade edilen çeşitli süreçler ışığında bir yorum getirmeye olanak sağlamaktadır. Her iki çalışma alanındaki örneklerin Fernand Braudel'in önerdiği üç tarihsel zaman düzlemine göre karşılaştırmalı bir çözümlemesi, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun bu iki bölgeyi kapsayan eyaletleri arasındaki yapısal farklılıkları ortaya çıkararak, antik tiyatro mimarisini sınıflandırmaya yönelik çalışmaların Akdeniz havzasındaki 'kültürel çeşitlilik' ve 'değişim'i vurgulayan çağdaş söylemlere daha iyi eklenmesini sağlamada 'ikili' model yerine 'köksap' modelini benimsemenin faydalarına ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: antik tiyatro mimarisi, İspanya, Yunanistan, Romalılaşma, Fernand Braudel

To My Parents, Sevgi and Teoman Aktüre

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM PAGE	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Outline of the Study.....	1
1.2 Theoretical Framework.....	5
1.2.1 Changing Conceptions of ‘Romanisation’	6
1.2.2 Changing Models of Knowledge.....	12
2 TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES OF ANCIENT THEATRE ARCHITECTURE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.....	19
2.1 Ideological Origins: the Idea of ‘European Cultural Identity’	20
2.2 Historical Orientations: Debates on ‘Origins’ and ‘Evolution’	25
2.3 Methodological Development: the Influence of the ‘German School’	32
2.4 Chapter Conclusion: Consolidation of the ‘Greek-Roman Binarism’ in Studies on Ancient Theatre Architecture	40

3	IMPLICATIONS OF A TYPOLOGY BASED ON THE GREEK-ROMAN BINARISM IN STUDIES ON ANCIENT THEATRE ARCHITECTURE.....	46
3.1	Theoretical Implications: ‘Greek’ Theatres of ‘Roman’ <i>Hispania</i>	49
3.1.1	Roman Rule in Iberia.....	55
3.1.2	Greek Characteristics Attributed to the Theatres in Roman <i>Hispania</i>	58
3.2	Practical Implications: the Appeal of the Vitruvian Creed for the Interpretation of the Theatres in Roman <i>Hispania</i>	64
3.2.1	Applications of Vitruvian Modules in the Restitution of the Theatres in Roman <i>Hispania</i>	70
3.2.2	Vitruvian Schemes for the Greek and Latin Theatres and Alternatives with Pythagorean Affiliations.....	73
3.3	Methodological Implications: Variations on the Vitruvian Scheme for the Latin Theatre....	81
3.3.1	The Variable of ‘Size’	81
3.3.2	The Variable of ‘Time’	88
3.3.3	The Variable of ‘Place’	94
3.4	Philosophical Implications: the Formalist Stance in Studies on Roman Theatre Architecture	101
3.5	Chapter Conclusion: the Problem of Contextualising the Extant Roman Theatre Remains in the Mediterranean Basin.....	110
4	THE NETWORK OF ANCIENT THEATRES IN MODERN SPAIN	117
4.1	The Late Republic	119
4.1.1	Acinipo	123
4.1.2	Gades.....	125
4.2	The Age of Augustus.....	139
4.2.1	Carteia.....	146
4.2.2	Carthago Nova	148
4.2.3	Malaca.....	152
4.2.4	Emerita Augusta.....	154

4.2.5	Italica.....	156
4.2.6	Metellinum.....	161
4.2.7	Tarraco.....	162
4.2.8	Corduba	167
4.3	The Tiberian Period.....	172
4.3.1	Celsa.....	172
4.3.2	Termes.....	173
4.3.3	Bilbilis Augusta.....	175
4.3.4	Saguntum.....	181
4.3.5	Arcobriga.....	184
4.3.6	Clunia.....	186
4.3.7	Caesar Augusta	189
4.4	The Flavians.....	192
4.4.1	Regina.....	193
4.4.2	Segobriga.....	194
4.4.3	Baelo Claudia.....	198
4.5	Chapter Conclusion: The ‘Network’ of Roman Theatres and ‘Romanisation’ in Spain.....	202
5	THE NETWORK OF ANCIENT THEATRES IN MODERN GREECE	214
5.1	Very Small Theatres.....	216
5.2	Very Large Theatres.....	226
5.2.1	Athens.....	230
5.2.2	Megalopolis.....	233
5.2.3	Sicyon	238
5.2.4	Argos.....	243
5.2.5	Dodone.....	249
5.2.6	Nicopolis.....	252

5.2.7	Sparta.....	260
5.2.8	Corinth.....	270
5.3	Chapter Conclusion: The ‘Network’ of Roman Theatres and ‘Romanisation’ in Greece..	284
5.3.1	Crete	289
5.3.2	Amphitheatres	292
5.3.3	Athens.....	295
6	CONCLUSION: A COMPARATIVE EVALUATION OF THE ‘NETWORK’ OF ROMAN THEATRES AND ‘ROMANISATION’ IN SPAIN AND GREECE ALONG FERNAND BRAUDEL’S THREE PLANES OF HISTORICAL TIME.....	313
6.1	The Plane of ‘Geo-History’	314
6.2	The Plane of ‘Structures’	319
6.3	The Plane of ‘Events’.....	326
	REFERENCES.....	330
	APPENDIX	
A	ANCIENT THEATRES IN SPAIN ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY	361
	FIGURE REFERENCES.....	402
B	ANCIENT THEATRES IN GREECE ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY	406
	FIGURE REFERENCES.....	452
	CURRICULUM VITAE.....	456

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

1	The Main Differences Between Greek-Hellenistic and Roman Type of Theatres (Bieber 1961: 189).....	48
A	Ancient Theatres in Modern Spain – Architectural Characteristics and Historiography	366-72
B	Ancient Theatres in Modern Greece – Architectural Characteristics and Historiography	410-23

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

1.1	The Porphyrian ‘tree’ representing a classification of natural kinds, according to which a cat is a cat only when it has the properties <i>in conjunction</i> of ‘cat’, ‘felis catus’, ‘felis’, ‘felid’, ‘fissiped’, and ‘carnivorous placental animal’ (Eco 1986: 55); and a representation of how M. Ross Quillan’s ‘polydimensional network’ model for a semantic memory works for ‘plant’ (Eco 1979:123)	13
1.2	Umberto Eco’s map of the interconnected metaphors that make the cultural background recognizable for comprehending the ‘meandertale’ pun in James Joyce’s <i>Finnegan’s Wake</i> (Eco 1984: 75; 1989a: 71; 1994: 141).....	14
2.1	Plan showing the remains of the fifth-century Theatre of Dionysus and the restitution of the early <i>orchestra</i> circle by Dörpfeld (Allen 1920: 21), using one of the three small sections of masonry unearthed in the excavations (Gebhard 1974: plate 89c); and differences between the plans of the Greek and Roman theatres according to Dörpfeld (Bieber 1961: 188, fig. 646).....	26
2.2	The complete set of plan drawings included in Frezouls (1982). Collected from a variety of publications, the corpus illustrates the dominant tendency in studies on ancient theatres to isolate the edifice in question from its immediate context	38
3.1	Theatres meant to be used by the Greeks (top) and by the Romans (bottom) (Vitruvius 1960: 152 [top left] and 147 [bottom left]; Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994/95/96: 135 [top right] and 137 [bottom right])	63
3.2	Measured plan and restitution drawings of the Theatre of <i>Bilbilis</i> (Martín-Bueno and Núñez Marcén 1993: 122, 124, 128, 129, and 131)	68
3.3	Restitution of the Theatre of <i>Carthago Nova</i> using the Vitruvian code (Ramallo Asensio and Ruiz Valderas 1998: 103 and 106; <i>scaenae frons</i> details from Ramallo <i>et al.</i> 1993: 62 and 75)	69
3.4	The ‘resolution’ of the problem of the quadrature of the circle according to Themistius (top left) and Simplicius (top right); and signs in ‘trigons’ and ‘quadrature’ producing an accord with their ‘opposition’, as explained by Geminus of Rhodes (Gros 1994: 65-6).....	74
3.5	Emil Fiechter’s analyses of the Greek Theatres of <i>Megalopolis</i> , <i>Nea Pleuron</i> , <i>Oiniadai</i> , <i>Oropos</i> , and <i>Sicyon</i> (Fiechter 1930-50)	75
3.6	Theatre of the Asklepieion at Epidauros. An aerial view by Schoder (1974: front cover), the Grand Tetractys, an early plan by Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1896, from Gruben	

	1963: 362), and its canonical plan by Armin von Gerkan and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener (1961).....	76
3.7	Pedro de Palol Sallellas' analysis of the plan layout of the Theatre of <i>Clunia</i> (Palol Sallellas 1982).....	80
3.8	The method developed by Luis Moranta Jaume (2000) on the basis of the Theatre of <i>Palma</i> through hypothesising a relation between the size and the number of <i>cunei</i> in the <i>cavea</i> of ancient theatres; and its application to the Theatres of <i>Baelo Claudia</i> , <i>Carthago Nova</i> , <i>Malaca</i> , <i>Pollentia</i> , <i>Sagunto</i> , and <i>Segóbriga</i> (Moranta Jaume 2000)	85
3.9	Theatre of <i>Saguntum</i> in history. (all left and top of second left from Lara 1991: 83, 86, 88, 114, 117, 126, 131; second of second left and bottom two of third left from Aranegui Gascó 1993: cover, 8-10; brown prints from Grassi and Portaceli 1994:9; bottom of second left from Grassi and Portaceli 1990: 125; top right from the official website of the Municipality of Sagunto, 17.05.2004; the rest taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.).....	86
3.10	A comparison of the methods developed by Hammond (1965), Small (1983), Sear (1990), and Lara (1992) on the photogrammetrically measured plan of the Theatre of <i>Saguntum</i> (Lara 1992: 162-4, 169)	87
3.11	An application of the method developed from the Vitruvian recommendations by Lara (1992) on the basis of the Theatre of <i>Saguntum</i> in the Theatres of <i>Acinipo</i> , <i>Itálica</i> , and <i>Segóbriga</i> (Lara 1992: 171, 174, 176-7)	97
3.12	An application of the methods developed by Hammond (1965), Small (1983), and Sear (1990) in the Theatre of <i>Carthago Nova</i> (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 107).....	98
3.13	The 'trigons' of the zodiac according to Manilius (left) and the reconstruction of the statuary program at the <i>aedes Concordiae Augustae</i> by B.A. Kellum (1990) (right) (Kellum 1990: 306-7).....	104
4.1	Pre-Roman peoples of the Iberian Peninsula (mapped from Keay 1988: 9).....	120
4.2	The 'Gallo-Roman' type of theatre as represented by the reconstruction of the theatre in Alise Sainte Reine (Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994/95/96: I, 141)	120
4.3	Two inscription panels from the Theatre of <i>Carthago Nova</i> that establish a connection with the imperial family through Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the two grandsons and adopted heirs of Augustus (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 129-30)	150
4.4	The Roman provinces of <i>Hispaniae</i> (Richardson 1998: 42; also appears in Keay 1988: 26)	203
4.5	Judicial districts (<i>conventus</i>) of the Roman provinces of <i>Hispaniae</i> (juxtaposed map from Mayer and Rodà 1988: 222)	203
5.1	Reconstruction drawings of the Theatre-Temple complexes of the Sanctuaries at Gabii and Tibur in Latium, central Italy (Nielsen 2002: 181, 184).....	218

5.2	Late Classical and Hellenistic Greek theatre <i>cavea</i> types B, C, E, F and G (Frederiksen 2000 137 (B), 141 (G) and 140 (F) [left from top to bottom]; p. 138 (E and C) [right from top to bottom].)	219
5.3	Late Classical and Hellenistic Greek theatre <i>cavea</i> types in Greece (mapped from Frederiksen 2000).	220
5.4	Caesarian and Augustan colonies in Greece (left from Rizakis 1997: 16 [fig. 1]; right from Alcock 1993: 134 [fig. 46]).	285
5.5	Major land and sea routes in the Imperial Roman period in Greece (from Rizakis 1997: 17 [fig. 2]).	286
5.6	The foundation of <i>Nicopolis</i> and Patras (Alcock 1993: 135-6 [fig. 47-8]).	287
A.1	The distribution of ancient theatres in the Iberian Peninsula.	364
A.2	The state of preservation of the ancient theatres in the Iberian Peninsula.	365
A.3	Methods applied in the construction of the <i>cavea</i> in ancient theatres of the Iberian Peninsula	373
A.4	<i>Cavea</i> dimensions in ancient theatres of the Iberian Peninsula	374
A.5	The number of <i>cunei</i> in ancient theatres of the Iberian Peninsula	375
A.6	Initial construction dates of ancient theatres in the Iberian Peninsula	376
A.7	Theatre of <i>Acinipo</i> ; before, during and after restoration. (aerial photos from del Amo y de la Hera 1982: 234-5; interior photos from <i>Intervenciones en el Patrimonio Arquitectónico (1980-1985)</i> 1990: 423-4; colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001).	377
A.8	<i>Arcobriga</i> . Figures by Enrique Aguilera y Gamboa, Marquis of Cerralbo, of the site, its location, and its Theatre during his excavations in 1909 and 1911. (Beltrán Lloris (ed.) 1987: lam. XI, fig. 1b, fig. 2, lam. XII, lam. XII-bis.1)	378
A.9	Theatre of <i>Baelo Claudia</i> . (Sillières 1997: 22, 48, 131, cover; except the colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2002.)	379
A.10	Trace of the Theatre of <i>Baetulo</i> in the actual urban morphology of Badalona. (sketches from Moranta Jaume 2000, 22.09.2000; site map from Cepas Palanca 1997: 137)	380
A.11	Remains from the Theatre of <i>Bilbilis Augusta</i> under excavation, and later restoration works. (from Martín-Bueno and Núñez Marcén 1993: 120, 121, 125; except regional plan from Martín Bueno 1975: 18; and colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.)	381
A.12	Theatre of <i>Caesar Augusta</i> . (stamp from http://www.filateliamartinez.com/paginas/emisiones2003_1.htm ; top left from F. Beltrán Lloris 1991: 97; top right from M. Beltrán Lloris <i>et al.</i> 1985: 61; center left from http://www.pueblos-espana.org/aragon/zaragoza/zaragoza/galeria-fotografica/ , 13.05.2004; center right from Beltrán Martínez 1982: 46; bottom photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.)	382

A.13	Remains from the Theatre of <i>Carthago Nova</i> . Location, gradual excavation, and the current state. (from Ramallo Asensio <i>et al.</i> 1993: 53, 54, 59, 88; except the bottom two from Ramallo Asensio and Ruiz Valderas 1998: 60, 62; and the panorama taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.)	383
A.14	<i>Carteia</i> . (from Roldán Gómez <i>et al.</i> 1998; except left taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2002.)	384
A.15	<i>Clunia</i> . (map from an information leaflet distributed at the site; photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.)	385
A.16	Remains from the Theatre of <i>Corduba</i> . (top left and right from Ventura Villanueva 2001-2004; bottom left from Lorente Enseñat 2000d; center top from Ventura <i>et al.</i> 1998: 94, 106; center bottom from Ventura Villanueva 1999: 59; bottom right from Baena Alcántara 2002: 54)	386
A.17	Theatre of <i>Emerita Augusta</i> . (from Almagro 1974; except the colour photo taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.)	387
A.18	Theatre of <i>Gades</i> . (from Esteban González <i>et al.</i> 1993: 144, 146-7; except the postcards bought in 2002; the two maps showing the historic geography of <i>Gades</i> and the location of the remains from the Theatre from Corzo Sánchez 1989: 200-201; and the colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in 2001 and 2002.)	388
A.19	<i>Italica</i> and its Theatre. (panoramas taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001; aerial site views, centre and bottom right from Caballos Rufino <i>et al.</i> 1999: 49, 57, 89 and 96; top right from F.J. Montero Fernández 1993: 179)	389
A.20	Gradual unearthing of the Theatre of <i>Malaca</i> . (from information panels at the site except top right from Camacho Martínez and Morente del Monte 1989; top center, second and bottom left from Martín Delgado 1993: 184, 196; panorama and bottom right taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.)	390
A.21	Theatre of <i>Metellinum</i> . (del Amo y de la Hera 1982a: 325ff)	391
A.22	Hypothesis concerning the existence of a Roman theatre in Palma de Mallorca. (Moranta Jaume 2000, 22.09.2000.)	392
A.23	Theatre of <i>Pollentia</i> . (Arribas, Tarradell and Wood 1973)	393
A.24	Theatre of <i>Regina</i> . (Alvarez Martínez 1982: 277, 279, 281, 282)	394
A.25	Theatre of <i>Saguntum</i> . (taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001 except the top plan from M. Beltrán Lloris 1982; center plan from Grassi and Portaceli 1990: 125; and center right from the official website of the Municipality of Sagunto, 17.05.2004)	395
A.26	<i>Segóbriga</i> . (from Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 13, 47, 48, 50, 51, 60; except the panorama taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.)	396
A.27	Trace of the Theatre of <i>Sexi</i> in the actual urban morphology of Almunecar. (maps from Lorente Enseñat 2000g; photos taken by I. Can Siram in summer 2001.)	397

A.28	Theatre of <i>Singilia Barba</i> . (from Serrano Ramos and Atencia Páez 1993: 209, 210, 213, 214, 215; except the colour photo of Antequera taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.).....	398
A.29	Remains from the Theatre of <i>Tarraco</i> . (from Mar <i>et al.</i> 1992: 13, 20; except the colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.)	399
A.30	<i>Termes</i> . Remains from the Theatre (top) and the rock-cut steps used for contemporary performances (bottom). (top and aerial view from <i>Tiermes</i> 1990: 57, 28; plan and bottom from <i>Tiermes</i> 1992: 99, 123, 124; except bottom left from <i>Tiermes</i> 1991: 77.)	400
A.31	Theatre of <i>Urso</i> . (aerial view and map from Corzo Sánchez 1977; colour photos from the official website of the Municipality of Osuna http://www.ayto-osuna.org , 19.05.2004.).....	401
B.1	Geographical distribution of ancient theatre remains in modern Greece.....	408
B.2	State of the current investigation on ancient theatre remains in modern Greece	409
B.3	Seating capacity in ancient theatres in Greece.	424
B.4	Very small building types in Greece, with a seating capacity less than 1,000 spectators.....	425
B.5	Roman period use of theatre and odeum buildings in Greece.....	426
B.6	Construction techniques applied in the <i>cavea</i> of ancient theatres in Greece.	427
B.7	The ‘rhizomatic map’ of the interpretation offered in this chapter on the architectural characteristics of ancient theatres in Greece with regards to the transformation brought through the establishment of Roman imperial rule over the Mediterranean.	428
B.8	Rectilinear or curvilinear steps in extra-urban sanctuaries. (all from Nielsen 2002: 255, fig. 120; 251, fig. 116; 122, fig. 52; 141, fig. 64; 127, fig. 56; 108, fig. 42; 129, fig. 57 and 90, fig. 27; except <i>Delos</i> aerial photo from Schoder 1967: 57; <i>Chaironeia</i> and <i>Delos</i> colour photos from AT 1996; <i>Lindos</i> B&W photo from Konstantinopoulos 1986: 189, fig. 213; <i>Oropos</i> colour photo from GNT0 1996-98: 20-21 and <i>Samothrace</i> plan from Doxiadis 1972: fig. 24)	429
B.9	Argos, rectilinear <i>theatron</i> and Agora steps. (top left and bottom right from Moretti 1993a, fig. 23; 5, fig. 3; top centre from Aubert 2001: 441, fig. 1; juxtaposed mage in red from Marchetti & Rizakis 1995: 463, fig. 15; colour photos taken by the author in Summer 2003)	430
B.10	Argos, Roman Odeon and Great Theatre. (Odeon plans from Moretti 1993a: 27, fig. 25; 29, fig. 28; site plan from Moretti 1998, fig. 1; Theatre plan from Moretti 1993a: 8, fig. 6; colour photos taken by the author in summer 2003)	431
B.11	Theatre of Dionysus and Odeon of Pericles in Athens. (bottom left from Burmeister 1996: 67; bottom centre from Nielsen 2000: 114, fig. 8; top right from Meinel 1980: 578, fig. 35; reconstruction drawings by Theatron Ltd. 2000)	432
B.12	Roman period Odea of Herodes Atticus (left) and Agrippa (right) in Athens. (all material on Odeon of Agrippa from Meinel 1980: 562, figs. 5-6; 564, fig. 9; 565, figs. 11-2; top left from Meinel 1980: 570, fig. 22; aerial view from Schoder 1967: 33; other colour photos taken by the author in Summer 2003)	433

B.13	Roman period theatres in <i>Beroia</i> and <i>Gytheion</i> . (all <i>Beroia</i> plans from Brocas-Deflassieux 1999: figs. 43, 44, 45; <i>Gytheion</i> site plan from Wagstaff 1969: 258, fig. 4; plan from <i>PAE</i> 1891; B&W photo from Versakis 1912; bottom left from GNT0 1996-98: 158; other colour photos from <i>AT</i> 1996)	434
B.14	Roman period theatres in Crete, except those in <i>Gortyna</i> , the capital of the province of <i>Creta et Cyrene</i> . (from Falkaner 1854, except colour photos from <i>AT</i> 1996: 176)	435
B.15	<i>Corinthos</i> , the capital of the province of <i>Achaia</i> . Its location, the excavation and restitution of the pre-Roman and Roman stages of its Theatre. (all from Stillwell 1952: 6, fig. 1; 7, fig. 2; 9, fig. 4; plates II, III, IV, VII, VIII; except top and bottom left from Robinson 1965: 5, fig. 4 and 22, fig. 15; center left from Romano 1993: 11, fig. 1; section-elevation from Williams and Zervos 1988: 116, fig. 15; and <i>scaenae frons</i> elevation from Sturgeon 1977: vi, plate 91; left colour photo from GNT0 1996-98: 110; right colour photo from <i>AT</i> 1996: 137)	436
B.16	Hellenistic and Roman Theatre and Roman Odeon of <i>Dion</i> . (all from Pandermalis 1997 except top two from left and topographic map from Karadedos 1985: 26, fig. 1; 27, figs. 2-3; centre two left from <i>AT</i> 1996: 94; bottom left and odeon photo from GNT0 1996-98: 86; Roman Theatre material from Palaiokrassa 1985: 55, fig. 1; 57, fig. 2; site plan left part from Karadedos 1990: 30, fig. 1)	437
B.17	Two major ancient theatres of <i>Epirus</i> , at <i>Dodone</i> , the most ancient oracle in Greece, and <i>Kassope</i> , a stronghold against Roman rule. (all from <i>AT</i> 1996 except top left taken in 2003; centre left from Gravani 2001: 117; and centre right from Schoder 1967: 61)	438
B.18	Performance buildings at <i>Epidaurus</i> . The Sanctuary Theatre and Odeon and the City Theatre of <i>Epidaurus</i> . (top left from Faraklas 1972; top centre from Tomlinson 1983: 11, fig. 2; top right from GNT0 1996-98: 146-7; bottom left from Nielsen 2002: 107, fig. 41; bottom centre and right taken by the author in Summer 2003)	439
B.19	<i>Gortyna</i> , the capital of the province of <i>Creta et Cyrene</i> . (from de Vita 2001: 518, fig. 1; 524, figs. 7-8; except theatre plans from Falkaner 1854; aerial view from Schoder 1967: 82; top left from GNT0 1996-98: 141; and other colour photo from <i>HMC</i>)	440
B.20	The Theatre at the Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary of Poseidon at <i>Isthmia</i> . (top left and bottom right from Gebhard 1993a: 84, fig. 3 and 75, fig. 1; centre left from Nielsen 2002: 101, fig. 36; bottom right and top left from Brooner 1973: plates 1 and 51)	441
B.21	Theatral areas in the Bronze Age palaces at <i>Knossos</i> and <i>Phaistos</i> in Crete. (aerial views from Schoder 1967: 119, 73, top right from Nielsen 2000: 110, fig. 4; bottom right from Papadopoulos 1997: 105)	442
B.22	Theatre A and B of <i>Larisa</i> . (all from Katakouta 1999: 8, 9, 13, 14; except top left and third left from Tziafalias 1990: 199, fig. 1; plate 70a; top row second left from Katakouta & Karapanou 1999: 16; left column third from top and second left column second and third from top from Tziafalias 1992: plate 161b; plate 162a&b; and colour photos from <i>AT</i> 1996: 100)	443
B.23	Theatres of <i>Mantineia</i> , <i>Ambrakia</i> , and <i>Eretria</i> . (all from <i>AT</i> 1996 except top two from Schoder 1967: 136, 70)	444

B.24	<i>Megalopolis</i> , the centre of the Pan-Arkadian Confederacy. Its Thersilion and Theatre. (top row from Petronotis 1973: figs. 6, 7, and 10; bottom left from Gardner <i>et al.</i> 1892; bottom right from Schoder 1967: 141)	445
B.25	Theatre of <i>Mytilene</i> , which is commonly believed to have served as model for the Theatre of Pompey in Rome. (all maps from Kodis 1973: figs. 37, 39, 38, 41; plan from Petrakos 1969: 450; colour photos from AT 1996)	446
B.26	<i>Nicopolis</i> , the capital of the province of <i>Epirus</i> . Its Theatre and Odeon. (bottom first left from Murray & Petsas 1989: xi, fig. 1, second from Mee & Sprawforth 2001: 391, fig. 161; site plan from Hoepfner 1988, plate 2; aerial views from Schoder 1967: 155, 157; centre right and second top centre from <i>HMC</i> ; remaining colour photos from GNT0 1996-98: 64, 65)	447
B.27	<i>Sicyon</i> and its Theatre. (top row from Faraklas 1971: figs. 31, 32, and 38; bottom left from Schoder 1967: 197; bottom right from AT 1996)	448
B.28	Theatre of Sparta. (all from Waywell 2002: 249, fig. 2; 251, fig. 3; 252, fig. 4; except left map from Whitby 2002: xvii; right map from Cartledge & Spawforth 1989: 214-5; aerial view from Schoder 1967: 202; top left from GNT0 1996-98: 164; other colour photos from AT 1996: 148)	449
B.29	Theatres of <i>Thorikos</i> , <i>Trachones</i> , and the Kabeirion at <i>Thebes</i> . (aerial views from Schoder 1967: 105, 224; top right from AT 1996; centre left from Palyvou 2000: 54, fig. 7; left and centre bottom from Nielsen 2000: 116, fig. 10 and 2002: 134, fig. 61)	450
B.30	Roman period odea in modern Greece. (all from Meinel 1980: 565, fig. 12; 566, fig. 14; 567, fig. 16; 570, fig. 22; 597, fig. 73; 609, figs. 97-8; 610, fig. 99; 614, figs. 107-8; 643, figs. 162-3; except Thessaloniki site plan from Vitti 2001: 484; Thasos site plan from Doxiadis 1972: fig. 16; Dion site axonometry from Pandermalis 1997; Epidaurus site plan from Faraklas 1972; Rhodes material from Konstantinopoulos 1986: 241, fig. 266 and plate XLIV; all colour photos from GNT0 1996-98: 64, 81, 86, 108-9, 141, 158; Patras aerial view from)	451

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to highlight the limitations of the common typology based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition for an interpretation of the variety observed in the architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains as an indication of cultural diversity and change in the Mediterranean basin. It discovers in those limitations a new set of variables for devising an alternative method of classification that adopts a 'geo-historical' approach in mapping the examples in modern Spain and Greece. In this way, it aims to contribute in a better integration of their study in contemporary discourses on the processes of mutual acculturation expressed by the term 'Romanisation'. The proposed approach to the problem of classification in ancient theatre studies may also be useful for architectural conservation. One of the major uses made of typologies is during the restitution of monuments. It is a common method to deduce certain features that cannot be comprehended in the present state of any cultural heritage resource in comparison to other examples of the same category and later use these deductions as reference during the preparation of a restoration proposal. These features often concern construction details that are thought to be part of a time- and place-specific building tradition, which encourages comparative studies.

1.1 Outline of the Study

The main objective of the study has necessitated a critical inquiry into the historical reasons for (Chapter 2) and consequences of (Chapter 3) the on-going popularity of referring to a typology based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition in studies on ancient theatre architecture, as a starting point for the development of an alternative approach on the basis of its shortcomings. The largely 'stylistic' distinction commonly made between the binarily opposed Greek and Roman theatres appears to have been shaped within the 'culture-history paradigm' that refers the meaning of an artefact to its 'style' and the 'style' of an artefact to the social group of its makers (Conkey 1990: 7), leading to *'the assumption*

that distinct distributions of material culture, known as 'archaeological cultures', correlate with past peoples.' (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 20-21)

Within such a theoretical framework the transmission of cultural traits/ideas is generally assumed to be a function of the degree of interaction between individuals or groups. [...] Gradual change is attributed to internal drift in the prescribed cultural norms of a particular group, whereas more rapid change is explained in terms of external influences, such as diffusion resulting from culture contact, or the succession of one cultural group by another as a result of migration and conquest: "Distributional changes [in diagnostic types] should reflect displacements of population, the expansions, migrations, colonisations or conquests with which literary history is familiar." (Jones 1996: 64, quotation from Childe 1956¹: 135)

In parallel line of thought, theatres that were constructed after the establishment of Roman control over any region within the Mediterranean basin are generally expected to reflect the architectural characteristics of the Roman type of theatre exemplified in the archetypal Theatre of Pompey in Rome, which would provide justification for the attempts at their restitution in reference to the Vitruvian geometrical layout for the Roman theatre. The occurrence, in Roman period theatres, of some characteristics generally attributed to the Greek theatre, such as the construction of the *cavea* on the natural slope of a hill, in a plan exceeding a semicircle and as detached from the stage building in such a way as to unify visually and physically with the nature as in some examples from *Asia Minor*, has traditionally been explained as revealing the survival of the local Greek-Hellenistic theatre-building tradition well into the Roman period. A systematic analysis of the ancient theatres in modern Spain (see Appendix A) that mostly date from the Caesarian, Augustan, and Tiberian periods has revealed, however, that the very same characteristics except a more-than-semicircular *cavea* are observed in many of the ancient theatre remains in this remote geography, in the absence of a pre-dating Greek-Hellenistic theatre-building tradition. The significance of this observation is partly due to the fact that Vitruvius wrote his *Ten Books on Architecture* after having served in Spain under Caesar (Onions 1988: 33) and dedicated it to Augustus, who himself visited *Carthago Nova* (modern Cartagena) in 45 BC in the company of Caesar and Agrippa (Ramallo and Ruiz 1988: 138-9) and, later in 26-25 BC, stayed in *Tarraco* (modern Tarragona) with the motive of reforming the administration of the Empire, during which period the city became the centre of the power and political decisions of the whole Empire immediately after the establishment of monarchy in 27 BC (Alföldy 1988: 20, 38). Contrary to the expectations raised by these and other indications of strong Roman cultural influence, the majority of extant examples in modern Spain have a *cavea* 'built against the hillside, and therefore has no outside façade' (Bieber 1961: 189), as in the idea of a 'Greek Theatre', while the idea of a 'Roman Theatre' would commonly involve one that is 'mostly built on high subconstructions from level ground with a rich

¹ Childe, G.V. 1956. *Piecing Together the Past: the Interpretation of Archaeological Data*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. The publications cited in the footnotes instead of the reference list are those that could not be reviewed for this study.

façade, a colonnaded gallery, and sometimes shrines on top' (Bieber 1961: 189). Only the largest theatres in the most prominent provincial and *conventus* capitals appear to have a *cavea* resting on high subconstructions from level ground, as did those in the city of Rome itself. This would seem to support the explanation provided by Pierre Gros (1994: 61) for the system of large and complex arches and vaults that formed the substructure of the Roman theatre *cavea* as a solution to the problems posed by the necessity of accommodating huge numbers of spectators. These observations have led to a starting hypothesis that there may have existed a correlation between the 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*' of a Roman theatre and its 'size', the latter of which would in its turn be correlated with the rank of the settlement in which it is located within the Roman administrative network, as presumed in the method of making population estimates for ancient settlements on the basis of the seating capacity in their theatre, while the rank of a settlement within the Roman administrative network would have been largely dependent on geo-historic factors, such as the strategic importance of its location in economic, administrative, or military terms. This starting hypothesis has led to the adoption of a 'geo-historical' approach for the development of a method of classification alternative to the one based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition, through a mapping of the geographical distribution of the examples so far discovered in modern Spain by 'size', by 'period', and by the 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*', in such a way as to enable a better integration of their study in the current state of investigations on the 'Romanisation' of the Iberian Peninsula (Chapter 4).

The main reference in the selection of these variables for devising an alternative method of classification of the extant ancient theatre remains has been the idea of a hierarchically-organised 'network of cities' whose creation has been evaluated by Greg Woolf (1997: 1) as the crucial impact of Rome on Iron Age settlement patterns in the West. 'Similarly, a recent study of Roman Egypt has overturned our previous ideas about Egypt as a land without proper cities, and shows that an urban-based, status hierarchy was central to Augustus' reforms.' (Whittaker 1997: 144) Also in the Near East, where cities had been flourishing for hundreds and often thousands of years before the advent of the Romans, the Romans apparently occupied merely these cities pre-existing in the same positions, expanding them and giving them a Roman veneer through monumentalisation over their unambiguously native and Semitic character (Ball 2000: 205-46). In the Greek East as well, where cities and city-states were the existing settlement pattern, Rome seems to have promoted *polis*-type institutions, integrating them with the new villages and the 'countryside' created for the first time, through the establishment of new colonies and reallocation of the agricultural land to form a hierarchically-organised 'system' (Woolf 1997; Alcock 1993; Rizakis 1997). In the light of these observations, the approach devised on the basis of examples in modern Spain has been tried for an interpretation of the ancient theatres so far discovered in modern Greece (see Appendix B), to trace the

impact of pre-existing traditions of city- and theatre-building in a region where the impact of Roman rule on the pre-existing patterns has been studied in detail in the past two decades (Chapter 5). Since that the construction of the *cavea* on high substructions from level ground, with a rich façade and a colonnaded gallery, is argued to be a specifically 'Roman' technique, its occurrence in this geography may indicate stronger Roman cultural influence, which is likely in the provincial and *conventus* capitals then elsewhere in any province. A similar assumption has led Lourdes Roldán Gómez (Roldán *et al.* 1998a) into an extensive and detailed examination of the construction techniques and materials employed in the architectural remains within the context of Roman *Hispania* in order to trace the incorporation of Roman construction techniques into those already existing before the advent of the Romans, as a key to a better understanding of the 'acculturation' process that would have taken place afterwards.

A valuable contribution to studies in this vein would come from James R. Sackett's definition of 'style' as a 'way of doing something' (Hegmon 1992: 517), which renders stylistic choices made by artisans in the production of cultural artefacts '*a highly specific and characteristic manner of doing something, which, by its very nature is peculiar to a specific time and place.*' (Hegmon 1992: 518) Sackett calls the results of such choices 'isochrestic variations' (i.e. variations that are 'equivalent in use') and, in this way, conceives of 'style' as no longer separated from technology and production. Sackett's definition of 'style' represents '*an emergent concern for design and production processes as integral to any study of style and as something that is just as important as the study of formal variation (as traditionally defined) – if not more – to the endeavour to identify similarity-relations among objects or whatever.*' (Conkey 1990: 15) Resulting from a choice between technologically equivalent alternatives, Sackett's concept of 'isochrestic variation' '*can include components of material culture that are intrinsic to an object's technological function or to the technology involved in that object's production.*' (Hegmon 1992: 529) Such 'technological styles' would consist of sets of probabilities that certain materials or techniques would be preferred in certain specific contexts, relative to past histories of use and manufacture (Conkey 1990: 13). Ancient theatre buildings seem to provide promising cases for studies in this vein, due to their being counted among the buildings regarded essential for Classical town and religious life (Fear 2002: 7) everywhere within the ancient Greco-Roman world. However, as noted by Edmund Frézouls (1982: 386), the diffusion of 'Roman' theatre architecture in the provinces had unfortunately not been made the subject of a serious study at least until the 1980s, since the monuments had been very poorly documented and published. This situation seems to have altered remarkably in the past two decades, as is demonstrated by the census edited by Paola Ciancio Rossetto and Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio (1994/95/96) of all ancient theatre remains attested in material or epigraphic record. This expansion of knowledge on the extant examples in the Mediterranean basin has enabled the choice, for the present study that aims to focus on the problem of classification of the variety observed in the

architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains as an indication of cultural diversity and change in the Mediterranean basin, of those in modern Spain and Greece, which have until now remained largely outside the scope of the majority of important studies on Roman theatre architecture.

When taken together, the assessment made of these two groups of examples from the 'Roman West' and 'Greek East' respectively appears to integrate well with the contemporary discourse on the processes of mutual acculturation expressed by the term 'Romanisation' of the Mediterranean basin (Chapter 6). In both cases, the geographical distribution of the extant examples by 'size', by 'period', and by the 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*' appear to reveal a correlation between the 'size' of a Roman theatre and the rank of the settlement in which it is located within the Roman administrative network, which would have, in its turn, been largely dependent on geo-historic factors as would also do the construction technique applied in the *cavea*, the latter contrary to the starting hypothesis of this study. This is the reason why a three-partite outline based on Fernand Braudel's three planes of historical time has been adopted (Chapter 6) as an analytical tool to highlight some points that have revealed out of comparative analyses of the interpretations individually made for the two study areas (Chapters 4 and 5). In this way, the suggested classification method is shown to enable a better integration of the study of the architectural characteristics of the Roman theatre constructions in the current state of investigations on the processes of 'Romanisation' in these two regions.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Throughout the whole study, the main difference between the contemporary approaches to the processes of 'Romanisation' and the one implied in the Greek-Roman binary opposition is tried to be highlighted within what may be defined as the 'structuralist paradigm' characterised by the presumption of a permanent core or 'another' reality beyond surface phenomena such as material culture, in reference to the works of Ernest Gellner (1982), Umberto Eco (1979, 1984, 1986, 1989, 1989a, 1994, 1997, 1997a, 1998, 1999), Roland Barthes (1997), Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1993), and Fernand Braudel (1980, 1980a, 1995, 2001). The choice for the work of these authors has been due to its focus on the structure and order of knowledge in social and natural sciences, with specific emphasis on linguistic studies and on the problem of a reunification of knowledge along the alternative 'arborescent' and 'rhizomatic' models in the case of Eco, Barthes, and Deleuze-Guattari, under the influence and as a criticism of what may be called French structuralism.

Exemplifying the former one, the Greek-Roman binary opposition presumes that that permanent core or 'other reality' consists of a system of polar opposites in such a way as to generate two binary opposite sets, one of which is privileged over the other. *'The Romans, after all, represented the foreign*

intrusion that had put an end to an independent Greece, and historians often chose their arrival in the mid-second century as the logical stopping point for accounts of Hellenistic history.' (Hoff and Rotroff 1997: ix) Part of the same imagery is the portrayal of 'low' Roman taste for plays catering to the masses (Bieber 1961: 189) and for bloody amphitheatrical games whose record in Greek East has traditionally been interpreted as an indication of forceful 'acculturation' following the establishment of Roman rule and their absence as that of local 'resistance' to such 'acculturation' (Alcock 1997: 1-2). This preference for Greece over Rome appears to have been rooted in the historical process of the construction of the idea of 'Europe' on precisely the same symbolic terrain as the nation-state, through the construction of a 'common identity' by playing down the diversity in the cultural origin of the European society (Gellner 1997: 45). Archaeology and history would participate in this process at the stage of producing an unbroken, linear, historical narrative with a 'unitary origin' in the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Celtic past and a 'Golden Age' in the Classical Greece, and more precisely in the Classical Athens, to present 'European cultural identity' as something organic and rooted in the past (Chapter 2). Specifically in studies on ancient theatre architecture, which seems to owe its development to the German school of archaeology that have largely developed along the course of German idealist thinking and under the influence of German Philhellenism, one common characteristic of the early publications appear to have been their exclusive focus on the Greek theatre, partly due to the fundamental questions brought by the idea of Rome as 'civilising' the 'barbaric' German tribes during the high-tide of German Protestant cultural nationalism in mid-nineteenth century. This seems to have left the architectural history of Roman period theatre buildings outside the preferred domains of study for a long time, before its development under the shadow of the great controversies concerning the 'origins' and 'evolution' of the Greek theatre, in which is argued to have genealogically originated the Roman theatre, however, in a rather decadent form, which would imply lack of originality.

1.2.1 Changing Conceptions of 'Romanisation'

Freeman (1997: 28) attests the roots of the 'Romanisation' debate also in the nineteenth and early twentieth century scholarship. Indeed, we seem to owe the established picture of Roman rule to the German scholar Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903). The fifth volume of his *Römische Geschichte* (1885) was translated into English in 1886 as *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* and proved to be highly influential, especially in its '*emphasis on the homogeneity of the Roman Empire and the centralisation of power*' (Hingley 2000: 113) as well as the standardised common items that occurred across it, such as towns, villas and art '*while elements of local identity were not noticed or were played down.*' (Hingley 2000: 117; also Freeman 1997: 31 and Ball 2000: 246-7) Richard Hingley (2000: 146) contextualises the wide reception of Mommsen's ideas in a milieu wherein ideas of social change in Roman Britain

became bound up with British imperial ideology through the transfer of the progressive model of civilisation argued for the latter to the process of change in the former. Accordingly, to persist in a native form, as did the Celtic tribes of the 'military' north and west during the Roman control over Britain, was considered '*a failure of progress, a refusal by uncivilised ancient people to accept the logic of Victorian and twentieth-century ideas of social evolution*' (Hingley 2000: 147) as experienced in British India. As a consequence, the term 'Romanisation' was employed, in the context of the western provinces of the Empire and in particular Roman Britain, to denote an 'evolution' in provincial society towards 'civilisation', '*with the adoption of the conqueror's culture by the conquered easily traced through the appearance of Roman artefacts, Roman styles, and Roman practices.*' (Alcock 1997: 1) In this way, whether intentionally or not, the use of the term implied '*a unidirectional flow of power and influence from core to periphery, with all transformations emanating from the central authority ... presupposing ... an entirely passive subject population*' (Alcock 1997: 1) except in the Roman East where an historical emphasis on Greek cultural continuity and superiority at the level of 'high culture' (Alcock 1997: 1; 1993: 1) seems to have prevented 'Romanisation' to become central term in scholarly studies (Woolf 2001: 173). '*Architecture is seen as a manifestation – almost a tool – of Rome consolidating its power over subject nations by a common, imposed vocabulary that was the same in every city of the empire. The only regional differences perceived were in minor decorative details and some construction techniques, otherwise regionality was non-existent.*' (Ball 2000: 247)

As part of this vocabulary, therefore, the Roman type of theatre would not only convey a fixed and inherent meaning but also imply a fixed type of relation between Rome and its provinces: that of 'uniformity' in considering each and every *colonia* or *municipium*, regardless of their location and period, as a small Rome that was apt for applying what is known to have occurred contemporaneously in the capital, as outlined by Sebastián Mariner Bigorra (1982: 17). As an example, Richard C. Beacham (1999: 126) argues that the Theatre of Marcellus became a widely imitated prototype after the establishment of the principate '*as the head of a new, more clearly defined social hierarchy that could be celebrated and in a concrete sense demonstrated in the very layout and seating of these theatres.*'

The new system of imperial government (facilitated by predominantly peaceful conditions) assisted the integration of the provinces and their population into the Roman state and Roman society, and crucially, led to their cultural development and urbanization. In the empire there were close to a thousand cities, and although many of these had relatively small populations of under fifteen thousand inhabitants, by the end of the first century AD, frequently even the smallest towns had acquired a collection of monumental public buildings, including a theatre... With the spread of Roman authority that quickened urbanization and the wealth and culture generated by prosperity and security, provincial citizens now became enthusiastic supporters of the ethos and ideals of Roman government and customs. Within the new conditions governing status and position, one effective way for a provincial to distinguish himself and attract favour was through public patronage. Thus the theatres operated as both an engine and an object of propaganda. (Beacham 1999: 126, 128)

Against this type of 'homogenising' views, recent studies on the processes of 'Romanisation' argue 'that not only was culture exchange bilateral, it was also multi-directional.' (Mattingly 1997: 9) 'It is a mistake to see the Romanization of the West simply the conquest of native peoples and the imposition of a Roman lifestyle on them. It is also wrong to see it as an unchanging process.' (Mierse 1999: 303) This would highlight the discursive nature of the idea of 'Romanisation' (Barrett 1997: 59), which has become an ambiguous concept in the past few decades due to the post-colonial critiques of traditional imperial histories and archaeologies that question the existence of a civilising mission or a desire to improve their subjects on the part of the Romans as well as the counter-argument of willingness on the part of local elites in the West in adopting Roman material symbols to reinforce their privileged status through identification with the external power of Rome, in view of the fact that:

what it meant to be Roman was hardly a uniform concept across space or through time. Today, a discourse revolving around "acculturation," "accommodation," and "resistance" is frequently preferred, allowing (as such terms seem to do) independence of action, and a degree of agency, on the part of the subject, the "Romanizee". (Alcock 1997: 2)

However loaded it may still be with the earlier discourses that have shaped Roman studies, 'Romanisation' seems to have been converted, in this way, into a generic term that implies a 'connection' between Rome and its provinces where widespread cultural changes were experienced after the establishment of Roman control, with the type of 'connection' being denoted by concepts such as 'acculturation', 'accommodation', and 'resistance', depending on the peculiarities of the affected local societies (Keay 2001: 122). Therefore, the denial of 'uniformity' as a fixed type of relation between Rome and its provinces would not necessarily overrule the possibility that imperial administration may have indeed had a civilising mission in certain periods and at certain places, as commonly argued for *Gallia*, *Germania*, and *Britannia*. Also, some among the *colonia* or *municipium* would have been apt for applying what was known to have occurred contemporaneously in the capital. Special instances of this would have been the theatre constructions, in Jerusalem, Cesara, Samaria-Sebaste, Sidon, and Damas, of Herod the Great of the Syrian East, an ally of Rome who seems to have propagated the theatre apparently under direct inspiration from Rome and not without hurting the religious sentiments of his Jewish subjects (Frézouls 1969: 153; 1982: 386). Another example that seems to have served as a model for the provinces in Africa is the Theatre in Cesara (modern Cherchel) of Juba II of Mauritania, another king protected by Rome, who was probably more deeply 'Romanised' than Herod (Frézouls 1982: 388, 391). Similarly not overruled is the possibility that Rome would have forcefully imposed cultural changes in certain places such as Athens where the Odeon of Agrippa may be read as emblematic of this kind of a practice, while the city of Athens itself is, on the other hand, *the* symbol of what may be called 'reverse-acculturation'. 'Two-way acculturation' would have taken place during the

contemporary processes of 'Romanisation' and 'indigenisation' in certain other provinces (Woolf 2001: 174). These would have been only a few among the multitude of separate processes and a multiplicity of responses to cultural contact concealed under the umbrella term of 'Romanisation' in the past two decades (Woolf 2000: 7, 15). The framework offered by this multiplicity would render meaningless the attempts to *measure* 'Romanisation', replacing it with the requirement of exploring what type of a place- and time-specific 'connection' it implies within the unifying 'system of socio-economic and administrative structures' established under Roman control over the Mediterranean basin, without which we would end up with '*cultural differences between town and country, plain and mountain, army and civilian, between this locality and that.*' (Woolf 2001: 173) Therefore, Woolf (2001: 173) assumes that recognition of cultural difference has to bring about a causal explanation as to which kinds of diversity are relics of earlier difference, which were actually produced by imperial rule, and which reflect the impact of external forces. Limited cultural change may have been an indication that one area or group had had less contact with Romans than others, which would have provided at least a partial answer to the question why the progress of Roman culture was so uneven between different areas (Woolf 2000: 19). As an example:

Within the Roman West as a whole there is a clear contrast between Mediterranean regions, like Narbonensis, with Roman colonists and higher level of urbanization which usually conform culturally fairly closely to Italian models, and more isolated inland areas, like central France, where cultural change is less evident. But varying levels of contact cannot explain the limited extent of cultural change throughout the Greek East, an area with long and intensive contacts with Romans and which was anything but isolated under the empire, while Judaism has long been seen as an important factor in determining the complex cultural map of the Roman Near East. The experience of the East illustrates the drawbacks of viewing Roman culture as essentially a side effect of Roman power. (Woolf 2000: 19)

Therefore, gaining greater support in the last decades has been the model picturing Roman provinces as developing in diverse paths and speeds, in such disparate relations with the ruling power (which has been conceptualised as centre-periphery relations in Champion 1995: 17). '*What happened on the [Iberian] peninsula is not the same as what happened in Gaul or in North Africa. The choices made were different, and the outcomes produced were distinct. Though there is a Roman stamp to everything, there is also a quality unique to each site.*' (Mierse 1999: 303-4) Partly rooted in the 'structural differences' between Roman provinces and regions, and reflecting also onto their material culture (Woolf 1997a: 343), physical characteristics such as size and agricultural fertility as well as the geographic location within the Empire seem to have played an important part in this diversity (Alcock 1993: 221). As to inter-provincial relations, those along the Mediterranean coastline are argued to have been stronger than those between coastal zones and the closer inland regions (Millet 1997: 202).

In this way, recent studies on the processes of 'Romanisation' in the Mediterranean basin seem to highlight the impact on them of Fernand Braudel's 'geo-history', or the almost timeless history of the relationship between man and the environment, which is one of the three temporal planes in which the

author approaches to the past in his *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1995). The other two planes consist of the gradually-changing history of economic, social and political 'structures', and the fast-moving history of 'events'. Braudel argues that the history of 'events' is unintelligible without the history of 'structures', which is in turn unintelligible without 'geo-history'. Therefore, by dividing historical time into 'geographical', 'social' and 'individual' time in this way, he attempts to combine its study with that of the complex interaction between the environment, the economy, society, politics, culture, and events, which he integrated into a 'total history' (Burke 1990: 40-2). For Braudel (1980a: 34) '*history is the total of all possible histories—an assemblage of professions and points of view, from yesterday, today, and tomorrow.*'

As in the idea of a hierarchically-organised 'network of cities' whose creation has recently been evaluated by experts as the crucial impact of Rome both in the eastern and the western provinces of the Empire, for Braudel also, the 'heart' of European history was the Mediterranean, and the 'heart' of the Mediterranean was its cities that formed a pumping 'urban system' in control of the pulsation of the region's parts. According to Kinser (1981: 75), this is a view that emphasises commercial exchanges rather than patterns of production, consumption, or distribution. Yet, underlying all Braudel sees the geohistorical process that has a specific, concrete object tied to the soil, to down-to-earth, elemental, ecological conditions, develops very slowly, and is fundamental to other kinds of historical processes (Kinser 1981: 69). In this humanistic-naturalistic view of human existence, 'Man' [as well as cities] appears as the intersection of 'Space', which is usually analysed as a series of socially influenced ecological systems, and 'Time', which is conceived in a multiplicity of 'levels' with different rhythms (Kinser 1981: 67). This contextual approach would mark a paradigm change that would bring about a methodological problem related to the creation and use of typologies in studies on Mediterranean cities and their architecture that could no longer be addressed by 'homogenising' classifications such as the one based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition.

Samuel Kinser (1981: 89) highlights Braudel's strategy against the structuralist dilemma, of viewing the Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II both as an organic whole in itself *and* as a mechanical agglomerate of constituent parts, as that of displacing the problem of conceptual coherence to one of representational coherence by skilfully achieving an integrated text. Hans Kellner (1979: 217-22) similarly interprets Braudel's *The Mediterranean*, which he characterises by a flood of anatomical details that apparently offer an analysis of the issue into its constituent parts in clearly-cut three volumes, as a text that cries out desperately to be noticed and understood formally, as a linguistic solution offered for a deep linguistic dilemma rooted in the impossibility of the project of 'total history' through structuralist activity, for:

as the post-structuralists have repeatedly pointed out, structuralist activity is its own dismantling; for the relationship of structuralism to its structures may also be viewed structurally – ironically – thus displacing

infinitely the central notion from which structuralism proper, the Saussurean tradition, proceeds. [...] All texts contain their own deconstruction: this deconstruction is not *done* to them – any more than the structuralist creates the structures that he identifies – it is always already there. (Kellner 1979: 220)

Right from the beginning has been clear the impossibility also of the project, undertaken in this study, of unifying all the extant knowledge on the ancient theatre remains so far documented in architectural and/or epigraphic record in modern Spain and Greece, to contextualise them in 'time' and 'place' in such a way as to reveal the types of relations they have among themselves, for the purpose of defining categories for a typology that would enable better integration of their study in contemporary discourses on cultural diversity and change in the Mediterranean basin. Nevertheless, the attempt to interpret their geographical distribution by 'size', by 'construction period', and by 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*' has evoked Braudel's three planes of historical time as a textual tool to combine the study of Roman theatre architecture with that of the processes of 'Romanisation' as a complex interaction between the environment, the economy, society, politics, culture, and events. For, as noted above after Kinser (1981: 89), the format Braudel conceived for his *The Mediterranean* offers a representational solution to the problem of lack of conceptual coherence between various factors that shape the architectural characteristics of ancient theatres, such as the topographical characteristics of their site, the size of the target audience, or the people and institutions involved in their construction. Enabling a consideration of all these and other factors together, the Braudelian model embraces specific assumptions that relate some of these various factors to others, as in the starting hypothesis of this study, allowing also for a deduction of certain propositions that are testable on the basis of factual data. Refutation of those propositions would not, in any case, disprove the fertility of the adopted model as a central analytical tool.

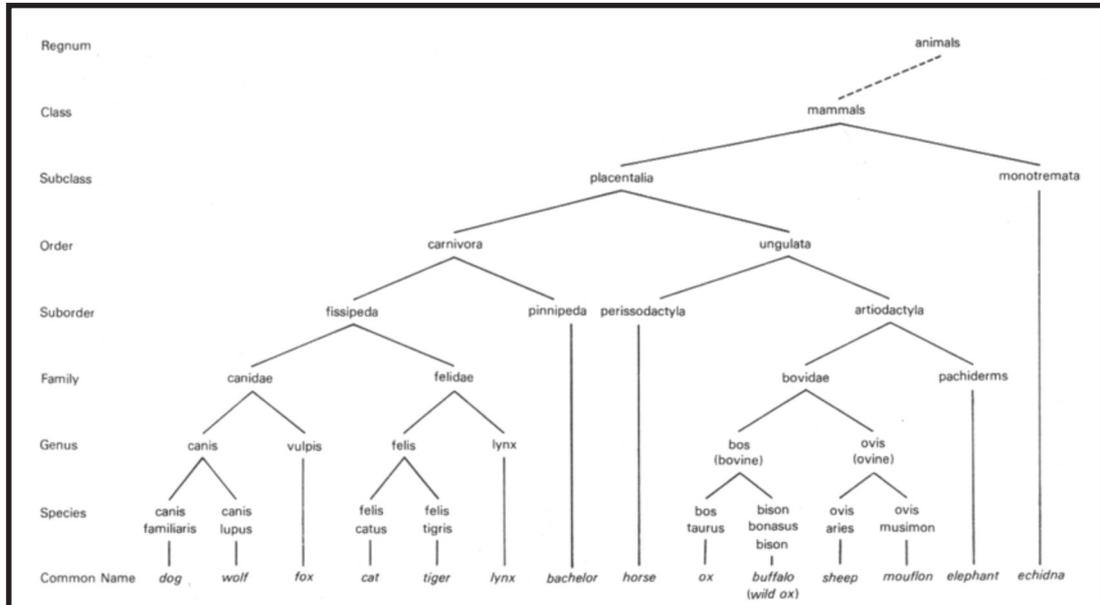
Benefiting from assessments and criticisms of methodology is one of the advantages of adopting a model such as the one conceived by Braudel which has been embraced in many different academic fields, including archaeology (cf. Bintliff 1991; Knapp 1992). His emphasis on the long term (*la longue durée*) in his attempt to divide historical time into three planes which he then integrates into a 'total history', proved to be influential in social sciences in general (Burke 1990: 40-2). Similarly, 'geo-history' proved to be the most influential conception in the *The Mediterranean*, whose first 300 pages are devoted to mountains and plains, coastlines and islands, climate, land routes, and sea routes. This aspect has also triggered the most radical of all criticism the book received: that of geographic determinism, which has resulted, for some critics, in a history without Man, who is described by Braudel (1980: 31) as prisoner of his mental framework and of his physical environment. Obvious is the irrelevance of this criticism for an attempt such as the present one, which focuses on ancient theatre buildings that should be conceived, from an epistemological point of view, as individual 'events'

produced by man on the third plane, as is often done in architectural theory (e.g. Isozaki and Asada 1999; Rajchman 1999; Tschumi 1999). The determining conscious will of man is known to be responsible for all architectural creations and also for changes in the natural setting especially of urban areas. On the other hand, the fact that all Roman public buildings were constructed with the permission, if not under the initiative, of public authorities would make them product of economic, social, political, and cultural 'structures' outlined by Braudel. As to the capacity of architectural 'events' to modify those 'structures', we may refer to works that define Roman public architecture as actively *and* consciously involved in Roman imperial policy of identity-building in Rome itself as well as in the provinces since the time of Augustus (cf. Zanker 1990; Onians 1988). This last aspect will be the least frequently addressed among the major lines of interpretation offered by the adoption of the Braudelian model in this study that will rather concentrate on a reading of Roman theatres in modern Spain and Greece as a product of Roman socio-political and administrative 'structures', which are in their turn shaped by the 'geo-historical specificities' of these two regions of the Mediterranean basin.

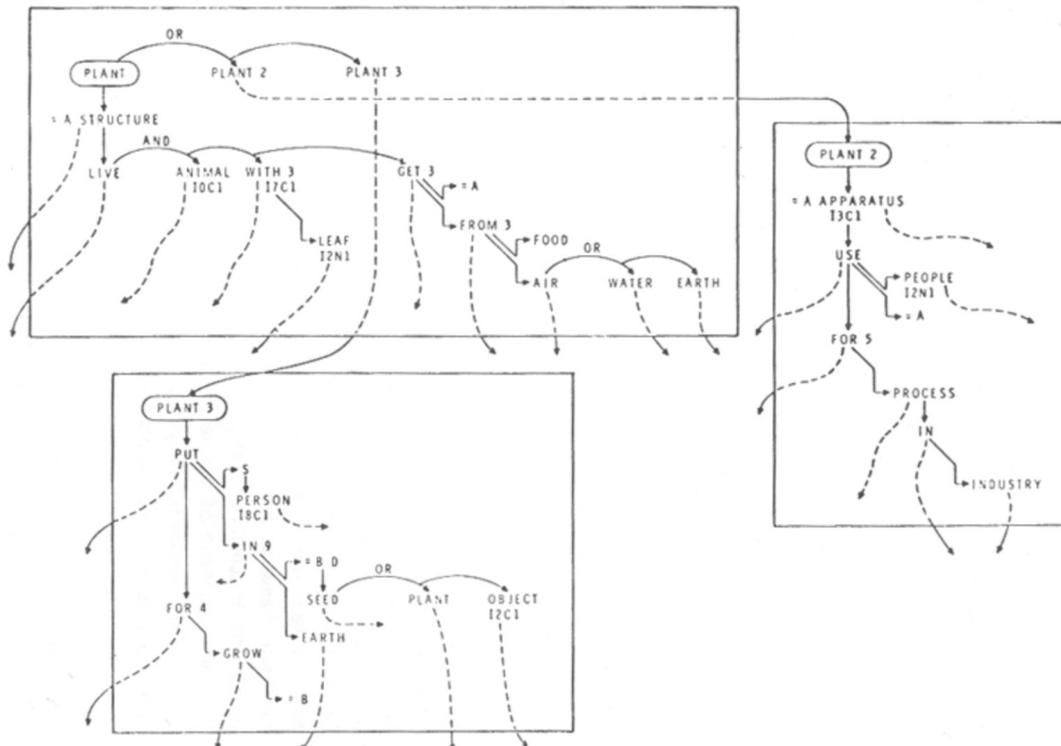
A supporting example from ancient theatre studies comes with the recently-coined 'Greco-Roman' and 'Gallo-Roman' type of theatres whose implementation is argued to have been limited to the Roman provinces of *Asia* and *Gallia* respectively (Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994/95/96: 134, 140). Instead of the line of explanation offered by Hazel Dodge (1999: 231) for the hybrid form of the so-called 'Gallo-Roman' type of theatre as a development particularly characteristic of the 'far less Romanized' areas of *Gallia*, *Germania*, and *Britannia*, what is implied in the creation of these two sub-categories under the Roman type of theatre is a dialectical process in which the place- and time-specific correlation assumed between ancient theatre buildings and their geohistorical context would enable, on the one hand, a better interpretation of the extant remains in reference to the 'structural connections' of their locations before and during Roman control while, on the other hand, certain of the architectural features they displayed would provide contextual information through comparative studies. The structure of the resulting classification would be very different from the tree-like structure of the typology based on Greek-Roman binary opposition (fig. 1.1).

1.2.2 Changing Models of Knowledge

A closer model may be found in the works of the *Encyclopaedists* of the Enlightenment, Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, the latter of whom noted the need for introducing intermediary paths between the various nodes in the allegedly Aristotelian model for classification of knowledge called the 'Porphyrian Tree' (fig.1.1) in such a way as to transform it gradually into a 'geographical chart' or 'map', as the most economic solution to cope with the problem of the reunification of knowledge as in the *Encyclopaedia* itself, which has been described by the author as a kind of 'world map' whose form



- PLANT:**
1. Living structure which is not an animal, frequently with leaves, getting its food from air, water, earth.
 2. Apparatus used for any process in industry.
 3. Put (seed, plant, etc.) in earth for growth.



From Marvin Minsky, ed., *Semantic Information Processing*, Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1968.

Figure 1.1 The Porphyrian 'tree' representing a classification of natural kinds, according to which a cat is a cat only when it has the properties in conjunction of 'cat', 'felis catus', 'felis', 'felid', 'fissiped', and 'carnivorous placental animal' (Eco 1986: 55); and a representation of how M. Ross Quillan's 'polydimensional network' model for a semantic memory works for 'plant' (Eco 1979:123)

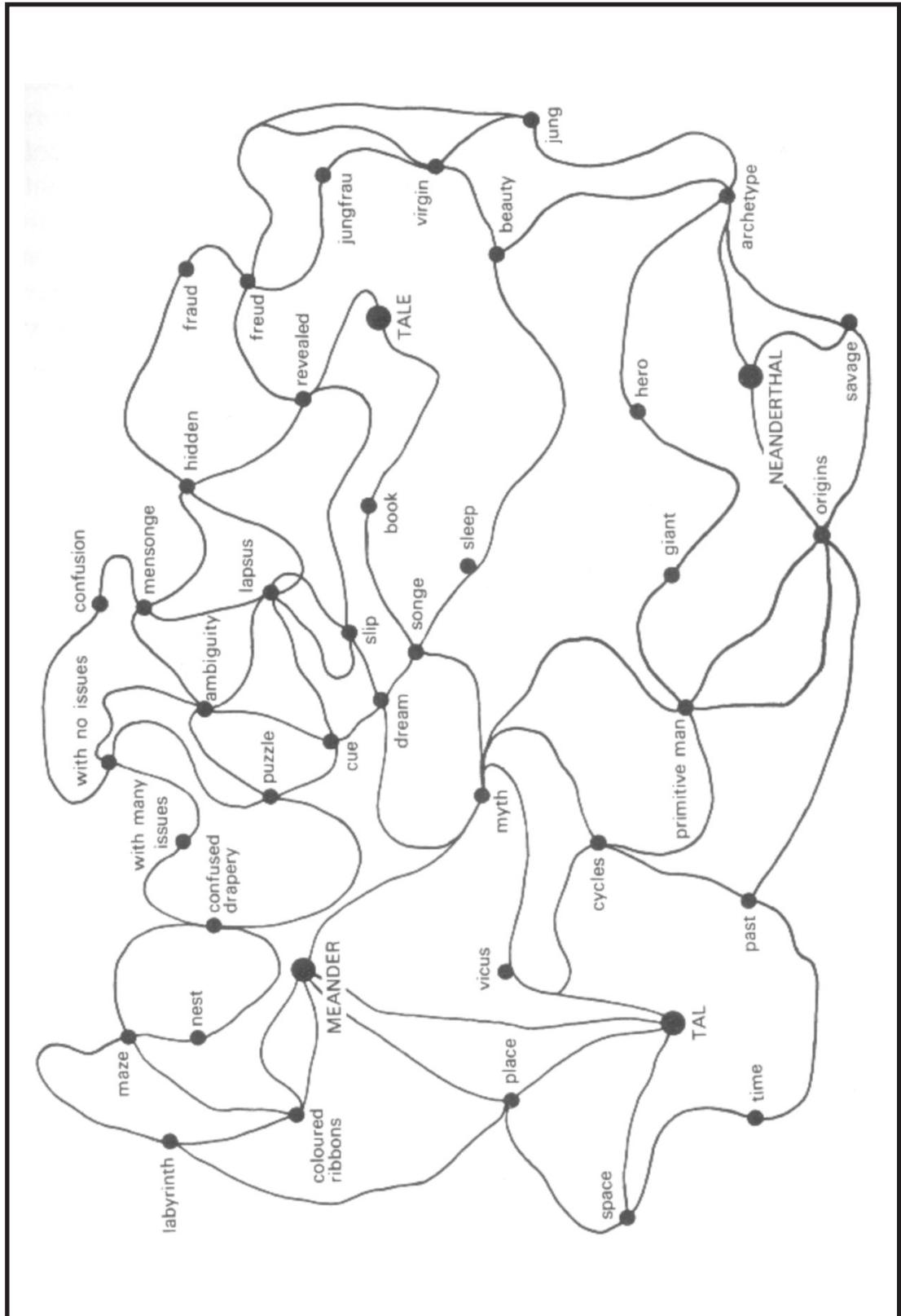


Figure 1.2 Umberto Eco's map of the interconnected metaphors that make the cultural background recognizable for comprehending the 'meandertale' pun in James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* (Eco 1984: 75; 1989a: 71; 1994: 141)

would depend on the perspective imposed on it to examine the cultural universe, implying the existence of as many different systems of human knowledge as there are cartographic projections (Diderot and d'Alembert 1996: 51). In this way, the *Encyclopaedia* reunifies the knowledge of the universe of the human culture in the form of a 'network of interpretants' that is virtually infinite as it takes into account multiple interpretations of any given expression as many times and in as many ways as it has been actually interpreted in a given cultural framework (Eco 1986: 83).

The 'encyclopaedic' model of knowledge, whose structure basically resembled a 'tree' except in the intermediary paths introduced between various nodes, made conceivable what is commonly called the 'net', 'network', 'labyrinthine', 'meander' or 'rhizomatic' model best represented in the vegetable metaphor of the 'rhizome' suggested by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in 1976. Among other features, a 'rhizomatic structure' is characterised by the connection of every point of it with every other in a multidimensionally complicated structure that changes through the time and that can only be described locally, as a hypothesis which is subject to falsification, since no one at any point can have the global vision of all its possibilities (Eco 1986: 80-2). A 'rhizomatic' structuring of knowledge would enable what Umberto Eco (1979: 122) names 'unlimited semiosis' after M. Ross Quillian's (1968)² model for a semantic memory (fig. 1.1), which is based on a mass of nodes interconnected by various sorts of associative links, with each node (called 'type') corresponding to a term to be defined through the employment of other terms (called 'tokens') that are themselves defined through the employment of yet other terms, some of which are interpretants also of the initial term. In this way, the overall structure of the complete memory forms an aggregation of 'planes' consisting of 'nodes' whose definition is interconnected with the universe of all other signs that function as interpretants (Eco 1979: 122). Such a model may be represented as a 'polydimensional network' equipped with topological properties in such a way as to enable abbreviation or elongation of the covered distances and acquisition by each term of proximity with others by means of shortcuts and immediate contacts while remaining linked with all the others according to the continually changing relationships (Eco 1979: 124). In this way, it would be possible to penetrate from one term, taken as a 'type' and therefore the centre, to the farthest periphery of the whole universe of cultural units, each of which can in turn become the centre and create infinite peripheries (Eco 1979: 122).

An example from linguistic studies would be the pun of 'meandertale' in James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, which would provide an entrance into Joyce's linguistic universe through the gateway offered by one of the component words of the pun to deduce the others through multiple and continuous ways, as in a garden where the paths fork (fig. 1.2). Eco (1984: 68, 72) suggests that each metaphor produced in the *Finnegans Wake* would be comprehensible because a reading of the entire book in different

² Quillian, Ross M. 1968. 'Semantic memory' in *Semantic Information Processing*, edited by Marvin Minsky. The MIT Press, Cambridge.

directions would furnish the chain of metonymic connections that constitute the framework of the code and upon which is based the constitution of any partial or theoretically global semantic field. In this way, the ideal reader of the *Finnegans Wake* is led into a game of associations that were previously suggested to him by the text constituted as a field of oriented possibilities (Eco 1984: 76). The text would complete its cycle as a metaphor when it would be transformed into 'knowledge' and turned into 'culture' after the restructuring of the field and rearrangement of the semiosis (Eco 1984: 87). But since that every interpretation would always be partial (Eco 1999: 155), this would seem as impossible a project as that of a global description of the whole 'rhizome'. For this reason:

for some the most relevant aspect of *Finnegans Wake* is not the work itself but the project that underlies it. *Finnegans Wake* speaks of the structuring of a circular universe in which it is possible to establish multiple relationships among the various elements, and in which every element can assume different meanings and relational capacities depending on how we want to understand the context—and vice versa. (Eco 1989:175)

In the adoption of this model for a classification of the extant ancient theatre remains for a better integration of their study in contemporary discourses on the processes of 'Romanisation' in the Mediterranean basin, each theatre would correspond to a 'node' in a 'rhizomatic structure' instead of being listed in two columns along the 'tree-like' Greek-Roman binary opposition. In this way, every theatre would be connected to every other with various sorts of associative links that would enable their definition and interpretation in reference to other examples, although what could be perceived at any 'node' would be generally limited to the local vision of the closest ones, without the possibility of having the global vision of all the possibilities offered by it. Lines of segmentarity would stratify, territorialize, organise, and signify (Deleuze and Guattari 1993: 8) exceptional unique cases, such as the Theatre of *Dionysus* in Athens, as well as 'Greco-Roman' and 'Gallo-Roman' theatres, the latter of whose name does not denote the kind of 'hybridity' implied by the term 'Greco-Roman' and yet all are connected to every other. Support for an attempt to adopt the 'rhizomatic' model to unify, represent, and classify our current state of knowledge on ancient theatre architecture comes from the following comment of Frézouls in favour of the censor edited by Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio (1994/95/96):

But how can we make full use of hundreds of the preserved monuments and reconstruct the evolution and chronology of their forms when we lack the knowledge of the more dilapidated or less well preserved monuments that are sometimes an indispensable link in the chain? We are in no position to assess the importance of initiatives taken by rulers if we are unable to compare Africa and Judaea. We are in no position to evaluate differences between traditions in Syria and Asia Minor unless we make a comparative study of each and every monument. The characteristic forms of the Gallo-German West and the persistent problem of the "theatre-amphitheatre" will continue to be incomprehensible until we have a complete inventory. We run the very same risk in connection with modifications carried out on theatres to adapt them to the staging of gladiatorial games in the Greek Orient. Quite apart from architectural considerations, we need to acquire a precise, homogeneous and as thorough as possible knowledge of monuments if we are to appreciate all the religious, social and political associations of ancient theatrical performances and move away from the sphere of clichés and hypotheses that cannot be verified. (Frézouls 1994/95/96:60)

Change within this kind of a model that represents every single ancient theatre as connected to every other with various sorts of associative links may follow the 'organic' or 'mechanic' models alike, with the former signifying a progressive evolution that connects change in one part to change in all others toward greater complexity, inclusiveness, and totalisation while the latter is usually conceived as occurring in a sequential order determined by adjacency in the sense that *'what happens next to a mechanically articulated aggregate is conditioned by the sequence of what has happened before to the mechanical or organic entities with which it is in contact.'* (Kinser 1981: 72) The relevance of the distinction comes from the adoption, as a model for centre-periphery relations in Roman studies, of 'systems theory' as suggested by Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein starting from the late 1960s in such a way as to embrace an entire world system, stressing the essential interrelation of the individual parts of larger systems such as an empire (Alcock 1993: 5; 1989: 87). More recent studies such as the Boeotia Survey (1978-1987) on the Roman countryside in central Greece has led to a criticism of the 'core-periphery' model in its false assumption that a uniform political system such as the pre-capitalist Roman Empire would feature total integration, as if it were a multi-national corporation or a unified and centrally-directed economic block (Bintliff 1991a: 129). The alternative view coming out of these surveys is that the 'health' of individual provinces apparently varied markedly across the Early and then the Late Empire and locally from century to century (Bintliff 1991a: 129). So:

Rather than seeing an ancient empire as an organic whole, with Rome for example acting as a typical 'brain organ' and each limb dependent on all the others for the flow of vital nourishment and preservation from disease, we should instead perhaps consider such empires as mechanical agglomerations of discrete regions, welded together by political forces but in important respects forming a series of semi-autonomous economies. Of course there were flows of tax to the centre and flows of exchange between provinces, but it could be argued that these were of less importance than the state of health of the regional, internal, economy. (Bintliff 1991a: 130)

The conclusions of the present study that attempts to classify the geographical distribution of the extant ancient theatre remains in two remote remote regions of the Roman Empire by their size, construction period, and construction technique applied in the *cavea* would seem to support these observations. They, therefore, provide support for the idea suggested by Deleuze and Guattari (1993: 9) that evolutionary schemas, in ancient theatre and other studies, should follow not *'models of arborescent descent going from the least to the most differentiated, but instead a rhizome operating immediately in the heterogeneous and jumping from one already differentiated line to another.'* The resulting 'map' of ancient theatres would, in any case, be partial, open and connectable in all of its dimensions through multiple entryways, and also detachable, reversible, and susceptible to constant modifications (Deleuze and Guattari 1993: 12), allowing for the production of a multiplicity of maps reflecting the multiplicity of philosophical positions that may be taken in examining the extant data. In the impossibility of having the global vision of all the possibilities of such a mapping exercise, the local descriptions presented as part

of this study could only exemplify an attempt to explore the correlation between the theatre construction activity and other processes of 'Romanisation' in what now corresponds to the modern Spain and Greece, which would hopefully illustrate the usefulness of the suggested classificatory method for an interpretation of the variety observed in the architectural characteristics of ancient theatre remains as an indication of cultural diversity and change in the Mediterranean basin, which have been embraced in the past decades within the idea of a new and united Europe that encourages the growth of multiple identities among citizens, including minorities (Keating 2000: 30).

CHAPTER 2

TYOLOGICAL STUDIES OF ANCIENT THEATRE ARCHITECTURE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter offers a critical inquiry into the historical context of the invention, consolidation, and on-going popularity of the ancient theatre typology based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition, for a better understanding of its philosophical and theoretical foundations. In the following chapter, those foundations will be scrutinised in order to discover, in their limitations for an assessment and restitution of the architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains, a new set of variables for devising an alternative method of classification that adopts the 'network' model.

The idea of conceptualising ancient theatres as a 'network', which is argued here to be a better classificatory model than the Greek-Roman binarism for an interpretation of the variety in their architectural characteristics, is not an invention of the present study. *A European Network of Ancient Places of Performance* that 'emphasises the European dimension of the Greco-Roman heritage and establishes a link between the northern and southern Mediterranean' (Therond 2000) was one of the two major campaigns initiated by the Council of Europe as part of the *European Plan for Archaeology* in the 1990s (ECC), which was launched after the 1992 *European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage* (Pluciennik 1998: 818). The idea of 'internal homogeneity' and 'historical continuity' implied in its emphasis on the 'European dimension' of the Greco-Roman heritage marks the major difference of the *European Network* from the present study that argues for the necessity of adopting the 'network' model for a better integration of the studies on ancient theatre architecture into contemporary discourses emphasizing, on the contrary, 'cultural diversity' and 'change' in the Mediterranean basin.

This chapter will trace the emergence of such an emphasis on the 'European dimension' of the Greco-Roman heritage in the importance the concept of 'Europe' achieved in the nineteenth-century when Ancient Greece also assumed its influential image as the fountainhead of the European civilisation. The resulting superiority attributed to the Ancient Greek culture over the Ancient Roman will be argued to

have given shape to the ancient theatre typology based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition, mainly under the influence of German philhellenism, idealism and formalism. The popular history of ancient theatre architecture outlining a unilinear evolution from the Ancient Theatre of Dionysus in Athens to our contemporary time in a chronological stylistic sequence, as in Margarete Bieber's still classical *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (1961), will be presented as reinforcing the opposition between the Greek and Roman type of theatres by portraying Ancient Greece as the 'unitary origin' and 'Golden Age' of western performing arts and architecture in this continuum. This will be observed to have left the architectural history of Roman period theatre buildings outside the preferred domains of study for a long time, before its development under the shadow of the great controversies over the Greek theatre—namely, the 'origins' in and 'evolution' genealogically from the Greek type of theatre building under the warrant of Vitruvius, however, in a rather decadent form.

2.1 Ideological Origins: the Idea of 'European Cultural Identity'

The 'emphasis on the European dimension of the Greco-Roman heritage' seems to date back to a current of nineteenth century social evolutionist thinking that portrays the European Community as a logical development of the Enlightenment, as revealed by the epistemology and rationality underlying Community initiatives and the images of European culture upon which they rely (Shore 1996: 102).

European identity is thus portrayed as the end product of a progressive ascent through history—albeit a highly selective history—from the wisdom and scholarship of Ancient Greece and the law and architecture of Classical Rome through the spread of Christian civilisation to the scientific revolution, the Age of Reason and the triumph of modern liberal democracy. (Shore 1996: 106)

The Council of Europe's choice to form a *European Network of Ancient Places of Performance* after the 1992 *European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage* to emphasise the European dimension of the Greco-Roman heritage would provide support for the identification, behind the portrayal of 'European identity' as the end product of a progressive ascent through history, of precisely the same symbolic terrain as the nation-state (e.g. Jones and Graves-Brown 1996; Jones 1996). Basically the same process is argued for local, regional, ethnic, national and '*supra-nationalist phenomena such as the construction of the European identity*' (Hamilakis 1996: 976) as a well-integrated, bounded and even fixed, homogeneous and continuous entity that occupies an exclusive spatio-temporal position and is precisely distinguishable from other analogous entities with its cultural particularity and unique collectiveness (Jones 1996: 65). Archaeology and history participates in this process at the stage of producing a historical narrative re-written to present group identity as something organic and rooted in the past (Shore 1996: 105) for its establishment in the eyes of the group

members and the international community. 'Typically group identities are represented as unified, monolithic wholes, with linear and continuous histories' (Jones 1996: 62) that are 'based on a common logic – an unbroken, linear, historical account, with a unitary origin, and frequently a "Golden Age"' (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 3).

Notably enough in this regard, Margarete Bieber bridges the chronological gap encountered between the 'Plays of the Roman Empire – Seneca' (Chapter XV) and 'The Influence of the Ancient Theatre on the Modern Theatre' (Chapter XVI) at the end of *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (1961) by highlighting the fact that:

The history of the Greek and Roman theatre, like the history of the whole Greek and Roman culture, is so rich and many-sided that each later period of European civilization has found some aspect of it to use as an inspiration or model for its own time. Even the periods which resented the ancient theatre and the religion which underlay its productions found something to explore and to use for their own goals. Thus the medieval period with its distrust of everything pagan and the romantic age of the early nineteenth century with its hatred for classicising and its nationalistic tendency, drew occasionally on ancient sources which are still living and productive today. (Bieber 1961: 254)

Coming to the buildings in which the ancient plays used to be and still is staged, their distinction from other types of ancient remains, and perhaps from all other types of architectural remains around Europe, may be better understood under the light of the concept of 'permanence', which is used by Aldo Rossi in *The Architecture of the City* (1986) to analyse the European city by introducing 'housing' and 'monuments' as the two main permanencies in it. Since housing is a permanence in the city and the individual houses are not, residential districts tend to change their physical form while the relationship is the opposite in monuments '*for here it is the individual artifact that persists in the city. Monuments are defined by Rossi as primary elements in the city, by their nature as a place of symbolic function, and thus a function related to time, as opposed to a place of conventional function, which is only related to use.*' (Rossi 1986: 6) For this reason, monuments are dialectically related to the city's growth, as a permanency and primary elements in it, containing a multiplicity of functions over time. Although '*these functions are entirely independent of the form ... it is precisely the form that impresses us; we live it and experience it, and in turn it structures the city.*' (Rossi 1986: 29) Herein lies the major distinction of ancient theatre remains among archaeological heritage resources: they materially belong to and are also emblematic of the Antiquity but they are perhaps *the only* ancient building type tokens of which still have the potential of maintaining their conventional function as places of performance, which is entirely dependent on their form.

In of *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, Bieber (1961: 167) postulates that '*The development of the theatre building always follows the development of dramatic literature.*' Hence she explains the development of the theatre building in the Classical Greek period by the rise of the satyr

play and tragedy from religious roots (Chapter I) to culminate in Attic tragedy (Chapter II). The first chapter begins by explaining why the religion of Dionysus is the only one in Antiquity in whose rites dramatic plays could have originated. A material evidence of this emergence is given as a pediment relief from the first sixth-century BC soft poros temple erected at the Sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus in Athens, representing a bacchic dance of satyrs and maenads that possibly decorated a still earlier monument in the Sanctuary in relation to an altar and a sacred grove, with an enclosing wall. *'As the oldest form of the Dionysiac service was the dancing and singing of a chorus, there must have been from the beginning a chorus (χορός) or an orchestra (from orcheisthai, ὀρχεῖσθαι, to dance), that is, a dancing place for the chorus, named after its purpose.'* (Bieber 1961: 54)

As to the spectators, they originally stood or sat on the slope of the Acropolis and then *'sat on wooden benches which, of course, had to be straight, but could be arranged as a polygon'* (Bieber 1961: 63) which Bieber emphasises to be essentially circular in shape. They were still on these benches when *'the literary and dramatic efforts of the earliest Attic tragedians were completed and perfected by Aeschylus (c. 525-456 BC)'* (Bieber 1961: 20) who was followed by Sophocles (496-406 BC), and Euripides (c. 484-406 BC). The 'Golden Age' of these great tragedians, and of the Old Comedy of Aristophanes and the following Middle and New Comedy (Chapter III), all acted out in the Dionysiac Festivals (Chapter IV), is also the time when a permanent stage building was planned at the edge of the *orchestra* in a durable and practical form, following the requirements of their plays (Bieber 1961: 109). Its construction was begun for the first time during the Peace of Nicias (421-415 BC) in the Age of Pericles but could not be finished before the time of Lycurgus who was in charge of the Treasury of Athens from 338 BC to 326 BC. This explains why the Theatre in the Sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis is the 'archetype' of an architectural idea first stated by this building and later evolved into excellence in the Theatre of the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus (Bieber 1961: 71), which marks the 'Golden Age' of ancient theatre architecture, whose development would have always followed that of the dramatic arts, lagging therefore behind by a couple of decades. This line of interpretation has given way to *'the general idea that the theatre of Dionysos and the theatre of Epidauros played a leading role in the creation of the canon of the monumental theatre building'* (Frederiksen 2000: 136) and are often referred to as models for the construction of other theatres.

Once developed into a permanent form, however, the Classical Greek theatre building would continue its development first in scenery and mechanical devices (Chapter VI). Then the following evolution of the art of acting (Chapter VII) would make possible the replacement of Middle Comedy, at about the time of Alexander the Great, by the New Comedy best represented by the human types of Menander

(Chapter VIII) that required a raised stage for their representation, which is characteristic of the Hellenistic Theatre building, as in its earliest dating and best preserved example, the Theatre of Priene (Chapter IX). With its 'Western' proskenion and 'Eastern' long and narrow variations, both originating in Greek soil but under different influences, the divergence of this raised stage from the low one used during representations of Italian Popular Comedy (Chapter X) that influenced the Roman plays at the time of the Republic (Chapter XI) sets up the method Bieber uses to outline the development of the Roman Theatre building during the Republican period (Chapter XIII): that of comparison with the Greek-Hellenistic building to highlight their remarkable difference, as was done much earlier by Vitruvius who is often cited by Bieber. Additionally, Roman Theatre buildings in Italy and the provinces during the Empire (Chapter XIV) are shown to display a variety among themselves, as represented by the categories of 'Purely Roman Theatres', 'Graeco-Roman Theatres', and 'Odea' into which they have been grouped by Bieber whereas such differentiation is argued to be confined to the Eastern-Western binary opposition of the stage in the Greek-Hellenistic type.

As is highlighted in this outline, a common characteristic Bieber's *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (1961) shares with other accounts, such as Peter D. Arnott's *The Ancient Greek and Roman Theatre* (1971) or Hazel Dodge's (1999) chapter on entertainment and leisure buildings in the Roman world in the textbook on *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*, is its focus on the 'origins' and 'evolution' of ancient drama and the building that housed it, from the flat areas in the sanctuary or temple sites where Greek religious festivals used to take place. These would have later become monumental and permanent, developing to meet the changes in dramatic technique principally in Athens and 'spread in the Mediterranean as the sphere of Greek influence broadened, and it was presumably through contact with the Greeks of southern Italy and Sicily that the idea of theatre and drama was first introduced to the Romans.' (Dodge 1999: 209) Detailed accounts of this latter interaction and the development of the early and later Roman stages have recently been provided by Richard C. Beacham (1991; 1999).

As such, these narratives appear to contribute to, and be influenced from, the promotion of Ancient Greece as the 'unitary origin' of the 'European cultural identity', which assumed its influential image as the fountainhead of European civilisation in the nineteenth century when 'Europe' also achieved the importance it now has as a concept with the Enlightenment and the rise of nationalism (Coleman and Walz 1997: xii). Ancient Greece was evaluated as enough removed from mainstream history throughout which the Latin tradition had infused deeply via ecclesiastical institutions, the legal system, aesthetic values and language itself. To appeal to Ancient Rome would mean to draw upon a line of continuous cultural influence whereas Greece, by virtue of its discontinuity:

could be fashioned as the cultural *fons et origo*, and its projected ideals the *telos*, of a revolutionised European civilisation. Greece offered an alternative to the Biblical paradigm. Athenian democracy presented resources for political and social progressivists in the battle against royalist prerogatives. And the *polis* promised alternative rationales to the eventually problematic realities of modernity's social, economic, and political structures. Greece, constructed first by the *philosophes*, then adopted and adapted by others, provided the missing charter myth for modern Europe. (Held 1997: 256)

According to Ian Morris (1994a: 16), the rise of Hellenism with J.J. Winckelmann (1717-1768) and his successors could be seen as part of the German cultural resistance to French cultural domination as the self-proclaimed 'new Rome', wherein Protestantism and Luther's insistence on understanding Christianity *sola scriptura* (i.e. by the 'Greek' text alone, without Latin commentaries) formed a mainstay, encouraging identification with the Greek language. Yet, Winckelmann was part of the still wider movement of Romanticism (Morris 1994a: 17) and the Romantic philhellenic myth of continuity would be with a 'classical' and 'pagan' past' (Holst-Warhaft 1997: 278). '*And just as French kings could think of themselves as Roman emperors, squabbling German princes could identify with the warring Greek cities.*' (Morris 1994a: 17) After the French and American revolutions that made all republicanism, even Roman, suspect to conservatives (Morris 1994a: 17), the French would associate ancient Greece with the Enlightenment ideals of universalism, reason, and liberty while the Germans would discover in it a paradigm for particularism, community, and the grounds for disenchantment with reason (Held 1997: 259). Later in Prussia and Great Britain, education would be based on Classical and especially Greek philology in order to justify the cultural and social values of the established order '*by presenting them as the legacy of an idealized Greece*' (Fontana 1995: 3). In this way, '*An idealised Greece was defined as the starting point of Europeanness...*' (Morris 1994a: 20) For this reason, numerous European travel accounts dating from the eighteenth century onwards reflect a kind of 'high nostalgia' for the Ancient Greece—"*nostalgia*" in the original meaning of that word as the longing for a lost home, for a clearer sense of cultural origins; "high" in that what was longed for was a legitimization of the political and intellectual ideology underlying a progressivist transnational outlook.' (Held 1997: 258)

The idea of 'Europe' was formulated as a conceptual category in archaeological thought at about the same time, on the basis of the '*philosophical and historical discourse of the uniqueness of Europe in opposition to the Orient*' (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 12). This would demand a revised foundation myth, the conceptualisation of which would depend largely on ancient Greece's distinction from Oriental Antiquity (Held 1997: 255-6). Greek archaeologists were, therefore, intimately involved with a two-century old project of understanding 'Europeanness' by their claim to be searching the '*very cradle of Europeanness*', which is why historians of archaeology view it among the formative disciplines of the late nineteenth century that provided '*a foundation myth for Euro-American civilisation*' within an intellectual tradition of Hellenism that had its roots in eighteenth-century political struggles (Morris 1994:

3; 1994a: 8-9). In this way, Greek archaeology has appropriated the past for political ends in a most extreme form, in such a way as to contribute to the notions of 'Europe' through an '*idealisation of ancient Greece as the birthplace of a European spirit*' (Morris 1994a: 11).

2.2 Historical Orientations: Debates on 'Origins' and 'Evolution'

A reflection of this emphasis on and preoccupation with Ancient Greece as the 'origin', 'fountainhead', 'lost home', or 'cradle' of European culture may be found in the emphasis on and preoccupation with the 'unitary origin' and later 'evolution' of ancient theatre architecture in the studies and publications in this field. The diversity of opinions on the topic include, remarkably, a Bronze Age ancestry in the rectilinear flights of steps in the central (Knossos LM I, LM II, LM IIIA; Phaestos; Mallia MM I, MM III – LM I) and later outer (Gournia) courtyards of Cretan courtyard-centred constructions (fig. B.21). Despite the several hundred years of total abandonment between them, the rectilinear Early Greek Agora *theatron* in the island (Dreos, Lato) are argued to have evolved from these constructions and later reached the mainland Greece (Stanley 1970; Polacco 1983). Among those who agree upon the more conventional view attesting an origin in mainland Greece from an early *theatron* and an *orchestra*, on the other hand, diversity of opinion exists on their shape and on the process of their evolution.

The mainstream trend favours a circular *orchestra* as the primary element around which temporary seating arrangements later attained permanence, with the shape of the arrangement explained by the evolution of dramatic arts from circling cultic dances. While extremist anthropological approaches in the same line of thought suggest an evolution from the threshing floor (e.g. Ure 1955) and, in their Marxist anthropological version (e.g. Thomson 1973), imply the possibility of multi-nuclear development, the dominant view favours Athens for locating the development of the Classical Greek theatre building. The firmest support for this view comes from Wilhelm Dörpfeld's restitution of the earliest *orchestra*, on a terrace above the earliest Temple of Dionysus on the southeast slope of the Athenian Acropolis, as a circle measuring about 27 meters, with a *thymele* or a *bema* possibly standing at its centre and an altar on sacrificial steps. Partly due to what Frederiksen (2000: 152) names 'scholarly Athenocentricity', the 'invention' of the fully-developed semicircular canon in the theatre building (consisting of the *theatron* and the *orchestra*) '*is considered by some to have been a purely Athenian project, invented and built for the first time there.*' For others, including Frederiksen (2000: 147, 153) herself, the earliest evidence for a circular *orchestra* can be found in the first construction phase of the Theatre of *Epidauros* and as an outcome of gradual development elsewhere. According to the author, '*The idea that a circular orchestra was an obligatory element of the fully developed theatre originates with Dörpfeld and the impact that this idea has had on later research may reasonably be called "the Dörpfeld orthodoxy".*' (Frederiksen 2000: 148)

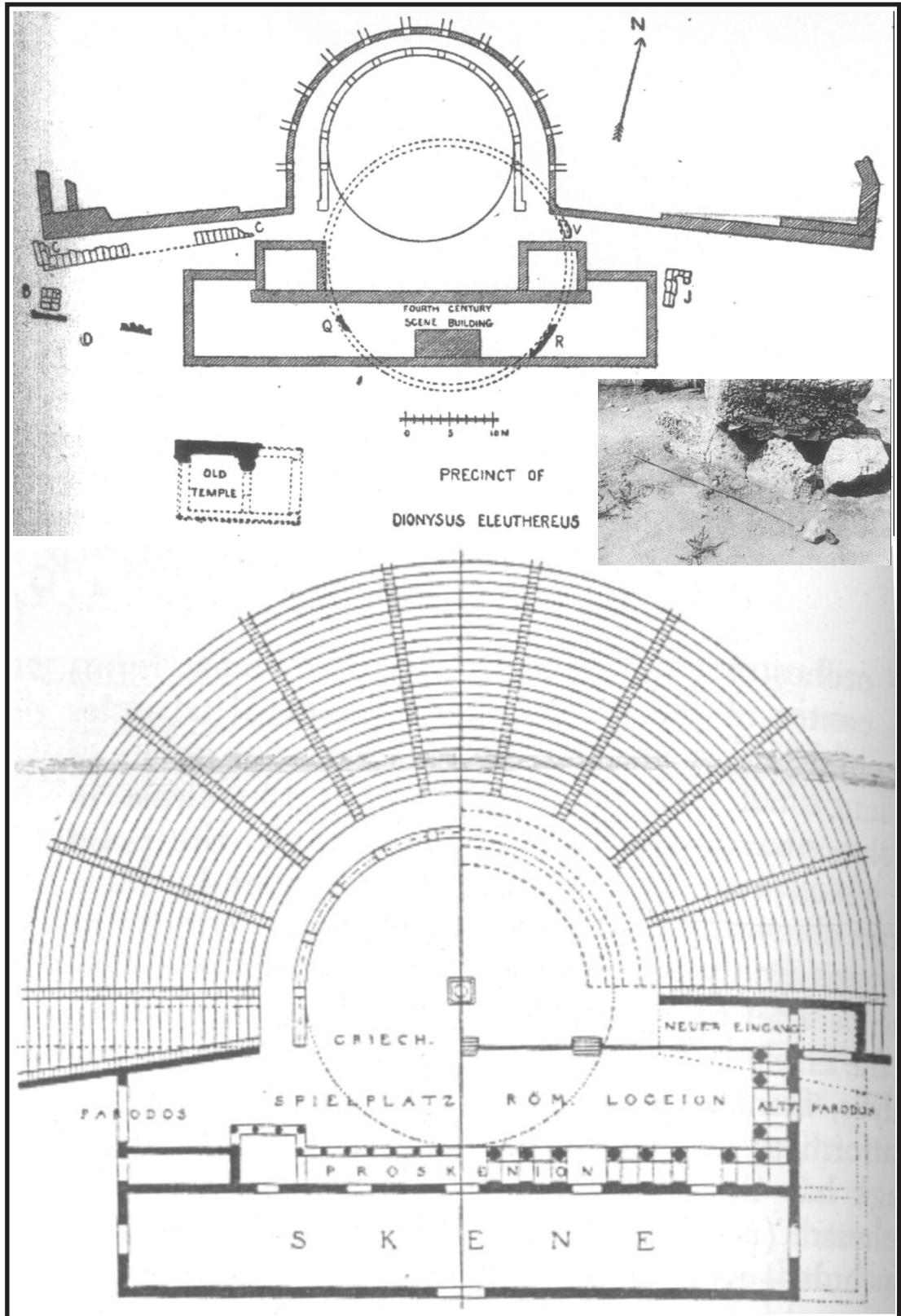


Figure 2.1 Plan showing the remains of the fifth-century Theatre of Dionysus and the restitution of the early orchestra circle by Dörpfeld (Allen 1920: 21), using one of the three small sections of masonry unearthed in the excavations (Gebhard 1974: plate 89c); and differences between the plans of the Greek and Roman theatres according to Dörpfeld (Bieber 1961: 188, fig. 646)

Dörpfeld was the first to conduct large-scale excavations at the Theatre of Dionysus (fig. B.11) in the period 1886-95 on behalf of the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - DAI*) and publish the results in 1896¹. Many of his suggestions, including his measurements of the early *orchestra* circle, were later challenged by various scholars including experts such as C. Fensterbusch (1912)², James T. Allen (1918³; 1920; 1922; 1923; 1937⁴; 1938⁵; 1941⁶), Roy Flickinger (1936)⁷, W. Dinsmoor (1950 [©1927]; 1951)⁸ and Emil Fiechter (1930-50)⁹, all of whom investigated the monument individually. However, the circular shape of the earliest *orchestra* was not questioned for a long time, even by Dinsmoor, who made a nine-sided polygonal seating arrangement in his restitution drawing for the fifth century *koilon* of the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, after the discovery of some remains interpreted as pertaining to straight seats blocks and foundations. The first radical alternative to Dörpfeld's view came from Carlo Anti¹⁰ who suggested, in 1947, a trapezoidal shape for the early *orchestra*, which he elaborated by extending his conclusions for the Theatre of Syracuse in Sicily to other examples. However, his many interesting theories were immediately rejected and even ridiculed, as reported by Elizabeth R. Gebhard (1973: xvi), which 'has cast a pall over any thought of a *rectilinear orchestra*.' Gebhard interprets this reaction as an indication of the almost axiomatic status attributed to Dörpfeld's initial conclusions concerning the architectural characteristics of the Theatre of Dionysus in its earliest phase and locates the basis for the idea of a circular *orchestra* in the Vitruvian description of how to lay out a theatre starting with a basic circle and in the *kiklikoi choroï* mentioned in literary sources in connection with the dithyramb. Further confirmation was provided by the excavations that started in 1881 at the Theatre of the *Asklepeion* at *Epidauros*, 'which even in antiquity was considered to be the most harmonious and beautiful of all.' (Bieber 1961: 71) This seems to have left no doubt that the circle must have been the basic and original element of a Greek theatre building from the beginning, which united the disparate forms of curved *cavea* and rectilinear stage building (Gebhard

¹ Dörpfeld, W. and E. Reisch 1896. *Das Griechische Theater*. Barth and von Hirst, Athens.

² Fensterbusch, C. 1912. *Die Bühne des Aristophanes*. Leipzig.

³ Allen, James T. 1918. 'The Key to the Reconstruction of the Fifth-Century Theatre at Athens', *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* V: 2.

⁴ Allen, James T. 1937. 'On the Athenian Theatre before 441 BC', *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* I: 6: 169-72.

⁵ Allen, James T. 1938. 'On the Program of the City Dionysia during the Peloponnesian War', *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* XII: 3.

⁶ Allen, James T. 1941. 'On the Odeum of Pericles and the Periclean Reconstruction of the Theater', *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* I: 7: 173-77.

⁷ Flickinger, R. 1936. *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*. 4th ed. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

⁸ Dinsmoor, W.B. 1951. 'The Athenian Theatre of the Fifth Century', pp. 309ff in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, volume 1 (2 volumes). Washington University Press, Saint Louis.

⁹ Fiechter, Emil 1930-50. *Antike griechische Theaterbauten; Volume 5: Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen: Die Ruine; Volume 6: Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen: Die übrigen baulichen Reste und die Geschichte Baues; Volume 9: Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen: Nachträge, Das Theater in Piraeus, Das Theater auf Thera*. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart.

¹⁰ Anti, Carlo 1947. *Teatri Greci arcaici da Minosse a Pericle*. Padova.

1973: xiv-xv). So, according to Gebhard, when Dörpfeld began investigating the early remains in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, he was actually looking for evidence of the original *orchestra* circle, which he found in one of the three small sections of masonry unearthed in the excavations (fig. 2.1). For many years all Greek theatres would be reconstructed on the basis of this model.

Following Anti's line of argument, Gebhard based her alternative theory on the observation that:

In other theatres outside of Athens, which are of early date or simple plan, there is no trace of an orchestra circle, and the seats were clearly arranged in straight rows. Notwithstanding that all extant caveas belong to the time of stone construction, the straight examples undoubtedly reflect an earlier type of seating in wood, which by its nature would have been laid out in straight segments [...]. The orchestra in turn would have been the level open area at the foot of the seats, bounded by the front of the skene at the other side, and so essentially quadrilateral in shape. (Gebhard 1973: 15)

Hence, as different from the theory that outlines a beginning in stone by attesting an origin in the stone stepped arrangements in the courtyard-centred Bronze Age constructions in Crete, Gebhard's suggests a beginning in timber, which would have defined the form of the *orchestra* as well as that of the *cavea* as it attained permanence in stone and later evolved from a trapezoidal to a circular shape. The theory later found support in the *proedria* of the Theatre of Dionysus, which seem to be the oldest dating permanent remains from the early *cavea* (fig. 2.1). As noted by Green (1989: 20), Pöhlman (1981)¹¹ has picked up from this point and, re-examining the *proedria* published earlier by Maass (1972)¹², concluded '*that they must have been in a straight line and that the form of the orchestra must have been like those at Thorikos and Trachones* [fig. B.29].' (Green 1989: 20) About a decade later J.R. Green (1991) would admit, on the basis of evidence coming from representations on Classical period Athenian vases, the existence in Athens of a monument of the type known from *Thorikos* and *Thrachones*, with rectilinear rows of seats and a stage building measuring about 25m in length, that would have resulted in the reduction of the distance between the actors and the spectators, which would have allowed for rather subtler scenic changes than those starting from the fourth century BC onwards (CNRS 1994: 412). Nielsen (2002: 118), while writing on *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama*, cites the *proedria* evidence and the *Thorikos* example to suggest a rectangular early *orchestra* and timber seating rows at the Sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus. Last but not least:

At a lecture in Athens in March 1990, O. Alexandri reported on her excavation of the theatre at Euonymos, the deme site near Glyfada. The theatre, as preserved, dates to the third quarter of the fourth century BC and has an almost rectangular orchestra, a skene in the Doric order, and two statues of Dionysos (also of the third quarter of the fourth century but archaistic in style). This really does seem to settle the fact that the earliest datable theatre with a circular orchestra is that at Epidaurus. (Green 1998: 50)

¹¹ Pöhlmann, E. 1981. 'Die Proedrie des Dionysostheaters im 5. Jahrhundert und das Bühnenspiel der Klassik', *MusHelv* 38: 129-46.

¹² Maass, M. 1972. *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen*. Vestigia 15. München.

Starting from the 1990s, therefore, the Classical Greek *orchestra* has been thought by many scholars to have been polygonal in shape instead of circular, contrary to what had been long thought (Moretti 1992: 6). Nevertheless, the debate concerning the form of the early Greek *orchestra* seems to have continued well into the 1990s along the main lines outlined above, as attested in the works of Clifford Ashby (1999)¹³ and R. Rehm (1988) who argue for, and of N.G.L Hammond (1988) and S. Scullions (1994)¹⁴ who argue against a rectilinear shape for the earliest *orchestra* of the Theatre of Dionysus. Extremist approaches such as those attesting an origin in the courtyard-centred Bronze Age constructions in Crete and in the threshing floor were already eliminated in the 1960s and 1970s. G. Roux's (1990)¹⁵, on the other hand, would insist on an explanation, by the importance of dithyrambic choruses that turn in circles, of the two singularities of the Greek theatre—namely the disposition of the *koilon* as centred on the *orchestra* instead of being turned entirely towards the *skene* and the circular form of the *orchestra* in the face of the fact that both tragic and comic choruses were 'tetragones' (i.e. arranged in a rectangle according to his view).

In addition to the binarism of its main terms centring on the rectilinear-circular opposition, another common characteristic of the debate on the form of the early *orchestra* has been its focus on the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens as the unchallenged archetypal example, which is well-attested also in the number of publications on the monument that exceed by far those on any other extant example. A challenge to Athenian primacy in the development of Greek theatre architecture came with the debate on the origin of the *proskenion* type of high and narrow stage. The traditional view on the issue (e.g. Bieber 1961: 67) is the identification of the breccia foundation remains with *paraskenia* at the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens as the earliest stone *skene*, whose construction would have started during the so-called Peace of Nicias (421-415 BC) and been completed in the third quarter of the fourth century BC. A timber *proskenion* stage consisting of a platform above columns equal in height to the first story of the stage building is argued to have evolved by that time and erected in Athens, as a decorative background for plays, according to Dörpfeld and Armin von Gerkan, or as a response to the development of New Comedy, according to Fiechter, Bulle, Dinsmoor and Bieber (1961: 115), the latter of whom suggests a date, at the very latest, in the time when Menander flourished. Bulle 'holds the opinion that Lycurgus had erected a stage of this new type in Athens about 330 BC, and that this example was followed in Epidaurus at the end of the fourth century.' (Bieber 1961: 115) This latter

¹³ Ashby, Clifford 1988. 'The Case for the Rectangular/Trapezoidal Orchestra', *Theatre Research International* 13/1: 1-20; reprinted in Ashby 1999.

¹⁴ Scullions, S. 1994. 'Three Studies in Athenian Dramaturgy', *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 25. Stuttgart-Leipzig.

¹⁵ Roux, G. 1990. 'Remarques sur l'architecture «dionysiaque» du théâtre grec', pp. 213-22 in *Mélanges d'archéologie offerts à A. Audin*. Lyon.

seems to have been the theory still being promoted in the 1980s by scholars such as F.E. Winter (1983)¹⁶, despite the absence of physical remains pertaining to such a construction in Athens.

A rather radical alternative to this traditional view was formulated by Jean-Charles Moretti (1992: 8)¹⁷ in the early 1990s on the basis of a detailed study of the remains existing in places such as the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, Argos, and Syracuse that are the earliest-dating buildings so far unearthed with a semicircular *koilon* and *proskenion* type of stage. These examples have led Moretti to the conclusion that a theatre architecture apparently different from the one known in the fifth century BC may have emerged in the Dorian areas in the northeast Peloponnesus at the end of the fourth century BC and as a response to the requirements of Peloponnesian and Dorian spectacles rather than those of the New Comedy, since the latter was definitely not written for a high stage anyway. Noting the possibility that the Theatre of Epidaurus (330-320 BC) may have been its first representative, Moretti (1992: 7) characterises this new type of theatre building as one with a *koilon* composed of semicircular tiers, an *orchestra* in the form of a circle that is more or less tangent to a stage building composed of an approximately three meter-high basement level and an approximately two and a half meter-high *proskenion* whose colonnaded façade may have been closed by *pinakes* and accessible through symmetrical ramps at its two ends. According to Moretti, no element of this composition was ever designated by the term *thyroma* (CNRS 2000), a term surviving in an inscription from *Delos* giving the names for the different parts of the Hellenistic stage building there, which has traditionally been interpreted as corresponding to the large openings for *pinakes* or backdrops above the Hellenistic *logeion* in the light of another inscription from *Oropos*.

In fact, Bieber (1961: 115), in her own version of the traditional view concerning the emergence of the stage building with a *proskenion*, seems to have already spelled out the possibility that the *proskenion* as an architectural component may have been introduced into Athens after having evolved elsewhere, to be integrated there into the stage building of the Theatre of Dionysus as 'a compromise which met the needs of the lyrical choruses and the old classical tragedies with a rich background building, as well as the needs of New Comedy with the raised stage.' The place of origin she had suggested, however, has been the East—'Alexandria, Antioch, or one of the other residences of the Diadochi' (Bieber 1961: 116) from where new Hellenistic ideas would have come to *Delos*, *Priene*, *Assos*, *Ephesos* and elsewhere in Asia Minor where they would have attained perfection in the form of a long and narrow type of *proskenion* designated by Bieber as the 'Eastern type', which invaded the Greek mainland during the third and second centuries BC (Bieber 1961: 117-18). Bulle had earlier presumed that the

¹⁶ Winter, F.E. 1983. 'The Stage of New Comedy', *PhoenixToronto* 37: 38-47.

Hellenistic *proskenion* theatre originated in Alexandria (Bieber 1961: 112). In the late 1990s, the East and, more specifically Alexandria has been promoted once more as the place of origin, this time of the Roman type of theatre building, as an alternative challenging its traditional derivation from the Greek-Hellenistic type and from the early developments in Sicily and *Magna Graecia*. As noted by Bieber:

Dörpfeld tried to derive the Roman theatre directly from the Greek by insisting that the inner half of the circular orchestra, towards the spectators, was set deeper into the ground, while the outer half remained at the original Greek level, and that consequently the low Roman stage was at the same level where formerly in the Greek theatre the main scene of action also took place. The earlier Greek row of columns in the front wall supporting the platform of the *proskenion*, in Dörpfeld's opinion, became the *scaenae frons* behind the platform of the Roman *pulpitum*. [fig. 2.1] (Bieber 1961: 188)

Dörpfeld has found support for his thesis in the tradition attesting Pompey's use of the Early Hellenistic Theatre of *Mytilene*, which he had visited in 62 BC and now lost under the later Roman construction, as a model for the theatre he had constructed in Rome as the first permanent performance building in the city. Against the earlier opinion that he would have borrowed from the *Mytilene* example the rounded form of the auditorium, with the division into tiers by means of semicircular passageways and into wedge-shaped sections by means of the radially ascending stairs, Bieber (1961: 181) reminds us of the fact that Pompey must have known similar auditoria not only from South Italy and Sicily but also from the circus and temporary theatres in Rome itself. '*It was rather, as Rumpf has shown, the general plan of a building in which stage house, orchestra, and auditorium were intimately connected with each other with the help of side buildings (versurae) which took the place of the paraskenia of the Greek theatre.*' (Bieber 1961: 181) Since the open-air theatre in *Mytilene* could hardly have been such a unified theatre, Bieber (1961: 188) presented the Roman type of theatre, in her version representing the traditional view, as an individual and special creation in Rome, out of a type of primitive wooden stage that had migrated there from *Magna Graecia* with the Attelan farce, in which Italian popular comedy originated, and out of the rounded auditorium copied from the Greeks.

University of Sydney excavations in the theatre at *Paphos*, the Ptolemaic capital in the west of the island of Cyprus, have recently challenged this view by revealing remains from the earlier Hellenistic phase of the building which display close links with the architecture of Alexandria, strengthening the possibility of their reflecting the style of the Theatre of Alexandria that is no longer preserved. The importance of such a possibility comes from the fact that the Theatre of *Paphos* in its Hellenistic stage seems to display several features, such as an almost semicircular (or D-shaped) *cavea* of 181.5° that is divided into six *cunei* by seven stairways and a stage front located almost on the diameter line of the

¹⁷ Also: Moretti, Jean-Charles 1998. 'Formes et destinations du proskênion dans les théâtres hellénistiques de Grèce', *Pallas* 47 (1997) 13-39.

orchestra except a 3.9m displacement towards the south. These are features that have commonly been attributed to the Roman type of theatre building, leading to the conclusion that we may be seeing in them the evolution, in Alexandria, of a type distinct from the Greek type of theatre. (USYD)

However, there are a number of D-shaped theatres from the Hellenistic world, particularly in Sicily and the Greek west; an example is Hieron's theatre at Syracuse, constructed in the second half of the third century BC (and incidentally one of the largest in the Greek world). The theatre at Metapontum in southern Italy, dated to the end of the fourth century BC, may represent the earliest example of a Greek theatre with a semicircular orchestra. In Asia Minor, the Hellenistic theatre at Miletus seems to have had a semicircular orchestra. (Dodge 1999: 214)

Publications devoted, along these main lines of argument, to the theme of 'origins' in studies on Greek and Roman drama and theatre architecture are, in fact, numerous enough to deserve to be addressed in a separate study. As in all arguments of 'origins' (e.g. Eco 1997a), these different theories should be taken to reflect the diversity of worldviews shaping the handling of the scarce archaeological data in hand, which would render it highly unlikely that a definitive conclusion will have been reached some day. The gradual abandonment, in recent publications, of certain axiomatic aspects of the traditional version of the historical evolution of ancient theatre architecture, such as that of a beginning in circling cultic dances in a circular *orchestra*, and their replacement with alternative views such as '*experiments with slopes and then with steps, firstly in a straight line, then in a trapezoidal form and finally in a semicircle for spectators*' (Monaco 1994/94/96: 40), may perhaps be taken as an indication of a paradigm change. However, since that paradigm has not yet produced its own version of the evolution of ancient theatre architecture, it seems to serve for the moment mainly as a basis for a critical evaluation of the traditional unbroken, linear, historical account, with a 'unitary origin' and a 'Golden Age' in the Ancient Athens presented in Bieber's *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (1961).

2.3 Methodological Development: the Influence of the 'German School'

One of the aspects that render Bieber's account so convincing as to become one of the major references in the field appears to be her method of tracing the development and products of the former forms of drama basically from '*the hitherto neglected figured sources like vases, terracottas, and mural paintings. They are objective and contemporary, in contrast to the literary sources, which are for the most part subjective opinions of individuals, and often of much later writers.*' (Bieber 1961: vii) Similarly, she traces the development of ancient theatre architecture from the excavated, investigated and published remains of some 76 theatres, whose common characteristics she outlines by contrasting the Roman type of theatre with the Greek-Hellenistic type. These methodological choices hint at the dominant part played by the German school of archaeology and art history in the formation of the

mainstream in ancient theatre studies, to which Bieber has been argued above to have belonged. Establishment of such a connection between Bieber's working method and the German school would find support in the fact that she was one of the first female members of the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – DAI*).

Margarete Bieber (1879-1978) was introduced to ancient theatre by Franz Buecheler in Bonn, finished her doctoral dissertation on Greek dress during the summer of 1906, passed the doctoral examination by Christmas that year, officially became doctor with the publication of her dissertation and set out to Rome in 1907 to finish her archaeological education to spend the next seven years (1907-14) in classical lands (Bonfante 1981: 242). In 1909, she became the first woman to receive the German travel fellowship awarded yearly to four promising young archaeologists and was received by Wilhelm Dörpfeld at *Pergamon*, who was then the director of *Pergamon* excavations as well as the Athens branch of the German Archaeological Institute, with whom she later visited Troy, Mycene, Olympia, Athens and Epidaurus (Bonfante 1981: 244). After a period at the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, Bieber spent the period 1912-13 in the Rome branch of the Institute on the Capitoline Hill, becoming one of its first female members having been elected in 1912 (Bonfante 1981: 246).

James Whitley (1987: 9) outlines the main distinction between British-American and German archaeologists as the latter's almost exclusive concentration upon artefacts, of which they produce exhaustive descriptions. According to the author, this difference partly stems from a much closer relationship with art history, aesthetics, and philosophy—*in particular with that philosophical perspective often referred to as "idealism"* (Whitley 1987: 9), which he argues to have served as a thread linking many features of the Western, and particularly German thought. Whitley (1987: 10) describes 'idealism' as the notion that it is an abstract principle which animates the phenomenal world—a notion that can be dated back to Plato's 'Forms' and observed to take the form of 'aesthetic formalism' in Western art history through the use of Platonic metaphysics and arguments to turn Plato's own evaluation of art as a worthless imitation of the phenomenal world on its head (also Preziosi 1998: 109-10). G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831) appears as an influential figure within this framework, as the first to relate artistic development to an aesthetic and philosophical system by explaining it in terms of the gradual realisation of the Spirit, as in the Gothic cathedral *'whose form was not simply massive but was subtle and aesthetically refined in its construction.'* (Whitley 1987: 11) Whitley (1987: 11) traces the Hegelian influence over nineteenth-century art history in the persisting tendency to combine an historic account of change that would perceive a work as modifying its antecedents and as carrying intimations of its successors, particularly in architecture and sculpture, with a lack of attention to the purposes which that art was meant to serve or the circumstances surrounding it, its cultural context, or even the artist's stated intentions and ideals.

As an example, Hegel's immediate successor, Schnaase had explained the transformation of the Roman basilica into the Christian church primarily as a logical development from placing greatest importance on the self-contained, firm forms defined by circles and straight lines that would have produced an emphasis on the building's exterior, as in Greek temples, to that on the interior to the extent that the shape of the interior began to determine the form of the exterior (Whitley 1987: 11). Similarly Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) had attempted to understand the nature of a work of art or style in terms of formal principles that structure contrasting optical modalities, as in his characterisation of High Renaissance art by 'linear' (draughtsmanly) definition, 'planimetric' suggestion of space, 'closed' forms, and unity through a 'harmony of parts', as opposed to the 'painterly' definition of line, emphasis of 'depth', use of 'open' forms, and achievement of unity through 'concentration on a single theme' in Baroque art (Whitley 1987: 13; Holly 1994: 347). In his *The Principles of Art History: The Problem the Development of Style in Later Art* first published in German in 1915¹⁸, Wölfflin argues these formal attributes in polar opposition (e.g. linear vs. painterly, plane vs. recession, open vs. closed, multiple unity vs. unified unity, absolute vs. relative clarity [Minor 1995: 113-28; Fernie 1995: 127-51]) to be constitutive, in themselves, of the nature of the art of these two periods through the principle of compositional contrast, which Michael Ann Holly (1994: 350) takes as emblematic of his 'formalist' stance and argues to be reflected also in the text of *The Principles* that constituted a reaction to the appropriation of culture by German politics during the First World War. Also Donald Preziosi notes that:

For many, *Principles* became a powerful and canonical statement of a certain 'formalism' in art history—an approach to art in which the genealogical development of formal changes (the physical face of the Hegelian or idealist coin) constituted an internally coherent system of differences, according to measured and in principle predictable variations in the underlying distinctive features of objects. In this respect, Wölfflin's *Principles* was an attempt to articulate visual change on the analogy of the models of linguistic evolution, which were thought in the late nineteenth century to take place according to an internal structural or systemic logic, rather than as a reflection of actual usage or social context. (Preziosi 1998: 113)

Eric Fernie (1995: 68, 127, 129) outlines Wölfflin's other chief contribution as the clarity which he brought to the concept of the cycle of three phases (i.e. early, classic, and baroque, which Wölfflin has exemplified with the Quattrocento or Early Renaissance, High Renaissance and the Baroque) already adopted from Giorgio Vasari's (1514-1571) biological cycle into German art history by Winckelmann in his intention to show 'the origin, progress, change and down fall of art'. Winckelmann had argued that the arts would have '*commenced with the necessary; the next object of research was beauty; and, finally, the superfluous followed: these are the three principal stages in art.*' (Fernie 1995: 73) Accordingly, at the 'infancy' stage, all artistic productions would be similar to one another, like human beings at birth or the seeds of plants of entirely different kinds; but in their 'boom' and 'decay', they

¹⁸ Wölfflin, Heinrich 1915. *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*. Munich.

would resemble streams that either dwindle into small rivulets or totally disappear at the point where they should be the broadest (Fornie 1995: 73-4). In the history of art, the 'infancy' stage would be represented by the Egyptian or Persian art that remained unchanged without attaining perfection until the period when Greek kings held sway over them and, at last, art among the Greeks gradually raised to the highest beauty, up to the time when they fell into the error of profuseness, after which art lost its grandeur and the loss was finally followed by its utter downfall (Fornie 1995: 74). Fornie (1995: 129) underlines that, although Wölfflin was at pains to stress that his sequence had nothing to do with an improvement in quality and that it should not be confused with the biological model of 'bud', 'bloom', and 'decay', since that would also depend on a judgement of the relative value of 'immaturity', 'maturity' and 'decline', his use of the term 'classic' has been, nevertheless, with clear overtones of superiority and conflicting with this aim—a problem also inherited into ancient theatre studies, apparently under the influence of German philhellenism.

Early German art historians were renowned by their knowledge and affinity to the art of the antique world, which would come to the fore also in the history of the German Archaeological Institute, and their assessment of the art of the Greeks as exemplary throughout the nineteenth century when most judgements, which were necessarily aesthetic in nature, were made in relation to it (Whitley 1987: 10-11). Founded in 1829 as an international research institute, the German Archaeological Institute had the greatest share in such an accumulation. The origins of the Institute may be dated to Winckelmann's arrival in Rome in 1755 where he found a renewed interest in the arts of the Antiquity especially on the part of the Society of Dilettanti, as best documented in a series of excavations and publications. Although few Germans reached Greece before the Greek War of Independence (Marchand 1996: 52), German scholarship and art had begun to be promoted in Rome by such significant figures as Humbolt or Niebuhr (Marchand 1996: 53). Later young German enthusiasts resident in Rome formed a circle devoted to the study of ancient art and mythology, taking on the title *Hyperboreisch-Römische Gesellschaft* (Hyperborean-Roman Society) 'in honor of the mythical northern Hyperboreans among whom Apollo supposedly dwelled during the winter.' (Marchand 1996: 54) They soon developed a plan to turn their personal contacts and tastes to scholarly ends and to make Rome the collection point for all European work on monuments by founding a new international *Institut für archäologische Korrespondenz* that held its first meeting on 21 April 1829 (Marchand 1996: 54). With Reichstag's approval, the Institute transformed into the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in 1870 (Marchand 1996: 92).

Suzanne L. Marchand (1996: xix, 49) argues that Greek art rather than philology lied at the centre of German philhellenism, as an immediate, visual, means to gain access to the beautiful, which was something archaeology possessed and philology did not. This may have been the basic reason why

archaeologists throughout the nineteenth century proudly advertised their descent from their aestheticizing ancestor, Winckelmann (Marchand 1996: 49). With the appearance of artefacts from numerous regions and epochs by the end of the century, however, *'the inadequacy of Winckelmann's generalisations about the formal attributes of Greek art, drawn for the most part from literature, became more and more evident. In the course of the next decades, discussions of "style" replaced arguments over beauty'* (Marchand 1996: 104), providing art historians with a wider range of subjects and a narrower set of issues to address. Nevertheless, the *ur-model* for later stylistic analysis seems to have been taken again from Winckelmann's sophisticated discussion of the different handling of drapery, hair, and expression characteristic of each age in his *Geschichte der Kunst der Alterhums* (*History of Ancient Art*, 1764).

On the other hand, Marchand (1996: 104) opinions that the rise of stylistic thinking should be understood in *'the context of the confrontation of older, antiquarian practices with new, nationalist, museological imperatives and professional convictions'*, parallel to the shift in the interests of curators and connoisseurs from individual works of art to 'types' under the pressure of new demands and vastly increased new materials (Marchand 1996: 105). With the internationalisation of antiquity collections, the art of telling marks of age and provenance would spread and 'nonaestheticising' typologies would be created, seemingly clearing the way for the advent of the 'culture-history paradigm' already outlined in the previous chapter. At about the same time, a new formalistic approach would emerge, which, according to Marchand, is best explained by a technical rather than intellectual novelty: the invention and increasing use of photography. What Marchand refers to as 'nonaestheticising' formalist style criticism, as different from the 'aestheticising' one in the vein of Winckelmann, seems to have helped, in the nineteenth century, to solve the practical dictates of authentication, labelling and dating. This was achieved, however, at the expense of a limitation in intellectual aspirations and cultural implications, complementing *'the historicist urge to treat topics in national contexts, as well as new attempts to discover the "real" processes of historical change'* (Marchand 1996: 108) on a positivistic material basis rather than a philological one. According to Marchand (1996: 113-4), this would mark the distinction of the 'German school' advocating careful, historicist classification of observations from the 'French school' priding on the aesthetic sensitivity and holistic comprehension of its members. One of the best representatives of the former school seems to have been Schliemann's 'scientific' excavator and successor at Troy, Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940).

Dörpfeld was a trained architect who also designed, with Ernst Miller, the late classical building of the Athens department of the German Archaeological Institute that opened in 1874 (Junker 1998: 282), of which he later served as the architect (1882-85), deputy director (1885-87), and director (1887-90 or

1912) (Marchand 1996: 97, 246; Papathanasopoulos 1993: 123-4; Bieber 1953: 324). Married to the daughter of Ernst Curtius' chief architect at the Olympia excavations, Friedrich Adler, Dörpfeld had joined the excavations himself and his architectural inquiries turned out to be the most consequential and controversial achievement of the expedition. *'For in discovering what he considered to be a homogeneous era of clay-brick construction, Dörpfeld provided a new means to prehistorical dating; a kind of cultural stratigraphy could be deduced from variations in construction techniques.'* (Marchand 1996: 87) His 'descriptive' accounts developed along positivist lines, delineating building materials, architectural layouts, and pottery styles (Marchand 1996: 332). As trained architects like Dörpfeld increasingly took over the supervision of excavations from historians or philologists:

archaeological reports began to include more measurements and discussions of building materials than interpretations of objects or rhapsodies on the splendours of ancient form. Like Carl Humann [who was the first to excavate Pergamum], Dörpfeld was more interested in uncovering structures than in exposing the meaning or glorifying the form of Greek cultural objects. Dörpfeld himself once told the architect-archaeologist Armin von Gerkan that what he could not measure or specify, particularly artistic considerations, did not interest him. In imitation of these two anti-aesthetic, architecturally oriented excavators, on-site archaeologists took to carefully recording details and dimensions, postponing historical generalizations until an exacting description of the site and the stylistic categorization of the artifacts was complete. Style history delayed the reevaluation of the history of the classical world in the light of its newly discovered surrounding cultures and internal fissures; it was easier, cognitively and practically, to classify than to reconceptualize the European past. (Marchand 1996: 114)

This latter line of criticism of style-history- or culture-history-based approaches in archaeology seems to have produced, in the past two decades, an elevated interest in the construction of cultural identity in different contexts and different scales of interaction in the past, which *'is likely to be manifested in the archaeological record as multiple overlapping patterns in the distribution and use of particular forms and styles of material culture.'* (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 17) This would imply the necessity of adopting a contextual approach to explore those diverse patterns from archaeological material, which highlights a negative influence of the style-history approach that reveals in the traditional method of studying ancient theatres remains in isolation from their historical and social as well as physical context, as illustrated in the corpus of their published drawings (fig. 2.2). The type of classification made possible by the method of study that has produced these documents would be the 'catalogue', which is described by Shaun Hides (1996: 36) as a classification into types according to formal characteristics that would have originated in the Classical table of ordered knowledge and the commencement of observation, classification and visual recording of field monuments, coins, inscriptions and architectural features in the seventeenth century. As noted by Sian Jones (1996: 73), stylistic groupings brought together in the catalogue are commonly assumed to have been co-extensive with normative historical entities, with change occurring in a gradual, regular, and uniform manner throughout a spatially homogeneous area to produce variation in design as a factor of the date of manufacture.

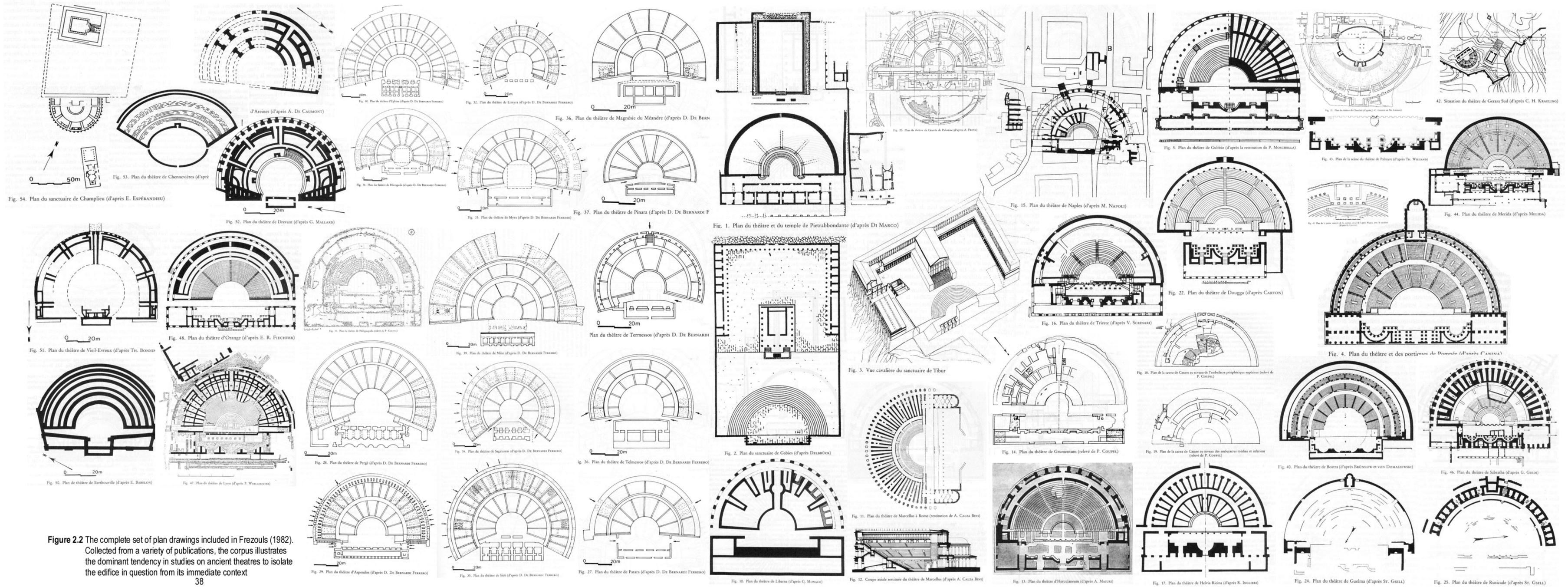


Figure 2.2 The complete set of plan drawings included in Frezouls (1982). Collected from a variety of publications, the corpus illustrates the dominant tendency in studies on ancient theatres to isolate the edifice in question from its immediate context

The same assumption seems to underlie the idea of a chronological progression from Greek to Roman type of buildings through the intermediary Hellenistic type, which is reminiscent of the cycle of three phases outlined by Wölfflin and represented by the archetypal examples of the Theatres of Dionysus in Athens, of the Asklepeion in Epidaurus, and of Pompey in Rome. Dörpfeld's attempt to derive the plan of the Roman type of theatre from that of the Greek-Hellenistic type seems to have found justification in this line of thinking (fig. 2.1). On the other hand, Wölfflin's method of understanding the nature of works of art or styles, as well as that of the art of the corresponding periods, in terms of formal principles in polar opposition seems to surface in the definition of the Greek-Hellenistic and Roman types of theatre by contrasting their formal attributes. An example is Margarete Bieber's table listing the main differences between the Greek-Hellenistic and Roman type of theatre wherein the two are distinguished chiefly by the geometric forms that structure their plan layout and by the difference in the way they relate to their natural settings (table 1). Another is Christian Norberg-Schulz's (1975: 90) description of the Greek theatre as a relatively 'passive' space, which served as a 'background' to the 'active', plastic figures of the performers and also enabled the spectator to experience the surrounding landscape, while the Roman theatre was an 'active' 'axial' 'interior' space in its own right wherein performers did not act freely but appeared like a relief, as dependent parts of a dominant space, together with the spectators. These parallelisms may be taken as illustrative of the embeddedness, in the German tradition of art history, archaeology, and idealism, of the historic roots of the Greek-Roman binary opposition in modern studies on ancient theatre architecture, which has definitely been fed by but also differed from the Greek-Roman binary opposition in Vitruvius' treatise on architecture, which would lend itself to an analysis in reference to the theory of the identification of the 'self' against the 'other' in the formation period of what is often called Augustan neoclassicism.

Remarkably enough, Dörpfeld's publications included three seminal works on antique theatres: *Das Griechische Theater* (1896, co-authored by E. Reisch)¹⁹, whose first ninety-six pages are devoted to the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, an article on the Acropolis Theatre at Pergamum (1907)²⁰ that appeared in the proceedings of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, which was followed by another one on the Theatre of Priene and the Greek type of stage (1924)²¹. By that time, Bieber had published her first important work on ancient theatres in 1920²², which was followed by the initial

¹⁹ Dörpfeld, Wilhelm and E. Reisch, 1896. *Das Griechische Theater: beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-theaters in Athen anderer griechischer theater*. Barth and von Hirst, Athens.

²⁰ Dörpfeld, Wilhelm 1907. 'Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904-1905: Das griechische Theater der Akropolis', *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung* 32: 215ff.

²¹ Dörpfeld, Wilhelm 1924. 'Das Theater von Priene und die griechische Bühne', *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung* 49: 50ff.

²² Bieber, Margarete 1920. *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*. Berlin.

version of *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (1939). One year after Bieber's debut, von Gerkan published his renowned monograph on the Theatre of Priene (1921)²³, which was followed by an article on the Theatres of Segesta and Tyndaris (1952)²⁴ and another monograph on the Theatre of Epidauros (1961) co-authored by Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, the once director of the Istanbul branch of the German Archaeological Institute and head of Institute's excavations at *Pergamum*. The same year, Bieber published the enlarged second version of her *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (1961) after the investigation, either by Dörpfeld or by von Gerkan, of its archetypal examples that establish continuity from one historical period to the other, with its corresponding type of theatre building. This brief publication list alone is illustrative of the seminal contribution of German scholarship in the canonical version of the history of ancient theatre architecture, whose cornerstones had been excavated and published by the laureates of the German Archaeology Institute. As to the contribution of Bieber, Evelyn B. Harrison (1978: 575) notes in her necrology that: 'By virtue of her catholic receptivity and her hardy conservatism she did in fact form a bridge across the formalistic era of the first half of the twentieth century in the history of art from the more humanistically oriented nineteenth century to the present age of renewed interest in intended content.'

2.4 Chapter Conclusion: Consolidation of the 'Greek-Roman Binarism' in Studies on Ancient Theatre Architecture

The contribution of other German scholars, on the other hand, is attested in the predominance of monographs in German among early publications on ancient theatre buildings, which are numerous enough to deserve to be addressed in a separate study²⁵. An important feature of these publications

²³ von Gerkan, Armin 1921. *Das Theater von Priene*. F. Schmidt, Munich-Berlin; followed in the 1960s by his two publications on the stage of the building: 'Zum Skenengebäude des Theaters von Priene', *Ist.Mitt.* 9-10 (1959-1960) 97ff and 'Nochmals die Skene des Theaters von Priene', *Ist.Mitt.* 13-14 (1963-1964) 67ff.

²⁴ von Gerkan, Armin 1952. 'Zu den Theatern von Segesta und Tyndaris', pp. 82ff in *Festschrift Andreas Rumpf*. Scherpe, Krefeld.

²⁵ These include, in addition to the already cited works of Bieber, Dörpfeld and von Gerkan, the following publications cited in the main references of this present study and listed here in chronological order: Wieseler, F. 1851. *Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern*. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen; Müller, A. 1886. *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenaltertümer*. Freiburg; Oehmichen, G. 1886. *Griechischer Theaterbau. Nach Vitruv und den Ueberresten*. Berlin; Bohn, R. 1889. *Altertümer von Aegae. Jahrbuch des kaiserlich en deutschen archäologischen Instituts*. Berlin; Niemann, G., Petersen, E. and Lanckoronski, K.G. 1890. *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens* 1. Vienna, pl. 21; Oehmichen, G and P. Stengel 1890. 'Das Bühnenwesen der Griechen und Römer', volume V part 3 in I. Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften*; Bethe, E. 1892. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Altertum*. Leipzig; Bohn, R. 1896. *Die Theater-Terrasse: Altertümer von Pergamon*. Vol. 4. Berlin; Puchstein, O. 1901. *Die griechische Bühne. Eine architektonische Untersuchung*. Berlin; Dörpfeld, W. 1904. 'Das Theater von Thera', p. 249ff in *Thera III*. Berlin; Mau, S. 1906. 'Das grosse Theater in Pompeji', *RM* 21 (1906) 1-56; Puchstein, O. 1906. 'Das grosse Theater in Pompeji', *AA* 21 (1906) 301-14; Von Cube, G. 1906. 'Römische Scaenae Frons in den Pompejanischen Wandbildern IV. Stils', *Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft VI* (1906) 28ff, plates ii-vii; Fensterbusch, C. 1912. *Die Bühne des Aristophanes*. Leipzig; Herberdey, R., Niemann, G. and Wilberg, W. 1912. "Das Theater In Ephesos", *Forschungen In Ephesos*, Veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institute, Band II, Alfred Hölder, Wien; Fiechter, E.R. 1914. *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*. Munich; Noack, F. 1915. *Skene Tragike. Eine Studie über die scenischen Anlagen auf der Orchestra des Aischylos und der anderen Tragiker*. Tübingen; Müller, A.

appears to be their focus on Greek rather than Roman theatres, and a preoccupation with the Greek stage building until the 1920s, which seems to have been made possible by Germany's good political relations, first with the 'barbarian' Ottoman Empire, for which they were highly criticised by the British and the French, and later with the newly established Greek state.

After the declaration of Greece as an independent kingdom under the rule of the seventeen-year-old Otto I of Bavaria in 1832 (Yalouri 2001: 35), the German archaeologist Ludwig Ross (1806-1859) arrived in Greece and 'was appointed custodian of the antiquities of the Peloponnesus and in 1834—at the age of only twenty-eight—he was appointed general director ('Generalonservator') of the antiquities of Greece.' (Papageorgiou-Venetas 1994: 3) Later in 1837, Ross would be named the first Professor of Classical Archaeology at the newly founded University of Athens (Papageorgiou-Venetas 1994: 3). Ross seems to have motivated the excavations at the Theatre of *Melos* in 1834, which appear to have been the earliest among theatre excavations in Greece (Morris 1994: 26). The same year, the symbolic ceremonial opening of the restoration works at the Athenian Acropolis took place in the presence of Otto, when the classicist architect Leo von Klenze placed one of the column drums back in its original position, drawing a parallel with the beginning of Otto's task of restoring the modern Greek state itself (Yalouri 2001: 35-36). Later in 1837, the Archaeological Society at Athens was founded for the recovery, restoration and completion of antiquities in Greece. In the meanwhile, the European-trained professionals serving King Otto had already started to introduce the classical influence back to the capital of the aspiring modern nation (Tung 2001: 259-60). 'The Greeks themselves hadn't built like their ancient forebears for nearly two millennia. It would be through the Germans that classical buildings would once again be constructed in the city from which their inspiration had originated.' (Tung 2001: 259-60)

Marchand (1996: 4) remarks that it was precisely because of the familiarity of the Italian city of Rome and the prevalence of Augustan neoclassicism in courtly circles, especially in the rivalling Victorian England (Hingley 2000), that the German Romantic generation would have focused its attention on Greece, to refrain, in a way, from acknowledging their dependence on a long tradition of scholarly erudition and the intermediary function of Rome in a period of rising nationalism (also Winterer 2002:

1916 (second edition). *Das attische Bühnenwesen*. Gütersloh; Frickenhaus, A. 1917. *Die altgriechische Bühne*. Strassburg; Drexel, F., n.d.. *Gebäude für die öffentlichen Schauspiele in Italien und dem Provinzen*, pp. 205-57 in Friedländer, L. 1921. *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, 9th-10th ed. IV (suppl.). Leipzig; Hörmann, H. 1923-24. 'Die römische Bühnenfront zu Ephesos', *Jdl* 38-39 (1923-1924) 275ff. F. Schmidt, Munich-Berlin; Byvanck 1925. 'Das grosse Theater in Pompeji', *RM* 40 (1925) 107-24; Hörmann, H. 1926. 'Die Dekoration des Mittelgebietes der römischen Bühnenfront zu Ephesos', *Jdl* 41 (1926) 67ff.; Bulle, H. 1928. *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*. Vol.33 of the *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologische-historische Klasse*. R. Oldenbourg, Munich; Fensterbusch, C. 1930. 'Bericht über die Literatur zur Geschichte des Theaters der Griechen und Römer aus den Jahren 1896-1926', *Jahresberichte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* CCXXVII (1930) III, pp. 4-12; CCLIII (1936) III, pp. 1-57; Fensterbusch, C. 1934. 'Theatron' in *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2te Reihe, V 1934, coll. 1384sqq; Fiechter, E. 1930-50. *Antike griechische Theaterbauten*. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart. 8 Volumes.

50). The memory of Rome was charged with 'conquest' and Germanic 'resistance'—a threat presented by Rome's universal 'civilising' mission to German culture and liberties in the face of the mid-century Protestant cultural nationalist conviction that distinguished the *Germania romana*, characterised by Latinate corporatism, universalism and Catholicism representing foreign power on German soil, and the *Germania libera* of the 'barbarians', representing the truly German values of individualism, national particularism and Protestantism (Marchand 1996: 154-9). The latter trend would lead to the boom in Germanic prehistory with the advent of the Third Reich, as predicted by von Gerkan, to become 'a supremely national field' that continued the fight against Romanism, as Kossina had dubbed it (Marchand 1996: 345-7). In this portrayal by Marchand (1996: 4), Germany's national self-identification with the Greeks and the rhetorical elevation of Greece above Rome appears as '*distinctly the product of late Enlightenment social and political conditions*', with the extraordinary group of influential intellectuals who shaped this fetish casting a long shadow over German cultural developments in the two centuries to follow. Possibly under '*Hegel's charge that Rome was the "prose of history"—as if prose had no beauty*' (Braudel 2001: 178), even the prominent Greek historian Ernst Curtius would not maintain the aura of disinterested grandeur when discussing Rome; for the history of the Roman Empire was fraught with fundamental questions about Germany's autonomy, identity, and world-historical role while the examination of Greek civilisation remained a relatively uncontroversial realm in which for classicists to display their professional credentials and aesthetic predilections (Marchand 1996: 154-6). This seems to have encouraged, with the help of style-historical thinking formulated in the works of modern art historians and most notably of Alois Riegl, Wilhelm Wörringer and Heinrich Wölfflin (Marchand 1996: 332), a return back to the favourite claim of nineteenth century archaeologists: '*the autonomy and originality of the Greeks, from the Geometric age into the Hellenistic period.*' (Marchand 1996: 333) Theatre studies appear to be one of the fields of classical archaeology and art history over which the German idealisation of Greece was to have important effects (Morris 1994a: 17).

Finding support in the value attributed to the theatre building as a symbol of democracy all over Greece, as attested by the transfer of the Athenian *ekklesia* from the Pnyx to the Theatre of Dionysus after the renovation of the latter (Frézouls 1982: 356; Carlson 1989: 135), this preoccupation with Greece at the expense of playing down Rome in the German cultural milieu seems to have had an immediate consequence for studies on Roman theatre architecture: the architectural history of Roman period theatre buildings seem to have remained outside the domains preferred by the archaeologists and/or historians of ancient civilisation for a long time (Frézouls 1982: 343; 1969: 139; Moretti 1993: 72). Roy C. Flickinger's following criticism of the first edition of Bieber's *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1939) is noteworthy in this regard:

It seems as if the author did not realize at first that even for a book of nearly five hundred pages one has to pick up and chose, and then was constrained to hurry toward the end. In truth there is nowhere published an adequate account of the Roman theatre. The magnificent structures of the Empire lack the sentimental value of being contemporaneous with great Latin plays or even strongly associated in our memories with Greek drama. In consequence they are usually hurried through as an afterthought or a necessary evil in a few paragraphs or pages at the end of a longer treatment of something regarded as more important. Miss Bieber's book also gives this impression. (Flickinger 1940: 70)

Edmond Frézouls (1982: 346) refers to the investigations conducted at the end of the nineteenth century in the Great Theatre in *Pompeii* by Mau and Puchstein as one among a few exceptions that mark the first real efforts in Roman theatre archaeology. Catherine Courtois (1989: 11) also underlines the fact that these and similar early efforts had indeed remained secondary when compared to the study of the Greek Theatre, developing under the shadow of the great controversies over the latter, which occupied the scene during the two decades before World War I—namely those of 'origins' and 'evolution' primarily of the stage building, as already outlined above. Support for this view comes from a review Francis R. Bliss (1962) of the second edition of Bieber's *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (1961), in whose preface the chapters on the Roman theatre are noted by Bieber (1961: viii) to have been 'much enlarged and mostly completely rewritten', which would have made the enormous popularity of varied forms of entertainment under the Late Empire a special feature of the work, with the spread to the provinces demonstrated by the large number of theatre buildings studied in detailed photographs and plans, as noted by Susan Martin (1961-62: 16). Nevertheless, Bliss (1962: 446) would criticise Bieber for not answering the central problems of ancient drama in her new edition—namely, the problem of 'origins' to bring an answer to the question why the drama began at Athens and nowhere else; that of the development of its 'form', including the building in which the plays were produced; and that of the relation between the Greek and the Roman expression of this 'form'.

As mentioned by both scholars, during the period extending roughly from 1895 to 1925-30, the central concern of the experts investigating Roman period theatre architecture seems to have been to discover by which mutation the Roman type of theatre could have been born from the Hellenistic one, in such a way as to integrate with the long evolution of the Greek Theatre from pre-Classical to the Hellenistic period taken as a whole, resulting in the canonical version of the history of ancient theatre architecture. Almost forty years of work by prestigious scholars such as Bethe (1892)²⁶, Dörpfeld and Reisch (1896)²⁷, von Gerkan (1921)²⁸, Navarre (1925)²⁹, Bulle (1928)³⁰ and Liebertini (1933)³¹ seems to have

²⁶ Bethe, E. 1892. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Altertum*. Leipzig.

²⁷ Dörpfeld, Wilhelm and E. Reisch, 1896. *Das Griechische Theater: beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-theaters in Athen anderer griechischer theater*. Barth and von Hirst, Athens.

²⁸ von Gerkan, Armin 1921. *Das Theater von Priene*. F. Schmidt, Munich-Berlin.

²⁹ Navarre, O. 1925. *Le théâtre grec*. Paris.

followed a consensus, despite their many diverse concerns, on two fundamental ideas regarding Roman type of theatres that determined their fields of study: that of an absolute continuity from the Hellenistic type, which would be demonstrated by means of an essentially genetic investigation on the origins of the Roman type of theatre building in Italy under the warrant of Vitruvius; and that of a lack of originality in the later development in Italy and the provinces, since all would have already contained in some form in the first realisations. For this reason, the only domain found worthy of some attention seems to have been the stage building and especially the *scaenae frons*, for which an 'occidental' and an 'oriental' type were laboriously formulated and still maintained to this day to a greater extent. While the former is generally presented as having been born out of the Italian Hellenistic forms, the original Hellenistic characteristics have been argued to have victoriously re-emerged in the latter, despite the presence of diverse borrowings from the grand Roman models (Frézouls 1982: 346-7; 1969: 139-40; Courtois 1989: 11-2). Perhaps best understood within the framework of the 'Romanisation and resistance' paradigm which, in the case of theatre architecture, seems to work on the binary opposition of the 'Roman West' vs. the 'Greek East' victoriously re-emerging in the examples from Asia Minor (Frézouls 1982: 396-409):

The so-called eastern type is distinguished by its continued emphasis on the rectilinear façade articulated about its three main and two minor monumental entrances, with applied columnar *aediculae* (small, ornamental, columnar niches) and continuous orders as at Aspendus. In the "western" type of stage building the wall is developed in depth with an elaborate alternation of projecting and reentrant features that throws emphasis on the decorative screen itself, as, for example, at Orange and Sabratha. All the stage buildings in Turkey are, logically enough, of the eastern type. However, this correlation between building type and geography does not work everywhere in the Empire; the vast majority of the Roman stage buildings in Syria (e.g., that at Bostra) are of the western type. As two different types of design, these categories can stand, but as geographic types they demonstrably do not. (Dodge 1999: 221)

Dodge (1999: 221) cites J.B. Ward-Perkins (1981: 261)³² for the idea that '*the presence of so-called western stage buildings may reflect areas that did not have a long and essentially Greek theatrical tradition and that had to draw directly on the traditions of Rome and Italy.*' In this way, the binarism intrinsic in Wölfflin's method of understanding the nature of a work of art or style in terms of formal principles that structure contrasting optical modalities seems to be maintained and carried one step further in the classificatory tree wherein Greek-Hellenistic and Roman type of theatres are understood in terms of formal attributes in polar opposition that are constitutive, in themselves, of the nature of the art of these two periods through the principle of compositional contrast.

³⁰ Bulle, Heinrich 1928. *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*. Vol.33 of the *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologische-historische Klasse*. R. Oldenbourg, Munich.

³¹ Liebertini, G. 1933. *Il teatro antico e la sua evoluzione*. Catania.

³² Ward-Perkins, J.B. 1981. *Roman Imperial Architecture*. Hammondsworth.

In the following chapter, a critical analysis will be offered of the achievements and weaknesses of this method of classification for an assessment and restitution of the architectural characteristics of ancient theatre remains by revealing its affinity with a particular type of structural approach commonly referred to as 'structuralism', which would find support in Preziosi's (1998: 113) above-quoted interpretation of Wölfflin's *Principles* as an attempt to articulate visual change on the analogy of the late nineteenth-century models portraying linguistic evolution as taking place according to an internal structural or systemic logic, rather than as a reflection of actual usage or social context.

CHAPTER 3

IMPLICATIONS OF A TYPOLOGY BASED ON THE GREEK-ROMAN BINARISM IN STUDIES ON ANCIENT THEATRE ARCHITECTURE

This chapter attempts to scrutinise the theoretical, practical, methodological, and philosophical implications of the typology based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition, which is commonly referred to in the assessment and restitution of the architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains, in order to discover in its limitations a new set of variables for devising an alternative method of classification that adopts the 'network' model. The chapter begins by drawing a parallelism between the binarism of the mutual terms of classification in the Greek-Roman typology and a particular type of structural approach taken up in the Humanities that is commonly referred to as 'structuralism'. Such a claim has been made with the awareness of the fact underlined by Dinda L. Gorfée that 'structuralism' is a more or less abstract concept that is useful as a thinking model; for '*there are perhaps as many structuralisms as there are structuralists*' (Liszka 1981: 41¹ quoted in Gorfée 1992: 415). This has necessitated a focus, in this chapter, on a model of *structuralisme* constructed by Ernest Gellner (1982: 98) as a generative method consisting of a set of ideas or themes from which arguably follow the observed activities and positions of people normally described as structuralists, in the absence of what may be named a structuralist manifesto. From a similar set of ideas or themes is argued to follow Margarete Bieber's (1961: 189) table showing the main differences between Greek-Hellenistic and Roman type of theatres (table 1).

In the course of the chapter, the theoretical implications of this parallelism will be observed to culminate in the Roman type of theatre described in Bieber's table mainly in reference to the examples in the city of Rome, as part of an 'essentialist' portrayal of the Roman culture whose opponents would expect the theatres constructed after the establishment of Roman rule over any region to conform to it, independently of the context or intercultural relations. The Roman *Hispania* will appear as one of those

¹ Liszka, Jakób 1981. 'Peirce and Jakobson: Towards a Structuralist Reconstruction of Peirce', *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 17: 41-61.

regions where such expectations to encounter examples modelled on the archetypal examples in the city of Rome would find justification in the close historical, political and cultural integration of the area with the Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome. However, the majority of the twenty-two well-studied theatres in the Roman *Hispania* have been described by the scholars who study and reconstitute their architectural characteristics as displaying, especially in their *cavea*, features attributed to the Greek type of theatre in the categorisation based on the Greek-Roman binarism, in the absence of a surviving Greek-Hellenistic tradition of theatre-building, unlike the case in some eastern provinces of Rome, such as *Asia*. The resultant picture portrays 'Greek' theatres in Roman *Hispania*, in the classificatory terms of the typology based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition. This inconvenience will be interpreted as an indication of the strength of the *structuralist* rule of categorisation into binary oppositions as revealed in Bieber's table that delineates the main differences between the two types quintessentially from a 'formalist' perspective.

The practical implications of the prevalence of this formalist trend in the assessment and restitution of the architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains will be exemplified by the interpretations of some theatres in Roman *Hispania* through references to Vitruvius who is known to have written his *Ten Books on Architecture* after having served in *Hispania* under Caesar (Onions 1988: 33), in which the application of his method especially in Late Republican and Augustan examples seems to have found justification. Vitruvius characteristically distinguishes the theatres of the Greeks and Latins by their geometric schemes featuring respectively squares and equilateral triangles inscribed in an initial circle. The failure of the attempts for an application of the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre in the majority of the extant ancient theatre remains, and especially in those dating from Vitruvius' own time and its immediate aftermath, has apparently encouraged some scholars to seek for alternative geometries with higher explanatory power through an emphasis on the variables of 'size', 'time' and 'place'. These attempts will be presented among the major methodological implications of the general acceptance found by the Greek-Roman binary opposition in the assessment and restitution of the architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains. For, at the philosophical level, the very same attempts may be identified as displaying the same formalist tendency as in the adoption of the Vitruvian scheme mainly due to its aesthetical and ethical appeal. All these methodological choices will be, therefore, analysed as revealing a dilemma intrinsic in the difficult relation between architecture and geometry in their reduction of theatre architecture to geometry in a fundamentally graphic projection of the specific ancient theatre remains under scrutiny.

This dilemma seems to have been noticed long ago by Vitruvius himself, who has apparently tried to establish a more direct relation between his abstract geometric assembly for the Latin theatre and the

architectural project of any specific theatre building through recommendations for giving up symmetry for the sake of utility in steps, curved cross-aisles, their parapets, the passages, stairways, stages, tribunals and the like, which need to have the same size both in a small and a large theatre, and also for adjustments according to the nature of the site (Vitruvius V, VI, 7; 1960: 14; 1999: 69). When evaluated under the light of the main presumptions of the method of making population estimates for ancient settlements on the basis of the seating capacity of their theatre, these recommendations will be interpreted, in the conclusion of the chapter, as a call for a contextualisation of the extant ancient theatre remains in 'time' and 'place', through a classification of their geographical distribution according to their 'size' and site characteristics as revealed in the 'construction technique applied in their *cavea*'. In the following two chapters, an assessment will be offered for the hierarchies intrinsic in the 'network' resulting from such a classification of the ancient theatre remains in modern Spain and Greece through their interpretation as 'mirroring' the various mutual acculturation processes that may be expressed by the term 'Romanisation' in the context of the two study areas.

Table 1 The Main Differences Between Greek-Hellenistic and Roman Type of Theatres (Bieber 1961: 189)

Greek-Hellenistic	Roman
The <i>orchestra</i> is a full circle .	The <i>orchestra</i> is a half circle .
Stage house and <i>orchestra</i> are separated .	Stage house and <i>orchestra</i> are brought into an architectural whole .
The stage is high and shallow .	The stage is low and deep .
The <i>proskenion</i> is decorated with columns and painted <i>pinakes</i> .	The <i>proscenium</i> has a closed front decorated with niches and sometimes small pilasters.
The background of the stage has wide openings (<i>thyromata</i>) with painted scenery.	The background is a sumptuous architectural <i>scaenae frons</i> .
The entrances to the <i>orchestra</i> are open <i>paradoi</i> .	The side entrances are vaulted .
The seats of honor for the priests are in the lowest tier of seats .	Boxes (<i>tribunale</i>) are above the vaulted entrances for the providers of the plays. Senators, members of the city council, and other distinguished spectators are seated in the <i>orchestra</i> .
The different tribes are separated in sections in the same gallery .	The different classes are seated in different galleries , separated by parapets (barriers).
Entrance for all spectators is through the <i>paradoi</i> and the <i>orchestra</i> leading to the radiating staircases.	Entrance for the public is through different outer vaulted and open passageways.
The <i>auditorium</i> is built against a hillside, and therefore has no outside façade. No colonnade on the top.	The <i>auditorium</i> occasionally is also laid on a hillside (Vitruvius, v,3,3), but mostly built on high subconstructions from level ground with a rich façade, a colonnaded gallery, and sometimes shrines on top.
The theatre is built in sanctuaries.	The theatre can be built anywhere in a healthy place (Vitruvius, v,3,1). It sometimes has a shrine above its <i>cavea</i> .
The Greek theatre is a religious and democratic building with equally good seats for everybody.	The Roman theatre is a class theatre. It has more seats for officials and less space for the performances. It has different seats for the different ranks of society.
The Greek performances are literary events .	The Roman performances are shows catering to the taste of the public .

3.1 Theoretical Implications: 'Greek' Theatres of 'Roman' *Hispania*

In an essay on 'Function and Sign: The Semiotics of Architecture', Umberto Eco (1997: 182-4) presents the experiences of Stone Age man with caves as generating an 'idea of the cave' in his mind. This would have been replaced soon by a generic idea of cave *tout court*, which is a 'model' or a 'type' that does not exist concretely but on the basis of which he can recognise a certain context of phenomena as 'cave'. This would mean that such a 'model' or 'type' is already codified within the mind of the early man out of inferences from usages. Any representation of this model with graphic signs would be an 'iconic code' that communicates this 'architectural code' within his mind to other people, thanks to which the 'cave principle' would become an object of communicative discourse.

Centuries of archaeological research especially on the remains from the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens has produced a similar 'architectural code' for the Greek-Hellenistic type of theatres. As shown by Bieber, this communicates the presence of a circular *orchestra*, which is separated from a stage building that has a *proskenion* decorated with columns and painted *pinakes*, a background with wide openings (*thyromata*) for painted scenery, and a high and shallow stage, all explained in terms of the requirements of the tragic and comic plays of the period, facing a *theatron* built against a hillside to which access is through open *parodoi* that lead into the *orchestra*. In this way, an actual architectural object (such as the Greek-Hellenistic period remains from the Theatre of Dionysus) may be said to communicate a certain function to be fulfilled (Eco 1997: 183). In Eco's words, the *denoted meaning* of architectural objects is the function they make possible (Eco 1997: 184).

Additionally, the formal characteristics of architectural objects (such as the form, number, or disposition of windows) may '*refer to a certain conception of inhabitation and use; they may connote an overall ideology that has informed the architect's operation. Round arches, pointed arches and ogee arches all function in the load-bearing sense and denote this function, but they connote diverse ways of conceiving the function: they begin to assume a symbolic function.*' (Eco 1997: 185) At the point where he distinguishes between 'denotations' and 'connotations' of architectural objects, Eco (1997: 187-8) begins to '*speak of a 'primary' function (which is denoted) and of a complex of secondary functions (which are connotative)*', using the terms 'primary' and 'secondary' to convey, '*not an axiological discrimination (as if the one function were more important than the others), but rather a semiotic mechanism, in the sense that the secondary function rest on the denotation of the primary function*' (Eco 1997: 188). As revealed in Eco's analysis of Gothic cathedral architecture, and particularly the load-bearing value of its ogival ribbing and the various connotative lexicons that have imposed themselves over others in the course of time in the interpretation of its windows and glazing, both primary and secondary functions might be found to undergo losses, recoveries, and substitutions of various kinds in the course of history (Eco 1997: 188-90; also Preziosi 1979: 66, 93).

Eco's definition of the 'primary' and 'secondary' functions of architectural objects exposes his structuralist approach to semiotics of architecture in this early essay originally published in 1973. The distinction made by Eco between the 'denotations' and 'connotations' of architectural objects is comparable to the distinction made between 'structure' and 'culture' in structuralist social anthropology, which stresses on groups (or the society), their organisation (or 'structure'), and the constraints this imposed on the conduct of individuals in such a way as to ensure that they behaved in a way that in turn sustained that structure, at least for a long time (Gellner 1982: 104). While 'structure' was a matter of serious concern, culture was considered as relatively ephemeral, accidental, and epiphenomenal, which reflected the declared aspiration to turn anthropology into a natural science of societies (Gellner 1982: 104-5). As an example, while 'structure' dictated whom one could marry, 'culture' was what the bride wore, although the specific nature of the dress she wore mirrored nothing. 'Structure dictated where tokens were needed; accident or history (if indeed those two could even be distinguished) determined which concrete object was to serve as token.' (Gellner 1982: 104) Cultural elements were assumed, at their very best, to mirror, and thereby reinforce and sanction, 'real' constellations of people on the ground, which implies a theory of culture which is half an accident and half echo theory (Gellner 1982: 104). Ernest Gellner (1982: 105) points to an analogy between this distinction made between 'structure' and 'culture' by what he names the 'old structuralism' and that made by the British philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) between 'primary' and 'secondary' qualities, in the second's being explained by the first that was the central concern of science. Just as 'secondary' qualities are thought of as merely engendered by the interplay of our senses and the 'primary' ones such as impenetrability, which resemble the economic and power relations of social groups that form the 'structure' of societies, so are cultural traits, such as the sartorial or linguistic, are accepted as indicators of 'structure' that are nothing more than a mere surface illusion produced by the contingent forms of the sensibility of the culture in question (Gellner 1982: 105).

Margarete Bieber's table is significant within this framework, in showing the main differences between Greek-Hellenistic and Roman type of theatres as engendered by the structural differences between the tribally organised religious and democratic Greek society and the Roman class society. Among the thirteen points made in the table, five (in teal) refer to the uses made of the Greek-Hellenistic and Roman theatre buildings by the respective communities on the basis of which an explanation is provided for some formal characteristics (such as the presence/absence of parapets, location and number of seats of honour and entrances, or the quality of seats themselves) in terms of the structure of the two societies. The structuralist conception of causation is not so explicit in the remaining eight points that refer to some formal characteristics, but is implicit in the structure of the two-column table, which suggests the reading of a circular *orchestra*, open *parodoi*, or seating rows built against a hillside

as 'mirroring' the reality of the Greek society. Their appearance in a Roman period building would require an explanation such as the one provided for the case in Asia Minor by assuming the survival of the earlier Hellenistic social structure that would have reflected onto the prevailing building tradition. In this way, all the architectural characteristics listed in Bieber's table assume a symbolic function, in Eco's terms, connoting diverse way of conceiving the denoted/primary function on which it rests. The generic 'architectural code' we have of ancient theatres communicates the presence of an *orchestra*, a stage house with entrances on its sides, a stage with a front façade and a background, galleries and seats of honour to be occupied by the members of an ancient society during performances. A theatre building without a curvilinear *orchestra* and seating rows wrapping around it would be excluded by the 'ancient theatre principle'. The table suggests that this denoted/primary function was conceived differently by the Greek-Hellenistic and Roman societies.

Although Eco's distinction between the 'denotations' and 'connotations', and 'primary' and 'secondary' functions of architectural objects helps us in making better sense of Bieber's table, there exist fundamental differences between Eco's structuralist semiotics of architecture and Bieber's structuralist approach in *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, first published in 1939 and revised in 1961, which has achieved almost scriptural authority thanks to the clarity and assertiveness she has provided in an area where so much of the evidence is either incomplete or contradictory, which has raised the thirteen points forming the table to the status of articles of faith among students and professors alike, as noted by Clifford Ashby (1999: 140). First of all, contrary to Eco's emphasis on the possibility of changes in both 'primary' and 'secondary' functions in the course of history (Eco 1997: 188-90), Bieber's table is founded on the assumption of a structure that would have existed genuinely and persisted unchanged over time *and* place, as revealed in the lack of any temporal and/or geographic references. Apparently, therefore, *all* the theatre buildings constructed by the Greeks or the Romans at anytime and anyplace are expected to display the same architectural characteristics listed in the corresponding rows of the column.

One remarkable characteristic of Bieber's table is the impermeability between its two columns except in the row referring to the seating rows, which attests the fact that the auditorium of a Roman theatre was occasionally laid on a hillside, as was canonical for that of the Greek-Hellenistic theatre, 'but mostly built on high subconstructions from level ground with a rich façade, a colonnaded gallery, and sometimes shrines on top.' (Bieber 1961: 189) In the actual practice, however, impermeability prevails over this aspect of ancient theatre architecture as well, as seating arrangements laid over a natural slope indicate a Greek-Hellenistic and those built on the plain over manmade substructure a Roman construction. This sharp division between the characteristics attributed to Greek-Hellenistic and Roman theatres highlights the second fundamental difference between Eco's semiotics and Bieber's structuralism: the latter's binary method of classification,

which brings it closer to what Gellner distinguishes by a French accent in an article entitled 'What is Structuralisme?' (1982), apparently in reference to what Goriée (1992: 408, 415) observes to have been treated as a human collective with one single-minded and single-voiced identity commonly called the 'school of Paris' or the 'school of Greimas'. The distinction made by Gellner between 'structuralism' and '*structuralisme*' will be maintained in the following pages for methodological purposes.

Contrary to the indifference of what Gellner names 'the old structuralism' in social anthropology, the favoured areas of *structuralisme* are precisely in the realm of culture, which has now been put into the very centre of anthropological concern. Culture now appeared to have its own structure and its own laws emanating from its own persisting central core (Gellner 1982: 105, 108). This implicit doctrine of the autonomy of culture that even asserted its centrality firmly destroyed the echo theory of culture by founding its theory of meaning on the assessment that the essence of a symbol is not its relationship to the thing symbolised but, instead, its place in a wider system of symbols, which is assumed to have its central set of rules that generates everything that can occur within it, with relationships to the outside being almost accidental (Gellner 1982: 105). '*As in the case of old-fashioned structuralism, the actual token doesn't matter much; but whereas previously, what gave it life was its relation to the bit of reality that "controlled" it or to which it referred or which it symbolised, now it has the breath of life infused into it by the core-generating mechanism that assigns a place to it.*' (Gellner 1982: 105) In this way, among the major traits traced by Gellner (1982: 114-5) of *structuraliste* work, the idea of a core set of elements (or structure) comes to the fore as generating the system of signs. As a key characteristic, the *structuralistes* seem to believe in the existence of a plurality of structures that '*formally resemble each other and are rooted in some generically shared structure of the human mind.*' (Gellner 1982: 107) In dealing with cultures and their products alike, *structuralistes* generally assume the core elements to persist unchanged over time and independently in a realm of being other than that of their own generated manifestations and to occur in a pair of polar opposites.

Goriée notes that, the rule of binary oppositions '*constitutes the rigidly fixed a priori which has been elevated to universal rule, but has not been verified statistically—that is, on the basis of random examples—prior to its having achieved this sophisticated status*' (Goriée 1992: 408) of being a leading feature of classical European structuralism that was built upon the linguistic theories of Saussure, Hjelmslev and Jakobson who were followed by Lévi-Strauss, Julia Kristeva and Todorov, among others (Goriée 1992: 413). Goriée takes the following passage in the authoritative *Semiotics and Language: an Analytical Dictionary* (1982) by Greimas and Courtès² as an indication of this status as:

² Greimas, A.J. and J. Courtès 1982. *Semiotics and Language: an Analytical Dictionary*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, p. 25.

an epistemological postulate according to which the binary articulation or grasp of phenomena is one of the characteristics of the human mind.... A set of historical and pragmatic factors has given binary structures a privileged place in linguistic methodology. This may be due to the successful practice of the binary coupling of phonological oppositions established by the Prague School, or due to the importance gained by binary arithmetical systems (0/1) in automatic calculus, or to the operative simplicity of binary analysis in comparison with more complex structures, since every complex structure can be formally represented in the guise of a hierarchy of binary structures, etc. (Greimas and Courtès quoted in Goriée 1992: 412)

Once adopted, the hypothesis that reality 'must be' organised binarily has been used '*to divide any object—verbal, nonverbal, or a combination of both—into logically opposite domains; this is done, moreover, on the assumption that the object's meaning is totally defined by these binary features.*' (Goriée 1992: 410-1) Therefore, *structuralistes* seek out the opposite extremes when contemplating cultural products and assume them to be the limits of the world in question *and* parts of the generative core that produces it. In this way cultural products are treated at the very least as equal in importance to the 'hard' elements of social life and '*a society of culture is assumed either to be, or at least to be very intimately linked to, such a system, comprising both core and manifestations*' (Gellner 1982: 114-5).

Going back to Bieber's table (table 1), we now notice that four of the points listed in the table (in dark red) indeed refer to the opposite extremes displayed in the theatre building as a cultural product. The qualities highlighted in these four points and in other five (in teal) which refer to the uses made of the Greek-Hellenistic and Roman theatre buildings by the respective communities are assumed to be the limits of the world in question *and* parts of the generative core that produces it. The inclusion of these two different types of characteristics in the table without an axiological discrimination may give the impression that theatre buildings are treated as equal in importance to the "hard" elements of social life.

In all, perhaps due to the influence of philhellenism through the dominance of the German school in her formation, Bieber's outline of the Greek-Hellenistic and Roman theatre architecture in binary opposition would lend itself to a poststructuralist reading centred around the argument that in simple pairings such as light-dark, truth-falsehood, cosmos-chaos, rational-irrational, science-superstition or man-woman, the first terms are privileged over the seconds (Minor 1995: 165) in such a way as to generate two binary opposite sets. In Bieber's table, the Greek-Hellenistic Theatre is portrayed as a religious and democratic building with equally good seats for everybody, with different tribes separated in sections in the same gallery and priests in seats of honour in the lowest tier of seats, all using the same entrances before the start of literary performances. Its polar opposite is the Roman class theatre for shows catering to the taste of the public, wherein different galleries existed for different ranks of the society that were separated by barriers, which necessitated separate entrances. Resting on a natural slope with its larger than semicircular *koilon* centring on the orchestra, the 'open' Greek theatre blends with the Nature visually and physically, as opposed to the 'closed' Roman theatre, whose semicircular

cavea centring on the stage rises on level ground over manmade subconstruction, which also facilitates spectator circulation. By its lack of any chronological or geographical references, the table reveals the commonplace presumption that the structure of the two societies persisted unchanged through time and space, from which would have emanated the regularities discerned in the cultural manifestations generating from them, including the corpus of ancient theatres that are themselves part of the structure that produces the ancient world under scrutiny.

It would be worth underlining that these parallelisms should not conceal the fundamental difference of Bieber's work from this second, *structuraliste* trend in her assumption of the structure formed by the binary opposition of the Greek and Roman societies, rather than a structure of culture independent from it, as generating the cultural products such as theatre buildings. This constitutes the third major difference between Bieber's and Eco's approaches; for Eco bases his analyses on a semiotic mechanism that attests the dependence of the connotative functions of architectural objects, including ideologies of inhabitation and typological meanings they connote, on the denotation of their primary function. In fact, it is as if this semantic mechanism has been reversed in Bieber's approach to ancient theatre architecture by assuming the denoted function of ancient theatre buildings to rest on the overall ideology they connote as an indicator of the structure of the corresponding Greek or Roman society.

When taken together, these three points marking the difference of Bieber's structuralism from Eco's structuralist semiotics of architecture form an idea of culture that deserves the main critical argument noted by Tariq Modood (1997: 10) against 'multiculturalism' and other related discourses for having produced a model of the world as made up of a 'mosaic of peoples and cultures' by assuming a single, homogenous culture for each identifiable group that has always been the same wherever the group is found or has travelled:

so that one can talk about a group and its culture without any reference to context, to contact or interaction with other groups, to economic circumstances, political power and so on. The key term that expresses these related points is 'essentialism'; commonsense discourse about cultures assumes that each culture has a unique, fixed essence that can be grasped independently of context or intercultural relations, and which makes an ethnic group act the way it does. (Modood 1997: 10)

The Roman type of theatre described in Bieber's table mainly in reference to the examples in the city of Rome is part of such an 'essentialist' portrayal of the Roman culture, whose opponents would expect the theatres constructed after the establishment of Roman rule over any region to conform to it, independently of the context or intercultural relations. As will be highlighted in the following subsection, the Roman *Hispania* is one of those regions where such expectations to encounter examples modelled on the archetypal examples in the city of Rome would find justification in the close historical, political and cultural integration of the area with the Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome.

3.1.1 Roman Rule in Iberia

The Romans were drawn to the Iberian Peninsula as a result of a conflict with Carthage over the control of the western Mediterranean, to fight there the decisive Battle of *Illipa* at Alcalá del Río in the Guadalquivir valley in 206 BC under the command of the young Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus and expel the Carthaginians after five years in a state of war. The Roman soldiers who survived the Battle were resettled in a pre-Roman settlement re-founded by Scipio as *Itálica*, now eight kilometres to the northwest of Seville. Among the earliest references to the Roman foundation of *Itálica* is the famous mid-second century BC inscription of the consul Mummius, the brutal conqueror of Corinth in 146 BC, who had made a donation to *Itálica* of objects coming from the sack of the Greek city but we fail to know what kind of special relations could have united *Itálica* with Mummius in such a way as to explain this present except the fact that Mummius had been *praetor* in Spain a couple of years ago, in 153 BC (García y Bellido 1960: 17-8).

In this way, *Hispania* became the first territory controlled by the Romans outside of Italy and *Magna Grecia* through the gradual evolution of a centralised framework of government which guaranteed the military peace. In 197 BC, the provinces of *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior* were created in such a way as to reflect the difference between the centralised pre-Roman settlements of what corresponds to most of modern Andalusia to the east of the lower Guadalquivir and the scattered tribal communities of the Mediterranean coastal strip from the Pyrenees roughly to modern Linares (Keay 1988: 47). Establishment of Roman rule over the whole Peninsula would take nearly two hundred years of almost continuous warfare characterised by short campaigns and the lack of any consistent policy (Keay 1988: 46), which partially explains why little was done in these new provinces before the establishment of Roman rule over northern Gaul by Julius Caesar in 50s BC and the establishment of communication between *Hispania* and Rome (Baird 2000).

A benchmark in this regard is the decisive battle fought next to *Munda* (possibly the Camorra hill in La Lantejuela, Sevilla) between Pompey and Caesar on 17th March 45 BC, i.e. four years after *Hispania*'s becoming the theatre for the struggle between the forces of the two generals. Caesar is known to have awarded the cities loyal to his cause and punish those that had betrayed him. It is interesting within this framework to note the fact that, among the three oldest theatres in the Peninsula, which have been unearthed close to the Gibraltar and dated to the period of Caesar (fig. A.6), one is located in *Carteia* (fig. A.14), a city that became one of the last refuges of the Pompeians after *Munda* (Collins 1998: 106) while the other was constructed in *Gades* presumably in 46-43 BC by Lucius Cornelius Balbus (known as Balbus the Younger), from the Gaditan *Balbii* family especially protected by Caesar (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 52-3), who was the first provincial to earn honours of a triumph (Blázquez 1976). These honours included that of constructing a public monument to his name, which turned out to be the

Theatre of Balbus and the annexed *Crypta Balbi* shown in the *Forma Urbis*, which was noted by Suetonius and Pliny for its four onyx columns (Bieber 1961: 184). This was 'a unique distinction for one not born a Roman citizen and an exceptional honour in that thereafter traditional military triumphs were not granted to those outside the imperial family.' (Beacham 1999: 119) Located in the *Campus Martius*, the Theatre that probably accommodated eight thousand spectators would be the last public monument erected in Rome by anyone other than the emperor or Senate (often on his behalf) until the city ceased to be an imperial capital (Beacham 1999: 120).

As noted by M.A. Elvira (1992: 7), the 'cultural Romanisation' of the Iberian Peninsula would have started much earlier than the period of Caesar, although its earliest record in theatre architecture comes with the above-mentioned Late Republican constructions. These were followed by Augustan and Tiberian theatres that form the great majority of remains that could be dated so far in the Iberian Peninsula (fig. A.6) where the establishment of Roman rule was completed with the Cantabrian campaign of Augustus (29-19 BC). In a problematic passage from Nicolaus Damascenus, the future *princeps* is noted to have visited in 45 BC *Carthago Nova*, the then capital of *Hispania Citerior* (Llorens 1994: 16; Keay 1988: 47), in the company of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa and Julius Caesar, three years before the deification of Caesar and the designation of Octavian as his adoptive son in 42 BC (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 138-9). Later in 26-25 BC, Augustus stayed in *Tarraco* (modern Tarragona) with the motive of reforming the administration of the Empire, during which period the city became the centre of the power and political decisions of the whole Empire immediately after the establishment of monarchy in 27 BC (Alföldy 1988: 20, 38). In the third century AD, it would become normal for an emperor to rule the Empire from outside Rome but in the history of Imperial Rome, the stay of Augustus in *Tarraco* was the first instance when the imperial seat was translated from Rome, although not officially nor permanently (Alföldy 1988: 20). Later Galba, the governor of the *Hispania Citerior* seated in *Tarraco*, would claim to become the Emperor in AD 68 against Nero, on which occasion Tacitus would assert the possibility of proclaiming sovereignty also from outside Rome (i.e. *arcanum imperii*), following the example set by Augustus a century ago with *Tarraco*, as the first milestone in the path leading from Rome to Constantinople (Alföldy 1988: 20). The famous *Legio VII Gemina*, also known as the *Legio Galbiana*, was given the standard by Galba in *Clunia* of northern *Hispania* where Galba stayed after the defeat of Vindex, his colleague in the rebellion, until he received there the news about the death of Nero and left the city in the company of the *Gemini* legion to be granted in Rome the imperial diadem, as reported in detail by the biographers of the Emperor and especially by Suetonius and Plutarch.

With the Augustan reforms, the territory lying to the north of the river Duero had been added by 5 BC to the province of *Hispania Citerior* now called *Tarraconensis*, with its capital at *Tarraco* (Keay 1988:

49). Additionally, the senatorial *Provincia Hispania Ulterior Baetica* was established by Augustus who separated it from *Hispania Ulterior* between 16-13 BC, by setting the river Guadiana as its western limit, adopting also the latter's capital *Corduba*. The territory to its north and west became the province of *Hispania Lusitania*, with its capital at the newly-founded *Emerita Augusta* (modern Mérida), whose patron was probably Agrippa. With Nero (AD 54-68), the favour of the Corduban Séneca marked the start of a political life that increased significantly the possibilities for the promotion of the better situated Baetican provincials politically, socially, culturally and economically. An example is *Marcus Ulpius Trajanus*, the father of the Emperor of the same name, who was born during the reign of Tiberius, when the province of *Hispania Ulterior Baetica* had started to experience the splendid consequences of Augustan reforms, and started his public career in the period of Nero as the first member of his family to become consul in June/July 70 (Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 28-9). *Marcus Ulpius Trajanus* (98-117), the first Roman emperor who originated from a Roman province and known as the *Optimus Princeps*, was born possibly in the Baetican town of *Itálica* on 18th September 53 (García y Bellido 1960: 9, 36; Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 28). His cousin and successor, *Publius Aelius Hadrianus* (117-38), although born in Rome on 24th January 76 was from the Oscan *Aelii* family of *Itálica*, originating in *Hadria* in the southeast end of Piceno not far from the coast and had settled in *Hispania* in the times of the Scipios (Blanco Freijeiro 1982: 293-4, 296). Last but not least, the great Christian emperor Theodosius I (379-95), whose reign drew a tightly knit group of Spanish aristocrats into the limelight of political life at the capital Constantinople was *Hispania's* major contribution to the political and military life of the late empire (Keay 1988: 199).

Examples displaying the close connection of the Iberian Peninsula with the outstanding figures of Roman history may be multiplied. When taken together, these examples point to the fact that, the Iberian Peninsula had never occupied a marginal position in Roman politics, administration, or culture. This may imply a direct involvement in 'Roman cultural revolution', a term reintroduced by Greg Woolf (2001: 175) after having been coined first by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill in a review discussion of Zanker's *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1990). It corresponds to the formative period of the 'high' culture of the Early Empire during which 'were created the literary, intellectual, aesthetic and monumental styles against which much of the cultural activity of the next three hundred years had repeatedly to define itself, whether by imitation or variation, by elaboration, subversion or outright rejection.' (Woolf 2001: 175) The Roman type of theatre described in Bieber's table as part of an 'essentialist' portrayal of the Roman culture would be one example highlighting the process through which were formed, in this way, the 'codes' we have of Roman public architecture including theatres. This renders all the more significant the fact that the majority of the twenty-two well-studied theatres in the Roman *Hispania* display characteristics attributed to the Greek type of theatre in the categorisation

based on the Greek-Roman binarism (figs. A.2, A.3), and designated as such by the scholars who have studied them as will be outlined in the following sub-section.

3.1.2 Greek Characteristics Attributed to the Theatres in Roman *Hispania*

As early as 1934, J. Puig i Cadafalch (1934: 189-90) has described the Catalan theatres as following the 'Greek tradition' in the partial carving of their *cavea* into the natural rock, taking advantage of the configuration of the terrain, as at Tarragona (*Tarraco*), Sagunto (*Saguntum*), and Alcedia (*Pollentia*). In the larger scale, the whole *cavea* is carved into the living rock in eight examples (*Acinipo*, *Arcóbriga*, *Mago*, *Malaca*, *Olisipo*, *Pollentia*, *Termes*, and *Urso*), the *media* and *summa cavea* are carved into the living rock and the *ima cavea* entirely constructed out of earth in one (*Clunia*), the central part of the *cavea* is carved while its wings are supported over manmade subconstruction in two (*Carteia* and *Carthago Nova*), the *ima* and *media cavea* are carved into the living rock and the *summa cavea* is supported over manmade subconstruction in six (*Baelo Claudia*, *Bilbilis*, *Emerita Augusta*, *Gades*, *Regina*, and *Saguntum*), and the central part of the *ima* and *media cavea* are carved while their wings and the *summa cavea* are supported over manmade construction in four (*Metellinum*, *Segóbriga*, *Singilia Barba*, and *Tarraco*) examples. In the latter two cases the seats in the *summa cavea* have occasionally been constructed by mounting timber planks over radial masonry walls. Only in the Theatre of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12), the *media* and *summa cavea* are typically supported over manmade subconstruction while the *ima cavea* and the orchestra were carved into the ground by lowering the natural levels and the Theatres of *Corduba* and *Itálica* present us with the two unique cases wherein the *cavea* is supported entirely over manmade subconstruction. (See Appendix A for details)

These latter three examples, which convene to the commonly-held idea of a Roman type of theatre building, have been comparatively late discoveries made in multi-period multi-layered urban areas in modern Spain. Although identified as early as 1886, with some trial digs in 1898 and 1937, the systematic excavation of the Theatre of *Itálica* had to wait for the period 1971-75 when they were conducted parallel to the expropriation of the overlying houses in modern Santiponce (Luzón Nogué 1982: 183-90). At about the same time, excavations were going on at the Theatre of *Caesar Augusta*, (fig. A.12) which was discovered in 1972 during the preparation of its site for the construction of houses (Beltrán Martínez 1982: 41; Beltrán Lloris 1993: 93). The last to reveal was the Theatre of *Corduba* during excavations in 1999 at plots appropriated by the Provincial Archaeological Museum located in the sixteenth-century Jerónimo Páez Palace for the purpose of an extension to the Museum (Baena Alcántara 2002: 55). Of the eight theatres that have always been visible and described by local intellectuals and travellers since the sixteenth century, *all* had their *cavea* over a natural slope, and as carved into the natural rock entirely at *Acinipo* or almost entirely at *Clunia* (fig. A.15) and *Carteia* (fig. A.14), with constructed wings in the latter case. In the remaining five examples (*Baelo Claudia*,

Bilbilis Augusta, Emerita Augusta, Regina, and Saguntum), the *ima* and *media cavea* are carved into the living rock while the *summa cavea* is supported over manmade subconstruction. Given the popularity of the Theatres of *Emerita Augusta* and *Saguntum*, this may have attested this construction technique as typical of Roman *Hispania*, as different from the one described by Bieber as 'mostly built on high subconstructions from level ground'. But this seems not to have diminished the expectations to encounter in the Roman *Hispania* of the theatres modelled on and displaying the architectural characteristics of the *cavea* in the archetypal examples in the city of Rome. An example is the implication in Y. Shaffer's statement, on the Theatre of *Saguntum*, that '*unlike most Roman theatres, it is not entirely free-standing: The seating section, the cavea, is carved into the rock of the hillside. The theatre was built in the hillside in part because there was not a large area of level land on which to construct a free-standing theatre within the city.*' (Shaffer 1992³: 12 quoted in Ashby 1999: 140) The author implies, therefore, that had there been enough level land available, the building would have been constructed on it.

A similar 'architectural code' for the Roman theatre can be traced, on the Spanish soil, back to the early decades of the twentieth century. As early as 1911, Enrique Aguilera y Gamboa, the Marquis of Cerralbo, who was the first person to locate the ancient city of *Arcóbriga* (fig. A.8), had described the Theatre there as 'carved into the living rock following the Greek custom', modifying greatly the grand and profound ravine between the Acropolis and the plateau of public buildings to give it a semicircular form (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 24). Similarly, the construction of its *cavea* over the smooth slope of the rocky hill to take the best out of its natural inclination had been the first characteristic listed by Antonio Palomeque (1939: 295-7; 1943: 214-5) as testifying to the 'Greekness' of the architecture of the Theatre of *Acinipo* (fig. A.7). In the same period, Samuel Ventura Solsona (1943: 197), the then director of the Museum of Tarragona, had described the Theatre of *Tarraco* (fig. A.29) as partially excavated into the rock of the hill, 'following the Greek fashion', and supported in the ends over very strong vaults, as required by the formation of the terrain. By 1950s, Rubio Vegara (1952⁴ cited in Martín-Bueno 1975: 235) defined the Theatre of *Bilbilis* (fig. A.11) as one of the 'Greek cut' (*corte griego*), meaning that the superstructure of the edifice was constructed with the material extracted by cutting the *cavea* into the living rock, as also applied in the Theatre of *Acinipo* (del Amo 1982: 219). Similar descriptions continue well into the 1980s when Pedro de Palol (1978: 27-8) has described the *summa* and *media cavea* of the Theatre of *Clunia* as being carved into the rock in the manner of Greek theatres (fig. A.15). Coming to the early 1990s, Elvira (1992: 27) notes about the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* in Mérida (fig. A.17), which is perhaps the best-known ancient theatre from Spain, that

³ Shafer, Y. 1992. 'A Roman Theatre in Restoration,' *Theatre Design and Technology* 28: 12.

⁴ Rubio Vegara, M. 1952. *Calatayud, Historia, Arte, Costumbres*.

although the edifice was an official commission designed by architects linked to the court of Augustus, the technical developments that made possible the theatres of Pompey and of Marcellus in Rome had very little share, if any, in the grandiosity of the building on the slope of a hill wherein the tiers of its *cavea* were carved in the Greek manner (Lorente Enseñat 2000e).

The connotations of these references to the Greek tradition of theatre building in the context of the Roman *Hispania* would reveal better in a comparison with Hans Peter Isler's (1994/95/96: 120) description of 'the Roman theatre found in Asia Minor', remarkably with the exception of the Theatre of *Aspendos*, as having an unusual plan that maintained the 'typical Greek plan', which is more than semicircle, and the traditional high and shallow Hellenistic stage in front of a rectilinear *scaenae frons* with five doors and without niches. In the context of Asia Minor, these and other 'Greek' characteristics in Roman period theatre constructions have traditionally been interpreted as a survival of the local building traditions under Roman control, at least up to the end of the Flavian period. Even after that date, only a single Theatre in Side is mentioned by Daria de Bernardi Ferrero (1990: 133) as displaying *cavea* characteristics of the 'western type of theatre' with evenly-distributed colonnaded radial entrances through manmade subconstruction. Behind this survival is generally identified the 'Greek' architects of *Asia*, as attested in a correspondence between Pliny the Younger and the Emperor Trajan, which would demonstrate the major difference between the construction practice in the Anatolian and Iberian Peninsulas. During Pliny's stay in the city (111-113), a failure in the foundations or masonry of the Theatre of *Nicaea*, under construction by then, had led to the partial collapse of the edifice, which seems to have provoked Pliny to write a letter requesting an expert for the inspection of this and other ruined edifices; but the Emperor Trajan turned down the request in his reply, on the pretext of the presence of very good Greek architects in the Asia Minor who were occasionally appointed even in Rome (Bernardi Ferrero 1990: 14). This and similar excerpts would justify the maintenance of the causal relation between 'structure' and 'culture' in the form it revealed in Bieber's table in studies on the ancient theatres in Anatolia.

Coming to the source of 'Greekness' attributed to the architectural characteristics of some theatres of the Roman *Hispania*, Emilia Hernández Hervás (1988: 129), while reporting a historiography of various attempts at dating the initial construction of the Theatre of *Saguntum*, mentions the contention of E. Palos (1807)⁵ that the construction of the edifice may not have belonged to the Romans but must pre-date their coming to Spain. Following the opinion of Abbot Don Xavier Lampillas, Palos has argued its foundation to be Greek on the basis of a sculpted gravestone conserved in a small window at the left *choragia* or vestibule on which were depicted 'foreign characters' he attributed to the first populations of Spain whose relics were deposited in the

⁵ Palos, E, 1807 [©1793]. *Disertación sobre el Teatro y Circo de la ciudad de Sagunto, ahora villa de Murviedro*. València.

City Hall. He has then supported his thesis with an inscribed stone displaying similarities with the row conserved in the *proscenium* wall he shows in the plan. He has concluded that it is not possible to be certain about the construction date of the Theatre but, taking into consideration the foundation of the ancient *Saguntum* to which had entered Zacynthian Greeks (from an hypothetical colony) two hundred years after the War of Troy, whom it would have taken fifty years to improve the city, the Theatre would have been their foundation more than 2,800 years ago. (Hernández 1988: 129)

In fact, the communities of south and east Spain had been confronted by Greeks, together with the Phoenicians, in the first half of the first millennium BC, with Phocaeans from *Massalia* (modern Marseille), who had re-settled there after the founding trade posts at *Rhode* (modern Rhodes) and *Ampurias* (modern Empúries) north of the Costa Brava, Barcelona, *Hemeroskopeion* (modern Denia) close to the modern Cabo de la Nao between Valencia and Alicante facing the Balearic Island of Ibiza, and the famous *Mainake* (near modern Málaga), as early as mid-sixth century BC (Keay 1988: 12-14). This date that has been pushed back to the seventh century under the light of recent finds such as a seventh century BC proto-Attic *oinochos* found in *Gades*, now in the Copenhagen Museum (Blázquez 1976). Among the sites where ancient theatre remains have been located so far, Archaic and Classical Greek pottery revealed at *Baelo Claudia* (Sillières 1997: 51), *Carthago Nova* (Llorens 1994: 13-14), *Carteia* (Roldán *et al.* 1998; 1998a), *Gades* (Blázquez 1976), and *Malaca* (Gran Aymerich 1985: 134) along the coast as well as at the inland sites of *Metellinum* (PECS) and *Segóbriga* (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 15-20). This confirms to the argument that although the Phocaeans were defeated by the combined fleets of the Etruscans and Carthaginians at the battle of Alalia fought in 535 BC off the coast of Corsica, which would have definitely broken their power in the western Mediterranean, traces of Greek influence continued well into the fourth century BC, with Ampurias funneling exotic ceramics, amphorae, and other goods into native sites along the Catalan coast and up the Ebro valley about as far as modern Saragossa (Keay 1988: 14; Aguilar Gavilán 1995: 14).

These commercial activities would have left the extensive mark of Greek influence in many aspects of the culture of the native Iberian communities, including their urbanism. According to Comas and Padrós (1992: 7), the division of the urban space into functionally specialised zones, which seems to have dated back to the foundation of *Baetulo* (fig. A.10), may be interpreted as a response both to the topographic characteristics of the site and to the clear influence of Greek urbanism wherein zoning had been applied since the Classical period as one of the peculiarities of the so-called Hippodamian urbanism. Indeed, archaeological research at the Greek trading posts along the Mediterranean littoral of the Iberian Peninsula, including *Ampurias* and *Mainake*, have revealed their orthogonal layout as a characteristic distinguishing them from contemporary Punic settlements that displayed maximum adaptation to the configuration of the land, departing from an

eccentric point and following a unique direction of expansion, as in the Phoenician and Punic *Malaca* and *Gades* (Gran Aymerich 1985: 145). However, a remarkable characteristic of these 'Greek' sites is the total absence of public buildings in them, apart from an occasional Temple and an open space (Agora) for commercial transactions (Keay 1988: 16). This leads Martín Almagro-Gorbea (1988: 113) to underline the impossibility of comparing the phenomenon of Greek presence in the Iberian Peninsula with that in the cities of *Magna Graecia* and Sicily within the Italian soil, or with the phenomenon of Phoenician colonisation of the West, whose expansion was perfectly installed especially in the south coast of the Iberian Peninsula in a manner comparable to the Semitic colonisation of North Africa or Sardinia within the Punic world of Carthage. As a result, Greek presence in the Iberian Peninsula seems to have never resulted in an assimilation of the Hellenic culture, which would have altered substantially the development of the Iberian social and cultural structure.

The absence of any archaeological remains that might have been interpreted as the equivalent of the so-called 'agora theatres' at *Lato* and *Dreros* in Crete, probably dating from the sixth century (Nielsen 2002: 110), does not allow the attribution of the 'Greekness' of some Roman period theatres in the Iberian Peninsula to the survival or an earlier tradition of theatre-building. The theatre as a building type appears to have been a clear Roman adaptation in the Iberian Peninsula (Elvira 1992: 7). Under these circumstances, the 'Greekness' of theatre buildings in the context of the Roman *Hispania* would connote, not a Greek origin in the sense of having been constructed by Greeks and, therefore, a causal relation between 'structure' and 'culture' as assumed by structuralism but, instead, the strength of the *structuraliste* rule of categorisation into binary oppositions in modern studies on ancient theatre architecture as revealed in the 'architectural codes' for Greek-Hellenistic and Roman theatres that form the two columns of Bieber's table showing the main differences between the two types. With the disappearance of the causal link between the Greeks and the 'Greekness' of any cultural product such as a theatre building, we are left with a quintessentially formalist binary classification based on a particular set of 'stylistically recognisable forms' whose 'objectivity' appears to avoid *'the real and interesting complications involved in cultural and political imperialism, stylistic emulation and assimilation, the problematic of multiculturalism and acculturation in the context of empires with subjects who were largely non-Greek but whose rulers in some (though not all respects) adopted Greek manners and imagery.'* (Elsner 1995: 622)⁶ In the Spanish context, a particular reading of Vitruvius' fifth book on theatre architecture seems to have played an important part in the adoption of such a formalist, as different from historicist or other, conception of the significance of art in modern studies on ancient theatre architecture, as will be outlined in the next section.

⁶ This has been the main point of criticism made by Jaš Elsner (1995) in his review of Sir John Boardman's *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (1994).

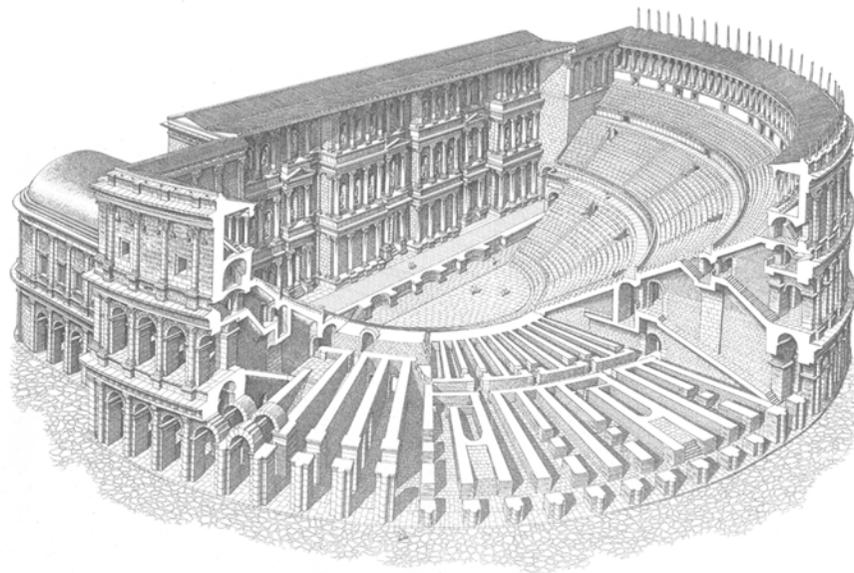
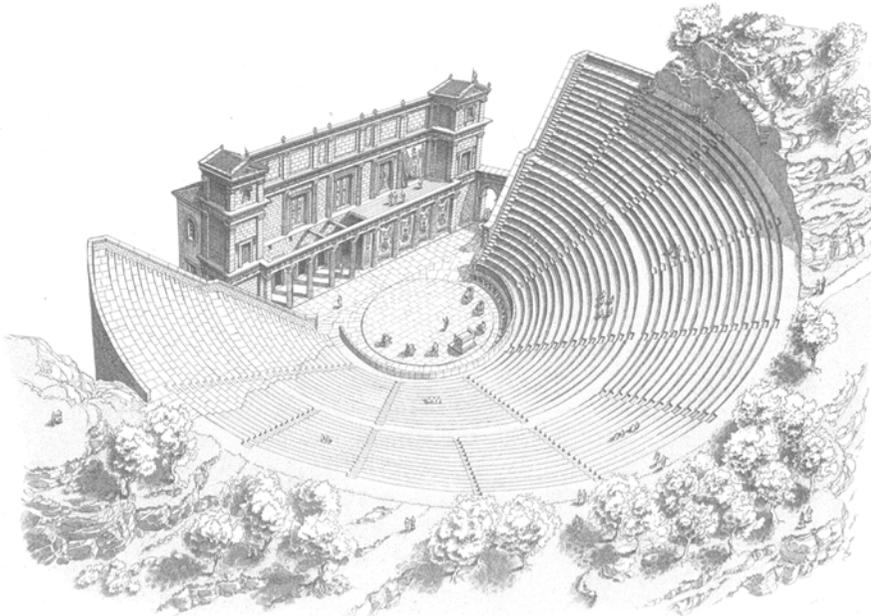
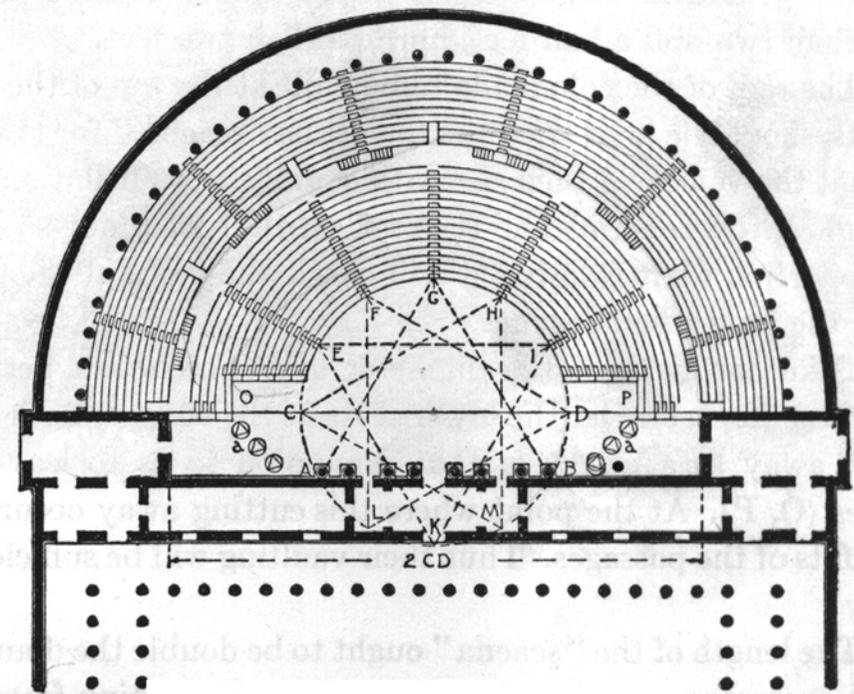
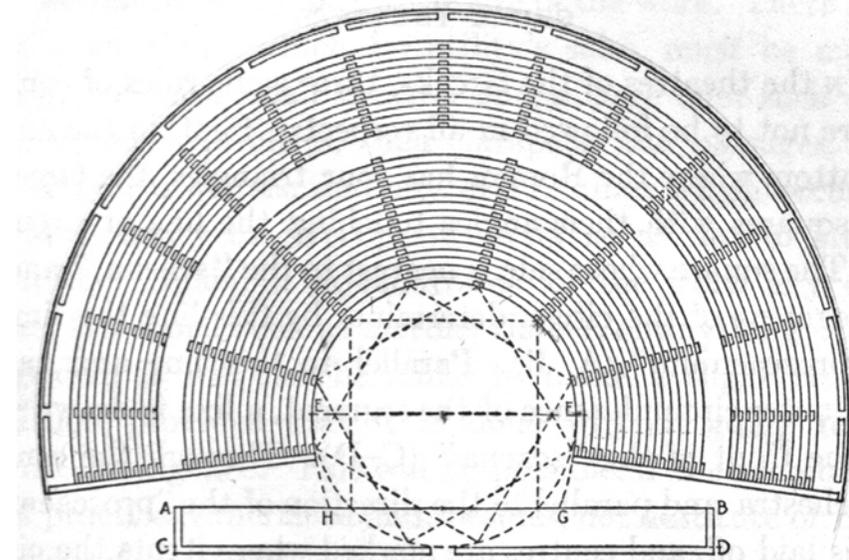


Figure 3.1 Theatres meant to be used by the Greeks (left) and by the Romans (right).
 (Vitruvius 1960: 152 [top left] and 147 [top right]; Ciancio Rossetto and
 Pisani Sartorio ©1994/95/96: 135 [bottom left] and 137 [bottom right])

3.2 Practical Implications: the Appeal of the Vitruvian Creed for the Interpretation of the Theatres in Roman *Hispania*

The conception of Greek-Hellenistic and Roman theatre architecture in binary opposition to each other is, of course, no invention of Bieber's but dates at least back to Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* wherein the two types are distinguished by the difference that '*theatres designed from squares are meant to be used by Greeks, while Roman theatres are designed from equilateral triangles. Whoever is willing to follow these directions will be able to construct perfectly correct theatres.*' (Vitruvius, V, VIII, 2; 1960: 153) (fig. 3.1) Bieber (1961: 255) notes that '*Vitruvius was rediscovered and printed for the first time in 1484.*' Publications documenting attempts at a restitution of ancient theatre remains in the Iberian Peninsula by following Vitruvius' directions date back to as early as the sixteenth century, possibly due to influence of the *Medidas del Romano* written by Diego de Sagredo, court chaplain to Juana la Loca in Toledo who seems to have had a quasi-professional interest in architecture, which can be translated as 'The Method of the Roman' or 'Roman Measurements' and sometimes treated as a mere paraphrase of Vitruvius that:

appeared in Spanish in 1526 (in Toledo: reprints in 1549 and 1564), in Portuguese in 1541/2, in French in 1531 (again in 1539, 1542, 1550, and 1608), and was the first "Vitruvian" book in all three languages. [...] Diego's ideas were seconded by the research for the exact dimensions of the Roman foot, which were carried out at Salamanca and were the subject of one of a set of lectures at the university. (Rykwert 1996: 401)

About a century later, Macario Fariña de Corral, a lawyer and antiquarian native and citizen of Ronda, would describe the nearby Theatre of *Acinipo* as 'similar to that described by Vitruvius', with its tiers 'constructed impending on the steep slope of the hill' and niches over its stage doors for bronze sounding vessels, in a letter written in 1650 and published in 1757 by Flórez⁷ (del Amo 1982: 216). In another letter dated 5th November 1750, Luis José Velázquez, the Marquis of Valdeflores, would make a detailed description of the same edifice, describing its stage building as constructed out of large granite blocks joined by iron claps and lead without mortar following the Vitruvian rule (del Amo 1982: 216). These two references may be taken as clues hinting at the popularity gained by the Vitruvian treatise among the Spanish intellectuals starting at least from the century following Diego de Sagredo's *Medidas del Romano*. A research in the manuscript archives of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid may produce similar and possibly earlier documents on the eight theatres that have always been visible (i.e. *Acinipo*, *Baelo Claudia*, *Bilbilis Augusta*, *Carteia*, *Clunia*, *Emerita Augusta*, *Regina*, and *Saguntum*),

⁷ M. Fariña's letter to Felix Laso de la Vega dated October 22, 1650; p. 151ff in Flórez 1757. *Medallas de las Colonias, Municipios y Pueblos de España*. Madrid.

which was a task that could not be achieved during the three months devoted in the course of this study to the ancient theatres in modern Spain.

Coming to more recent periods, Antonio Palomeque has also referred to the classical norm written down by Vitruvius to interpret what he describes to be 'clear Greek influences' on the Theatre of *Acinipo* as a departure from it, which would confirm for him a date earlier than the first half of the first century BC for the beginning of the construction of the edifice (Palomeque 1939: 294). Half a century later, Fernández-Baca Casares and Martín Alafont (1993: 199) would still be noting the difference of the architectural characteristics of the Theatre of *Acinipo* from those outlined by Vitruvius for the Roman theatre, especially in its basic structural components' being carved into the living rock.

References to Vitruvius are not limited to descriptions made of the Theatre of *Acinipo*. As an example, Almagro Basch and Almagro Gorbea (1982: 28, 31) underline that although it is a typically Roman edifice, the Theatre of *Segóbriga* does not strictly follow the outline described by Vitruvius, most probably due to reasons of economy. Similarly, Martín Bueno (1975: 235) notes that the Theatre of *Bilbilis* does not deviate from any of the Vitruvian canons set for this type of edifices and so its perfectly semi-circular *cavea* is closed by a straight stage building, and Lostal Pros (1980: 196) describes the proportions of its elements as Vitruvian. On the other hand, Elvira (1992: 27-28) describes the building as one of those post-Augustan monuments where the perfect semi-circular form of the *cavea* was dispensed with to avoid the cost required to shape the slope in the required shape. Indeed, the *cavea* of the building has a strictly semi-circular plan in the *ima cavea* and then the diameter line retreats 21° at the *praecintio* between the *ima* and *media cavea*, reducing the space destined for tiers and constituting one of the most singular architectural characteristics of the building. This is interpreted by Martín-Bueno and Núñez Marcén (1993) as an 'anomaly' explained by the difficulty of projecting a confluent harmony between the rectilinear architecture of the Forum and the semicircle of the Theatre to achieve an organic unity in a complicated topographical situation at *Bilbilis*.

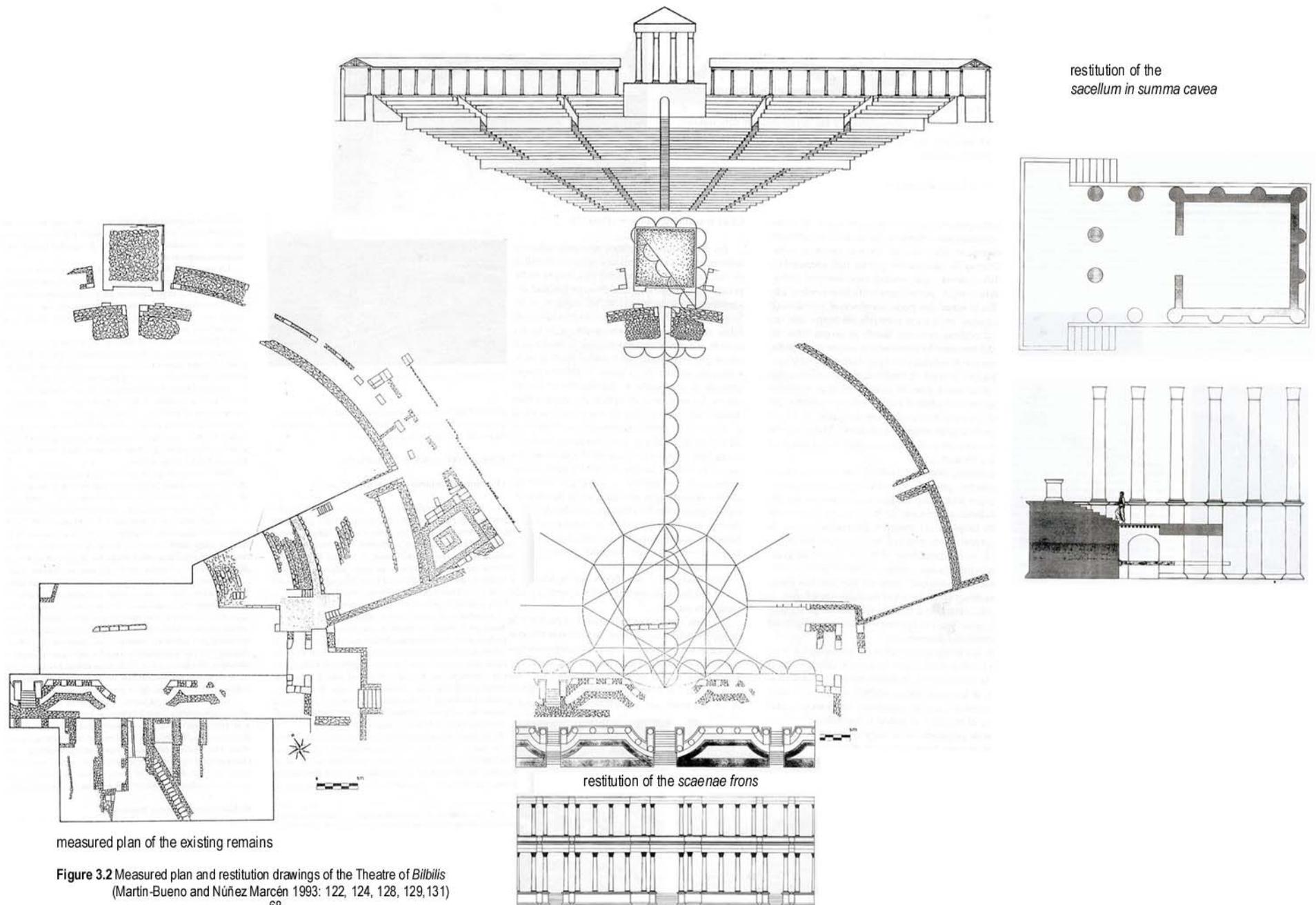
Also, Ponsich and Sancha (1979: 579) interpret the Theatre of *Baelo Claudia* as connoting abundant local resources by which they explain why the building forms a remarkable exception to the rules proposed by Vitruvius and especially to the diagram he suggests, especially in the absence of symmetry in the arrangement and use of the three concentric gallery-chambers at the two ends of the *cavea* behind an identical façade (Ponsich and Sancha 1980: 360). According to the authors, the incapability displayed in certain parts during its execution has to be taken as an indication of its originality, confirming to the enterprise of the local masons who were conscientious but inexperienced in security problems related to soil movements. The authors are of the opinion that the constructors have given priority to solidity and durability over aesthetic considerations in the building but the massive

construction nevertheless proved to be vulnerable in the absence of any drainage system to prevent penetration of water into the *cavea* infill. While the upper portions of the *cavea* are frequently constructed over a series of concentric galleries that favour a transit of access to the *vomitorio*, despite the presence of a substructure below the upper part of the *cavea* displaying a concentric semi-circular form in the plan, such galleries do not exist at the Theatre of *Baelo Claudia*; for the space between the circular supporting walls has been filled during the construction of the monument, obstructing any possibility of circulation under the tiers while facilitating and accelerating their construction, but also increasing the dead load over a sharp slope and the corresponding risk of landslide (Ponsich and Sancha 1982: 255).

In all, attesting the normative value given to the Vitruvian creed, these comments reveal the conception their authors have of deviations from the Vitruvian description of the Latin theatre as an 'anomaly' that requires an explanation, which is provided in terms of chronology (*Acinipo*), economy (*Segóbriga* and *Bilbilis*), topography and urbanism (*Bilbilis*) or provincialism (*Baelo Claudia*), offering different pretexts to avoid questioning the validity of the Vitruvian rule and its binarism. This would coincide with Goriée's observation that binary opposition as the leading principle of structuralism has acquired the character of a 'conventional rule' whose validity has never been brought into question again. Her conviction is that if ever such an authoritatively pre-established rule had been tested on random cases, an exception could have been found, which would have contradicted the rule and therefore jeopardise the unfailing and definitive nature of the procedure. When compared to a conventional rule, an 'experiential rule' is not presupposed in the same routine fashion since it is adopted inductively after some form of practical experimentation, which makes it more flexible. '*Whenever it is used for reasoning of a formal nature, this strictly hoc tempore rule, based upon experience, makes for a symbolic reasoning procedure with strong indexical overtones.*' (Goriée 1992: 409) Each experiment in confirmation strengthens the validity of the rule but whenever the first exception to the rule occurs, the experiment requires revision or even rejection of the rule whereupon new experiment can be carried out. '*In short, the rule is, in scientifically valid reasoning, the regularity, or norm, resulting from an ongoing process of learning and growth.*' (Goriée 1992: 409) This is the reason why experiential rules require the conditional futurity of 'would be' (or 'would have been') in order for reasoning to conform to the essence of reality and truth.

In contradistinction to the conditional mood of "would be," structuralism advances absolute "must be's." The latter policy is falsely assumed to lead directly to the truth, but what it in fact does is to undercut the creative dialogue between rule and experience. This concept of "law" takes a shortcut to the "truth" by taking the preestablished rule and creating absolute uniformity with it. It is, however, a bare uniformity among faits accomplis, and its futurity is a merely self-fulfilling prophecy. (Goriée 1992: 410)

David B. Small (1983: 55) highlights the same phenomenon when he notes that '*supplied with Vitruvius' step-by-step method of design, archaeologists have too often been eager to adjust their evidence to the Vitruvian plan*' (Small 1983: 55). Additionally, references are made to Vitruvius concerning other aspects of ancient theatre architecture such as location (*Palma*, Moranta Jaume 2000), orientation (*Carthago Nova*, Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 89; *Emerita Augusta*, Lorente Enseñat 2000e; *Metellinum*, del Amo 1982a: 318; *Palma*, Moranta Jaume 2000), presence and/or functions of a *porticus post scaenam* (*Carthago Nova*, Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 79; *Pollentia*, Alvarez Martínez 1982: 274); height and depth of the tiers in the *cavea* (*Carthago Nova*, Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 67-9), number of *maeniana* and *cunei* in the *cavea* (*Acinipo*, Thouvenot 1940 and Palomeque 1943; *Clunia*, Palol 1978: 29); height of the *cavea* wall (*Acinipo*, Palomeque 1943: 223), length of the stage building (*Acinipo*, Thouvenot 1940: 428), *pulpitum* height and/or length (*Acinipo*, Palomeque 1943: 220; *Baelo Claudia*, Ponsich and Sancha 1979: 571; *Carthago Nova*, Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 63-4; *Itálica*, Jiménez Martín 1989: 307-8; *Pollentia*, Alvarez Martínez 1982: 272; *Tarraco*, Berges Soriano 1982: 120), *pulpitum frons* (*Bilbilis*, Martín-Bueno and Núñez Marcén 1993: 130) *proscenium* length (*Clunia*, *Carthago Nova*, and *Saguntum*, Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 83), and height, length, and/or orders of the *scaenae frons* (*Carthago Nova*, Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 72; *Baelo Claudia*, Sillières 1997: 138; *Itálica*, Jiménez Martín 1989: 310; *Pollentia*, Alvarez Martínez 1982: 273). These allusions to Vitruvius seem serve two different purposes. While the Vitruvian recommendations on the ideal location and orientation for theatre buildings as well as on the characteristics and uses of the *porticus post scaenam* provide a reference to discuss and evaluate actual features, the rest provide the means for *creating* absolute uniformity with the Vitruvian norm, as exemplified in the recently-discovered Theatre of *Carthago Nova* or in the highly criticised restoration of the entablature of the lower order of the *scaenae frons* of the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* in the period 1923-25 by the architect Antonio Gómez Millán from Seville, who had studied Vitruvius as well as the Theatres of Orange and Dougga (Monleón 1998: 17). After subsequent interventions, the building has now become a model for the theatre architecture in the Roman *Hispania*. Although they have not been implemented as in the case of *Emerita Augusta*, del Amo (1982: 216) criticises also the attempts at a verbal restitution of the Theatre of *Acinipo* on the basis of Vitruvian norms for their lack of a rigorous study of the diverse elements of the building and for their tendency to apply the general norms established by Vitruvius for the Roman Theatre to the point of attributing to this individual monument elements that have never existed in it, which has resulted in frequent and abundant errors of interpretation. As noted by the author, those errors have been repeated and increased in recent publications of a popular character to result in a prejudice that prevented a proper understanding of the building.



measured plan of the existing remains

Figure 3.2 Measured plan and restitution drawings of the Theatre of *Bilbilis*
 (Martín-Bueno and Núñez Marcén 1993: 122, 124, 128, 129, 131)

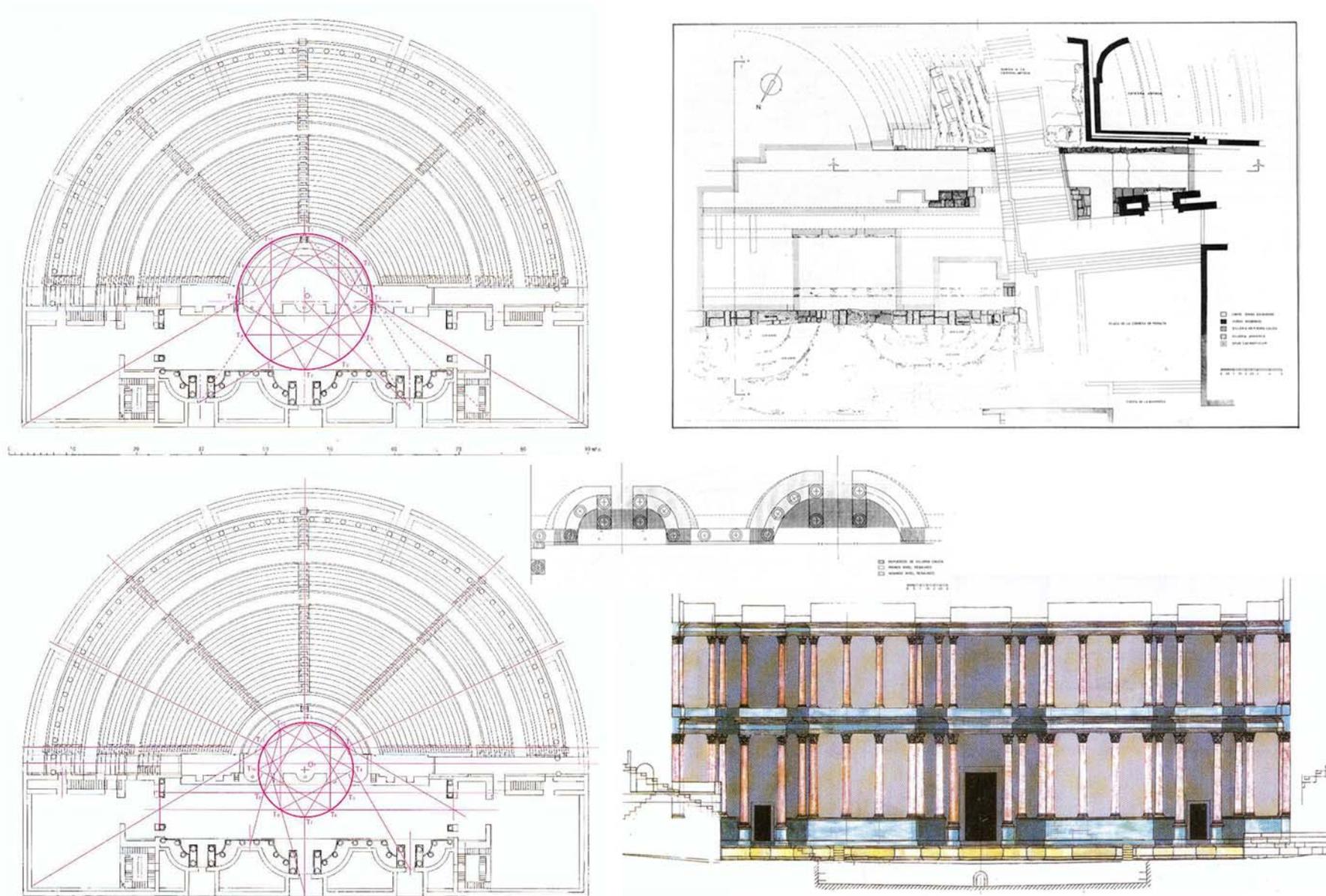


Figure 3.3 Restitution of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* using the Vitruvian code (Ramallo Asensio and Ruiz Valderas 1998: 103 and 106; *scaenae frons* details from Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 62 and 75)

3.2.1 Applications of Vitruvian Modules in the Restitution of the Theatres in Roman *Hispania*

Creating results open to a similar line of criticism, the 'geometric code' proposed by Vitruvius for the Latin theatre has proven to be a compelling tool to achieve conformity with the Vitruvian rule by 'creating' uniformity with it, especially in highly deteriorated examples such as the Theatre of *Bilbilis* (figs. 3.2 and A.11). Despite its 'abnormally' retreating diameter, which disrupts its semicircular layout above the *ima cavea*, the *cavea* of the Theatre of *Bilbilis* has been restituted as consisting of six *cunei* divided on the basis of the position of the elements of the *scaenae frons* with regards to the Vitruvian scheme, following the vertices of the four equilateral triangles inscribed into the circle delimiting the semicircular *orchestra* at the line of the lowermost tier in the *ima cavea* to define the position of the *valvae*. The geometric centre of the *scaenae frons* is indicated by the tangent of the *scaenae* and the principal elements of the stage buildings are aligned using a unit obtained by dividing the *orchestra* diameter into six. The length of the *scaenae frons* equals $22/6$ of the *orchestra* radius, which corresponds exactly to the distance between the centre of the *orchestra* and the exterior line of the perimeter wall around the *cavea*. The *pulpiti frons* is located at a distance of $1/6$ while the depth of the *itineraria versurarum* and the *valva regia* is respectively equal to $3/6$ and $4/6$ of the *orchestra* diameter. The diameter of the *valva regia* equals the radius of the initial *orchestra* circle. The central axes of the *valvae hospitalia* are parallel to the *valva regia* axis and at a distance of four units on both sides. (Martín-Bueno and Núñez Marcén 1993: 123-4)

The upper *sacellum* also confirms to the same order based on a regular division of the *orchestra* radius, repeating the same proportions observed in the circles that mark the *valvae*. The measurement of its frontal part is equal to the radius itself while the proportions of its main body fits well into the Pythagorean triangle, with a unit dimension that equals $1/4$ of the generating radius. These Vitruvian connections provide a basis for restituting the highly deteriorated upper structure of the sanctuary as a *pseudo-peripteros* temple with a diastyle columnar rhythm, using the set of rules pertaining to the Classical Orders on the basis of remains at the foundation level of that pilaster, which were taken to indicate the position of the columns above, several drums of which revealed during the excavations. After the restitution, the *sacellum* of the Theatre of *Bilbilis*, with its notable prolongation towards the exterior of the *cavea*, has been evaluated as one of the rare examples that maintain best the physical characteristics of the Pompeian model and a unique case with a colonnaded façade opening onto the interior. It was most probably dedicated to a member of the imperial family and possibly to Livia as may be inferred on the basis of the unique piece of sculpture recovered from its vicinity—an hypothesis further strengthened by the examples of *Leptis Magna* and *Herculaneum* as well as the chronology of the theatre itself. (Martín Bueno and Núñez Marcén 1993: 123-4, 127)

The Theatre of *Saguntum* (fig. A.25) is the only other example from the Roman *Hispania* with a similar level platform that interrupts the four rows of the *summum maenianum* on the central axis of the *cavea*, and has been identified by John Arthur Hanson (1959: 70) as a *sacellum in summa cavea*. The platform measures approximately five meters in width and six meters in depth. Despite the total lack of traces pertaining to any superstructure, Hanson believes the possibility of its serving as an entrance to be ruled out:

by the fact that the space is blocked at the back by the preserved circumference wall of the *cavea*. Entrances from the rear are in fact found on both sides of the platform with steps near them leading down over the *summum maenianum* to the *praecinctio* just in front of the platform. A base, interpreted as the pedestal of a statue but conceivably for an altar, stood at the front of this platform. If for a statue, the figure would look directly down the central aisle of the auditorium to the orchestra below. This is almost certainly a modification of the *cavea* shrine. (Hanson 1959: 70)

Hanson uses the Theatre of *Saguntum* as one of the examples supporting his thesis on the religious associations of the Roman Theatre and the frequent existence of a material bond between Temple and Theatre. '*The cavea shrine, which continues the tradition established by the temple of Venus Victrix above the theatre of Pompey, was seen to be only one manifestation—the most striking—of a Roman tendency which continued late into the Empire to maintain a visible connection between the theatre building and religion.*' (Hanson 1959: 90) Remarkably enough, rather than scarce archaeological remains, which are limited to an *opus caementicium* construction below the existing road in the corresponding part of the edifice in the former (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 67) and to a garlanded relief in the latter case (Márquez 1998: 191), the *sacellum in summa cavea* of the Theatres of *Carthago Nova* and of *Corduba* both seem to owe their presumptive existence to the 'architectural code' offered by the restitution of the Theatre of Pompey in Rome itself. In either of the cases, no verbal or graphic restitution compatible to those provided for the Theatre of *Bilbilis* are offered. Nevertheless, given the fact that the two cities had been the two provincial capitals of *Hispania* up to the Augustan reforms and *Corduba* continued to be so after them, noteworthy is the statement made by Sebastián F. Ramallo Asensio and Elena Ruiz Valderas (1998: 67) in their monograph on the Roman Theatre of Cartagena that ideologically, the original prototype of such a sacred area had to be sought in the Temple of Venus Genetrix of the Theatre of Pompey. What they meant must be the Temple of Venus 'Victrix', not 'Genetrix', of the Theatre of Pompey. The ideological bond between the two theatres is established on the basis of the Augustan chronology suggested for the initial construction of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova*, which is, in its turn, based on architectonic, epigraphic, and stylistic data, among which we controversially find the presumptive *sacellum*. This seems to have provided justification for a restitution of the architectural characteristics of this highly-deteriorated building using the Vitruvian prescriptions (fig. A.13), especially in the light of the fact that Vitruvius is known to have written his *Ten Books on*

Architecture after having served in Spain under Julius Caesar (Onions 1988: 33) and dedicated it to Emperor Augustus, who is known to have visited *Carthago Nova* in 45 BC in the company of Caesar and Agrippa (Ramallo and Ruiz 1988: 138-9).

Ramallo and Ruiz (1998: 100) note that, although Vitruvian norms are known to remain very general in many cases, they nevertheless believe them to be approximate in the case of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova*, which is an Augustan edifice without any posterior restorations in the *scaenae frons*. Rather than in a comparative evaluation of certain characteristics such as orientation, dimensions of the seating rows, or the function of the *porticus post scaenam*, it is in the restitution of the totally disappeared stage building, with its *scaenae frons*, and the outer perimeter of the *cavea* that the Vitruvian regulations prove to be more useful for the case of *Carthago Nova*. The *scaenae frons* is restituted according to the proportions given by Vitruvius for the Corinthian order by using the measurements that come from the limited number of architectonic elements recovered in the excavations and basically from the Corinthian capitals that are very few in number and generally in a highly deteriorated state. Then the restituted height of the *scaenae frons* becomes the main reference in determining the height of the *porticus in summa gradiatone*, whose existence is also presumptively deduced from the chronology and typology attributed to the edifice.

Coming to the application of the Vitruvian layout to the plan layout of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova*, this is unfortunately demonstrated on restitution drawings rather than measured plans, rendering impossible any judgement concerning its correlation with the actual remains (fig. 3.3). An exception in this regard are the semicircular construction traces observed and measured on the foundation platform of the *scaenae frons*, which proved to be important clues in the development of a restitution hypothesis for this part of the Theatre. These traces have been interpreted as marking three spaces or exedras that led to the consideration of the existence of a rectilinear *scaenae frons* with three curvilinear but not exactly semicircular exedras framing three doors or *valvae*—the *regia* and the two *hospitales*. In the face of the difficulty of defining the exact trace and dimensions of these exedras, the three parallel lines traced over the foundation platform have been taken to mark the exterior limit of the enclosing wall of the exedras and the *podium* over which rises the *columnatio* (Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 75). Then this plan was restituted in the third dimension according to the Vitruvian proportions for the Corinthian order.

The importance of the method used in the restitution of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* comes from an on-going project for the integration of the ancient monument into the urban context of modern Cartagena under the supervision of a multi-disciplinary commission headed by the noted Spanish architect Rafael Moneo, which includes also the archaeologists who have excavated the monument and prepared its restitution drawings (*La Verdad* 18.02.2001). These drawings will be providing the

guidelines in case the commission would decide for an overall or partial reconstruction of any part of the monument to enable its better conservation or use, bringing to the fore the question of the reliability of the method applied in their preparation, which will be addressed in the following subsection.

3.2.2 Vitruvian Schemes for the Greek and Latin Theatres and Alternatives with Pythagorean Affiliations

Pierre Gros (1994: 62, 68) underlines a fundamental difference between the Vitruvian description of the Classical Orders used in the restitution of the *scaenae frons* and *sacellum in summa cavea* of these and other examples and his two schemes for the Greek and Latin theatres: while the former was a 'modular' system developed along the lines of the three orders used in Greek temples and later elaborated as part of the Hellenistic experience of the East, the latter was an 'indirect' and 'non-modular' scheme that only provided reference points to realise a general application and is, therefore, open to a great amount of variations. According to Gros (1994: 61-2, 68), Vitruvius' disinterest in fixing the exterior limits of the *cavea* and the stage building, and his refrain from determining the number of *maeniana* in the *cavea*, which would have established a fixed relation between the external and internal perimeters of the *cavea*, was a consequence of a preoccupation with theorising a structural relation that would eliminate the problem of continuation between the *cavea* and the *scaena*. This is achieved by two geometric schemes that had a precise signification (Gros 1994: 63).

Gros (1994: 63) reports S. Ferri's argument that the Vitruvian schemes for the Greek and the Latin theatre are equivalent in terms of mathematical logic, since they were born out of the two apparently different but essentially analogous methods used by the Sophists to 'resolve' the quadrature of the circle (fig. 3.4). Gros (1994: 65) also evaluates the Vitruvian choice for triangles or squares as reminiscent of these non-Euclidean solutions for the quadrature of the circle that reproduce, in an embryonic form, an image of the *signifer circulus*, which is the formula for celestial harmony developed on the basis of the zodiac circle. The circle or the sphere were, by definition, generators of perfection and the inscription of a figure inside a circle or a solid in a sphere was the proof, both for the ancient geometrician and for the ancient philosopher, of the accomplished character of that figure or object. Geminus of Rhodes explained that it was the position of the signs in 'trigons' on the 'sphere of the fixed' and of those in 'quadrature' that produced an accord with their 'opposition' (fig. 3.4). The impossibility of inscribing any other perfect shape into a circle of twelve fixed points, in a way, supports the idea of the innateness of the binary opposition of the two Vitruvian schemes, as would be convenient in a *structuraliste* approach based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition.

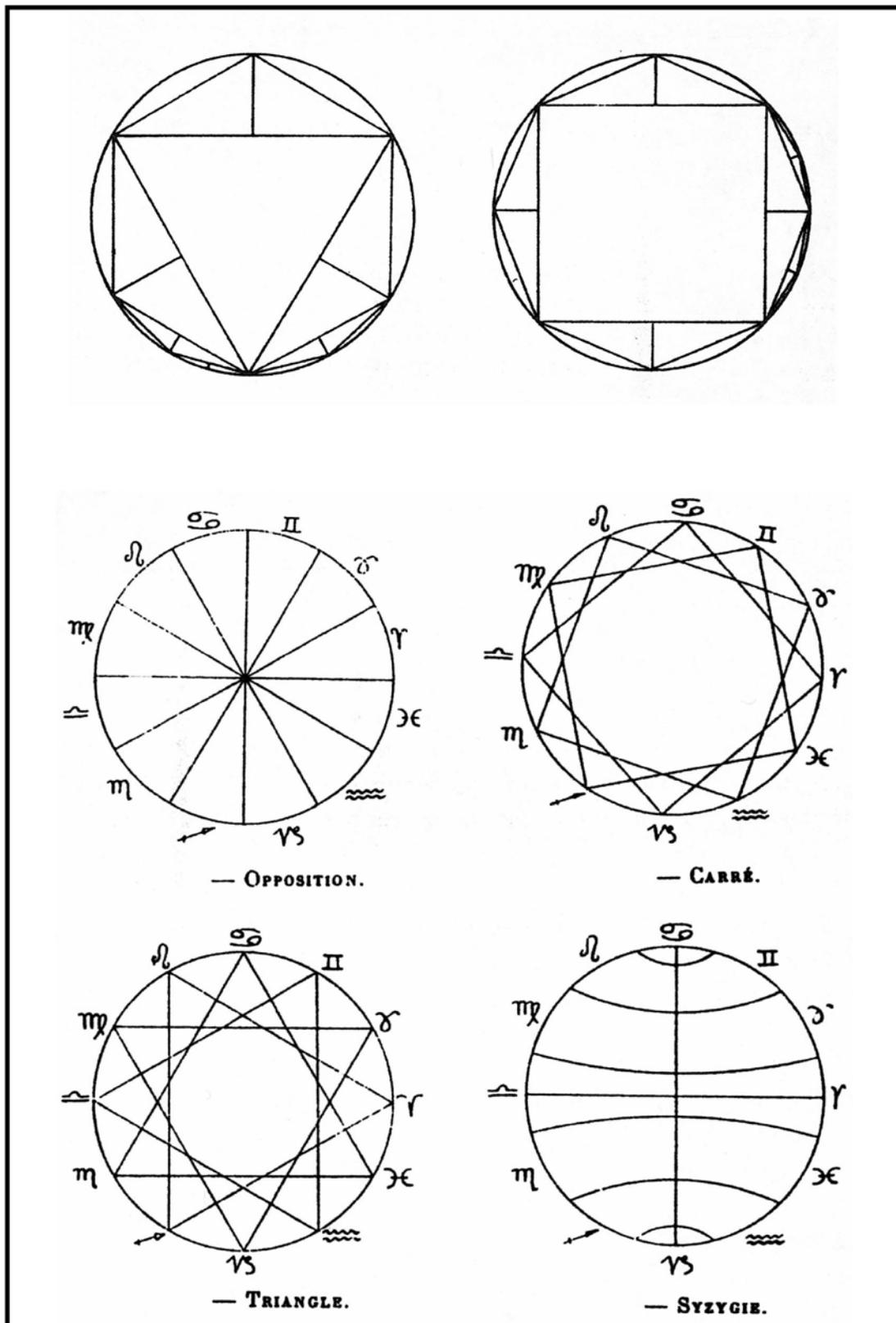


Figure 3.4 The 'resolution' of the problem of the quadrature of the circle according to Themistius (top left) and Simplicius (top right); and signs in 'trigons' and 'quadrature' producing an accord with their 'opposition', as explained by Geminus of Rhodes. (Gros 1994: 65-6)

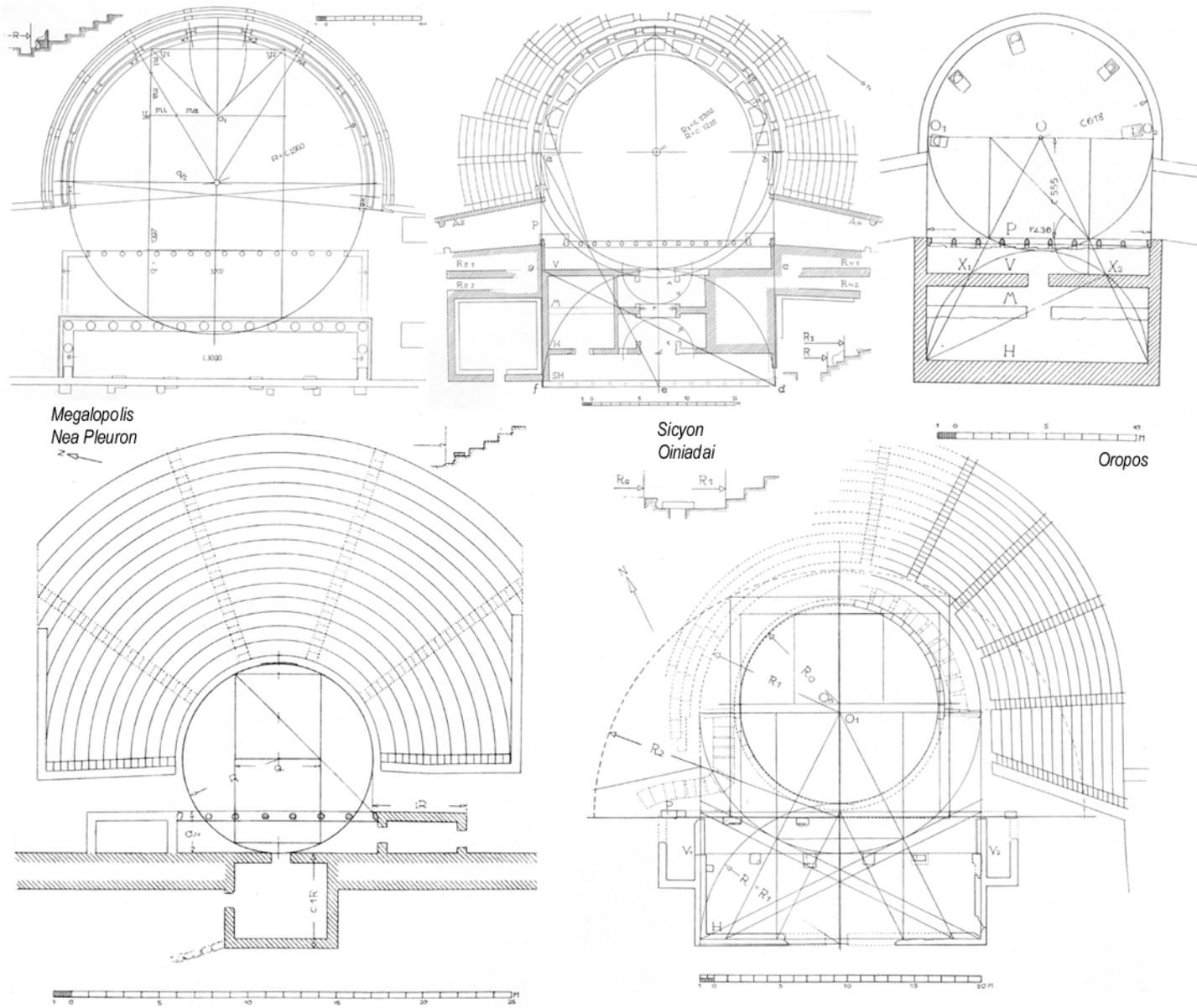
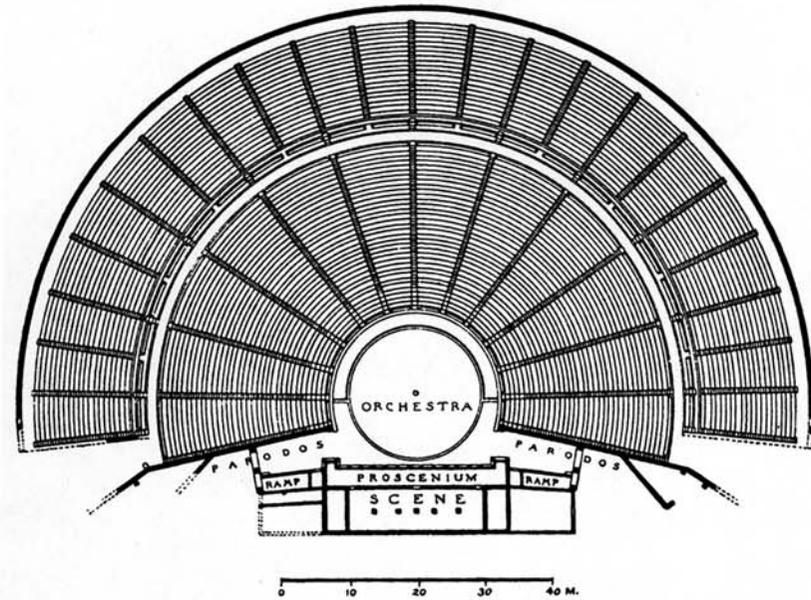
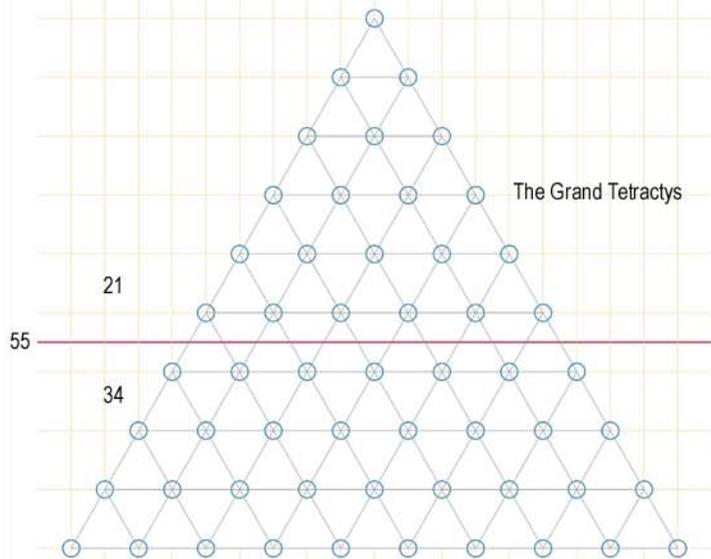


Figure 3.5 Emil Fiechter's analyses of the Greek Theatres of Megalopolis, Nea Pleuron, Oiniadai, Oropos, and Sicyon (Fiechter 1930-50)



Dörpfeld plan (1896)
 von Gerkan and Müller-Wiener plan (1961)



The Grand Tetractys

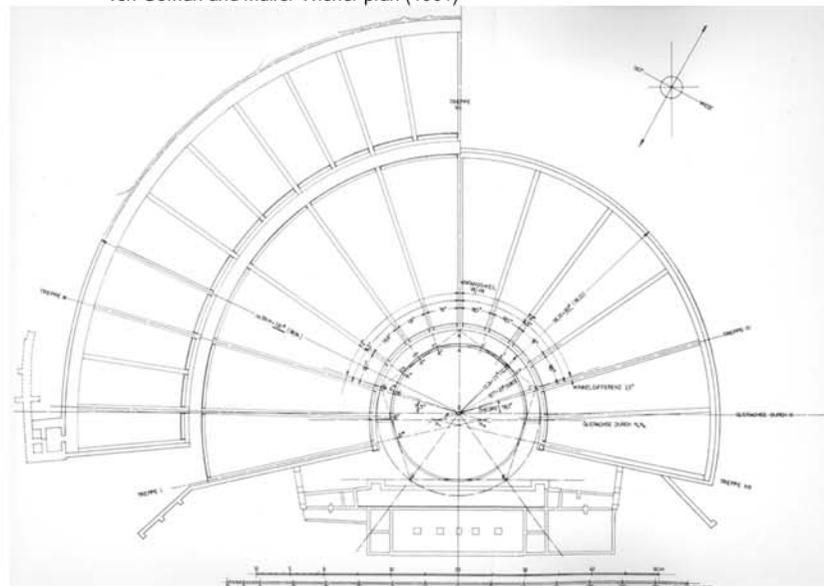


Figure 3.6 Theatre of the Asklepieion at Epidauros. An aerial view by Schoder (1974: front cover), the Grand Tetractys, an early plan by Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1896, from Gruben 1963: 362), and its canonical plan by Armin von Gerkan and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener (1961).

The problem is that the binarism of the two Vitruvian schemes, which is based on a distinction rooted in the use of squares or equilateral triangles in a similar scheme establishing a structural relation between the *cavea* and the *scaena*, does not conform to the archaeological reality, as shown by Emil Fiechter (1930-50) whose analyses attested the multiplicity of the schemes used in the design of Greek theatres (fig. 3.5). The best-known among these is the one argued for the Theatre of the *Asklepieion* at *Epidauros* (fig. 3.6). Systematic excavations of the monument had started in 1881 (OESME 1999: 39), enabling measured drawings of the edifice by Defrasse and Lechat dated 1895 and by Wilhelm Dörpfeld dated 1896. These drawings and additional measurements were used in 1926 by the American scholar Andrew Fossum who set out to discover '*the principles of design underlying the theater's evident symmetry.*' (Schoder 1967: 24)

Fossum pointed out a series of interesting correspondences on the basis of drawing tangents on the various circles involved in the theatre's central structure and noted some tangent extensions which must have been intended by the architect. Additionally, he came to the conclusion that the circular stone at the centre of the *orchestra* was used by the architect as a unit of measurement for the whole theatre construction, with many measurements being direct multiples of its radius of 0.35m, which is a basis common also in the Tholos at Epidauros (Schoder 1967: 24-5). However, the lack of evidence for the use of this unit as an actual measurement norm in Ancient Greece later led to the conclusion that the correspondences observed by Fossum must have been approximate results of other norms. Therefore William Bell Dinsmoor analysed the edifice in terms of the standard Doric foot of .326 m (= 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ ") and, finally, after taking very detailed and precise measurements of the edifice in the period 1953-56, Armin von Gerkan and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener (1961) suggested most proportions to be in 'Doric ells', which corresponded to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Doric feet = 0.490 m (= 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ "). '*The triple ring of gutter, diazoma (horizontal aisle) and upper walkway are of the same width—4 Doric ells. [...] The stone ring surrounding the orchestra ... is one ell; the lower cavea radius (from orchestra centre to diazoma) is 80 ells, the upper cavea radius 40, the proscenium (stage front) 45 ells across and 7 high, etc.*' (Schoder 1974: 66) Another evidence of the reliability of the argument has been found in the fact that by the time the monument was built, the Doric feet had already been established as the standard set up in the seventh century BC by the Pheidon king of Argos, according to Herodotus and Aristotle, and used in the Parthenon and most of the building commissions in the Peloponnesus (Schoder 1967: 26).

By suggesting, at the same time, the basic organising scheme possibly of the whole edifice to be the inner circle of its orchestra inscribed by a perfect pentagon (OESME 1999: 39), von Gerkan and Müller-Wiener seem to have combined the modular and non-modular methods used by Vitruvius respectively for the Classical Orders and theatres, and described by Charles Chipiez (1891: 93) as being employed

in studies that aim to uncover the method of proportion employed by Greek architects. The first one of these was to consider the proportions as established over a canvas formed by certain geometric figures such as a triangle or a square. One of the greatest opponents of this method was the German architect and archaeologist Emil Fiechter, who 'asserted that Greek theatres were constructed on the basis of geometrical principles and forms. His explanation emphasized combinations of triangles, squares, circles, and so forth.' (Bardis 1989: 19) Assuming proportions to be consequences of non-modular schemes such as the Vitruvian ones, this second method has been employed in the majority of studies on the Theatre of Epidauros, including Gottfried Gruben's (1963: 362-3) description of the monument, on the basis of Wilhelm Dörpfeld's early plan of 1896 as the best among all surviving theatres in displaying the geometrically determined principles of design referred to by Vitruvius, which is manifested in the division of its *cavea* into twelve by taking as reference the corners of a dodecagon inscribed in the basic circle of the *orchestra*. Gruben's description was published only two years after the publication of von Gerkan and Müller-Wiener's monograph on the Theatre of *Epidauros* (1961), with plates demonstrating that:

The number and location of the 13 aisles seem determined by the properties of an imaginary pentagon inscribed in the orchestra circle, which arranges them at 18° intervals and puts an aisle at each of the cavea's three axes (diameter-line and right angle to that), and at equal distances between them in the most aesthetically pleasing arrangement in the history of theatre design. (Schoder 1974: 66)

The appeal of a scheme based on the inscription of a perfect pentagon may be better understood in the light of Käppel's (1989)⁸ explanation of the choice by its description of a five-pointed star that symbolised *Hygieia* for the Pythagoreans (Green 1998: 52). Asklepieios, a son of Apollo and the nymph Coronis, was considered the father of *Hygieia*, *Panaceaia*, and *Iaso*, personification of health. Around 450 BC, Greek thinkers had discovered the Golden Ratio from Pythagorean speculation and from the inscription of this very form inside a circle. There are echoes of this theorem in Plato's *Timaeus* (31b-33c), in the Treasury of *Cyrene* at *Delphi* designed as a demonstration and exemplification of mathematical wisdom, and in literary masterpieces including works of Vergil, Lucretius, Catullus, and Lucan, wherein passages are divided into line-totals that are in ratio to each other and to the whole passage or poem in Golden Section relations (Schoder 1967: 31). Jean Bousquet (1953) has shown, in the arrangement of the tiers in the *cavea* of the Theatre of Epidauros, a similar use of the Golden Section, and the related Fibonacci Series that were named after their re-inventor, i.e. the Italian mathematician known as the 'Leonardo of Pisa' who, in the thirteenth century, introduced into Europe Arabic ciphers in whose science he had mastered in Bougie, North Africa

⁸ Käppel, L. 1989. 'Das Theater von Epidauros. Die mathematische Grundidee des Gesamtwurfs und ihr möglicher Sinn', *Jdl* 104 (1989) 83-106.

(Bousquet 1953: 46). There are 21 rows in the upper and 34 in the lower *cavea*, which sum up to 55. All three are numbers in the Fibonacci Series and 21:34 is in ratio to 34:55. Therefore, these numbers constitute a Grand Tetractys. Schoder (1967: 33) believes that, the architect's choice of precisely these numbers would have resulted from 'a deliberate desire to work into his design the perfections and mysterious interrelations of these numbers which contemporary Pythagorean speculation extolled.' The selection of a scheme based on the inscription of a perfect pentagon inside the *orchestra* instead of three squares as suggested by Vitruvius in his scheme for the Greek theatre seems to have been fully justified by the 'connotations' of the edifice in the case of the Theatre of the *Asklepieion* at *Epidauros*.

Similarly, after observing the inconsistency in Vitruvius' use of the Roman feet in giving the height of the stage while he uses the diameter of the *orchestra* as a basic relative measure of other elements of the elevation of theatres, particularly when speaking of the *scaenae frons* (Lepik 1949: 26), Wilhelmina Lepik comment that:

The soul of the ancient theatre is the number wonderfully embodied in the material substratum. Ancient theatres may serve as an illustration of the old Pythagorean concept of the number as a measure and reflection of the universe. [...] For Vitruvius, the Roman, this Pythagorean language was perhaps not always quite comprehensive, as shown in his treatment of the height of the stage. (Lepik 1949: 43)

The author's investigations into the corpus of the ancient theatre remains that have been systematically excavated and published by the late 1940s had revealed a direct or indirect, but anyway constant, relation between the diameter of the *orchestra* and the height of the stage, which revealed in the latter's having been always proportional to the distance of the *proedria* that may be either equal to the diameter or to the depth of the *orchestra* (Lepik 1949: 36). Great deviations have been observed from this proportion and also in other aspects in Roman period examples outside of *Asia Minor* that were close to perfect (Lepik 1949: 19).

In any case, decades of archaeological research in the Mediterranean basin and elsewhere has demonstrated that Vitruvius' directions were not followed in many of the theatres constructed under Roman rule. Mostly dating from the Vitruvian period and its immediate aftermath (fig. A.6), examples from Roman *Hispania* provide interesting insights in this regard. To begin with, analysis of the existing remains from the Theatres of *Clunia* (Coruña de los Condes, Burgos; fig. A.15) by Pedro de Palol Sallellas (1982) has suggested a scheme based on the inscription of squares instead of equilateral triangles in this Tiberian monument and in a manner very different from the one highlighted by Gros as the main characteristic of the Vitruvian schemes—namely a refrain from determining the number of *maeniana* in the *cavea* and a disinterest in fixing the exterior limits of the *cavea* and the *scaena* to focus on the problem of continuation between the two. In the scheme proposed by Palol, the inscribed squares determine not only the location of the first *praecinct* between the *ima* and *media cavea* but also

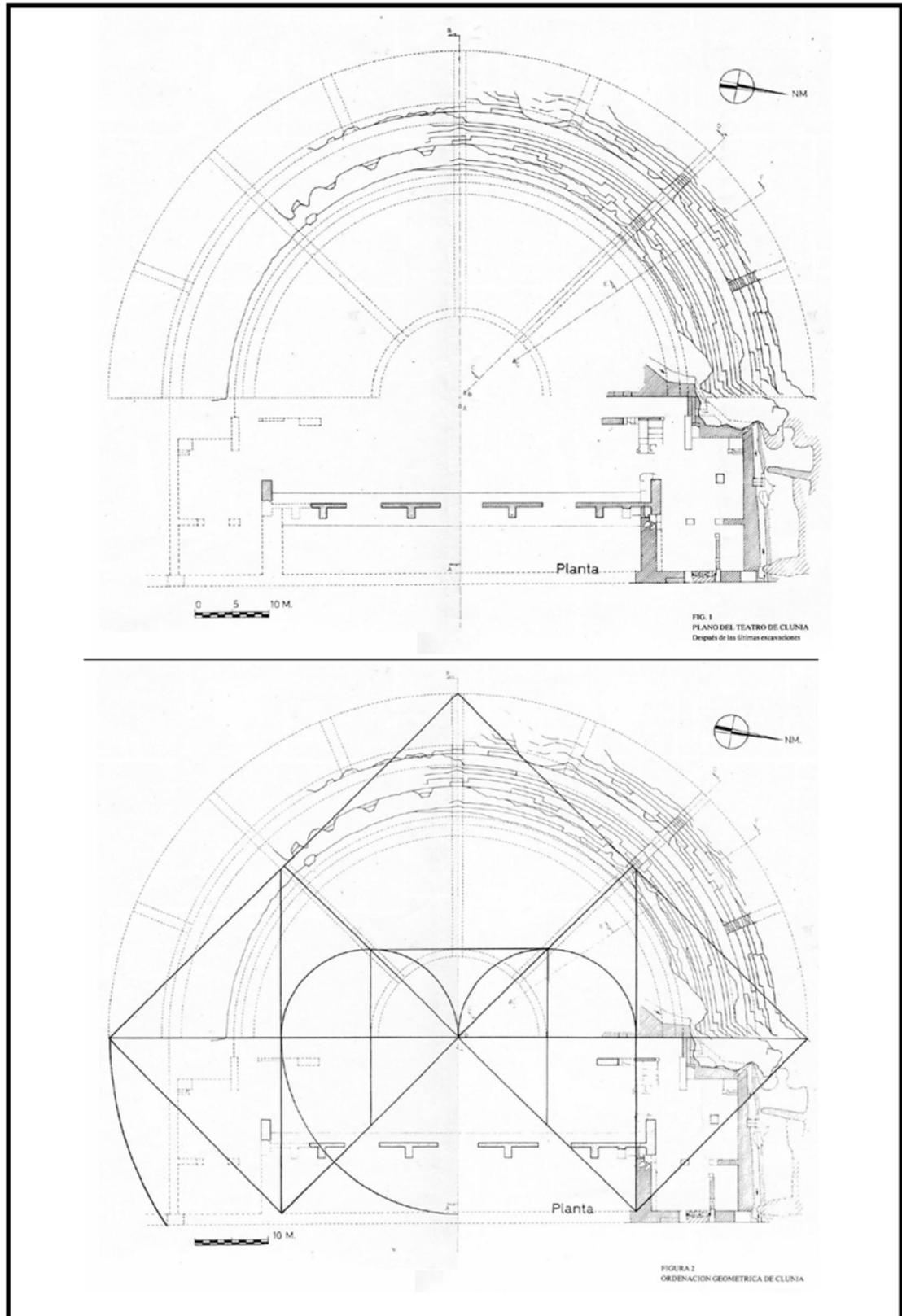


Figure 3.7 Pedro de Palol Sallellas' analysis of the plan layout of the Theatre of *Clunia* . (Palol Sallellas 1982)

that of the perimeter wall around the *cavea* as well as the exterior wall of the stage building, while they also establish continuity between the *cavea* and the *scaena* (fig. 3.7). The outcome is a plan structured by a series of Pythagorean relations based on the ratio $\sqrt{2}$, which would have determined also the proportions and order of the *scaena* and the *pulpitum*. As an example, the area enclosed by the inner *scaena* faces of the exterior *post scaenium* wall and inner *parascaenium* walls corresponds exactly to the square that determine the location of the first *praecinct* while one edge of this square corresponds to the diagonal of another square that defines the lateral enclosure wall of the *cavea* with its other diameter starting from the centre of the *orchestra* circle (Palol 1982). This application of geometry to the layout of the theatre would be totally against the spirit of the Vitruvian layout as characterised by Gros (1994: 58-9) by a refrain from fixing the exterior perimeters of both the *cavea* and the stage building.

3.3 Methodological Implications: Variations on the Vitruvian Scheme for the Latin Theatre

Despite these fundamental differences from the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre, the division of the *summa cavea* of the Theatre of *Clunia* (fig. A.15) into eight *cunei* has been interpreted by Palol (1978: 29) as compliance to Vitruvian conventions due to its being double the number in the lower two. On the other hand, the same division marks a departure from the Vitruvian norms from another point of view: the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre defines six *cunei* in at least the *ima*, and also in the *media cavea*, while the *summa cavea* has double this number, which is twelve *cunei*. Palol (1982) acknowledges this latter disposition as a frequent one in Roman theatres such as the Theatres of Marcellum in Rome, *Emerita Augusta* and *Acinipo* in *Hispania*, and Dougga, Timgad and Sabratha in North Africa. Nevertheless, more than two-thirds of the theatres in *Hispania* whose number of *cunei* could be attested on the basis of the existing remains have four *cunei* at least in their *ima cavea* (fig. A.5).

3.3.1 The Variable of 'Size'

A comparison of this distribution with that of *cavea* dimensions in theatres of the Roman *Hispania* (fig. A.4) would lead us to the hypothesis of a relation between the size and the number of *cunei* in the *cavea* of ancient theatres, which has been developed by Luis Moranta Jaume (2000) on the basis of the Theatre of *Palma* (Palma de Mallorca, Balearic Islands; fig. A.22). The building is one of those examples whose existence has been attested initially on the basis of the survival of their trace in the overlapping urban morphology and later confirmed by architectural finds in trial trenches, without thorough excavation and documentation, which certainly rises concerns about the reliability of the information on their architectural characteristics. This makes Moranta's theories about the application of the Vitruvian and other alternative schemes all the more interesting, as they largely form the basis for

the deduction of those characteristics. His starting point is Vitruvius' admission of the impossibility of applying the proportional schemes he proposes in all theatre constructions. There exist certain features such as the dimensions of steps, corridors, parapets, tribunes and others elements that should be the same in both small and large theatres due to their measure in the human scale while others do not follow any such rules and adapt to the function expected from them. Questioning the type of flexibility allowable in variations, Moranta observes Vitruvius' giving explicit reference to problems rooted in the size of the edifice and identifies two parameters that are variable directly in consequence of size in theatres: number of the *cunei* and location of the *scaenae frons*.

In his article on social correlation to the Greek *cavea* in the Roman period, David B. Small (1990: 86-7) relates the division of the *cavea* into *kerkides* to two levels of group distinction: that between citizen and metic, with non-citizens relegated to the *kerkides* furthest from the centre, and the tribal one, with different tribes sitting in tribally distinct *kerkides*, in Roman as well as in pre-Roman times, as exemplified in the different *kerkides* of the Theatre of *Megalopolis* (Peloponnesus) that are marked with the names of different tribes that would have been inscribed possibly in the fifth century BC.

A better-known example for the latter distinction has been found in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens where, Bieber (1961: 71) has suggested the central section behind the seat of the priest of Dionysus to have been reserved for guests of honour and the two outermost sections on each side for foreigners and late-comers, with the ten Attic tribes assigned to the five sections on both sides between them (also Carlson 1989: 135). As an incident suggesting the survival of the same model into Roman times, each tribe is known to have dedicated a statue in their section of the *cavea* of the Theatre of Dionysus when Hadrian visited Athens in AD 126 (Small 1990: 87). According to another interpretation, if they were indeed originally assigned to the Greek tribes, the thirteen *kerkides* would have indicated the existence of thirteen rather than twelve archaic tribal divisions, highlighting the need to search for the thirteenth (lost) tribe (Preston 1973: 141).

Small's (1990: 87) argument is that, this correlation of spatial arrangement with the groups in the Greek communities would have fallen short at some point when there emerged more groups with various hierarchical divisions in the community than those reflected in the aforementioned two levels of distinction in the spatial arrangement of the *cavea*, whose structure of hierarchical differentiation no longer reflected adequately the structure of the hierarchical grouping within the community. Nevertheless, the basic configuration of divisions in the *cavea* seems to have persisted, as in confirmation of Ralph Linton's (1936: 405)⁹ statement that, although form, use, meaning, and function

⁹ Linton, Ralph 1936. *The Study of Man*. Appleton-Century, New York.

are all interrelated, 'form precedes the other qualities and has a continuous influence on their development. It is actually dependent upon a different set of factors which are largely historical. [...] The initial form has a strong influence on the initial ascription of use, meaning and function and through these on all subsequent ascriptions.' (Preston 1973: xvi-xvii) This remark about 'the strong tendency for form to persist with only minor changes in the face of much more marked changes in meaning and function' (Linton 1936: 419; cited in Preston 1973: xvii) conforms with Eco's distinction between the 'denotations' and 'connotations' of architectural objects.

The above explanations for the number of *kerkides* or *cunei* have been provided on the basis of their 'connotations' such as the citizen/metic or tribal distinctions in the society in question. Moranta's hypothesis seems to be alternatively based on the 'denoted' function of the *cavea* for it suggests that, the number of *cunei* in Roman theatres used to be defined by keeping the average number of spectators to be evacuated by each stairway at a constant around 34-35-32 people respectively in large theatres with seven, medium-sized theatres with five, and small theatres with three stairways (fig. 3.8). When intermediary stairways are introduced, these figures drop to 17-19-18 respectively in *caveas* with thirteen, nine, and three stairways. He finds confirmation for this hypothesis, of a correlation between seating capacity and the number of *cunei* in the *cavea*, in a preliminary survey of examples from *Hispania* that has attested for him that a division into four *cunei* is more likely to occur in smaller theatres and six in larger ones. Unfortunately, the data collected for the present study has failed to confirm Moranta's hypothesis since of the five theatres with six *cunei*, one is very large (*Gades*), two are large (*Caesar Augusta* and *Emerita Augusta*), one is medium-sized (*Bilbilis*), and one is small (*Acinipo*). Both of those that are thought to have either six or four *cunei* are small theatres (*Pollentia* and *Singilia Barba*). Of the eleven that have four *cunei* at least in their *ima cavea*, two are large (*Carthago Nova* and *Clunia*), four are medium-sized (*Baelo Claudia*, *Itálica*, *Malaca* and *Tarraco*), four are small (*Carteia*, *Metellinum*, *Regina* and *Palma*), and one has undetermined *cavea* dimensions (*Mago*). Additionally, the Theatres of *Saguntum* and *Segóbriga* are known to have four *cunei* in the *ima* and ten *cunei* in the *summa cavea*, which is an interesting combination in term of the Vitruvian canon. In all, the comparisons made in this study have not provided any positive affirmation to the hypothesis of a correlation between size and number of *cunei* in the theatres of Roman *Hispania* (figs. A.5 and A.4).

Coming to the location of the *scaenae frons*, which is presented by Moranta as the other parameter that is variable directly in consequence of size in theatres, another observation of his is that large theatres appear to have been regulated by a perfect Vitruvian diagram involving four equilateral triangles and six *cunei*, with a *scaenae frons* along the tangent that is the base of the primary triangle. Small theatres that have a semicircular *cavea* with four *cunei* and an *orchestra* diameter smaller than 20m, on the

other hand, seem to have a scheme other than the one with four triangles, with their *scaenae frons* along the tangent of the circumference generating the *orchestra* to allow for a five-meter-wide *aditus maximus* and *proscenium* (fig. 3.8).

An analysis of the plan at the Theatre of *Pollentia* (Alcudia in Mallorca, Balearic Islands), which is a small building interpreted as having four or six *cunei* and geographically the closest to Moranta's starting example in *Palma*, revealed the fact that, although its layout appears to have been regulated by 45° angles, which would have implied a Greek type of Vitruvian scheme based on squares in a Roman period theatre, it is possible to develop its scheme also with a diagram composed of three equilateral triangles, whose nine vertices at every 40° point to radial staircases and to the situation of the *valvae* in the *scaenae frons* located along the line of the central triangle tangent to the *orchestra* circle. After showing an easy method for dividing a circle into nine equal parts to inscribe the three equilateral triangles, Moranta illustrates the application of the diagram he proposes on the plans of the Theatres of *Baelo Claudia*, *Carthago Nova*, *Malaca*, *Saguntum*, and *Segóbriga* in addition to the examples in *Palma* and *Pollentia* (fig. 3.8). It may be worth noting that, although the proposed method is aimed at solving the problem of the location of the *scaenae frons* and the number of *cunei* in small theatres, all these examples are not small theatres by the standards adopted in the present study from the catalogue of Greek and Roman theatres by Paola Ciancio Rossetto and Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio (1994/95/96: 80) wherein the classification of large, medium and small buildings has been made according to the largest diameter/radius measured of the *cavea*, grouping those with $d > 80\text{m}$ as 'large', those with $80\text{m} > d > 60\text{m}$ as 'medium' and those with $60\text{m} > d$ as 'small' buildings (see the chart in Appendix A). The Theatre of *Carthago Nova* is a large (*cavea* $d = 87.20\text{m} - 87.60\text{m}$, *orchestra* $d = 22.90\text{m} - 23.58\text{m}$) and the Theatre of *Saguntum* is a medium-sized (*cavea* $d = 77\text{m} - 79\text{m} - 82\text{m} - 93\text{m}$, *orchestra* $d = 21\text{m} - 22\text{m}$) theatre. Although the largest diameter of the *cavea* is indeed at the lower limit of 60m in the medium-sized theatres of *Baelo Claudia* ($d = 60\text{m}$ or 67-70m according to different references), *Malaca* ($d = 62\text{m}$), and *Segóbriga* ($d = 60\text{m} - 66\text{m}$), their orchestra diameters are 16-20m, 13.80-20-20.40m, and 19.6-23m respectively, which reveals their fundamental difference in size from the truly small Theatre of *Pollentia* (*cavea* $d = 31\text{m} - 35\text{m} - 40\text{m}$, *orchestra* $d = 8\text{m} - 9.50\text{m} - 10\text{m}$). The lack of precision both in these measurements and the plan drawings used by Moranta to illustrate the validity of the method he devised (fig. 3.8) are in no way comparable to those used by Armin von Gerkan and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener (1961) in their analysis of the Theatre of the Asklepieion at *Epidaurus*, which renders impossible a final judgement on the conformity of the method with archaeological data, especially for the case of *Palma* where the form of the Theatre can be read only in the architectural configuration of the overlapping dwellings (fig. A.22). However, this does not reduce the significance of Moranta's efforts as the most recent in a series of attempts at devising schemes alternative to the Vitruvian layout for Latin theatres.

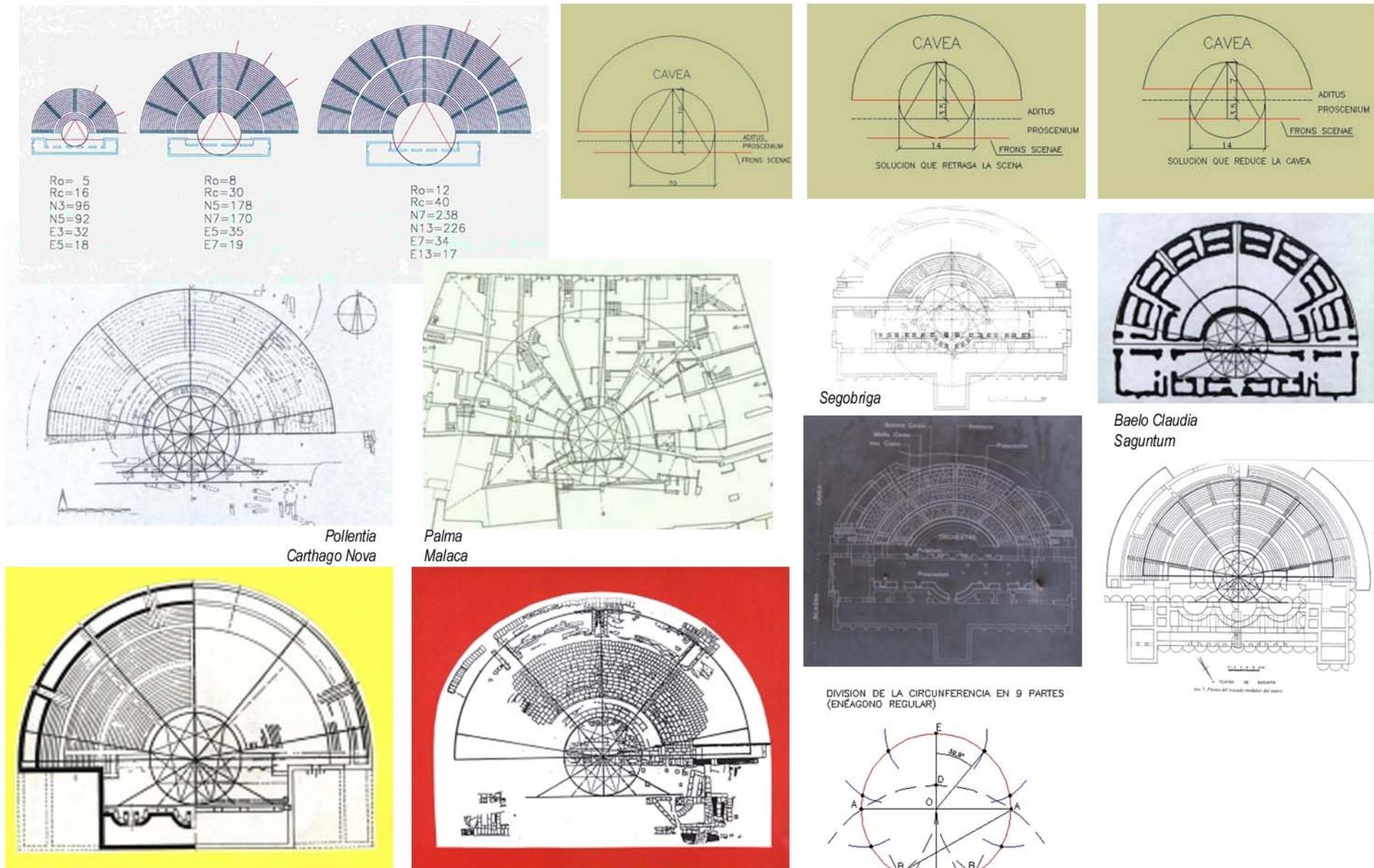


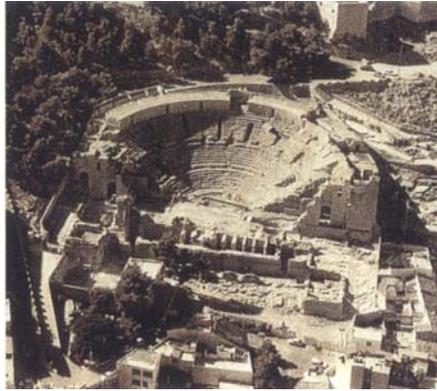
Figure 3.8 The method developed by Luis Moranta Jaume (2000) on the basis of the Theatre of Palma through hypothesising a relation between the size and the number of *cunei* in the *cavea* of ancient theatres; and its application to the Theatres of Baelo Claudia, Carthago Nova, Malaca, Pollentia, Saguntum, and Segóbriga (Moranta Jaume 2000)



1807



1957



1811



1989

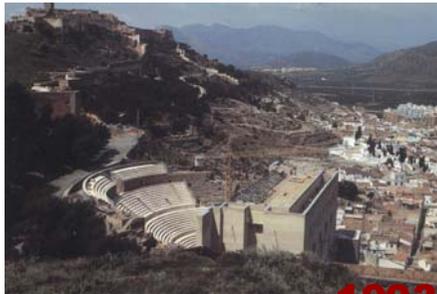


Saguntum

Sagunto (VALENCIA)



1905



1993



2001

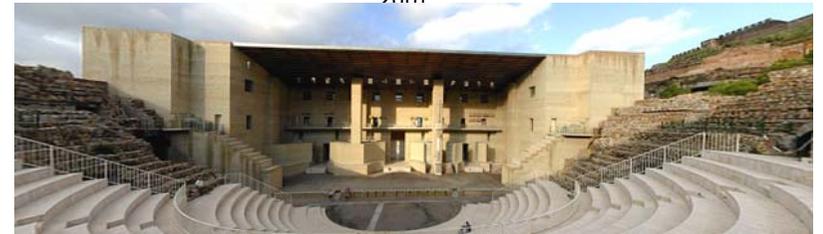


1955



Figure 39 Theatre of Saguntum in history.

all left and top of second left from Lara (1991: 83, 86, 88, 114, 117, 126, 131); second of second left and bottom two of third left from Aranegui Gascó (1993: cover, 8-10); brown prints from Grassi and Portaceli (1994:9); bottom of second left from Grassi and Portaceli (1990: 125); top right from the official website of the Municipality of Sagunto <http://www.ayto.sagunto.es>, 17.05.2004; the rest taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001



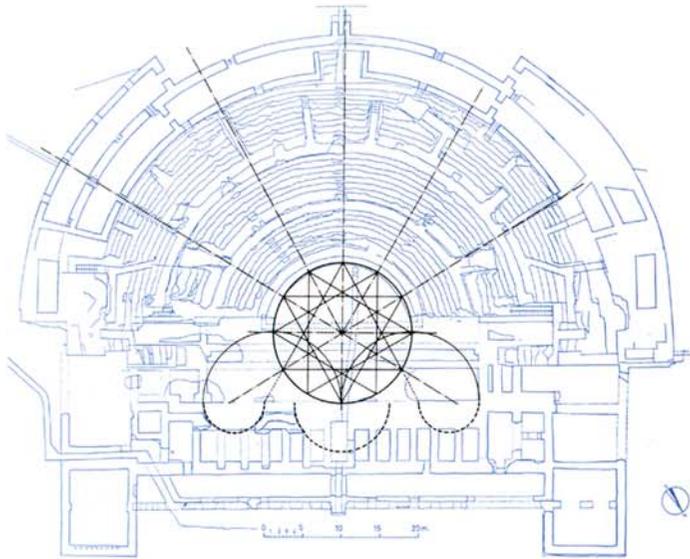


Figura 5.—Teatro de Sagunto. Comparación de los trazados de P. Hammond (1965) y F. Sear (1990).

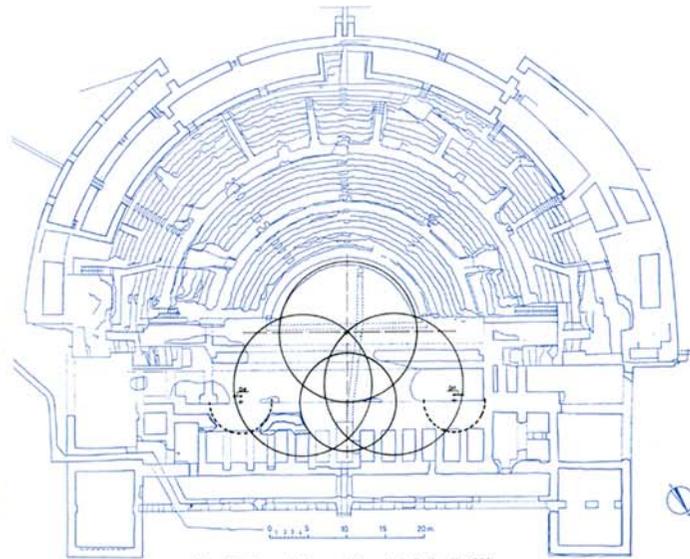


Figura 7.—Teatro de Sagunto. Trazado de D. Small (1983).

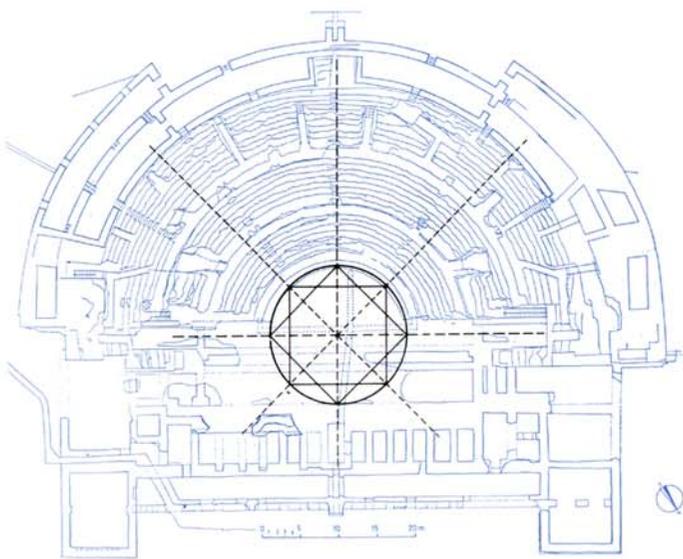


Figura 6.—Teatro de Sagunto. Trazado de F. Sear (1990), de los cuatro «cunei».

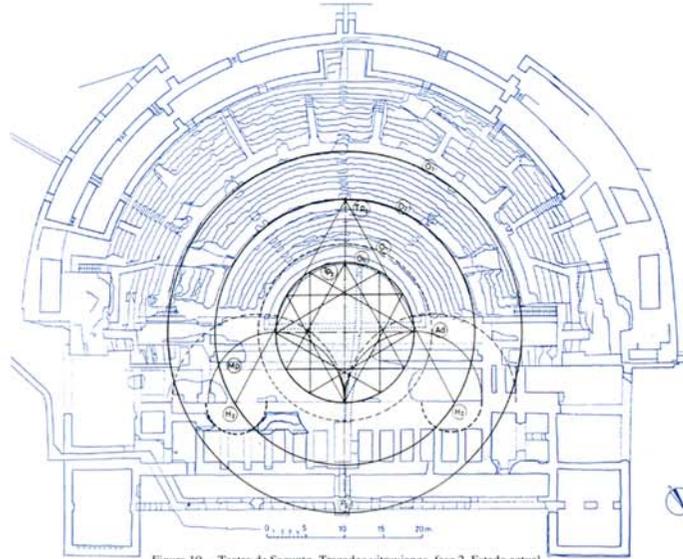


Figura 10.—Teatro de Sagunto. Trazados vitruvianos, fase 2. Estado actual.

Figure 3.10 A comparison of the methods developed by Hammond (1965), Small (1983), Sear (1990), and Lara (1992) on the photogrammetrically measured plan of the Theatre of *Saguntum* (Lara 1992: 162-4, 169)

3.3.2 The Variable of 'Time'

As attested in the work of Moranta on the basis of examples from Roman *Hispania*, decades of archaeological research in the Mediterranean basin and elsewhere has demonstrated that Vitruvius' directions were not followed in many of the theatres constructed under Roman rule. This has led some scholars to devise alternatives to the Vitruvian diagram for the Latin theatre by testing its application in selected cases. The following quotation made by Goriée from C.S. Peirce to criticise the deterministic tendency in the application of the 'man-made' principle of binarism in structuralist thought also applies to the method of study adopted by these scholars:

We form in the imagination some sort of diagrammatic, that is, iconic representation of the facts, as skeletonized as possible.... This diagram, which has been constructed to represent intuitively or semi-intuitively the same relations which are abstractly expressed in the premises, is then observed, and a hypothesis suggests itself that there is a certain relation between some of its parts—or perhaps this hypothesis had already been suggested. In order to test this, various experiments are made upon the diagram, which is changed in various ways. This is a proceeding extremely similar to induction, from which, however, it differs widely, in that it does not deal with a course of experience, but with whether or not a certain state of things can be imagined. (Peirce¹⁰ quoted in Goriée, 1992: 410)

David B. Small (1983) is one of the scholars who have examined archaeological evidence for Roman theatres by focusing on the design of the *scaenae frons*, as has done Moranta, to see that the majority was not constructed by following the Vitruvian method strictly. This has led him to devising 'a method of design that successfully explains other Roman theatre designs' (Small 1983: 55), without losing sight of the fact that there seems to have been a number of design systems in use and the system he proposed was not universally applied. His scheme (fig. 3.10) does not account especially for the first one of the three general groups into which the author divides the 'pure' Roman theatres included in his study—'pure' in the sense of not having been subject to the constraints of an earlier Greek layout, as in the cases of *Taormenium*, *Aizanoi* or the large theatre at *Pompeii*, while avoiding also the theatre-amphitheatres of northern Europe and the odea, the designs of which were modified by functional requirements.

Theatres in the first group have a strait *scaenae frons* and range in date from the Late Republic to the mid-second century AD, with the majority of the earlier theatres being located in Italy and the later ones in the eastern provinces, such as the well-preserved Aspendos Theatre in Anatolia. Although these examples have often been reconstructed on the Vitruvian model, Small's inquiry shows that archaeological 'evidence does not support the argument that Vitruvius' recommendations were a reflection of a general Roman approach to theatre design. In fact, the evidence shows that in a majority of our examples

¹⁰ Peirce, C.S. 1931-1966. *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, volumes 1-8, edited by Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Arthur W. Burke. Belknap Press and Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2.778 (1901).

the architect was either using a modified method or another system.' (Small 1983: 62) Rather than this group of theatres, however, the system he proposes fits the majority in the other two groups that either have a central semicircular niche with stepped-out entablature accenting the *valva regia* and two rectangular niches with similar entablatures framing the *valvae hospitalia*, or three semicircular niches accenting the all three doors on the *scaenae frons*. While the use of the former would have begun in the Augustan period and continued throughout the Empire, the most likely date for the latter is the mid-second to late third centuries AD. In this way, about two decades before the introduction of the variable of 'size' by Moranta as a consequence of his focus on the *cavea*, Small introduced the variable of 'time' into the question concerning the conformity of Vitruvian and/or alternative schemes to the archaeological record, as a consequence of his focus on the *scaenae* part. The dating he has suggested for the latter two types of *scaenae frons* plan, however, is radically challenged by other notable scholars working in the field, after detailed investigation into existing examples.

One examples is the Neronian dating suggested by Richard Stillwell (1952: 137-8) in his monograph on the Theatre of *Corinthos* for the first appearance of the exedra type of *regia*, as a form of departure from the rectilinear rhythm of the Augustan period toward a more 'baroque' style characteristic of the Neronian and early Flavian times, in the close connection with the theatre-derived decorations of the Pompeian fourth style. '*The introduction of the semi-circular exedra for the regia is to be directly connected with the self-identification of Nero as the incarnation of the sun-god, his passion for appearing in the theatre in person, and his likening himself to Apollo as a musician.*' (Stillwell 1952: 138) Stillwell (1952: 139) seeks support for his argument in a possible canopy in the shape of a half or a segmented half dome covering the apsidal *regia*, which would have hinted at a trend in relation with kingly or divine persons that produced Nero's golden house with its cosmic dome. As to the plan with three semicircular exedra, especially important for the framework of this chapter is the argument of Jean-Charles Moretti (2001: 187), who is a scholar renowned for his acquaintance with the examples in Anatolia, Greece, South Italy, and Sicily, that the *scaenae frons* plan with three semicircular niches would have appeared in Spain in the first half of the first century AD and diffused principally in the second century AD and primarily to Africa, as exemplified at Sabratha.

However, the suggestions of both scholars, as well as that of Frézouls (1982: 382) on a conversion from the rectilinear plan to a mixed types involving exedras in the course of the first century AD, are challenged by Catherine Courtois (1989: 89-98, 110) in her detailed chronologic and typological study of stage buildings in the theatres of Italy and Sicily wherein the Theatre of *Iguvium* (Gubbio, Umbria) that has a semicircular central exedra flanked by two rectangular ones is dated to the Late Republican period and more precisely to sometime between 55-27 BC. Similarly, those at *Faesulae* (Fiésole,

Etruria), *Ferentium* (Ferento, Etruria), and *Herculaneum* (Herculano, Campania), presenting a similar plan with a semicircular central exedra flanked by two rectangular ones, and those at *Nocera* (Campania) and *Volterrae* (Volterra, Etruria) which have a vast semicircular central exedra flanked by small rectangular ones and attributed by Stillwell (1952: 137-9) to Nero are dated by Courtois (1989: 154-9, 150-4, 125, 129-31, and 159-63 respectively) to the Late Republican or Augustan period on the basis of the applied construction technique. The author then gives a negative answer to the question as to whether it may be possible to speak of an 'evolution' in the architectural configuration of the *scaenae frons* in the way described by some scholars including Fiechter (1914)¹¹, Crema (1959)¹², and Neppi Modona (1961)¹³, from a rectilinear plan by adding in front of it first a slightly curved exedra that would later attain the arc of a circle at its centre while retaining its rectilinearity in its lateral parts. The central arc would later deepen to acquire a semicircular plan and would be flanked by two rectilinear exedras with little depth. Courtois' (1989: 186-7, 193) own dating on the basis of the applied construction technique, however, would have highlighted the impossibility of tracing such a chronological evolution either in the number of the exedras on the *scaenae frons* or in the central semicircular exedra's being more or less marked in depth. Additionally, her investigations have attested the existence of other types of plans such as the one featuring a central rectangular exedra flanked by a semicircular one at each side. To Courtois (1989: 193, 296) all these possibilities seems to have been formulated architecturally principally in the theatres of Italy and of the Rhone valley during the Augustan period and later spread to the other regions of the Empire with the exception of the more traditional Asia Minor where the rectilinear *scaenae frons* was preserved as an indication of the taste for the favoured Greek tradition up to the period of Trajan when a new type of plan with three semicircular exedras would have evolved.

Courtois (1989: 298) suggests the *scaenae frons* to have gradually transformed under Trajan and later Hadrian into a docile support for decoration as opposed to its function, during the Republican and the greater part of the Augustan period as well as the first century AD, of closing from the façade a building housing backstage facilities, whose absence has been attested in certain theatres that, nevertheless, continued to have a backstage and a frontal *scaenae frons* wall. This development would have conformed to the designation of the Roman *scaenae frons* as a 'fixed set' or 'permanent scenery' by Giorgio Grassi and Manuel Portaceli (1994: 11-15) in their project for the Theatre of *Saguntum*. The label is based on an analysis of the various elements that constitute the *scaenae frons* in such a way as to suggest a fundamental difference between the lower order with three gates that are in contact with the stage and the upper ones with other doors and windows, openings and passages of various

¹¹ Fiechter, E.R. 1914. *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*. Munich.

¹² Crema, L. 1959. *Architettura Romana*. Turin.

kinds, in that, only the former plays a role in the action by marking and multiplying necessary spaces, which makes it 'useful' while everything above it is in reality 'necessary':

Everything that is useful to the dramatic action, i.e. takes part directly in the action, is in reality not necessary to the action itself, while all that at first sight seems extraneous and superfluous, because it does not form part of the action, is actually needed in order for that action to be able to expand (literally echo). Its task is to maintain the tension of the dramatic action intact right up to the last tier of the *summa-cavea*, and to convey it steadily to the place, making it into the place's own tension (that which in fact makes the experience of the empty theatrical location into the unique and irreplaceable experience of which Jouvett tells us).

Just by standing there the stage front fulfils its task in a manner that is direct, material and constructive in the strict sense of the word, in perfect accord with both the real building and the imaginary place that it represents.

Its role is indispensable because in reality the Roman stage front acts theatrically on its own: simply by displaying itself. (Grassi and Portaceli 1994: 13)

Alluding to the semiotic mechanism described earlier after Umberto Eco (1997: 187-8) between 'primary' and 'secondary' functions of architectural objects, the distinction made by Grassi and Portaceli between the 'useful' and the 'necessary' components of the Roman *scaenae frons* seems to find justification in well-established distinction, and even opposition, in the Roman architectonic mentality between 'structure' and 'ornament' (*ornatus*) of a building. As explained by M.A. Elvira (1992: 18) in his booklet on Roman theatres, amphitheatres and circuses of Spain, in these three building types, 'structure' consists of walls, arches, tiers and passages carved into the living rock or moulded out of concrete, constituting what we may call the engineering part of the work that is often the only part left to us. As such it belongs to the category of 'technical codes' among the three 'architectural codes' listed by Eco (1997: 193), with the other two being 'syntactic codes' and 'semantic codes':

To this category would belong, to take a ready example, articulations of the kind dealt with in the science of architectural engineering. The architectural form resolves into beams, flooring systems, columns, plates, reinforced-concrete elements, insulation, wiring, etc. There is at this level of codification no communicative 'content', except of course in cases where a structural (or technical) function or technique itself becomes such; there is only a structural logic, or structural conditions behind architecture and architectural conditions that might therefore be seen as somewhat analogous to a second articulation in verbal languages, where though one is still short of meanings there are certain formal conditions of signification. (Eco 1997: 193)

'Syntactic codes' are exemplified by typological codes concerning articulation into spatial types such as the circular plan, Greek-cross plan, 'open' plan, labyrinth, or high-rise, but also include syntactic conventions such as the rule for a stairway not to go through a window or a bedroom to be generally adjacent to a bathroom (Eco 1997: 193). 'Semantic codes' correspond to the relations established between individual architectural sign vehicles, or even syntagms, and their denotative and connotative meanings, in such a way that the units denote 'primary functions' (roof, stairway, window), connote 'secondary functions' (tympanum, triumphal arch, neo-Gothic arch), connote 'ideologies of inhabitation'

¹³ Neppi Modona, A. 1961. *Gli Edifici Teatrali Greci e Romani*. Florence.

(common room, dining room, parlour), or 'at a larger scale have typological meaning under certain functional and sociological types (*hospital, villa, school, palace, railroad station*).' (Eco 1997: 194)

Elvira (1992: 18) argues that the 'structural – technical – engineering' aspect of performance buildings would have been of very little interest to an ancient architect whose major concern would have been the 'ornatus' placed over it, within which there existed certain areas that a Roman would have considered to be architectonics *par excellence*. One example is the *scaenae frons*, which often appears to be completely independent from the 'structure' proper although shaped by it as a truly independent screen. This had enabled their repeated reconstruction following the fashion of the times in such a way as to reflect aesthetic oscillations. The evolution of the 'engineering work', on the other hand, had been less subject to the ups and downs of tastes.

This interpretation of Elvira's may justify at least partially the criticism made by Frank B. Sear (1990) against the method proposed by Small for being invalid, since it had too many variables to be a design method, failed to define the position of the *hospitalia* by two fixed points, and did not take into account the overall layout of the theatre, and in particular the staircase system of the *cavea*, which were 'above all that are key to theatre design' (Sear 1990: 253-4). This observation has led Sear to focus on the *cavea* about a decade before Moranta's hypotheses developed around the example of *Palma*, using radiant bisectors—of four equilateral triangles for theatres that have a *cavea* with six *cunei*, two pentagons for those with five and two squares for those with four *cunei*—in the determination both of the location and the direction of the stairways in the *cavea* and of the required reference points on the stage, which is a key feature of his proposal (fig. 3.10). The flexibility in Sear's choice for inscribing equilateral triangles, pentagons, and squares in such a way as to break the binarism inherent in the two Vitruvian schemes for the Greek and the Latin theatre is not due to his total denial of the applicability of the Vitruvian schemes. On the contrary, his conclusion is that architects of the early Empire modified but did not abandon Vitruvius' method. After the Augustan period, theatres were seldom built with a five-*cunei* system anyway.

The author examines the theatres with which Vitruvius may have been expected to be familiar to test the suggestion that Vitruvius would have invented his method of designing Roman theatres on analogy with a known Greek system of theatre design and not on the basis of any actual theatre existing at his time. These include the permanent theatres built throughout the Republican period in towns outside Rome where there was no senatorial ban upon theatre construction, some of which Vitruvius may have been familiar with. Since the design of the stone theatres built during the second century BC in the area radiating from Campania was derived from Hellenistic theatres particularly in Sicily and *Magna Graecia*, they could hardly be expected to conform to either of the Vitruvian schemes. However, Vitruvius may have taken as his model designs that were current in Central Italy in the first century BC, since there is

no clear evidence 'for his suggested positioning of the three doors in the scaenae frons, and the possibility exists that he was attempting to rationalise Roman theatre design on the analogy of a set of rules used in Greek theatre design.' (Sear 1990: 258)

Coming to the applications of the Vitruvian schemes, 'as the archaeological evidence quite clearly shows, theatres of the later Augustan and Imperial period do not follow the Vitruvian method when it comes to the layout of the scaenae frons and the position of the three doors.' (Sear 1990: 252) This would have been a consequence of the fact that the Vitruvian enterprise appeared at the beginning of the Augustan period when theatre design is known to have undergone a considerable change. 'Whether any actual theatre was built exactly to Vitruvius's designs is unknown, but if one was, it does not seem to have had any lasting influence.' (Sear 1990: 258) On the other hand, as suggested by his analysis of the Early Imperial examples, 'the actual procedure of laying the theatre out in terms of the geometry used seems to have been very little different from that prescribed by Vitruvius.' (Sear 1990: 258) So, rather than recommending, as Small has done, a total abandonment of the Vitruvian method in modern restitutions, Sear attempts to devise a method that would grasp the Augustan period and later developments especially in positioning the three doors of the *scaenae frons* on the basis of the geometry used by Vitruvius. In this way, Sear contextualises the Vitruvian enterprise in 'time', both to explain its unconformity to the archaeological record and to argue for its validity as a procedure based on geometry that provides justification for the method he has himself devised. Sear's analysis is characterised by a total lack of reference to 'size' as does that of Small before him.

Sear has not been the first scholar to argue the general validity of the Vitruvian method and offer a modified version of it for early imperial Roman theatre architecture. In his final report on *The Excavation of the Main Theatre at Petra*, Philip C. Hammond (1965: 23) had already noted that 'the plan of the Main Theatre was definitely, and often slavishly, Vitruvian', aside deviations like the position of *aditus* passageways or the marked asymmetry of the *cavea* that was cut into the bedrock—there are fourteen rows at the south-east end of the *summa cavea* as opposed to the twelve at the north-east end, twenty-five rows at the south-east side of the *media cavea* as opposed to the twenty on its north-east side and the twenty-three in its centre. Coming to the inconveniences with the Vitruvian scheme, in order to permit a much wider *scaenae frons* that occurs at Petra as elsewhere, Hammond projects the two sides of the triangle whose apex determines the centre of the *itinera* in the Vitruvian model beyond their base, to the point of intersection with the *scaenae frons* (fig. 3.10). This indicates that the basic problem Hammond has attempted to resolve by modifying the Vitruvian scheme is basically the same with one of the two that would occupy Moranta some thirty-five years later: positioning of the *scaenae frons* and

the *aditus* passageways in terms of the geometric set up suggested by Vitruvius. Characteristic again is the absence of reference to 'size' in Hammond's variation on the Vitruvian scheme.

3.3.3 The Variable of 'Place'

On the other hand, what marks out Hammond's approach from those of Small (1983) and Sear (1990) is his contextualising of the Vitruvian enterprise not only in 'time' but also in 'place' by referring to the relations between Rome and its provinces concerning the transfer of construction know-how, as illustrated in the following comment:

That the Vitruvian canon was followed, at certain points, to the degree of slavish adherence, would seem to indicate a stage of theatre building in which conscious innovation had not yet taken place. Hence, a period close to the earlier stage of Vitruvian model building description might be in turn indicated. At a later time, advanced knowledge of techniques might be expected, especially in the provinces, where Roman domination could compel both the labor and financial expenditure necessary. Still further, advanced (i.e. later) technical ability would preclude undue expenditure of labor and finances, since advanced techniques (i.e. architectural short-cuts) would be known. (Hammond 1965: 58)

This comment points to one dominant claim in the argument of those who assert an adherence to the Vitruvian canon in the building of theatres in Roman provinces especially in the Augustan period: that of direct cultural influence and involvement from Rome in the planning and supervision of the operation using local craftsmen (Hammond 1965: 58). A similar assumption has led Lourdes Roldán Gómez (Roldán *et al.* 1998a) into an extensive and detailed examination of the construction techniques and materials employed in the architectural remains within the context of Roman *Hispania* in order to trace the incorporation of the construction techniques applied in the city of Rome into those already existing in *Hispania* before the advent of the Romans as a key to a better understanding of the acculturation process that would have taken place afterwards. The absence of systematic studies in this vein has resulted in the habitual transformation of the conclusions obtained for the city of Rome and its immediate vicinity to the context of Roman *Hispania* wherein there existed significant differences that may have been attributed to diverse causes such as the maintenance of the existing local building traditions, economic possibilities, or the available local building materials. The classical interpretation has resulted in the assessment of architecture among many cultural characteristics of *Hispania* in the Roman period as a mere transposition of the Roman models, disregarding the fact that it would have rather 'mirrored' directly the economic, political, ideological, and in general cultural realities of a concrete society.

This view highlights the two risks outlined by Sebastián Mariner Bigorra (1982: 17) as awaiting the historian who dares to intervene with theatrical life in the provinces. On the one hand is the temptation for 'uniformity' by considering each and every *colonia* or *municipium*, regardless of their location and period, as a small Rome that was apt for applying what is known to have occurred contemporaneously

in the capital. On the other is the tendency of postulating a provincial stance, especially in the case of provinces relatively distant from the Italian Peninsula, by projecting over provincial theatre ideas of 'decentralisation', which have been accredited as successful in other cultural aspects such as language or religions, allowing for the assumption of their maintenance of their pre-Roman structure. The validity of the problem in theatre studies concerning other periods and geographies is well-attested by C.W. Dearden's (1990) paper on whether fourth-century BC tragedy in Sicily should be evaluated as 'Athenian' or 'Sicilian'. In Roman theatre studies, 'regional heterogeneity' seems to have an appeal for scholars like Martín Almagro Basch, who has studied a number of ancient theatres remains in *Hispania* in detail to opinion that '*each case is distinct*' (Mariner Bigorra 1982: 23) while a great majority of the general works on Greek and Roman theatre and theatre architecture, including classics like Margarete Bieber's *The History of The Greek and Roman Theatre* (1961), seem to reflect the 'uniform centralist' view. This enables the use of early permanent theatre architecture in the city of Rome, and chiefly the Theatre of Pompey, to draw analogies for provincial examples, as in the case of the *sacellum in summa cavea*.

One noteworthy example is the highly controversial restoration project developed by the renown Milanese architect Giorgio Grassi (1985: 7) in collaboration with the Valencian Manuel Portaceli for the Theatre of *Saguntum* with the primary aim of recreating the idea of the Roman theatre and its distinctive features including 'unity' between its stage building and *cavea*, making up for a loss that seems to have been aggravated by modern interventions (fig. 3.9):

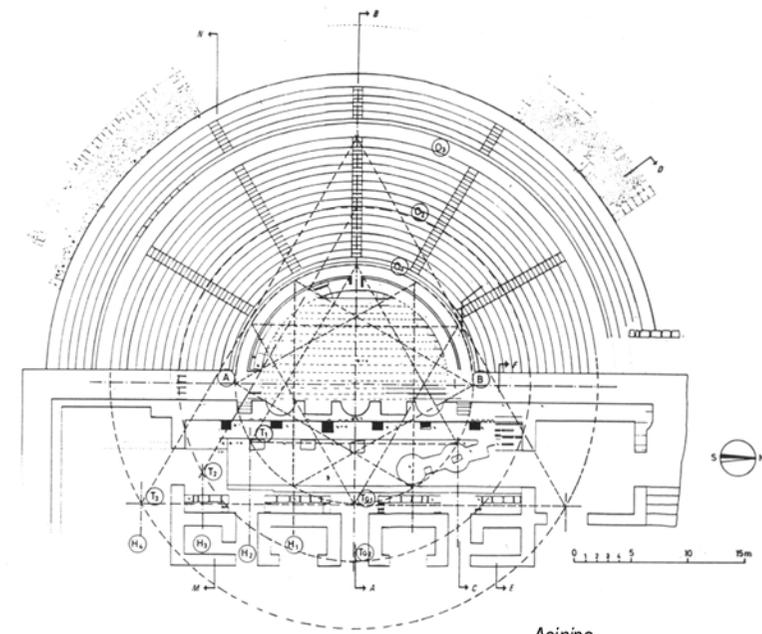
The fact, for example, that work has been carried out exclusively on the *cavea* (where to tell the truth reinforcement was more necessary) as if it was to all intents and purposes a "separate part" of the complex building, has resulted in a strengthening and a confirmation of that Greek form of the theatre carved out of the hill-side, with a view across the plain, etc., which had already misled a number of historians in the past when confronted with the original and still intact ruin. (Grassi 1985: 7)

This effect was further strengthened when the whole outer façade of the pediment wall of the *cavea* was paved with regular courses of square stones, which made it look like an outer containment wall for the *cavea* rather than a wall uniting the stage to the auditorium and making it '*into that architectural unit characteristic of the Roman theatre*' (Grassi 1985: 9). One of the objectives of the controversial proposal was, therefore, to render the complex of buildings that make up the Roman theatre more comprehensible by facilitating a distinction of its parts and relations between them as well as '*the way in which they come together to define an articulate and complicated architectural form, but one that is absolutely unitary. This is in fact the type of the Roman theatre over the brief history of its construction and throughout its long and constant influence on the history of architectural forms*' (Grassi 1985: 9).

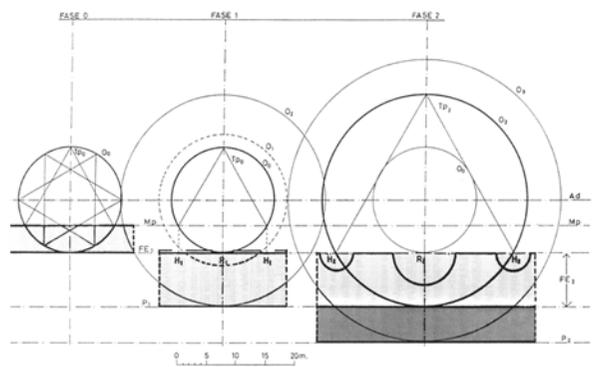
Similarly, in analogy with the early permanent theatre architecture in Rome, Salvador Lara (1992: 157) characterises Small's alternative for the Vitruvian scheme as a 'partial actuation in the theatre' that

refers exclusively to the stage building without taking the *cavea* into consideration while the principal characteristic of the Roman theatre building was the unity between its parts. After attesting its validity in a great number of examples, Lara (1992: 158-9) also questions Sear's determination in modifying the Vitruvian method in such a way that the bisectors of the triangles, squares, or pentagons inscribed in the circle of the *orchestra* would define not only the position but also the direction of the stairways in the *cavea*, as he believes the Vitruvian layout to have served to mark the positions of elements but not necessarily directions and other characteristics. He additionally criticises the solution Sear adopts for theatres with five *cunei* by inscribing two pentagons, which is not only a geometry that is hard to layout and almost never used in the Roman world, but also fails in giving reference with its vertices to the number of elements that had to be situated on the stage building, such as the stairs or the *valva regia*. So, referring this time exclusively to the *cavea*, Sear's method is also evaluated by Lara as equally partial as Small's proposal but for the opposite reason.

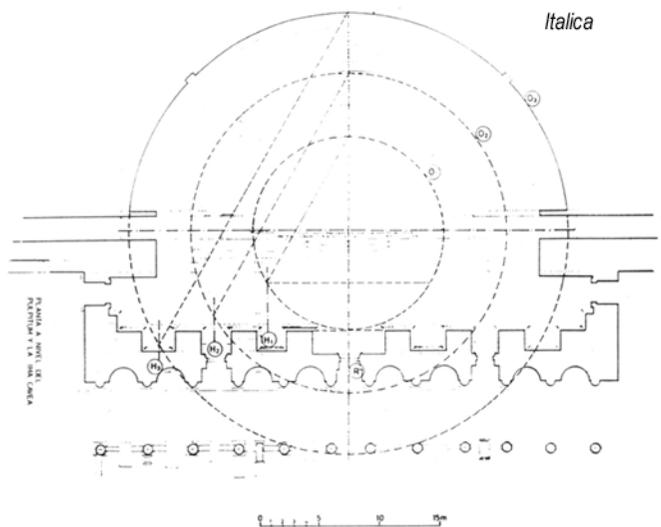
Coming to his own proposal, Lara is of the opinion that the Vitruvian layout was always maintained as the generating system of theatrical building ensembles built under Roman cultural influence, with its being 'geometric' rather than 'metric' as its major advantage (Lara 1992: 153). Assuming the opposite would not explain the profound similarities between the geographically and temporally distant theatres of the Empire such as *Aspendos*, *Sabratha*, *Dougga*, *Amman*, *Pompey* or *Saguntum*, whose high degree of similarity would have to be more than a mere coincidence. Lara (1992: 173) identifies the 'Roman Order', and Vitruvius as its most direct and pragmatic example, behind the similarities, shaping not only the initial construction but also later modifications of theatre buildings, as he traced in the Theatre of *Saguntum* (fig. 3.10). For the author, there exists every reason to expect a Vitruvian layout for the initial construction phase of the building: The Imperial Roman *Castell de Sagunt* hill, where the Theatre and the Forum are located, was planned in the Augustan era, which is attested as an unusually active period of theatre-building in *Hispania*, as also demonstrated in our map showing the initial construction dates of ancient theatres in the Iberian Peninsula (fig. A.6). He then cites Margarete Bieber (1961: 186), Small (1983: 87), and Sear (1990: 258) to argue for the adoption of the Vitruvian layout in Augustan theatres including the one at *Saguntum*. His scheme attempts at illustrating the expansion of the initial Vitruvian scheme at *Saguntum* to enable later modifications for enlarging the *cavea* to increase and diversify seating capacity as well as the stage to house new types of performances (Lara 1992: 167, 170). For Gros (1994: 59), however, Lara's (1992: 174-179) success in applying his method developed on the basis of the example of *Saguntum* to the adequately documented Theatres of *Itálica*, *Segóbriga* and *Acinipo* (fig. 3.11) cannot be taken as a proof of its Vitruvian origin because such an interpretation was never expressed by the Latin theoretician. So it should be taken to correspond to an ingenious extrapolation of Lara, the architect archaeologist.



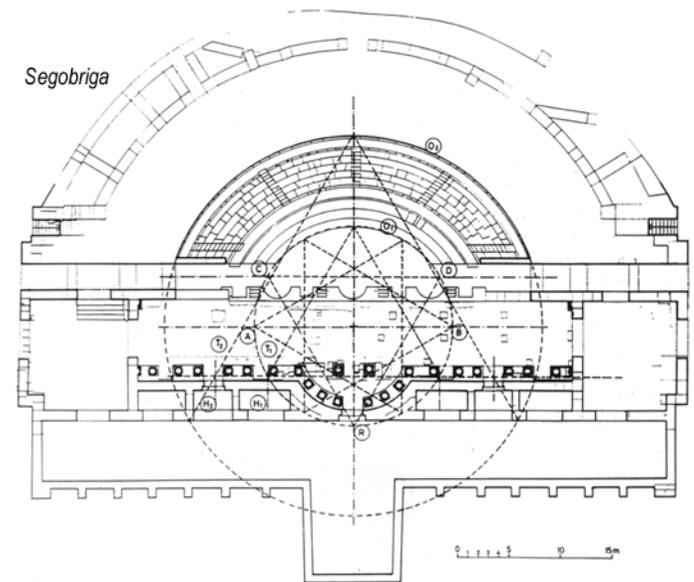
Acinipo



Saguntum



Itálica



Segóbriga

Figure 3.11 An application of the method developed from the Vitruvian recommendations by Lara (1992) on the basis of the Theatre of Saguntum in the Theatres of Acinipo, Itálica, and Segóbriga (Lara 1992: 171, 174, 176-7)

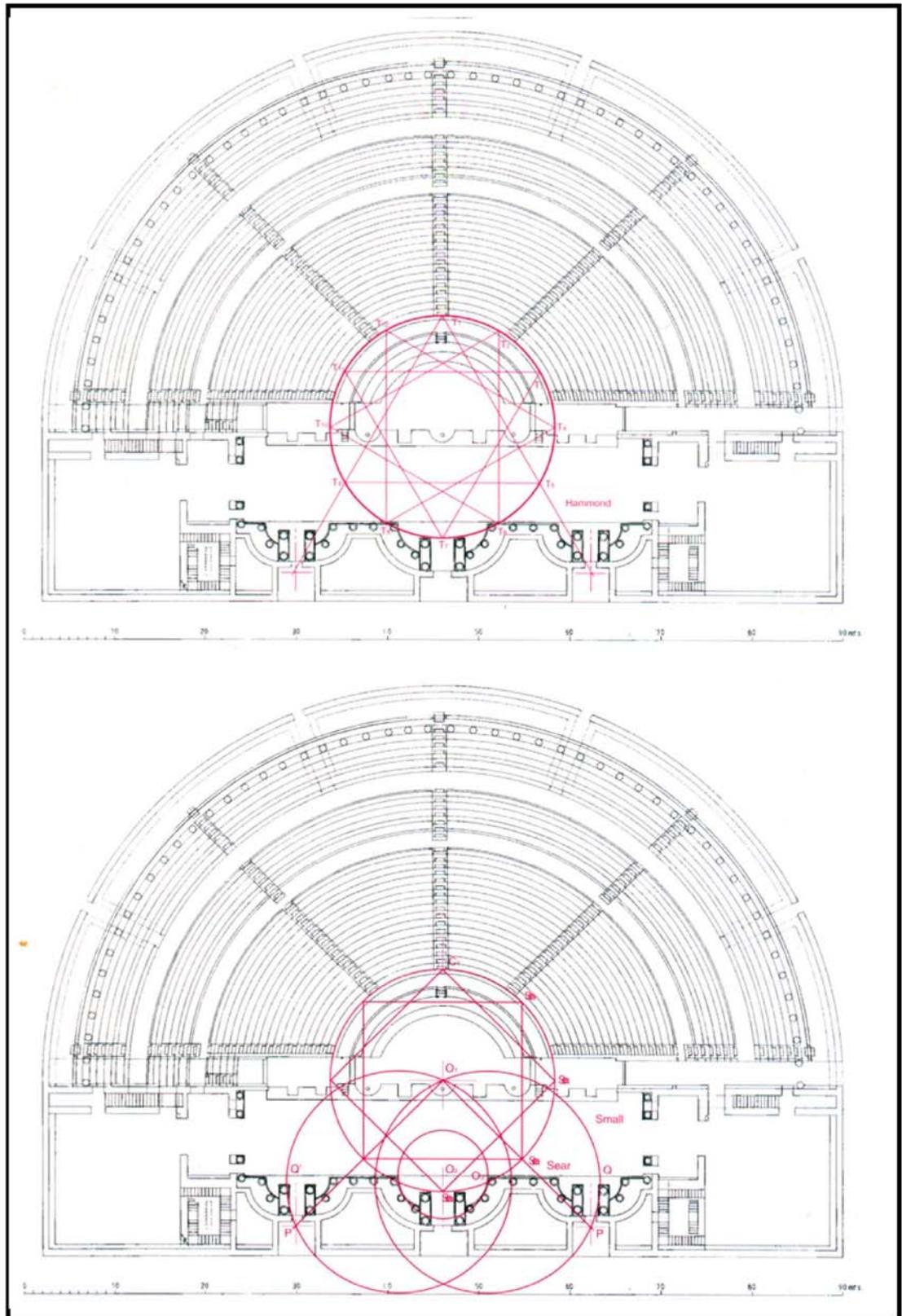


Figure 3.12 An application of the methods developed by Hammond (1965), Small (1983), and Sear (1990) in the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 107).

When taken together, these variations on the Vitruvian scheme by Hammond (1965), Small (1983), Sear (1990), Lara Ortega (1992), and Moranta Jaume (2000) come to attest the failure of the Vitruvian layout for the Latin theatre to conform to the archaeological record, which seems to have encouraged these scholars to produce alternative schemes in the Vitruvian vein that have, in their turn, been criticised by other scholars of having equally limited explanatory power. On the other hand, they also attest the appeal of the Vitruvian canon as such, by trying to produce alternative schemes without refraining from the use of 'perfect forms' among endless formal possibilities, in the face of the critical opinion that Vitruvius' theory of architecture bears almost no relation to the realities of contemporary practice and had little influence on the near future (Onions 1988: 40-41). As a representative of this critical stance, John Onions (1988: 40-41) underlines in his work on the classical orders that although there arose a new purism and accuracy in the interpretation of the Greek orders under Augustus, there was no adoption of Vitruvius' rules. Edmund Frézouls (1969: 147; 1982: 367) finds it reasonable to expect Vitruvius to have reflected the Italian architectural reality of his time, or of the immediately antecedent period, and influenced the following generation of architects, although definitely not the totality of Roman theatre architecture. He regretfully admits, however, that this seems not to have been the case, as attested in the considerable amount and degree of variations from his recommendations for the Latin theatre. Frézouls (1992: 13) describes the Augustan theatre as the outcome of diverse lines of evolution whose characteristics would have then been modified in diverse directions in such a way as to resist the idea of a unique 'Romano-Italian' model that would have remained more or less unchanged, as attested in the variety observed in the actual remains. Therefore, the notion of a 'classical' theatre would apply only to an important number of theatres constructed under Augustus in Italy and some provinces, with only a few fitting into the Vitruvian definition of *theatrum latinum* especially in their plan layout although displaying one or some of the Vitruvian characteristics (Frézouls 1992: 14). Gros (1994: 76) lists the major inconveniences as the absence of coincidence between the dimensional relations proposed by the theoretician and those observed in the actual remains from the relevant period, the excessive importance of the *orchestra* in the Vitruvian scheme in the face of its declining use during the performances, the unconformity of the *valvae hospitales* with the Vitruvian rules in their being more distant in general from the *valva regia*, the rarely verified location of the lateral *aditus maximi* accesses that are often located on the stage side of the *orchestra* diameter instead of being on its *cavea* side, which would have resulted in a corresponding displacement in the *pulpitum* and the *scaenae frons*, and, last but not least, the rare occurrence of a system with six *cunei* in the *cavea* with seven axial stairways. According to Frézouls (1982: 368) these inconveniences resulted from the fidelity of the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre to the Classical Greek tradition in the centrality of the *orchestra* to the whole scheme although it had by then become a simple 'geometric

residue' that was used only for locating the seats of honour whenever required. While Vitruvius was building his scheme around the *orchestra* by changing its shape but without reducing its size, the diameter of the *cavea*, which was often equal to the length of the stage building, was the determining data for the Italian architects before and after him (Frézouls 1982: 368). According to Frézouls (1982: 369), the indifference displayed by Vitruvius against the problem of elaborating a new type of edifice in a period when this was practically taking place in Italy before his very eyes is significant of the power of the scholarly tradition in architecture. However these and similar criticisms have not prevented the ongoing application of the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre in current studies on ancient theatre architecture, as exemplified in *Carthago Nova* (fig. 3.3).

Noticeable in the application of the Vitruvian layout to the restituted plan scheme of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* is the tangential position of the *scaenae frons* with regards to the *orchestra* circle including the senatorial seats, which is the basic geometric component structuring the Vitruvian scheme. As mentioned in a footnote of the 1993 publication (Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 78), this is a norm mentioned by Vitruvius (L, VII, 1) as pertaining to Greek theatres, while in those built by the Romans the 'correct' position for the *scaenae frons* has to be defined by the base of one of the inscribed triangles. Additionally the triangles should mark the position of the *scalae* of the *ima* and *media cavea* and, hence, that of the *vomitoria* of the *summa cavea* which should be equidistant from them. At *Carthago Nova*, the unique *vomitorium* unearthed of the *summa cavea* does not follow this rule. For this reason, variations offered by Hammond (1965), Small (1983), and Sear (1990) have also been applied (fig. 3.12) to explain the geometry of the building in its general lines, however without much success.

After the first attempt in 1993, the Vitruvian layout was tried to be applied to the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* for a second time (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 108-9), this time using the flexibility offered by Vitruvius' concluding remark that his rules of 'symmetry' may not provide means to fulfil all the conditions and purposes in all theatres and, therefore, it is the architect himself who should decide to what degree he will be sticking to the principle of symmetry and to what degree it may be modified 'to suit the nature of the site or the size of the work' (Vitruvius V, 6, 7). So, in a first approximation, the interior circumference coinciding with that of the *balteus* between the *orchestra* and *ima cavea* was taken as a basis to include the *proedria* to define the position of the *scaenae frons* and to delimit the exterior wall of the stage building with all its complementary rooms, *parascaenia* and *basilica*. The axes of the *valvae* are also defined by the prolongation of the sides of the inscribed triangles, while the two side *vomitoria* at the *summa cavea* and the axis of the *valva frons regia* are defined by their vertices. In a second approximation, the starting point has been the *orchestra* diameter without the *proedria* to determine the situation of the two lateral stairs and the central axis of the two *vomitoria* of the *summa*

cavea. The two approximations evaluated together have led the authors to the conclusion that, although their intention has not been a justification of the absolute value of Vitruvian norms and their extensive application to any Roman theatre, they have nevertheless observed the fulfilment of many of his recommendations at the theatre of *Carthago Nova* whose careful execution and perfect symmetry is an expression of a detailed prior planning, and that his system, which has been condemned by many and is not taken seriously, constitutes a valid, simple and useful method to explain the project development for the building, although it may not be the unique one. These two approaches to the application of the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre in the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* in fact illustrate two possible interpretations, the latter of which will be promoted in the course of the present dissertation.

3.4 Philosophical Implications: the Formalist Stance in Studies on Roman Theatre Architecture

Gros (1994: 56) opens his discussion on the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin Theatre and its significance in the normative system of *Ten Books on Architecture* by noting that:

Purely documentary exploitation of textual sources, which is inevitable and usually legitimate, present, in the case of technical instructions, the inconvenience of shifting the interest of the reader from their objective content to their methods of application. This phenomenon is particularly manifest for *Ten Books on Architecture* whose norms are sometimes used without preliminary reflection for restituting an edifice or a decorative element, sometimes rejected without any appeal due to lack of adequacy with archaeological realities. (Gros 1994: 57, my translation)

In fact, the Greek-Roman binary opposition in Vitruvius *and* in Bieber would lend itself to an analysis in reference to the theory of the identification of the 'self' against the 'other', the latter within the framework outlined in the previous chapter and the former in the light of the fact underlined by some scholars including Gros (1994: 72) that, Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* is marked by a desire to elevate Italic architecture—and more precisely its monumental typology represented by the Tuscan order, the Basilica of Fano and the Latin theatre—to the same level of rationality as the Hellenistic architecture of the East. Gros (1994: 72) has traced a fundamental difference between Vitruvius' presentation of the Tuscan order and the Latin theatre, in the former's presumably being an ancient tradition, heterodox aspects of which were reduced to integrate it into the series of orders of Greek origin, two years before Joseph Rykwert's (1996: 350-371) *The Dancing Column* has convincingly cast doubt on the existence of such a tradition to question the historiographic tradition that finds the origin of the Classical Orders in Vitruvius. For the Latin theatre, even the basis for the 'invention' of an ancient tradition as such, in the sense defined by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992), seems to have been inexistent. This renders the layout proposed by Vitruvius an autonomous creation realised in a period when an experimentation of theatre architecture was going on in Rome with inspirations from *Magna Grecia* as well as Greece itself

(Gros 1994: 73-74). This view enables an interpretation of the Latin scheme developed by Vitruvius using four equilateral triangles as a 'counter-model' against the Greek scheme based on three squares, whose application has been attested by Armin von Gerkan in the Theatre of *Priene* and by D. Théodorescu in the first phase of the Theatre of *Aphrodisias*, in the latter case in the face of the late construction chronology of the monument (Gros 1994: 70-71). This line of argument may have informed the attempts of Wilhelm Dörpfeld and others, discussed in the previous chapter, to derive the Roman theatre directly from the Greek by finding support in the tradition attesting Pompey's use of the Early Hellenistic Theatre of *Mytilene*, which he had visited in 62 BC, as a model for the theatre he had constructed in Rome as the first permanent performance building in the city.

Noteworthy within this framework is the speculative study of Alwyn Preston Hosking Scott (1973) who suggests a possible origin for Greek drama in calendar-fixing in her search for the genesis of the architectural form of the ancient Greek theatre by drawing on the astronomical significance of the architectural characteristics of the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens in comparison to Stonehenge. According to the author, the displacement of the *orchestra* circle along a line parallel to the cardinal north-south axis in the second building phase of the monument may have had astronomical significance in the alignment of its elements, which finds support in a note in Vitruvius about '*analemma*'s being an instrument used to show the different altitudes of the sun at different periods of the year, in addition to denoting a strong wall (Preston 1973: 55, 210). By the structural orientation of the building generally to the south-southeast, the audience would have been forced to look into the sun during the entire span of performances presented in daylight (Preston 1973: 71).

In a plan view, the aisles have the shape of the spokes in a wheel around the hub of the thymele. [...] There are twelve aisles; the number of months in the solar year is twelve. The wheel in Greek iconography is a sun symbol. The aisles divide the theatron into thirteen kerkides; there are thirteen months in the lunar year. The circle of the orchestra nestled into the larger distended circle of the prohedria is an image of the moon eclipsing the sun, should one stretch one's imagination romantically to meet the Greek's symbolisation of eclipse phenomena as a ritual sun-moon marriage. (Preston 1973: 78)

This would raise the possibility that the Theatre of Dionysus may have been used as a giant sun dial by the priests of the Parthenon located on top of the rock of the Athenian Acropolis, right over the Theatre, with the components of its stage building, and primarily the three portals of the later *skene*, giving reference to the cult of moon in allusion to the Spartan *dokana*, consisting of two uprights of wood joined in confraternity by cross beams (Preston 1973: 160, 175, 178-9). *Dokana* was the architectural symbol of the *Dioscuri*, i.e. the heavenly twins hatched by Leda from an egg who not only form one of the constellations in the Greek zodiac, appropriately for a consideration of calendar-fixing, but are also part of the mythic trinity with their sister Helen, i.e. the moon goddess of the Spartans who was born with them (Preston 1973: 175, 179, 181). The entrance of an initiate through one of the triumphal

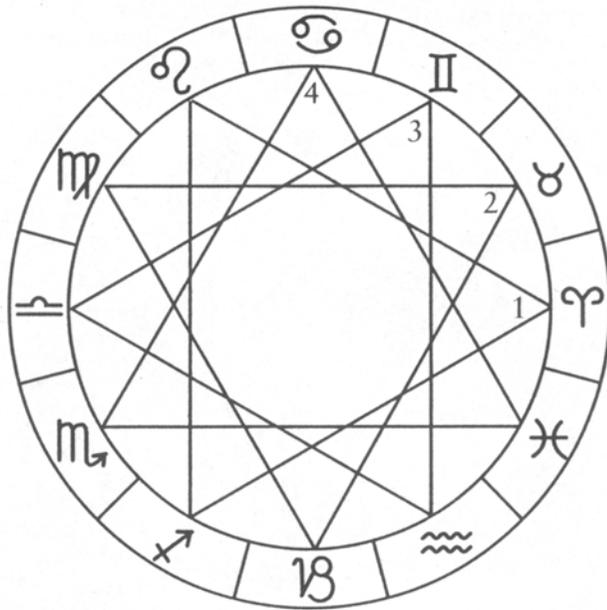
arches of the *skene* would then symbolise a return to the earth in a ritual resurrection from the land of moon in Hades (Preston 1973: 179). In parallel line of thought with Eco, the author argues these and other astronomical connotations of the Theatre of Dionysus to have been lost in time while its form persisted with only minor changes, to become '*prototypical of all urban Greek theatres, everywhere up to the classical era*' (Preston 1973: 10)

Remarkable against the background of this highly speculative reading, and the theory about the origins of the Latin theatre in the Greek, is Gros' characterisation of the geometric layout proposed by Vitruvius in *Ten Books on Architecture* for the 'Latin' theatre as an 'indirect' and non-modular scheme that only provides reference points to realise a general application and is, therefore, open to a great amount of variations (Gros 1994: 62, 68). Additionally, Gros (1994: 63-6) describes the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre as a figure whose components play a crucial role in its definition and have a precise signification that marks out not only the distinction between Greek and Latin theatres but also a parallelism with astronomy and harmonics in their structuring the signs of the zodiac and sound. The same structuring is used by B.A. Kellum (1990) in his interpretation of the sculptural program of the *aedes Concordiae Augustae* (fig. 3.13):

It is not just individual zodiacal signs but the relationships between them that are of central importance in the astrological system. The most powerful of these groupings is the trigon, formed by drawing equilateral triangles between signs (Manil. Astron. 2.270ff.). When judged by the principles of Manilius' schema, the paired statues on the main bases of the Temple of Concordia Augusta are each partners in a distinctive trigon: Vesta rules Capricorn, Ceres, and Virgo, and Capricorn and Virgo are in the same trigon; Mars rules Scorpio, Mercury, and Cancer, and Scorpio and Cancer are members of another trigon; Juno rules Aquarius, Apollo, and Gemini, and Aquarius and Gemini are members of the third trigon. Significantly, Manilius points out that relations within a trigon were not always untroubled, but ultimately harmony prevailed and balance was maintained. On many levels, then, the pairings of Juno and Apollo, Mars and Mercury, and Vesta and Ceres in the temple would have served to represent the newly harmonious world order of Concordia Augusta. (Kellum 1990: 294-295)

Vitruvius' dedication of a whole book to the Latin theatre would have indicated his awareness of the key role played by the theatrical edifice in this new world order established under Augustus. Pointing to the fact that the period 70-50 BC had been decisive both for the formation of Vitruvius and for the research and experimentation that would finally produce the unitary and monumental theatre building, Gros (1994: 73, 65) sees it as a possibility that the *signifer circulus* formula may have had a more direct application on the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre than generally admitted in the 'newly harmonious world order of Concordia Augusta' (Kellum 1990: 295).

Plato knew of the discovery of the regular solids made by the Pythagoreans and of the possibility of combining them with the elements of Empedocles. He compared the smallest parts of the element earth with the cube, of air with the octahedron, of fire with tetrahedron, and of water with the icosahedron. There is no element that corresponds to the dodecahedron; here Plato only says "there was yet a fifth combination which God used in the delineation of the universe. (Heisenberg 2000:33)



TRIGONS

1. Aries (♈), Leo (♌), Sagittarius (♐).
2. Taurus (♉), Virgo (♍), Capricorn (♑).
3. Gemini (♊), Libra (♎), Aquarius (♒).
4. Cancer (♋), Scorpio (♏), Pisces (♓).

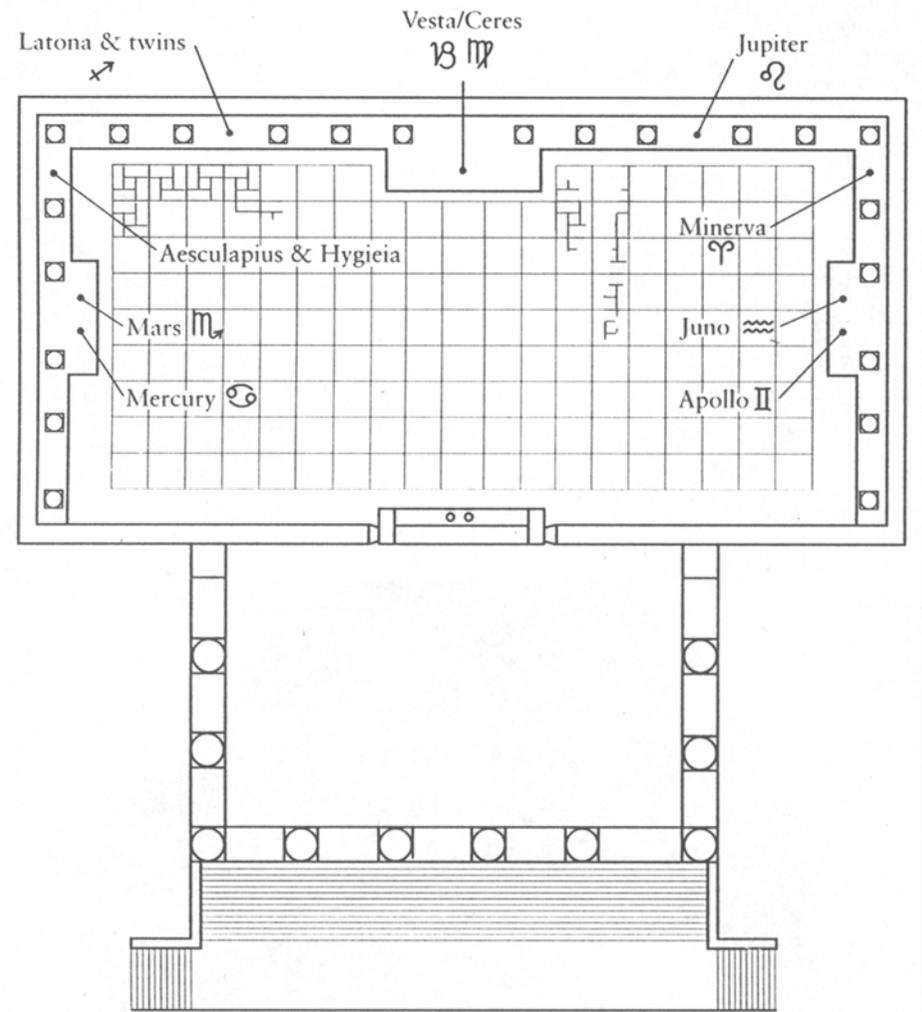


Figure 3.13 The 'trigons' of the zodiac according to Manilius (left) and the reconstruction of the statuary program at the *aedes Concordiae Augustae* by B.A. Kellum (1990) (right) (Kellum 1990: 306-7)

Although the theatre defined by Vitruvius was not properly inscribed inside a circle, all its constituent elements were defined with respect to the tangent points of an inscribed dodecagon. This reveals the basic character of the Vitruvian scheme as an abstract layout that defined the position of the components of the Latin theatre in structural relation with each other, as in and between the trigons forming the zodiacal circle. In his fifth book largely devoted to theatres, Vitruvius additionally demonstrates the convenience of his scheme for the necessities of a physical phenomenon such as sound, whose structure was analogous to that of the signs of the zodiac. The Vitruvian theatre had the same structure as the celestial sphere and the sounds. The *curvatura theatri* was later expanded in a metaphoric form over the city plan to accomplish the harmoniously deployed 'beautiful urban landscape' that opened before the eyes of the Hellenistic architects, as described by Gros (1994: 65). Such congruence of architecture, astronomy, geometry, harmonics, logic, mathematics, philosophy, and physics is reminiscent of the generically shared structure of the human mind in which the *structuralistes* assume to be rooted a plurality of formally similar structures of culture, which would explain, at least partially, the ongoing appeal of the Vitruvian layout for the Latin theatre.

Any attempt at grasping the source of such an appeal would lead us to the general nature of explanation and of causation as explained by Gellner (1982: 99), who names two main conceptions of causation in explanations of the regularities that reveal at the phenomenal level in the world we inhabit: 'emanation' and 'covering law', which are parallel in their mutual presumption of a permanent core or 'another' reality beyond surface phenomena. In the case of ancient theatre architecture or other cultural products, we are in one region in which such an independently-existing 'other' reality that is somehow responsible for surface phenomena really *is* known to exist—namely, the area of human performance—which renders it legitimate to assume '*that there is a system and that what it emits or generates satisfies a range defined by certain norms.*' (Gellner 1982: 103) The 'covering law' view of causation '*amounts to saying that there is no link, no "power" connecting elements in a causal chain, that the only connection is in an extraneous law not intrinsically part of either of the connected events*' (Gellner 1982: 101). Emanationist explanations, including structuralism with and without the French accent, are based on the idea of a deep nature, constitution, structure, or inner essence that is normally (or permanently) hidden from view although the regularities discerned in the phenomena that are open to view emanate or flow from it (Gellner 1982: 99). Any attempt to bind phenomenal regularities under generalisations, including surface classification and prediction, is bound to remain superficial without an understanding of those inner forms (Gellner 1982: 99). On the other hand, their alleged manifestations in the phenomena are the only access to those inner forms, in terms of whose entities and forces is offered an explanation (Gellner 1982: 100, 114).

Very often, this conception of knowledge is also very satisfying morally: Those inner forms tend to be not merely potent in their explanatory force but also gratifying aesthetically and ethically. They reveal a moral as well as an ontological order; in fact these various orders converge. Truth, beauty, and goodness are one. From the point of view of someone interested only in the philosophy of science and explanation of course, this blessed convergence of the axiological and cognitive realms is a kind of optional extra: The emanation view of causation can be held on its own, without these moral and aesthetic overtones or associations. They are not entailed in the emanation view of causation as such. Nevertheless, the elective affinity of these views is relevant to the understanding of the appeal of this vision. (Gellner 1982: 99)

In this way, emanationist explanations provide us with, not only shorthand summaries of surface patterns, but also '*a deep, permanent, morally saturated, and satisfying reality, qualitatively different from and superior to the ephemeral and amoral connections observed on the surface of things.*' (Gellner 1982: 111)

Both the convergence of architecture, astronomy, geometry, harmonics, logic, mathematics, philosophy, and physics in the Vitruvian diagram for the Latin Theatre and the working of the perfection and mysterious interrelations of Pythagorean numbers into the design of the Theatre of the *Asklepieion at Epidaurus* would demonstrate perfectly well the aesthetic and ethical appeal of the inner structure that presumably reveal in the architectural characteristics of the ancient theatre building, as an example of the blessed convergence of the axiological and cognitive realms in emanationist explanations. This line of analysis would lead us to an evaluation of the following comment made by R.V. Schoder (1967) on the Theatre of *Epidaurus* as a manifestation of the fact that his seemingly 'structuralist' approach actually exemplifies what corresponds to 'aesthetic formalism' in the philosophy of art, meaning '*a methodological concern in art studies, a specific conception of an artwork, or a position taken on the theory of value and valuation of an artwork*' (Dzemidok 1993: 185), depending on the context:

True, an observer is not quite aware of all these mathematical correlations in precise equivalents and factors and multiples, but he is aware of the over-all harmonious symmetry, and pleased by it. He enjoys the effect, and enjoys noting intelligence in control of matter, and good taste everywhere evident. As in understanding a painting, so here one discovers the details and complex associations of individual elements only by close-up study and analysis, which seems mechanical and dehumanizing; but this necessary process of factual dissection and part-by-part examination leads to a better aesthetic appreciation also and is the sole means of discovering and adverting to—and thereby enjoying—some facets of the artistic accomplishment. (Schoder 1967: 28-9)

In an article on the achievements and weaknesses of artistic formalism Bohdan Dzemidok (1993: 185) describes 'aesthetic formalism' as a theory according to which the artistic value of an artwork is constituted primarily or exclusively by its formal aspects. These formal aspects may differ depending on whether 'form' is understood as 'opposed to matter', as 'opposed to content', as 'opposed to formlessness', or as 'structure' where structure is constituted by a system of relations, as suggested by the British aesthetician David Pole (1983¹⁴: 81; quoted in Dzemidok 1993: 185). Theoreticians

¹⁴ Pole, David 1983. *Aesthetic, Form and Emotion*. Duckworth, London.

considered to be formalists have used the notion of 'form' primarily to denote '*a certain arrangement of parts, a structure of elements, or a global composition of elements of a work or some other object*' (Dzemidok 1993: 185) and, therefore, in opposition to 'matter' or 'substance'. Therefore, 'aesthetic formalism' is a body of ideas according to which the aesthetic value of natural or manmade objects is determined by its form understood as the perceived overall appearance of the objects or the arrangement, composition, construction of its parts or its 'structure' (Dzemidok 1993: 189).

Dzemidok (1993: 189) traces, at the origin of artistic formalism, a protest against the treatment of works of art as substitutes for politics, morality, or religion, and against their treatment as means of ideological indoctrination as in bourgeois-Victorian expectations from art to enhance the morality of the society, to defend national values, and to advance certain social and political goals. This defence of art's autonomy has had its share in the notion of the uniqueness of individual art forms with the works of renowned theoreticians and critics working in diverse fields, such as Hanslick and Gurney who contributed to a better understanding of the values exclusive to music, which differentiate it from texts, dance or scenic action that sometimes accompany music, or others like Bell, Fry or Witkiewicz whose perceptions, experiences, evaluations and explanations of purely visual—painterly, sculptural, and architectural—values contributed to the understanding of the visual arts in general (Dzemidok 1993: 188-9).

These contributions reveal a dilemma intrinsic in the difficult relation between architecture and geometry, which seems to have an effect on our current state of knowledge on ancient theatre architecture, as exemplified in the reading of '*Pythagorean mysticism (including the fascination with circular forms, not just the use of the Golden Section ratio in the cavea's plan)*' (Schoder 1967: 33) into the architectural characteristics of the Theatre of *Epidaurus*. Against von Gerkan's proposal to separate by several generations the building of the lower and upper sections of the *cavea* and their related structures by proposing a method similar to the one suggested by Lara for the expansion of the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre, some authors including Schoder (1967: 33) and Fossum (1926: 74) have argued for a single architect and a single construction phase most probably in the fourth century BC (except later repairs) on the basis of the unlikelihood that '*two great architects at different times worked on the same structure and followed the same method*' (Fossum 1926: 74), without any need to refer to other types of traces hinting at the construction chronology of the building. This is but one example displaying the importance of the method of analysis in studies on ancient theatre architecture, and justifying the emphasis on methodology in this present study.

The problem with the common use of the 'geometric code' in analyses of ancient theatre architecture may be better understood in terms of the semiotic mechanism described by Eco (1997: 1988) in which 'connotations' of architectural objects rest on the 'denotation' of their primary function. The author

argues that, in an attempt to move architectural objects to their 'connotations', it might be tempting 'to hypothesize for architecture something like the 'double articulation' found in verbal languages, and assume that the most basic level of articulation (that is, the units constituting the 'second' articulation) would be a matter of geometry.' (Eco 1997: 192) This would imply that we perhaps already have a good definition of the rudimentary code of architecture in Euclid's geometry, with the second articulation being based on the Euclidean *stoicheia* (i.e. the 'elements' of classical geometry such as the angle, the straight line, the various curves, the point, etc.) that combine into certain high-level spatial units called *choremes* (i.e. the square, the triangle, the parallelogram, the ellipse, and even rather complicated irregular figures that can be defined with geometric equations of some kinds) belonging to a 'first' articulation, that is, a level at which the units begin to be significant. A third level of articulation is suggested by solid geometry and other articulation possibilities may be assumed to come to light with the recognition of non-Euclidean geometries (Eco 1997: 192).

This geometric 'code clearly underlies the formulations of geometry in the etymological sense of the word (surveying) and other types of 'transcription' of terrain (topographic, geodetic, etc.' (Eco 1997: 192) The same code lies behind some artistic phenomena, including not only abstract, geometric art but also representational art on the premise of the long-held conviction that configurations in the latter can be reduced to a rather complex articulation of primordial geometric elements (Eco 1997: 192). In this way, the analytic possibilities offered by geometry enable a comparison of architectural phenomena with other type of phenomena by describing them in the same terms, as in the comparison of the Vitruvian schemes for Greek and Latin theatres with the 'resolution' of the quadrature of the circle, the *signifer circulus*, the zodiac circle, the layout of the sculptural programme of the *aedes Concordiae Augustae* in Rome, the structure of sounds in harmonics, and the *curvatura theatri* in the ancient urban landscape. This reveals the capability of geometry to serve as a *metalanguage* that might even be identified with a 'gestaltic' code presiding over our perception of all such forms (Eco 1997: 192), as a generically shared structure of the human mind as assumed by *structuralistes*. The problem is, 'the fact that architecture can be described in terms of geometry does not indicate that architecture as such is founded on a geometric code.' (Eco 1997: 192-3) An analogous example comes from language studies wherein the fact that both Chinese and Italian words are articulated in phonemes and, therefore, can be seen as a matter of amplitudes, frequencies, or wave forms does not indicate that 'Chinese and Italian rest on one and the same code; it simply shows that the languages admit of that type of analysis, that for certain purposes they can be reduced to a common system of transcription.' (Eco 1997: 193)

This analogy with language studies would reveal the fact that the specific kind of formalist stance taken in studies on ancient theatre architecture has ironically deprived this field of the key contribution of

artistic formalism in other arts forms—namely, the notion of its ‘uniqueness’ as an art form—due to a similar reduction of ‘architectural code’ to ‘geometric code’ and ‘architectural form’ to ‘structure’ as defined opposed to ‘matter’ or ‘substance’. Gros (1994: 68) observes that Vitruvius himself noticed the problem and tried to establish a more direct relation between his abstract ‘geometric assembly’, characterised by the ambiguity of a ‘graphic project’ that does not correspond to the plan of any building (Gros 1994: 58), and the ‘architectural project’, with recommendations for giving up symmetry for the sake of ‘utility’ in steps, curved cross-aisles, their parapets, the passages, stairways, stages, tribunals and the like, which need to have the same size both in a small and a large theatre (Vitruvius V, VI, 7; 1960: 14). In the same paragraph, Vitruvius admits the impossibility of applying the proportional systems he proposes in all theatre constructions. *‘Instead, it is up to the architect to note in which dimensions it will be necessary to pursue symmetry and in which to make adjustments according to the nature of the site or the size of the project.’* (Vitruvius V, VI, 7; 1999: 69, emphasis mine) His advice seems to have been taken, occasionally even at the expense of the characteristic ‘unity’ between the parts of the Roman theatre building especially in the provinces, as evidenced in the adoption of simpler solutions than the one progressively achieved in time through the organisation of the service areas around the stage—namely, the *hyposcaenium*, *postscaenium*, *parascaenia* and the two lateral *basilica*—to unite the stage building to the *cavea* (Frézouls 1979: 146).

In this way, we find in Vitruvius the key for overcoming one of the main points of criticism made against formalism for experiencing and appreciating works of art exclusively as ‘objects in and of themselves’ rather than within a broader artistic and cultural context (Dzemidok 1993: 187). Acknowledgement of the cultural nature of art (and architecture) and the relevance of the historical and social context of its existence, as well as the cognitive significance of artworks beyond their purely aesthetic properties (Dzemidok 1993: 187) may help in overcoming a second point of criticism, this time made against the strong normativistic tendencies of formalism that reveal in its imposition of aesthetic experiences based on formal aspects as the only correct model of art reception and art evaluation (Dzemidok 1993: 191), which seems to explain at least partially the eagerness of archaeologists supplied with Vitruvius’ step-by-step method of design to ‘adjust’ their evidence to the Vitruvian plan, as noted by Small (1983: 55). Going back to the *Medidas del Romano* of Diego de Sagredo, it may be noteworthy to remember within this framework that the word ‘*medidas*’ in the title of the work was intended to mean *‘the standard by which the mistakes that his Spanish contemporaries made in the proportions of their columns must be corrected’* (Rykwert 1996: 56) and reveals the roots of the contemporary perception of the Vitruvian enterprise in the Spanish context.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion: the Problem of Contextualising the Extant Roman Theatre Remains in the Mediterranean Basin

Vitruvius' emphasis on 'site conditions' and 'project size' are meaningfully reminiscent of the variables of 'size', 'time', and 'place', which have been outlined above as introduced by various scholars to come up with an alternative that would have greater explanatory power than the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre, by contextualising ancient theatres as site-specific individual architectural accomplishments. These references help us to realise their almost total absence in the greater part of modern studies on ancient theatre architecture, as clearly illustrated in published drawings that typically represent theatre remains as restituted, as if they had not suffered any alterations and losses in time, and contain very scarce site-specific information on their urban or natural context or the surrounding natural and manmade components.

Negligence, in general, of the project size especially in variations on the Vitruvian scheme for the Latin theatre is all the more surprising in view of the common reliance on spectator capacity of their theatres sometimes as the unique data for population estimates concerning ancient Greek and Roman cities. Among the scholars that take a critical stance against this method is Moretti (1998: 244), who has found in the size of the edifice the firmest evidence for the suggestion that the Theatre of *Argos* in Greece was constructed specifically for the *Nemea* among the four great Panhellenic games celebrated additionally at *Olympia*, *Delphi* and *Isthmia* (Moretti 1993a: 21) which were translated from *Nemea* to *Argos* at a still debated date. Although the edifice was definitely a prestige building used for the *Ecclesiae* of the *Demos*, its seating capacity of 20,000 is too big only for the purpose of local assemblies, competing only with the Theatre of *Dionysus*, which was constructed for the celebrations of Great *Dionysia*, and that of *Megalopolis*, which served as the venue for the federal assembly and communal celebrations of the *Arcadians*. Nevertheless, his counter-example affirms to a correlation between the 'denoted' utility, or function, of ancient theatres in their spatio-temporal context and their 'size', when the religious one is included among their possible functions and contexts.

Among those who adopt the method of estimating the population of a settlement on the basis of the seating capacity of its theatre is Martín Martín-Bueno (1975: 205) who has calculated the seating capacity in the Theatre of *Bilbilis* (fig. A.11) as 6,000 people by allowing 55cm per spectator and argued this figure to represent the size of the urban population during the Imperial Roman period, as they would have occupied $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total number of seats while the remaining seats would have been taken by people coming from the city's hinterland, whose number would have corresponded to the children, elderly and all other urban dwellers that did not attend the spectacles (Martín Bueno 1975: 204-6). Similarly, the population of the city of *Carthago Nova* has been calculated to be between 27,000 and

31,000 citizens by allowing a seat for every 4.5 inhabitants, as suggested by Forni¹⁵ (Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 72-3), in the Theatre that has a seating capacity of some 6,000-7,000 people (fig. A.13), with the resulting figure conforming to the estimation of García y Bellido (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 84).

A more illustrative example comes from *Clunia* (fig. A.15) whose territory reaches up to 130 hectares, according to Pedro de Palol (1978: 21-22), which makes it the largest in whole *Hispania*. It has been impossible so far to trace the corresponding demographic profile, except informed guesses favouring a figure between 60,000 and 30,000 people, in the absence of reliable data on the distribution of public and residential areas with the corresponding plan types. Under these circumstances, the only reliable figure for the estimation of the population size in the territory has been provided by the seating capacity of the Theatre. On the basis of a capacity of 9,144 seats calculated by Forni to be present in its Theatre, the overall population of *Clunian* territory, including suburban villas and peripheral nuclei as well as the urban centre proper, has been calculated as 35,000 inhabitants, using the formula developed by Forni on the basis of the hypothesis that the seating capacity in any ancient theatre would have been equal to 1/4 or 1/5 of the overall population. Parallel application of formulas used for the calculation of the population living in Roman cities of North Africa from their overall area has also produced a figure around 32,000 ha by allowing 250 people per hectare. Although both figures seem reasonable with respect to its overall area of 130 ha, the public buildings so far excavated in *Clunia* fail in harmonising with this population estimate, bringing to minds the possibility that they may have served for the whole region as well, as implied by the theory of Carmen García Merino who considers *Clunia* to be a regional centre (Palol in Beltrán Martínez 1982: 50).

Going one step further, not only the overall population but also the overall area of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) has been calculated on the basis of the seating capacity of its Theatre, which is itself a hypothetical figure based on a theoretical restitution of the *cavea* of the edifice by allowing eight, eleven and fifteen rows to each *maenianum* respectively and 0.55 m for each spectator to obtain the figure of some 6,000 seats in the Theatre, a population of 14,000 citizens in the time of Tiberius and an overall area of 53,65 ha, the latter of which is an insecure figure, according to Beltrán Lloris (1993: 109), due to the reduction of the public areas and an allowance of 300 inhabitants per hectare in the calculation. The method of measuring urban populations through other standard archaeological indices such as theatre sizes, all perimeters, and water supplies, has been criticised by Susan A. Alcock (1993: 96-7) who finds a more reliable means in noting variations in site size on a diachronic basis, through urban or 'large site' survey applied to the entire human landscape including its urban as well as rural components.

¹⁵ Possibly Forni, G. 1968. 'L'intensità della popolazione nella regione augustea del Sannio', *Revista Abruzzo* VII (1) 59ff.

Yet the most speculative exercise in this vein is taken at *Singilia Barba* where the conservation state of the Theatre is as poor as the ancient urban context itself (fig. A.28). While discussing the Jesuit Father Sánchez Sobrino's figures of 4,000-5,000 people for the inner and 8,000 people for the outer circuit of the city walls at *Singilia Barba*, Rafael Atencia Páez (1988: 148) points to the inadequacy of the capacity of its Theatre in providing reliable data on the issue due to its highly deteriorated state. Yet, this observation does not prevent the author from restituting the plan of the edifice as measuring 48 m in overall diameter and consisting of an *ima*, a *media*, and a *summa cavea*, each with five tiers measuring 0.80 m in width and a 1.20 m-wide *praecinct* in-between, which leaves 14.5 m for the *orchestra* diameter (Atencia Páez 1988: 60-1). He then applies the following *formula b* of Forni (1968: 59)¹⁶ to calculate conjecturally the number of spectators according to this restitution:

$$\text{number of seats} = 3.1416 (48^2 - 14.5^2) \times K = 2291.56 \times K$$

$$8 \times 033$$

The value "K" has been taken as 0.9 to indicate that, of the total area of the *cavea*, only 90% would have been occupied by the seats while the rest would have been used for stairs, passages, etc. This reveals the capacity of the Theatre to be 2,242 people. Alternatively Atencia Páez (1988: 148) calculates the seating capacity as 1,600 people by dividing the circumferential length of each step by the space occupied by each person, and then increases the number to 2,000 by supposing the existence of a timber structure over the central part of the *summa cavea*. Both figures are evaluated by the author as being very small when compared to the capacities of 9,000 people at the Theatre of *Clunia* (fig. A.15) and 6,000 people at the Theatres of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) and *Saguntum*, bringing the Theatre of *Singilia Barba* in par with the Theatres of *Regina* and *Pollentia*.

Atencia Páez (1988: 149) explains the large seating capacity of some Theatres in *Hispania* especially in the convention capitals by their role in the Romanising propaganda, gathering in their tiers the inhabitants of large rural territories in their vicinity on certain days. Due to this, the seating capacity of these Theatres would not have been related to the factual population of the cities in most of the cases, constituting a data that should not be misused in calculations of settlement populations. Similarly, while interpreting the presence of a Theatre at *Bilbilis* as an indication of the importance the city had in the past, which is further attested by Pliny's reference to the city as one of the two unique cities that possessed Roman citizenship right in his well-known paragraph on the *conventus* of *Caesar Augusta* (Lostal Pros 1980: 194), Martín Bueno (1975: 238) notes the difference between the grand theatres at *Emerita Augusta* (fig. A.17), *Itálica*, *Clunia* (fig. A.15), or *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) and the less

¹⁶ Forni, G. 1968. 'L'intensità della popolazione nella regione augustea del Sannio', *Revista Abruzzo* VII (1) 59ff.

important ones in *Pollentia*, *Arcóbriga*, *Uxama*, *Toletum*, *Baelo Claudia*, *Regina*, *Acinipo*, *Metellinum*, *Celsa* and *Bilbilis*.

These comments, and the models developed by various authors as alternative to the Vitruvian scheme through the introduction of the variables of 'size', 'time' and 'place', point to the need for abandoning the binary model of classification in studies on ancient theatre architecture, whose invalidity has been tried to be illustrated in the course of this chapter, to shift to a contextual model that would better represent the diversity observed by these and other authors in the architectural characteristics of ancient theatre remains, by enabling the inclusion of each and every concrete detail of the information obtained *in situ* in the provincial context, as suggested by Mariner Bigorra (1982: 17) to combine the 'uniform centralist' and 'heterogeneous regionalist' views of the cultural interaction between Rome and its provinces outlined above. In the following chapter, the seating capacity of the theatres in Roman *Hispania*, which are among the buildings regarded as essential for Classical town and religious life (Fear 2002: 7), would be introduced as a parameter that would 'mirror' the hierarchy of settlements, to develop a model alternative to the binary one, for testing the hypothesis that the 'denoted' utility or function of ancient theatres in their spatio-temporal context would have determined their 'size', which in its turn would have determined their construction technique and material, as in arches whose span is the primary determinant of these aspects. According to this model, provincial capitals such as *Emerita Augusta*, (fig. A.17) regional centres such as *Clunia* (fig. A.15), or *conventus* centres such as *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) may be expected to have large theatres with a *cavea* over manmade subconstruction, in the light of the work of Lourdes Roldán Gómez and his colleagues (Roldán *et al.* 1998a) on construction materials in the Roman *Hispania* who have based their research project on the view that the adoption of certain materials has an apparent significance in the general process of acculturation that would have started fundamentally at the end of the Republican period and commonly referred to as 'Romanisation'. The authors evaluate such a framework to be especially significant in areas such as the present Andalusia where urban and architectural development had already advanced considerably before the advent of the Romans.

This concern with construction methods and techniques leads us back to the evolution of the 'engineering work' in Roman theatre architecture as outlined by Elvira (1992: 18) who argues its problematic to have always remained essentially same: construction of grand inclined surfaces in the forms of oblique strips and location on these of tiers while solving also the problem of access to different levels. Technical possibilities offered various techniques to obtain the desired result, which have been interpreted by J.C. Golvin (1988)¹⁷ as displaying a linear development in his huge volume on

¹⁷ Golvin, J.-G. 1988. *L'Amphithéâtre Romain: Essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions*. Paris.

amphitheatres. As summarised by Elvira (1992: 18, 20), Golvin's thesis is about a gradual transition from a *cavea* that is stuck to the ground to one that combines independence from the ground with solidity and economy in materials. At the beginning of the evolutionary line would have been the *cavea* carved into the living rock and later finished with cut stone blocks or stucco, in a tradition marked off by the ancient Greek theatres. A first step towards independence from the form of the ground would have been taken with the completion of the carved *cavea* with portions of massive concrete or heaps of earth, overlain either by timber banks sustained by posts or covered by concrete occasionally for the installation of tiers. With the discovery of the weakness of heaps of earth to resist heavy rains, the tiers would soon be rearranged over a structure of radial walls with earth infill in-between, which is basically why they were still called 'massive structures'. These consisted either of separate compartments constructed under each *cuneus* in such a way as to allow for passage in between them (*vomitório*), or of two concentric walls linked at intervals by radial walls to produce boxes named as 'caisson' by Golvin. The final step in the evolution was the 'hollow structure' that corresponded to a substitution of these compartments and/or massive boxes by a succession of arches and vaults in such a way as to convert the space below the tiers, which was formerly closed without any means of access, into open circulation space for spectators.

Frézouls (1969: 145) also underlines the probability of inducing a similar progressive development towards a complete independence from the ground in the corpus of the extant ancient theatre remains in Italy, through the addition first of a semicircular crypt over which to accommodate the upper seating rows, as in *Volaterrae* (Volterra, Etruria) or *Faesulae* (Fiesole, Etruria), and then through that of radial chambers for the upper part of the edifice to form a mixed solution with the lower part carved into the natural slope, as in *Iguvium* (Gubbio, Umbria), before reaching the elaborate solution applied in the Theatre of Marcellum in Rome, which consisted of a series of radial chambers connected vertically with staircases and separated horizontally by ambulacra (Frézouls 1982: 375). However, the author notes the large quantity of variations on the intermediary solutions, especially in the few new constructions in Italy dating to the period after the end of the first century AD (Frézouls 1982: 378), while underlining the fact that the construction technique of the Theatre of Marcellum was far from imposing itself universally and is seen, instead, together with solutions involving a single crypt or even complete carving into a natural slope as well as with new experiments (Frézouls 1969: 145). Similarly, despite the absence of any objection so far to Golvin's theory of structural evolution in principle, Elvira (1992: 20) observes, on its practical application, that all the construction techniques outlined by Golvin would have already evolved in Italy by the time of Caesar, from which period date the earliest theatre remains unearthed so far in Hispania, and that those corresponding to earlier stages of the evolutionary line would have stayed in use after the emergence of the subsequent ones and even today the seating rows of open air

theatres are carved into the rock most of the time. Indeed, the earliest-dating theatre raised up on substructures seems to be that at Teano built at the end of the second century BC as part of a sanctuary wherein 'a temple was placed at the back of the cavea.' (Dodge 1999: 212)

The data collected within the scope of the present study supports Elvira's opinion, as would reveal in a comparative evaluation of the maps showing the initial construction dates of ancient theatres in the Iberian Peninsula (fig. A.6) and methods applied in the construction of their *cavea* (fig. A.3). The classification in the latter map follows the evolutionary line of development outlined by Golvin from a *cavea* that is stuck to the ground to one completely independent from it, rather than adopting the quadruple grouping of structural systems proposed in Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (1993: 81) without any notion of 'evolution' while outlining a certain course of 'development'. Here again the first group consists of theatres dating from the end of the second century BC to the third quarter of the first century AD with a *cavea* resting totally on the slope of a hill. In the second group dating to the end of the first century BC are those theatres whose tiers sit on radial walls and vaults that form empty compartments. The characteristic of the examples in the third group from the Augustan era and the first half of the first century AD is their seating over semi-circular galleries or vaulted crypts that may be used for circulation and access to the *cavea*. In a fourth group have been classified the examples dating from the first century AD onwards, whose *cavea* sits, at its two extreme upper ends, over semi-circular galleries separated by radial walls while its central parts extend directly over the natural slope of the hill. Complementary to this grouping is a distinction made between massive or continuous foundation system as opposed to the hollow or discontinuous system formed by caissons or empty compartments. Known to have remained in use up to the end of the Republican period, especially in the construction of large buildings, the former of these systems allowed a great liberty in the distribution of spaces in the plan and also of making modifications afterwards. Because of this reason, it was in common use for the stage buildings of theatres like in the example of the Theatre of *Tarraco*. (Ramallo Asensio *et al.* 1993: 81)

In all, noteworthy is this emphasis on the construction technique, both in the dating by Courtois (1989) of individual theatre remains to argue for the impossibility of tracing an evolutionary development in the various plan schemes adopted for the stage building and especially the *scaenae frons*, and in the argument by Elvira (1992), and implicitly by Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (1993), similarly for the co-existence of various systems for the construction of the *cavea* in Roman theatres, against the idea of an evolutionary development as outlined by Golvin for the structure of Roman amphitheatres. The major difference between Courtois and Elvira, on the other hand, is the latter's argument for the unreliability of the construction technique for the dating of ancient theatre remains. Elvira (1992: 17) observes that the enormous concrete vaults, spacious tiers, or colonnades of ancient performance buildings may give at

first the impression of a repetitive system that would have enabled a correct dating of any edifice in question on the basis of the specific construction details. Yet, a closer inspection would reveal that these immense buildings, which are so similar to one another in general lines, in fact display rather diverse characteristics and, so, a reliable dating would require a stratigraphical rather than a typological analysis. According to the author, one of the essential reasons for such diversity lays in the fact that theatres, and even more amphitheatres and circuses, are essentially 'utilitarian' constructions within the settlement in which they were located. While the capital of a Roman province would build its circus after the latest fashion in Rome, the countrymen would have been crowding over timber tiers at the horse races only a few kilometres away. In this way, Elvira's interpretation of construction methods and techniques applied in performance buildings of the Roman *Hispania* as 'mirroring' the acculturation process the Iberian Peninsula would have undergone in the Roman period seems to 'resolve', by contextualising the existing remains, the presumed opposition between 'form as structure' and 'matter' or 'substance' in formalist approaches to ancient theatre architecture, enabling a return to the initial meaning of *structura* in its semantic history, which is a derivation from the Latin *struere* (to build) that 'was used by Vitruvius and others to refer to the general form of walls or houses put together from "lifeless" material elements.' (Kinser 1981: 73)

In the following chapter, the possibilities offered by this notion of 'structure' will be explored to suggest the 'web' ('network', 'net', 'meander', 'labyrinth', or 'rhizome') as a more powerful classificatory model than the 'tree' for an assessment and restitution of the architectural characteristics of the theatre remains in Roman *Hispania* by taking into consideration Vitruvius' emphasis on 'site conditions' and 'project size', which would imply a shift from a 'formalist' standpoint, whose achievements and weaknesses has been critically evaluated in the course of this chapter, to a 'contextualist' one in the interpretation of ancient theatre remains, as suggested by the already-introduced variables of 'size', 'time', and 'place'.

CHAPTER 4

THE NETWORK OF ANCIENT THEATRES IN MODERN SPAIN

This chapter will offer an attempt at constructing a model for classifying the extant ancient theatre remains in Spain by the 'nature of the site' and 'size of the project', which were suggested by Vitruvius as determining the architectural characteristics of ancient theatre buildings. In order to relate these two variables with the processes of mutual acculturation expressed by the term 'Romanisation' within the context of the region that now corresponds to modern Spain, the chapter has been organised chronologically, to reveal the impact of pre-Roman settlement and building traditions, as well as the various forms 'Romanisation' may have taken in 'time' and 'place', over the architectural characteristics of the Roman theatres in the study area.

A successful example of such an attempt to contextualise architectural objects structurally may be found in Barthes' seminal essay 'The Eiffel Tower'¹. According to Barthes (1997: 176), every visitor to the Tower '*makes structuralism without knowing it*' as

in Paris spread out beneath him, he spontaneously distinguishes separate – because known – points – and yet does not stop linking them, perceiving them within a great functional space; in short, he separates and groups; Paris offers itself to him as an object virtually *prepared*, exposed to the intelligence, but which he must himself construct by a final activity of the mind: nothing less passive than the *overall view* the Tower gives to Paris. This activity of the mind, conveyed by the tourist's modest glance, has a name: decipherment. (Barthes 1997: 176)

It would involve trying to recognise known sites and identify landmarks. Whenever the Arc de Triomphe is not in any view of Paris taken from the Eiffel Tower, its absence would compel the viewer to inspect the panorama once more, to look for this point missing from his 'structure' as his knowledge struggles with his perception. While he tries to locate such particular points in the panorama of Paris, his aerial

¹ "Mr Barthes collaborated with the photographer André Martin to produce *La Tour Eiffel (Paris: Delpire, 1964)*, a book in the series '*Le génie du lieu*.'" (Bryan and Sauer 1973: 203) The essay later appeared in *Structures Implicit and Explicit*, edited by Bryan and Sauer (1973: 162-184), with the translation of Danielle Mihram and another set of illustrations; and then in *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 1979; not reviewed for this study) with the translation of Richard Howard. Citations here are to the reprint of this latter version in Leach (1997) without accompanying visual material.

vision is, in fact, recognising nothing other than a 'nicely connected space' thanks to the *'quite intellectual effort of the eye before an object which requires to be divided up, identified, reattached to memory'* (Barthes 1997: 176). This intellectual character of the panoramic vision is further attested by the phenomenon that perceiving Paris from above is infallibly to imagine a history whose duration itself becomes panoramic. At the level of an average knowledge, four great moments would leap out of the visitor's vision: the prehistory, the Middle Ages, the History of France, and the history which is being made now.

The first, corresponding to a period when Paris was covered by a layer of water, out of which barely emerged a few solid points, would be perceived best from the Tower's first floor where the visitor would be level with the waves, seeing only some scattered islets, the Etoile, the Pantheon, a wooded island which was Montmartre, the towers of Notre-Dame, and the slopes of Mont Valérien, from the heights of which the two upper stories of the Tower would be seen emerging from a liquid base in foggy weather. The second, corresponding to the Middle Ages, would present to the viewer the Notre-Dame, which is not as high as the Invalides, the Pantheon, or the Sacré-Coeur and yet forms with the Eiffel Tower a pair or a symbolic couple articulated on the opposition of the past and the present, which readily reduces Paris to its Tower and its Cathedral. The third moment would correspond to the undifferentiated broad history proceeding from the Monarchy to the Empire, from the Invalides to the Arc de Triomphe, to the History of France, as it is experienced by French schoolchildren. The fourth moment was being made when Barthes wrote his essay in the 1960s when certain modern monuments such as the UNESCO or the Radio-Télévision building had already started to set signs of the future within the space of Paris. Under the gaze from the Eiffel Tower these new materials and forms harmonise with the stones and domes of the past, and Paris *'composes itself like an abstract canvas in which dark oblongs (derived from a very old past) are contiguous with white rectangles of modern architecture.'* (Barthes 1997: 177)

After establishing these points of 'history' and of 'space', the imagination of the viewer would continue filling out the Parisian panorama with certain human functions, 'giving it structure' by rising the enormous lid which covers the private life of millions of human beings and deciphering the 'functions' or 'connections' of the intimacy the city then becomes. These consist of three zones on the great polar axis perpendicular to the horizontal curve of the river—pleasure at the foot of Montmartre at the top; materiality, business, commerce around the Opéra at the centre; and knowledge and study toward the bottom—enveloped by two large zones of habitation from the left and right, and still farther by two wooded strips, Boulogne and Vincennes. The east remains to be the site of poverty as the city develops to the west with the wealth of the fine neighbourhoods, with the Tower seemingly following this movement discreetly by its very implantation, accompanying Paris in this westward shift, and

inviting the city toward its pole of development. The gaze from the Eiffel Tower would, in this way, discreetly fix *'the whole structure—geographical, historical, and social—of Paris space. This deciphering of Paris, performed by the Tower's gaze, is not only an act of the mind, it is also an invitation'* (Barthes 1997: 178)—an invitation to a transition to a knowledge of the city. Echoing the primacy of 'monuments' and 'housing' outlined in the previous chapter after Aldo Rossi as the two main permanencies 'structuring' the European city, tracing Barthes' vivid narrative of the Parisian panorama from the Eiffel Tower on a Paris map would produce a 'network' of monuments and sites that are linked to others in diverse ways.

A gaze at the panorama offered by its 'network' of ancient theatres would similarly reveal four great moments in the Roman past of the Iberian Peninsula: Late Republican, Augustan, Tiberian, and Flavian (fig. A.6). The first one of these moments would take us to the southernmost tip of the Iberian Peninsula that faces Africa along the Gibraltar Straits, around which we would find the Theatres of *Acinipo* (fig. A.7) and *Gades* (A.18), and to the pre-Roman settlement history of the area.

4.1 The Late Republic

As summarised by A.T. Fear (2000: 11), human history began early at the site, with the Rock at Gibraltar being the site of the first Neanderthal finds (c. 60,000 BC). They were preceded by megalithic remains along the Atlantic and southern coasts, the most spectacular of which are located at modern Antequera that was built over the Roman *Sexi* (fig. A.6 and A.27) *'whose sophistication led to theories that they were built by Mycenaean colonists from Greece rather than the native inhabitants of the region. In fact radio-carbon dating shows that the tombs substantially pre-date the Mycenaean world.'* (Fear 2000: 12) In any case, the presence in the Peninsula of Mycenaean pottery sherds dating from around 1,200 BC indicates that the Mycenaean would have been among the foreign cultures, interaction with whom would have led to the emergence of a long-lasting Iberian culture (Fear 2000: 12). Possibly originating in the Berbers of North Africa who would have arrived in Iberia at the end of the Neolithic period (Escacena and Belén 1998: 23), the people who are referred to as 'Iberians' would have inhabited the Mediterranean and south Atlantic coasts of the Peninsula and spoken two distinct but related languages of non-Indo-European origin that still remain undeciphered (Fear 2000: 12). José Luis Escacena and María Belén (1998: 24) trace these 'southern languages', as they call them, in the use of the suffixes *-ipo/-ippo* (as in *Acinipo*, featuring a Late Republican theatre) or *-uba/-oba* (as in *Corduba*, featuring an Augustan theatre). On the other hand, Ptolemy has listed *Acinipo* among five of the cities pertaining to the Celtic *Baeturia* in his *Geography* while Pliny, in a highly contradictory passage that is difficult to interpret geographically, lists two groups of Celtic cities pertaining to *Baeturia*,

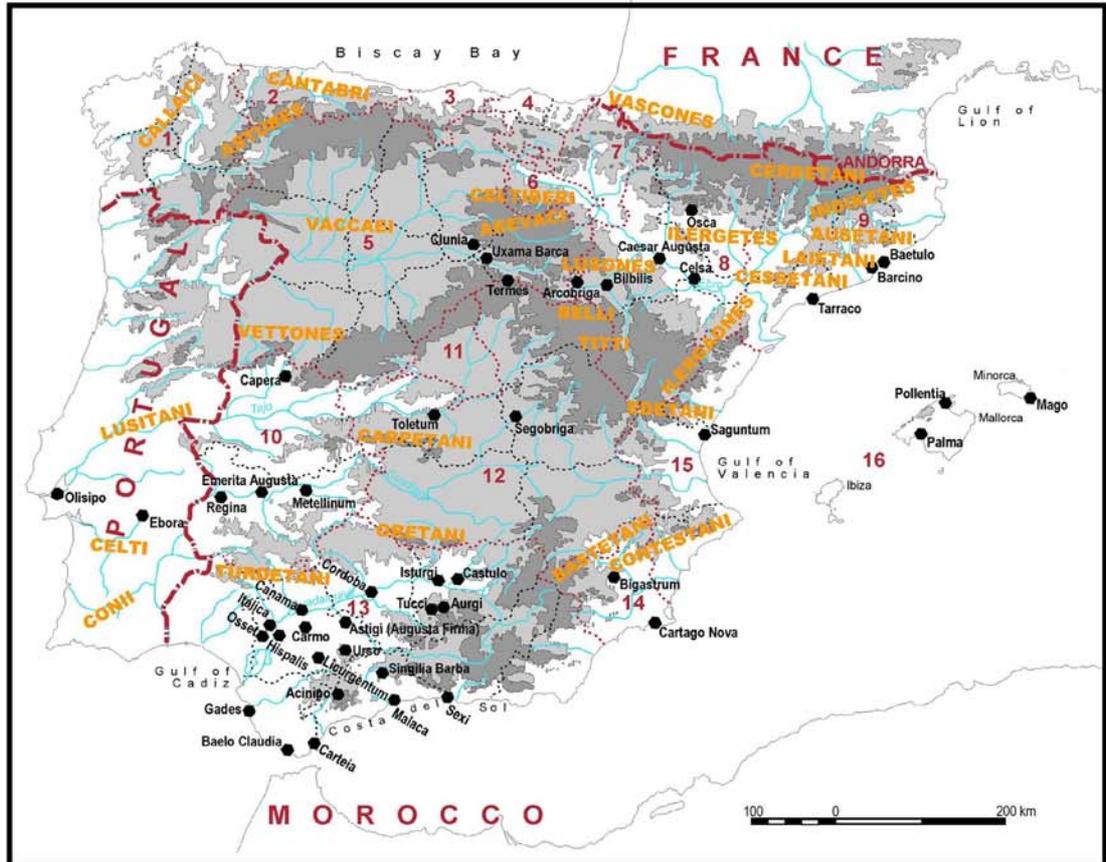


Figure 4.1 Pre-Roman peoples of the Iberian Peninsula (mapped from Keay 1988: 9)

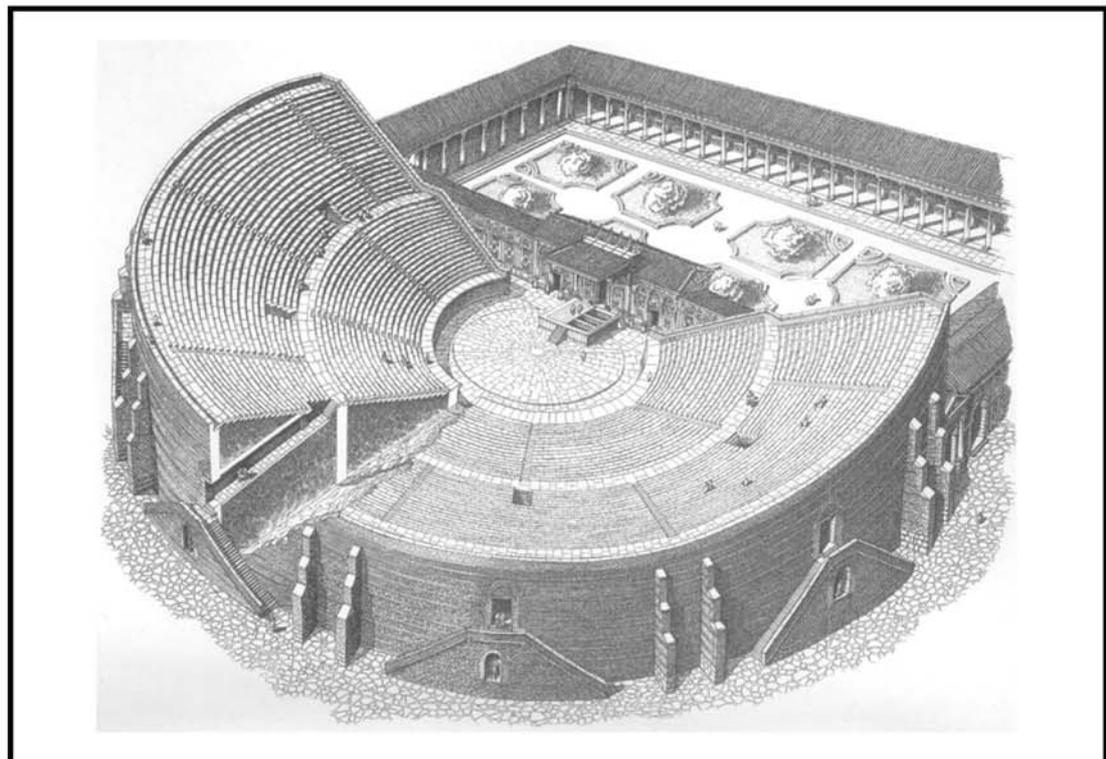


Figure 4.2 The 'Gallo-Roman' type of theatre as represented by the reconstruction of the theatre in Alise Sainte Reine (Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio ©1994/95/96: I, 141)

with *Acinipo* in the second group (del Amo 1982: 215). The north and west of the Iberian Peninsula would have been inhabited by 'Celtic' peoples that would have spoken an Indo-European language while 'Celtiberians' were to be found between the Celts and Iberians on the plateau plains, who are thought to have been a mixture of the two populations (fig. 4.1).

Coming to the area where the oldest-dating Roman theatres of the Iberian Peninsula are located, Fear (2002: 3) suggests that the Guadalquivir valley would have been inhabited by Iberians who were inheritors of a distinct, urban-based culture, commonly referred to as the 'Tartessian', while the uplands to both the north and south were the province of Celtic tribes. The adoption, by indigenous groups, of Celtic culture together with the norms brought by Phoenician and especially Greek colonists is often referred to as 'Iberisation' (Marco Simón 1985: 140), an evidence for which may be found in toponyms such as *Isturgi*, *Aurgi*, or *Astigi* among the places where the presence of Roman theatres are hypothesised either on the basis of the present urban morphology or of epigraphic evidence. The Celtic groups that would have been established in the Guadalquivir valley seem to have been isolated communities (Escacena and Belén 1998: 25), conforming to Millett's (1997: 202) suggestion that the links created by the Mediterranean would have given *'the result that its shores often shared more in common with each other than with 'closer' areas further inland.'*

The 'Tartessian' (Biblical Tarshish) culture of the plains would have developed starting from the mid-eighth century BC under strong Phoenician cultural impact on many economic and/or technological facets of life such as metallurgy, architecture, pottery, or agricultural activities, as a result of Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean. Archaeological evidence for Phoenician presence has revealed at the mouth of the Ebro Valley, which formed the main communication artery with the interior in the northern Iberian Peninsula especially during the sixth century BC (M. Beltrán Lloris 1985: 137), and the Atlantic coasts of Europe and Africa (Escacena and Belén 1998: 24). As argued by Mary Vincent and R.A. Stradling (1995: 30), *'the name "Spain" may well be ultimately derived from the Phoenician word for rabbit; the abundance of this pest in the peninsula is mentioned by the classical geographer Strabo.'* The interaction between the two communities is often referred to as the 'Orientalising period' of Spanish prehistory and consisted of not only commercial exchange, with Phoenician wine and oil, of silver that was extracted by the local Iberian population and worked with methods introduced by the Phoenicians, but also of cultural exchange, including that of religious ideas (Fear 2000: 15-6). As recorded by Strabo (III, 5, 5), the Greek poet Pindar called the Straits of Gibraltar 'Gaditan Gates' (*pilai Gadeirides*) from the name of the first city founded by the Phoenicians as support for an ambitious and definitive connection of the Mediterranean world with the Atlantic, which had enormous consequences for the old Mediterranean cultures and for the lands that were more and more

intensely and distantly treaded with an Atlantic world that was pregnant with possibilities (Roldán *et al.* 1998). Phoenician overseas trade routes are known to have extended as far as Britain in the north particularly for tin (Baird 2000), and to the Canary Islands and along the north-western shore of Africa.

The radiating centre of Phoenician influence would have been the city of *Gadir* that would later become the Roman *Gades*. The city is traditionally known to have been founded by Phoenicians from Tyre in 1100 BC (Blázquez 1976), or 1104 BC (Escacena 1985: 49), after two unsuccessful attempts at establishing a colony on the Hispanic coasts (Escacena 1985: 42). However, José Luis Escacena (1985: 49) would argue these dates to be rather arbitrary as they would have been reconstructed by Greco-Roman literature on the basis of legends and Homeric stories to locate the first Phoenician foundations such as *Gadir* in the era corresponding to the myth of the 'Return of the Heraclides'. The earliest archaeological remains consisting of ceramics suggest an eighth century BC date for the foundation of the most ancient of Phoenician settlements in the west, with the population of *Gadir* establishing its monopoly over the commercial interactions by the indigenous population of the Peninsula from the seventh century BC onwards (Escacena 1985: 51) through the establishment of numerous colonies such as *Malaca* (fig. A.20), *Sexi* (fig. A.27), and *Carteia* (fig. A.14) along the southern Mediterranean coast, in addition to many others along the Atlantic coast and at the mouth of the Guadalete. Also the Roman *Hispalis* (modern Seville) had the Semitic toponym *Spal* from its foundation, reflecting the Phoenician interest in establishing their commercial presence at the ancient mouth of the *Baetis* river (Escacena and Belén 1998: 34). Some authors think ***Carmo*** (modern Carmona) in the lower Guadalquivir valley to be the arrival point of the the Phoenician peasants in the West in search for better living conditions than those prevailing in their native land (Belén Deamos *et al.* 1996: 15).

The prosperous 'Tartessian' period ended towards the end of the sixth century BC as a consequences of a grave economic crisis that affected the whole region and especially the communities who were living on metal extraction, due to the excessive dependence of 'Tartessos' on a commerce controlled by eastern and especially Phoenician traders, which declined considerably after the fall of Tyre to the Assyrians around 575 BC (Belén Deamos *et al.* 1996: 17-8; Escacena and Belén 1998: 26; Ruiz Rodríguez *et al.* 1991: 30). This would have acceletared the autonomous development of the Phoenician colonies in the west, which would have diminished in number although those that survived grew in size and fell increasingly within the ambit of the western Mediterranean's most important Phoenician settlement, Carthage (Fear 2000: 17), consolidating the hegemony of *Gadir* (Escacena and Belén 1998: 26). With its name deriving from the Phoenician word for fortified place (Fear 2000: 13), *Gadir* had already become a flourishing Phoenician trading post by the sixth century BC although its maximum economic development would have started in the fifth century BC, thanks to the activities of a

merchant bourgeoisie that would have maintained close relations with their oriental customs (Escacena 1985: 52). Phoenician would continue to be the most widely-spoken language in the time of Pompey, as recorded by Cicero, while Strabo would still be referring to the inhabitants of *Gades* as 'Phoenicians' (Escacena 1985: 52). As to the Iberian settlements, they seem to have survived the collapse of 'Tartessos', however without achieving political unity, and flourished through the proliferation of small and often heavily fortified hilltop towns in defensive positions. This type of settlements were densest in the southeast of the Peninsula where the high period of Iberian culture is evidenced in these orderly settlements that feature streets of rectangular houses and no significant public buildings (Fear 2000: 17). The forms of control would have varied among these settlements although power seems to have been in the hands of petty kings referred to as *reguli* in Latin sources in general while kings would have given way to ruling aristocratic elites in some areas, as among the Celts of Gaul (Fear 2000: 17). Despite these and other similarities, however, the Celtic sites of the Iberian Peninsula in general, and of its southern part which would later become the Roman province of *Baetica* in particular, have failed so far in providing any evidence of the so-called 'Gallo-Roman' type of theatre (fig. 4.2) which has been interpreted by Frézouls (1969: 151; 1982: 430-3; fig. 2.2) as a Celto-Roman syncretism between the political centres that inherited the tradition of Celtic assemblies located outside the *oppida* and the *urbes* in the little urbanised rural Celtic areas of *Gallia*, which may have existed in other parts of the Empire characterised by a similar population profile. Unlike *Gallia*, where theatres are found in non-urban contexts and appear to have had a religious purpose, 'theatres in *Baetica*, like amphitheatres, are mainly concentrated in the large towns of the province. However, unlike the amphitheatres, they are small in size, markedly so compared to those of southern Gaul, or the larger towns of Africa.' (Fear 2002: 202)

4.1.1 Acinipo

The oldest-dating of these remains belong to the **Theatre of Acinipo** (fig. A.7), which was located in a first century BC Roman foundation over an Iberian urban nucleus that rapidly grew to have 5,000 inhabitants in the High Imperial era. In the absence of stratigraphical material, dating of the edifice has been made largely on the basis of its architectural features. The 'evident austerity and architectonic plainness' of the remains have been interpreted by Mariano del Amo y de la Hera (1982: 230) as an indication of its archaism, which he finds attested also in the technique of carving the greater part of the edifice into the living rock and constructing its superstructure out of the extracted ground material in irregular *opus quadratum* technique. Finding its closest parallel in the Theatre of *Pollentia* (fig. A.23), the author notes this technique as a characteristic feature of Greek and Hellenistic theatres and interprets the Theatre of *Acinipo* as exemplifying the maintenance of this tradition up to the point when, at the mids of the first century BC, the Romans imposed a new system of walled infrastructure to

support the *cavea*. Passing to the stage building, del Amo (1982: 230) finds the closest parallel of the example of *Acinipo* in the Hellenistic stages of the Theatres of *Priene* and *Ephesus* in Asia Minor that are rectangular in plan with a rectilinear *scaenae frons* and colonnade.

The Theatre *Acinipo* constitutes one of the three examples from the Iberian Peninsula featuring the type of stage building that has a rectilinear five-door *scaenae frons* with no niches, which is usually described as characteristic of the so-called local Greco-Roman type of theatres in Asia Minor (Isler 1994/95/96: 120) and generally interpreted within the 'Romanisation and resistance' paradigm, as a survival of the local Hellenistic theatre-building tradition well into the Roman period. A similar explanation would not be valid for the case of *Acinipo*, due to the earlier-noted fact that the presence of Greek trading posts in the Iberian Peninsula since the mid-sixth century BC has left no trace of public buildings, including theatres, apart from an occasional Temple and an open space (Agora) for commercial transactions (Keay 1988: 16). The Theatres of *Baelo Claudia* and *Clunia* (fig. A.15) also have the same type of *scaenae frons*, the former with three doors and the latter with three wide gates, while that of the Theatre of *Italica* (fig. A.19) features three rectilinear niches, two of which flank the slightly larger central one. These constitute four out of eleven Iberian examples the plan of whose stage building could be restituted so far, which is an important ratio. Also important is the later dating of these latter examples, to the Tiberian (*Clunia* and *Italica*) and Claudian (*Baelo Claudia*) periods, which attests continuity in the employment of this type of stage building in this geography from the earliest example at *Acinipo* onwards.

Construction details, such as the *vousoir* at which the vault over the *aditus maximi* terminates or the the arches over the stage doors and the cubicle at the north of the *hyposkenion*, were, on the other hand, widely used in Sicilian and South Italian examples like the Theatre of *Segesta*, possibly hinting at an imitation of older models in both cases or a Sicilian origin for the architect of the later Theatre of *Acinipo* (del Amo 1982: 231). All together, these observations have led to a Caesarian dating for the Theatre of *Acinipo*, around 60-50 BC (del Amo 1982: 232), although Lara's (1992) insistence on the Vitruvian conception of the edifice would imply, according to Beltrán Lloris (1993: 108), a much later initial construction. According to yet another interpretation, the architectural characteristics of the Theatre of *Acinipo* are much different from those outlined by Vitruvius in his *Ten Books on Architecture*, displaying a singularity that is best explained by the inclined plain of the meseta (Fernández-Baca Casares and Martín Alafont 1993: 199). Beltrán Lloris's (1993: 108) interpretation, on the other hand, appears to disregard the earlier-noted fact that Vitruvius wrote his *Ten Books on Architecture* after having served in Spain under Caesar (Onions 1988: 33). Relevant in this regard may be the observation that the earliest-dating two theatres of the Iberian Peninsula are located in a region marked by the personal presence of Caesar, in cities that have preserved their pre-Roman names of Iberian

(i.e. *Acinipo*) or Phoenician (i.e. *Gades*) origin but this does not indicate the absence of Roman cultural influence.

The walls of Acinippo, the major town of the [Bastetani] region, which does show signs of extensive adoption of Roman practices, appear to have been built in the same style as the Iberian wall at Urso, [fig. A.31] suggesting that the town was a native site at the beginning of the imperial period and gradually developed Roman features when the aristocracy of the town saw the advantages of doing so. (Fear 2002: 263)

4.1.2 Gades

'Towards the middle of the sixth century BC south and eastern Spain experienced profound cultural change. In 535 BC the combined fleets of the Etruscans and Carthaginians defeated the Phocaeans at the battle of Alalia, off the coast of Corsica, definitively breaking their power in the western Mediterranean.' (Keay 1988: 14) Although Greek commercial interests in the western Mediterranean were soon resumed (Keay 1988: 14), before the Punic First War (262 – 242 BC), Carthage had been in control of a maritime empire in the Western Mediterranean for about three centuries, dominating the coasts of North Africa, Spain, Sardinia, and western Sicily, the latter of which was divided between Carthaginians and Greeks (Warmington 1980: 8). Rome was, on the other hand, a land-based power that had slowly advanced to a dominating position in the Italian Peninsula, with few trading interests (Warmington 1980: 8). After Carthage had ceased to be expansive, there was little contact and no evident antagonism between Carthage and Rome, up to the break of the treaty of 348 BC due to an adventuress move by Rome into affairs in Sicily, which was led by a landed aristocracy of an increasingly militarist outlook (Warmington 1980: 8). In the end, Carthage had to surrender Sicily in 242 BC and pay an indemnity to Rome (Warmington 1980: 8). The following Roman seizure of Sardinia in 237 BC forced Carthage to turn its attention to the Iberia to expand its direct control from coastal areas to over more than half of the Peninsula under the command of Hamilcar Barca (Warmington 1980: 8-9). The Roman provinces of Sicily and Sardinia-Corsica, which are the earliest ever established, both date from 227 BC. *'Hamilcar started his campaign from Cadiz, but soon established a new centre of operations at 'the white citadel', perhaps modern Alicante.'* (Fear 2000: 18) After his defeat and drowning outside *Elice* (probably modern Elche) in 229 BC, his place was taken by his son-in-law Hasdrubal who continued the policy of expansion and established a permanent Carthaginian capital on the Iberian Peninsula at *Quart Hadasht* that was to become the Roman *Carthago Nova* (modern Cartagena).

Suitably-placed for contact with African Carthage, which would have made it a primary target in the strategy of the Scipio brothers to control this vital link between Hannibal and his supply bases in *Hispania* during the Second Punic War (Richardson 1998: 17, 27), the site of the ancient city of *Carthago Nova* was known as one of the best natural ports of the Mediterranean, which consisted of a

lagoon, now filled and overbuilt by modern quarters of Cartagena, protected by an island at its mouth inside a natural bay. By Polybius' time, the island had already been connected to the mainland by a single passage on one side and bridged by an aqueduct on the other (PECS). The settlement history at the site leads back to the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic caves at the mouth of the Port of Cartagena (Ramallo and Ros 1993: 241). An indigenous Iberian population is thought to have settled later in the area where now lies the historic quarter of Cartagena, which has been identified as the *Mastieni* and their settlement as their capital *Massia* or *Mastia* (Llorens Forcada 1994: 13, PECS). Their settlement area revealed material attesting commercial transactions from the fifth century BC onwards (Llorens Forcada 1994: 13-4) especially with Italo-Greek and Punic regions of south Italy and Sicily, in which Punic merchants would have had a great share, at least from the third century BC onwards (Ramallo and Ros 1993: 248). With their earliest relics going back to the ninth century (Rodero Riaza 1985: 218), these commercial relations may explain the strong Carthaginian influence of the city. The easily defensible bay of the city that fits perfectly well into the pattern traditionally recurring in Phoenico-Punic colonies, the silver mines in the vicinity of the area and the salt mines that make the area especially suitable for the development of fishing industries, the fertile field of esparto grass that was used in the production of rigging as well as its strategic location at the limit of the treaties they signed with Rome must have made the spot especially appealing for the Carthaginians, for sometime between 230 BC and 221 BC, the city of *Quart-hadašt* (meaning New City) was founded at this spot by Hasdrubal, which would become the Carthaginian capital in the Iberian Peninsula. In the scarcity of archaeological remains, it could not be clearly attested whether the pre-existing indigenous (i.e. Iberian) settlement was destructed for the construction of the new Punic capital as suggested by Schulten or was simply assimilated as propagated by García y Bellido (Rodero Riaza 1985: 217). '*Cartagena rapidly grew to hold 30,000 inhabitants, many of whom came from a new wave of Punic-speakers, the Blastophoenicians, who arrived from North Africa in the wake of the Barcid conquests.*' (Fear 2000: 20) At the time of the Second Punic War, the city was the richest of all in the Iberian Peninsula (Curchin 1991: 117).

Another settlement selected as a base for Carthaginian military operations through the endowment of powerful defensive structures was the earlier-mentioned *Carmo*, which had by that time become almost entirely Punic because of its five-century-long history of cultural contacts and cross-breeding with the Semitic population, in a peripheral region that enjoyed excellent defensive potential and controlled the roads that traversed it (Escacena and Belén 1998: 27-8). Hasdrubal also tried to ignite himself with the local aristocracy by marrying into the Iberian nobility (Fear 2000: 18), which produced an army of 50,000 men from the local tribesmen, in addition to vast revenues from Iberian silver mines. Taking over the command after the assassination of Hamilcar in 221 BC by an Iberian slave, Hannibal (247-183 BC) laid siege to Rome's ally *Saguntum* in 219 BC and reached as far as Salamanca in the west in

218 BC, marrying an Iberian wife, Imilce, from *Castulo* (Cazlona) in the south (Fear 2000: 20; Vincent and Stradling 1995: 30). Breaking the terms of a pact made with Rome in 226 BC or 225 BC not to proceed beyond the 'Iber' (modern Ebro river) (Curchin 1991: 24; Fear 2000: 20), which is the only one among the rivers of the Iberian Peninsula that both flowed into the Mediterranean and thought to have the length at act as an efficient barrier to a Carthaginian army intending to cross the Pyrenees (Richardson 1998: 22), Hannibal made his famous crossing of the Alps in 218 BC with the idea of defeating Rome on land and in Italy with his new army and with the allegiance of a number of Rome's subjects in Italy, especially in Campania and Samnium (Warmington 1980: 9). Additionally, he made an alliance with Philip V of Macedon in 215 BC (Warmington 1980: 9).

In the meanwhile, Carthaginian influence along the Mediterranean coast had already alarmed the initially Phocaeen colony of *Massalia* (modern Marsellies), on whom Rome relied for support against the Celts of Gaul (Fear 2000: 20), and its colonies such as *Ampurias*, which had signed a treaty with Rome in an attempt to ensure secure land and sea routes between Italy and Iberia (Keay 1988: 25-7). After Hannibal's sack of *Saguntum*, the Roman general *Gneus Cornelius Scipius* had tried to block Carthaginian reinforcements moving towards Italy by disembarking at *Ampurias* in 218 BC and later established a military bridgehead at *Tarraco* (Keay 1988: 27; Richardson 1998: 25-7), which has been traditionally identified with the 'cyclopean' foundation layers of the city walls that are commonly thought to have been constructed by Iberian workers under Roman command (Alföldy 1991: 21; Fear 2000: 21) and an enlargement in the port area (Alföldy 1991: 30). According to Geza Alföldy (1988: 19), going through the process of development from a military basis into a city of political, economic, social, and cultural influence, *Tarraco* would serve as a model for the Romanisation of the Mediterranean. Excavations realised so far have shown the presence of two foci of attention: the military *praesidium* in the higher part of the colony and a residential quarter around the old village where, ages later, the Forum would emerge (Dupré i Raventós 1993: 4). The mid-second century BC walls probably unified these two nuclei (Dupré i Raventós 1993: 4). *A dedicatory inscription discovered in the so-called Minerva Tower of this fortification is the oldest Roman inscription unearthed so far in Hispania and outside of Italy, except a few examples that revealed in a domestic context, while the walls themselves are the most ancient and largest Roman monument in the Iberian Peninsula and the most ancient testimony of the military, political, and urban expansion of Rome outside Italy and the neighbouring islands (Alföldy 1988: 20).* In 217 BC, Scipius defeated a Carthaginian fleet commanded by Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal at the mouth of the Ebro and in 214 BC or 212 BC *Saguntum* was taken back by the Romans (Keay 1988: 27; Curchin 1991: 26). In 210, *Publius Cornelius Scipius* (Scipius Africanus Major), the son and namesaker of the original Roman commander, was sent to *Hispania* as proconsul. With the help of the Iberian *Edentani* of the *Saguntum* area, who sent a mission in 209 BC which he received at *Tarraco* wherein the winter

headquarters of Roman generals in *Hispania* were located (Alföldy 1991: 25), Scipius Africanus Major seized the main Carthaginian base at *Carthago Nova*, defeated the Carthaginians at Baecula in 208 BC and at Ilipa near modern Seville in 206 BC, which marks the end of Carthaginian rule in the Iberian Peninsula (Warmington 1980: 9). In 206 BC, the lands conquered by Rome in the east and south of *Hispania* were converted into a Roman province that would later be divided into two parts in 197 BC, and *Tarraco* served as the capital of this provincial *Hispania citerior* in the period 206-197 BC (Alföldy 1991: 25). A permanent garrison would have been stationed in the city, whose population would have increased little by little in this period (Alföldy 1991: 27). The city of *Gades* where we find one of the two earliest Roman theatres in the Iberian Peninsula was among Rome's major allies in its struggle with the Carthaginians in this period. Geographically, a large proportion of the area where relics of Punic culture appear corresponds with the later Roman judicial *conventus* of *Gades*, 'which may have been drawn up with these cultural regions in mind.' (Fear 2002: 248-9)

After the fall of *Carthago Nova*, Carthaginian forces in the Iberian Peninsula were divided between Mago, another of Hamilcar's sons, at *Gadir*, Hasdrubal Gisgo on the Mediterranean coast, and Hasdrubal Barca near *Castulo* (Keay 1988: 29). A group of representatives from the mercantile class of the city of *Gades* presented themselves to the Romans, promising them integration, with their garrison and fleet, to the Roman cause as the best perspective for their commercial activities with the possibility of integrating in a Mediterranean economy of vast dimensions (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 15). An agreement that would ensure the status of *Gades* as a federal city immune from the territorial contribution paid to Rome was negotiated with L. Marcius Septimus and a pact of *hospitium* was signed by L. Cornelius Lentulus, the praetor in the Peninsula in 205 BC, on the condition put forward by P. Cornelius Scipius for the expulsion of the Carthaginians from the lower Andalusia (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 25). Therefore, when Mago launched an unsuccessful naval attack from his stronghold at *Gades* against *Carthago Nova*, the Gaditans locked him out upon his return (Curchin 1991: 28; Richardson 1998: 35), which led to the expulsion from the city to the Balearic Islands of his remaining forces (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 25), who stole the fabulous riches of the Temple of Heracles in 206 BC (Liv. 28.36.2 in Blázquez 1976). Later in 123 BC, the Roman consul Metellus would be given a command against the foreign pirates probably of Gallic and Sardinian origin in the Balearic Islands where he would found the Latin colonies of ***Palma*** and ***Pollentia*** among the cities where remains from Roman theatres are reported on the island of Mallorca (Curchin 1991: 40)

either along with native inhabitants or in a military camp attached to the native community. Their primary mission was to keep the peace on the island. Balearicus' grand-nephew, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, may have been responsible for founding the city of Pollentis when he introduced additional settlers, Italian veterans, after his victory in the war against Sertorius (80-71 BC). At that time he may have organised the community as a Latin colony. Finally the Emperor Augustus seems to have sent another group of colonists

to the island and elevated the status of Pollentia along with Palma to that of a *colonia civium Romanorum* or a Roman colony. (Pollèntia 2001)

After the leave of Mago, a Roman garrison would have been installed in *Gades*, as could be deduced from the presence in the city of a *praefectus*, for whose removal the Gaditans would appeal to Rome in 199 BC (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 28-9). As a response to his expulsion from *Gades*, Mago decided to meet the overland expedition of Marcius that was backed by the fleet of Lelius and the battle took place on a very windy day that caused a great confusion among the Roman fleet, which is reported by Livy to have taken refuge in the Bay of *Carteia* before following Mago to *Gades* where he fought until the end (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 15-7). This account may be interpreted as an indication of the pro-Roman policy of both the Carteians and the Gaditans who appear to have accepted Roman domination willingly and without resistance (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 17).

An example for continuity in close relations between Rome and *Gades* in the coming years is offered by the distinguished Roman family of the *Fabii*, which was especially linked with the Roman rule over *Hispania* (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 14) in the period of revolts against Rome by the local tribes following the end of Carthaginian rule in the Iberian Peninsula. *Fabius Maximus Aemilianus* is known to have sacrificed to the Hercules of *Gades* in 145 BC before his campaign against the Lusitanians led by Viriathus and *Fabius Cunctator* may have dedicated a temple or trophy to Mars and to Hercules after his victory over the Celts in 121 BC (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 14). Therefore, by that time, the Phoenician Melqart, to whom a Sanctuary had been dedicated in the actual rocky isle of Sancti Petri during the Phoenician foundation of the city, had already been assimilated by Hercules (Escacena 1985: 46). Initially consisting of an open-air altar, the Sanctuary of Melqart would have played an important part in the Phoenician colonisation of the western Mediterranean, benefiting from the offerings made by Tyrean merchants and offering in turn the right of asylum and a link between the commercial establishments in the provinces and the metropolis (Escacena 1985: 47). A global idea on the architecture of the Gaditan Temple that was located at one end of a large open colonnaded patio, with a freestanding altar in front and huge timber roof beams, has been obtained in 'comparison with the temple of Solomon [built between 961 and 922] in Jerusalem, described in detail in the biblical account in the first chapter of the Book of Kings.' (Harrison 1988: 123-5) 'Outside the temple were two bronze pillars, a Punic feature paralleled most famously by the Temple of Jerusalem, itself built by Phoenician craftsmen.' (Fear 2002: 234) The term 'Pillars of Heracles' referring to these architectural components was also used to denote 'the rocks of Gebel Musa and Gibraltar framing the Straits of Gibraltar; or perhaps a pair of small, plain stone columns used as altars inside the temple; or even the imposing pillared façade of the sanctuary.' (Harrison 1988: 125) In the Archaic period, a road led to the Sanctuary through burials on the part of the *Kotinousa* island closer to the *Erytheia* where the early

urban nucleus was located (Escacena 1985: 48). In later periods, three altars were dedicated to Melqart (Tyrean Hercules), Reshef (Egyptian Hercules) and Heracles (Theban Hercules) in three different areas at least up to the Hellenistic period when it seems to have received a covered building (Escacena 1985: 47). Through the ages, the Necropolis extended towards the Sanctuary, up to the shift of the urban nucleus from *Erytheia* to *Kotinousa* with the construction of the new Roman city, over which lies medieval levels that extended further to the south-east up to the so-called 'Puertas de Tierra' (Escacena 1985: 47). These descriptions would give an idea about the ancient topography of modern Cádiz (fig. A.18). An archipelago close to the mainland was the standard choice for Phoenicians settlements all around the Mediterranean (Escacena 1985: 42), which consisted, in the case of Cádiz, of a smaller island that enlarged in time by silting and joined to the mainland by a bridge, and a larger long island that is now a peninsula (Blázquez 1976).

Like Cadiz, the new [Phoenician] foundations were positioned on promontories at river-mouths or on offshore islands. Importantly, such sites did not encroach on the territory of native peoples. While such locations were previously thought to indicate that Punic communities were mere trading posts, more recent archaeological work has revealed that they were permanent settlements. (Fear 2000: 13, 15)

Now built over by later buildings including the eighteenth-century Cathedral whose façade rests on the border of the ancient port, the passage between these two major islands of the archipelago at the mouth of the Guadalete river apparently served as an interior port from the Phoenician period onwards, as in *Motya* in Sicily or Carthage itself, up to its silting in the later ages, perhaps due to an artificial enclosure brought to its east exit towards the Bay (Escacena 1985: 42), in addition to the effect of oceanic currents, tidal flows, and the obstruction of the opening of the Guadalquivir against the flow of the Guadalete (Corzo Sánchez 1991: 79). Additionally, there has always been a second port on the mainland—first the *Portus Menestei* of the Classical sources at Doña Blanca dating to the 775-50 BC and later the Port of Santa María known as the *Portus Gaditanus* in the Antiquity, with the latter joint by the Puerto Real in more recent years (Escacena 1985: 51).

Settlement history of the Gaditan archipelago dates back to the Chalcolithic period and continues with Mousterian and Neolithic remains, about a millennium before the Phoenician establishment of the Sanctuary of Melqart at the closest part to the mainland of the larger island, which was known as *Kotinousa* due to its being covered by wild olive trees (Escacena 1985: 43). The Phoenician settlement was located on the smaller island to the north, which was known as *Erytheia*, *Aphrodisias*, or *Insula Iunosis* (i.e. the Island of Juno) in ancient sources (Escacena 1985: 42-3). In the Late Republican period, the settlement at *Gades* expanded enormously, due to the construction of practically a new city (*Neapolis*), with port and entertainment facilities, promoted principally by Lucius Cornelius Balbus, which resulted in the loss of the whole Archaic Necropolis (Escacena 1985: 47). In conformity with the

dipolis model best exemplified in the plural form of the name of *Emporiae* and by the title *Gemella* in *Tucci* and *Astigi* (Bendala Galán 1990: 34-6) wherein a new Roman settlement called *Didyme* (*Gemella*) is founded alongside a pre-existing native town (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 268), the Roman colony of Balbus formed a 'double community' with the pre-existing Phoenician colony, over a 81 ha. site between the actual 'La Caleta' and the El Pópulo district in the south of the canal up to the unbuilt land left around the Temple of Kronos in the western end (Corzo Sánchez 1991: 82; Keay 1998: 68; Bendala Galán 1990: 36). The population of this new city would have consisted not only of Roman settlers but also of an important Jewish community as well as many Greeks and Syrians attracted by the commercial and financial possibilities offered by the city (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 269). Referring to *Gades* as the biggest city of the Roman world, by which he possibly meant the western half of the Empire without taking into consideration the huge Hellenistic metropolises of the East, Strabo reports the population living in the *dipolis* (*Διδύμη*) on the two islands to be no inferior than that of any other city of the Empire except Rome itself, with the 500 Gaditans of equestrian rank superable only by *Patavium* (modern Padua) in Italy (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 268-9). This figure would have corresponded to a population of some 70,000 people, part of which would have lived on boats over the sea (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 269-70). The third island of the archipelago, the actual San Fernando that corresponded to the ancient Island of León, was named as 'antipolis' by Strabo due to its depopulated character in opposition to the 'dipolis' (*didyma*) formed by the Phoenician and Roman colonies (Corzo Sánchez 1991: 83).

Totally built up by later buildings, the most notable remains from the Roman *Neapolis* at *Gades* include those over a complex of platforms stepped along the port towards the canal in the New Cathedral and Episcopal Palace area, and the trace of the Amphitheatre preserved in the alignment of certain streets in the east part of the city and traditionally considered to have been demounted in the Middle Ages for the construction of a Villa. The excavated remains have revealed the picture of a carefully planned layout in the spirit of the great Hellenistic metropolises, which apparently consisted of multi-storey housing quarters that were a typical feature of Punic and Phoenician cities referred to by Poseidonios in the second century AD to make the best use out of the limited buildable area (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 269; Fear 2002: 233). In addition to the Aqueduct noted by Islamic and seventeenth-century writers (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 202), the **Theatre of Gades** is the only monumental structure unearthed so far of this expansion (Cepas Palanca 1997: 215). The building occupies a convenient position within the *Neapolis*, over the border of the canal and close to the city entrance, now surrounded by monuments from different periods that establish the continuity in the urban history of the site (fig. A.18) (Corzo 1993: 134). The Theatre is the only Roman monument among other constructions of great historical interest, such as the *Alcazaba*, i.e. the Christian and Islamic fortress that later became the *Castillo de*

Guardia Marinas y Observatorio Astronómica from where parted all the scientific expeditions to the Americas; the *Cathedral Vieja* (Old Cathedral) to the west, where Alfonso X has an open sepulchre, which has been the first symbol of the extension of Christianity towards the Ocean, with its clear advocacy by Santa Cruz over the waters; the *Palacio Santa Cruz* or the *Patio Mudéjar*, the *Contaduría Eclesiástica* (Ecclesial Accountant's Office), the house of the *Estopiñanes* and the *Posada* at its centre, which form the most colourful group of architectural relics in Cádiz after the sack of the city by the British in 1596 (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 213).

Excavations at the site of the Theatre so far revealed a tripartite *cavea* resting over vaulted annular galleries over natural rock in its lower and middle part, apparently without any stairways for circulation, while its upper part would have consisted of timber rows mounted directly over radial masonry walls without vaulting and covered with a *toldo* or *velarium* carried by timber posts fitting into postholes in the tiers (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 207-9). The galleries would have served also for the circulation of the public, with their possibly nine or ten *vomitoria* in the passage separating the *media cavea* from the *ima cavea*, to which level would have corresponded also one radial and two annular galleries (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 207-11). Only the one with the smallest radius among these legendary galleries could be entered in the first excavation campaign in 1980, from inside the house of the Estopiñan through a radial vault cutting three annular galleries that are known to start from the level of the *praecinctio* separating the *summa cavea* and the *media cavea*, which implies the possibility that another similar circulation level might have existed below them, and perhaps from an earlier construction stage (Esteban González *et al.* 1993: 155). The vault of the unearthed gallery was out of *opus caementicium* in 30-35 cm deep independent horizontal layers consisting of 85-90 cm long blocks that rest over one another like the stones of an arch instead of benefiting from the plastic quality of concrete to form a continuous bending surface (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 211; 1993: 135). The vault seems to have been constructed over a timber framework in order to form both the seating rows on its surface and the surface of the gallery at the same time (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 211). As reported by Ramón Corzo Sánchez (1989: 212) a similar use of concrete to form large building blocks rather than continuous structural components is well-documented in examples from Tyre and the Phoenician zone of Cyprus, which the author finds noteworthy in the light of the fact that the use of mortar and *opus caementicium* has a Phoenician and a more remote Egyptian origin. Reminding us of the recognition, both by Vitruvius and by Varron, of the Hispanic and Carthaginian origin of the technique of construction with masses of mortar rolled between moulds of timber, the author suggests layering of mortar to be a remotely Oriental technique diffused by the Phoenicians, which, when taken together, would indicate that construction principles of concrete should have been known and easily implemented in the initially Phoenician city of *Gadir* long before the implementation of the Roman Theatre (Corzo Sánchez 1989:

212). On the other hand, the trace of the Theatre presents not only a Roman concept but also a Roman metrology based on the Roman foot (measuring 29.7 cm) that is well-distinguished from the one documented in the renowned Phoenician Necropolis of the city dating to the sixth to third century BC where a unit of 45-50 cm was used (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 212). The Roman foot was used in the width and height of the investigated gallery of the Theatre, and also in the diameter of the edifice (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 212). These have led Corzo Sánchez (1989: 212) to the conclusion that the Theatre of *Gades* would exemplify the employment of the old Phoenician building tradition and techniques to realise a clearly Roman idea and design. The coordination of the two cultures in this way is precisely what represented the *Balbi* in the history of Cádiz (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 212).

According to Ramón Corzo Sánchez (1989: 197), the Late Republican expansion at *Gades* finds its closest parallel in the *Neapolis* designed and constructed at *Italica* by Hadrian to honour his native city by equipping it with the best mode of town-planning, which would later become a task reserved for the emperors. The accomplishments of the *Balbi* in *Gades* anticipate the Italican example by two centuries, apparently in imitation of the enterprise of other grand families in Rome who would later be promoted by Augustus among his most direct collaborators and the example set by Augustus would be followed by other emperors in a policy of winning the people by offering grand edifices of gathering and entertainment (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 197). Juan Francisco Rodríguez Neila (1980: 36-7) interprets the expansion at *Gades* within the framework of Sulla's attempts to refresh the old bonds with cities of the strategically located provinces in the period of Sertorian Wars that take their name from the Quintus Sertorius, who served in *Hispania* in 97 BC. After his quaestorship in Cisalpine Gaul in 91 BC, he joined the democratic camp of Caius Marius and, on his death, followed Lucius Cornelius Cinna in his opposition to the dictatorship of Lucius Cornelius Sulla. Having gone to *Hispania Citerior* in 83 BC as the representative of the democratic party, he expelled the Sullan governor there and, having been obliged to withdraw to Africa in consequence of the advance of the forces of Sulla over the Pyrenees, he carried out a campaign in Mauretania, in which he defeated one of Sulla's generals and captured *Tingis* (modern Tangier). This success won him the support, as the 'new Hannibal', of the Lusitanian and Celtiberian peoples of Iberia who were plundered and oppressed by the Roman generals and governors appointed by Sulla. Sertorius was also in contact with the pirates in the Mediterranean, Mithridates of Pontus, and the insurgent slaves in Italy. Sertorian forces then drove Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, the Roman consul of 80-79 BC who had been sent from Rome specifically against Sertorius, out of Lusitania in *Hispania Ulterior*. During his consulship, Metellus would have founded as a base for his army the settlement of *Caecilia Metellina*, named after him in imitation of the Hellenistic tradition, which would later become the *Colonia Metellina Caecilia* (modern Medellín) at a yet unattested date (García y Bellido 1959: 458-9) and would be embellished by a small Theatre possibly

in the Augustan period (del Amo 1982a: 323-4). By 78 BC, the *foedus* status of *Gades* had been renovated immediately after the retirement of Sulla from the political scene (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 32, 36) and by 77 BC, Sertorius had won over most of the *Hispania Citerior* to his cause and established his capital at *Osca* (modern Huesca) (Keay 1988: 42) where he also founded a school for the education of the children of the prominent native families as part of his Romanisation policy (Bendala Galán 1990: 29). The same year he defeated near *Saguntum* the forces of Pompey the Great, who had been sent from Rome to conquer him. Having asked for reinforcements from Rome, the joint forces managed to wear down Sertorius and his generals, and restore peace in *Citerior* after the assassination of Sertorius in 72 BC (Keay 1988: 43). Part of the harsh revenge visited upon Sertorius' local allies was the sack by Pompey the Great of many cities in *Hispania Citerior*, which included the cities of *Uxama*, *Termes*, *Osca*, and *Clunia* (Keay 1988: 43; Collins 1998: 14; Mozota 1991: 41-2) where later Roman Theatres are either attested in actual remains or hypothesised (fig. A.2). Additionally, Pompey founded in Vasconia to the north the town of *Pompaelo* (modern Pamplona), probably in an attempt to watch over the northern *meseta* communities. According to Bendala Galán (1990: 29), this translation of the internal conflicts of Rome to *Hispaniae* would have forced an incorporation of these provinces into Roman history and culture, favouring Roman foundations in these areas for military and socio-economical objectives.

The arrival of Caius Julius Caesar in *Gades* in 69/68 BC as quaestor with the order of the praetor C. Antistius Vetus (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 17) and his achievements in Galicia and Lusitania as governor in 61 BC (Keay 1988: 44) seems to have won for Caesar the provinces of *Hispania* that would become, in the period 49 BC and 44 BC, the final theatre of the prolonged Civil War between Caesar and Pompey, which stretched from one end of the Roman world to the other (Keay 1988: 44). In his initial visit, Caesar had the opportunity to meet the rich commercial class of *Gades* (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 15, 17) and visit the Sanctuary of Hercules, where he admired a statue of Alexander the Great (Baird 2000) that was possibly erected by *Fabius Maximus*. For the cause of Alexander, the symbolic value of *Gades* was great as the Ocean marked the western limit of his conquests while the Indus marked the eastern limit, a project later adopted by Caesar who therefore made Hercules the divine protector of his conquests in the form of *Hercules Victor*, following a long list of predecessors before him from Sulla onwards, in the same way as Heracles had been a symbol of the Macedonian expansion (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 16). This high symbolic value of the Sanctuary in *Gades* leads Rodríguez Neila (1980: 16) to the suggestion that, although not recorded in ancient literature, Pompey would have visited the Sanctuary sometime during his presence in the Peninsula during the Sertorian campaign (72-71 BC), not only because he was intimately emulating the deeds of Alexander but also had special devotion to the god of the famous 'labours'. In this sense, the *imitatio Alexandri* came to mark in a way his personal

rivalry with Alexander, which also applied to Caesar, with whom the Sanctuary in *Gades* acquired far-reaching importance of great scale (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 16-7). Although the Gaditans were displaying a marked Pompeianism during the Sertorian wars, providing men and money to the cause of Pompey, his interest in the Sanctuary of *Gades* won Caesar the support of a merchant and aristocratic class in *Gades* who had among them the members of the Temple, to which Caesar restored the treasure and decorations transported from the Temple to the city of *Gades* in 49 BC with the order of Pompey's general Accius Varro (Blázquez 1976; Rodríguez Neila 1980: 19). During the same visit or within the next six years, Caesar may have exceptionally granted the status of *municipium* to *Gades*, that is a recognised community of Roman citizens (Richardson 1998: 119). *Gades* appears to have been among the cities promoted by Caesar to a prestigious status for its definitive integration into the Empire as well as for its political and juridical 'Romanisation' with the aim of consolidating the 'urban structure' emerging on the Iberian Peninsula under the Roman rule (Bendala Galán 1990: 30).

The Pompeianism of *Hispania Ulterior* is traditionally explained as an effect of the client kings of Pompey as in the case of a group of citizens translated to *Hispalis* who said to have had Pompey in their hands (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 25). Caesar came to *Hispania* after the elections of 46 BC to put an end to the struggle with Pompey (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 24) and forced the squadron of Varo to take refuge in *Carteia* when pursued by Caesar's ships under Caius Didius in 46 BC (Fernández-Chicarro 1976). After the defeat at Munda in 45 BC, Cn. Pompeius, the elder son of Pompey the Great, embarked in the same port, although the partisans of Caesar in *Carteia* compelled him to leave the city (Fernández-Chicarro 1976). Surrendering to his younger brother Sextus Pompeius who returned to *Baetica* on his death (Fernández-Chicarro 1976), *Carteia* became 'one of the last refuges of the supporters of Pompey in Spain in 45 BC' (Collins 1998: 106). A bloody battle took place between the Caesareans and the Pompeians when *Carteia* closed its doors to the Caesareans, with the help of 20 warships sent by Pompey to this typically Pompeian city, as reported in the *Bellum Hispaniense* (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 25). In 44 BC, M. Emilius Lepidus was sent to *Hispania Citerior* and C. Asinon Polion to *Ulterior* to fight against Sextus, who defeated the latter and went to *Carteia* after receiving the news of Caesar's assassination, in order to prepare an army against Antony, according to Cicero (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 25). Hence, *Carteia* served once more as the base for the Pompeians under the control of Sextus, up to the peace he made with Antony towards the end of 44 BC before Octavian took control of the city in 40 BC, while *Gades* remained dominated by the Caesareans due to the predicament Balbus the Younger had there as the questor of Asinon Polion, of whom the latter wrote to Cicero from Cordoba as 'the most Caesarean of all men' (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 25-7).

Balbus the Younger came from the Latin-speaking equestrian *Balbii* of *Gades*, possibly of Iberian or Phoenician origin (Thouvenot 1940: 216), among the aristocratic families met by Caesar during his visit to in *Gades* in 69/68 BC, and was the niece of Lucius Cornelius Balbus (i.e. Balbus the Elder), Caesar's banker in Rome who had received Roman citizenship from Pompey the Great in 72 BC by the *Lex Gellia Cornelia* as a reward for his exceptional services during the Sertorian Wars and was later named *praefectus fabrum* in 61 BC (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 105; 1980: 35, 41-2, 55, 170). As an indication of the friendly relation between the Gaditan bourgeoisie and Cicero through the *Balbii* family, in 56 BC, Cicero would prepare his defence for the bestowal of Roman citizenship to Balbus the Elder, which was questioned by the Senate on the basis of whether or not a citizen of a *civitas foederata* such as *Gades* could receive Roman citizenship without losing his rights in his city of origin, since that double citizenship in the sense of the *isopoliteia* of the Greeks that allowed them to be citizens of district localities was not possible during the Republican Roman period (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 105-15; 1980: 46-7, 55; Blázquez 1976). An embassy was sent from *Gades* to Rome on the occasion, to support their fellow citizen, which apparently contributed to the future concession of Roman citizenship to them by Caesar (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 41) in 49 BC (García y Bellido 1988: 332). Caesar bestowed complete Roman *civitas* also to the populations of *Ulía*, *Tarraco* and *Olisipo* in the Iberian Peninsula, which may best be explained by the political transformation taking place at the end of the first century BC that paralleled changes of mentality in the Republican government and the new points of view imposed by Caesar that would transform not only the more and more reduced nucleus of the jealously conservative privileged Roman citizens but also the provincials in a state that expanded more and more every day (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 46, 48-9). As the acceptance by Caesar of people from *Baetica* or *Galia* for state negotiations became an evident everyday matter with this turn of the tide, the once critics of the old idealism of the Republic such as Cicero, who had defended feverously the bestowal of Roman citizenship to Balbus the Elder in 56 BC, would later attack the dictatorship of Caesar in one of his letters dated 46 BC (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 49). Nevertheless, Balbus the Elder would become consular in Rome in 40 BC, which makes him the first consul in Rome from the provinces, and retain to be one of the most influential personalities in *Hispania Ulterior*, thanks to his intimate collaboration with Caesar who especially protected the *Balbii*, to provide their help in his project of translating Rome into an oriental capital, according to Juan Francisco Rodríguez Neila (1973: 11; 1980: 43, 170). As attested in Cicero's letter of 46 BC, Balbus the Elder was already involved in a comprehensive reconstruction of his natal city in that period, which would later be continued by his niece, Balbus the Younger, who became the quaestor of Asinon Polion in 44 BC and was later elected as *quattuorvir* of *Gades* during this year and the next (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 267).

The existence of this office in 43 BC has been interpreted by M^a. Paz García y Bellido (1988: 332) as a testimony of the fact that by that time the city of *Gades* had already been made a *municipium*, perhaps by Caesar himself before his murder in 44 BC. During the lifetime of Augustus, Roman citizenship would be extended to the whole inhabitants of *Gades*, which would be impossible before converting the city into the Roman colony of *Augusta Urbs Iulia Gaditana* (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 45, 51; García y Bellido 1988: 333) at a yet unattested date. In this way, *Gades* would highlight a peculiarity of *Baetica* within the Roman Empire where Semitic cultural components were substituted with the genuinely Roman ones without any intermediary stages (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 157). The coinage of *Gades* 'still bore legends in neo-Punic, and the huge temple of Hercules, in fact a syncretized version of the Punic god Melqart, continued to hold its rites in ancestral fashion throughout the Imperial period.' (Fear 2000: 28) Additionally, the neo-Punic design of the Temple would have survived into the Late Empire, given the Punic rites of the priests (Fear 2002: 193). 'The presence of rock-cut tombs found in a cemetery located just outside the town and used until at least the first century AD suggests that Punic funerary customs also continued into the early imperial period at *Gades*.' (Fear 2002: 234) These examples support Fear's (2002: 247-8) observation that Punic culture would have survived mainly in non-administrative spheres of life in the Iberian Peninsula, such as religion, although some cities such as *Gades*, *Malaca*, or *Sexi* are reported by Strabo to have retained their Punic appearance under the Early Empire.

Abusing his privileged position, Balbus is reported by contemporaries to have seated, unconventionally, an excessive number of knights/horsemen and the comic actor Herennius Gallus in one of the reserved seats in the Theatre during the comic presentations in last day of the municipal elections possibly in 44 BC (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 53; Corzo Sánchez 1989: 198). The next year, the premier was made, presumably in the Theatre of *Gades*, of the tragedy titled *Iter* (meaning 'mission') composed in Latin by Balbus the Younger partly by narrating certain deeds in his eventful life, which would indicate that the majority of the spectators comprehended the language of Virgil (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 282-3; 1980: 42). In this way, Balbus would have used the theatrical scene to set a heroic image of his own person, as Pompey did earlier at *Mytilene* and Mithridates at *Pergamum* (Gros 1990: 382). These two literally-documented events make the Theatre of *Gades* the unique example of its kind in *Hispania* on which there exists literary references that allow for an association of the monument with some of the most remarkable personalities in Roman history (Corzo Sánchez 1993: 134). Additionally, literary sources confirm to the early date attested for the initial construction of the Theatre of *Gades* on the basis of a topographic reconstruction of the city and the implied construction technique, suggesting a probable date around 46-43 BC (Cepas Palanca 1997: 215), which makes it the oldest-dating Theatre in the Iberian Peninsula (Lorente Enseñat 2000f). Corzo Sánchez (1993: 135) argues that, decades before the comprehensive building programme carried out by Augustus in Rome for remodelling the city as the

new imperial capital, the ideas shaping that programme had been put into practice by Balbus in *Gades* where the Theatre stood as a symbol of the new imperial mentality, gaining, in this way, for *Hispania* the honour of leading the way with such an example that would influence many followers. As a hallmark of the imperial organisation behind its construction, twenty different types of marble have been unearthed during the excavations of the Theatre of *Gades* and identified to have come, not only from local quarries, but also from such distant places as Carrara (Italy), Syria, and Anatolia (Esteban González *et al.* 1993: 155).

After this accomplishment in his native city, Balbus would support the Augustan programme in Rome through the construction of the Theatre of Balbus and the annexed *Crypta Balbi* shown in the *Forma Urbis* and noted by Suetonius and Pliny for its four onyx columns (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 273; Corzo Sánchez 1993: 135; Bieber 1961: 184). This was an honour accorded to him after his triumph over the Garamantes in North Africa in March 19 BC (Blázquez 1976), which was '*a unique distinction for one not born a Roman citizen and an exceptional honour in that thereafter traditional military triumphs were not granted to those outside the imperial family.*' (Beacham 1999: 119) In the past, many generals of the Roman Republic had normally devoted the rewards of a victory to the construction of roads and public monuments (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 273). According to David S. Potter (1999: 9), the example set by the *Balbi* of *Gades* would illustrate '*the openness of the upper class to provincials that enables Rome, alone of the preindustrial empires in this region, to avoid the construction of local dynasties through the regular circulation of governors and to create a competitive atmosphere between cities and within cities, for which the governor was the referee.*' (Potter 1999: 9)

Located in the *Campus Martius*, the Theatre that probably accommodated some 8,000 spectators would be the last public monument erected in Rome by anyone other than the emperor or Senate (often on his behalf) until the city ceased to be an imperial capital (Beacham 1999: 120). Long before the Theatre of Balbus in Rome, Pompey the Great had a Theatre for 17,000 spectators constructed to his name in the *Campus Martius* in 55 BC and Caesar had had the idea of erecting a great theatre resting on the Capitoline hill in such a way as to establish symmetry with his Forum on its opposite side but this latter project for some 20,000 spectators could be realised only by Augustus who bought the required land from private owners and started the construction of the edifice in 24 BC, dedicating it to Marcellus (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 274-5). Almost equidistant from the former two buildings and very near to the Tiber River, the Theatre of Balbus was dedicated in 13 BC, i.e. the same year as the Theatre of Marcellus, but the construction of the monument must have been quite advanced by 17 BC for the documented celebration in it of the Secular Games (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 275). Later a fourth permanent Theatre would be erected in Rome by Trajan, which would be destroyed already during the reign of Hadrian (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 275).

A comparison between the Theatres of *Gades* and of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus in Rome would appear compelling to obtain an idea about the degree of influence on the latter example of the earlier three. However, the Theatre of Balbus appears to have been never excavated systematically and remains from the edifice are limited to scanty segments below the modern urban texture, in addition to the representation in the Severan *Forma Urbis* and various descriptions by ancient writers. Dio Cassius mentions the edifice among the buildings that perished in the fire of AD 80 and apparently restored by Domitian, without, however, any notice of further restorations, in the face of the belief that the building must have stayed in use up to the fourth century AD after successive restorations, while its covered portico is known to have survived up to the sixteenth century and sketched by Giuliano de Sangallo (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 277-8). Nevertheless, such an attempt would lead us to the dividing line between the 'Roman conquest' and 'Romanisation' of the Iberian Peninsula and to the problem of understanding the variety of processes covered by the latter idea in this specific geography, in which the Age of Augustus would have had crucial importance. In this way, we would arrive at the second of the great moments traceable in the panorama of ancient theatres in the Iberian Peninsula.

4.2 The Age of Augustus

Martin Almagro-Gorbea (1988: 114) points to the treaty of 348 BC between Rome and Carthage as a turning point in Iberian history, due to the consequently different courses taken in the northern and southern parts of the Peninsula. While a warrior society appears to have substituted the divinised elites of more ancient Orientalising origin in the northern areas, as a consequence of a novel period of social crisis, Hellenistic influences of the Barcid expansion were strongly felt in the economically, culturally, and demographically more developed Tartessian south where there is '*a noticeable preference for sites to be located at higher elevations near water sources, an important consideration for an urban population. These towns form large nuclei which must have housed substantial populations dependent primarily on agriculture.*' (Escacena and Belén 1998: 31) Mostly fortified in the sixth and fifth centuries BC and continued to be occupied into the Roman period, most of these towns bear a number of features normally associated with urbanisation, such as fortification walls, evidence of long-distance trade, social complexity, and craft specialisation (Downs 1998: 39). However, these settlements should not be conceived of as 'urban' in the Greco-Roman sense, as encouraged by the writings of classical authors such as Livy and Appian that speak of *urbes*, *civitates*, *oppida*, and *poleis* in southern Iberia in the later third and early second centuries BC (Keay 1998: 60). Additionally, there is no clear evidence until the fourth century BC that any of the towns functioned as political capitals (*chef-lieux*), which marks the difference of *Hispania* from some other parts of the Roman Empire such as *Gallia* and

Britannia where the term 'polity' is often used to denote an 'ethnic group' especially when a *civitas* capital has been identified (Downs 1998: 46, 48). Nevertheless there appears to have been tribal differences within the southern region of *Hispania* as well, where the '*Lusitanians are represented as semi-nomadic, supporting themselves by raids on their more settled neighbours in the Baetis valley, whereas the Celtiberians of the northern meseta were living in urban settlements, as were the Iberians of the north-east.*' (Richardson 1998: 76) Roman domination after the Second Punic War in 218 BC would have a unifying effect over these two zones, to result in the Hellenistic acculturation of the Iberian culture through Roman influence exerted mainly through the agency of the Hellenised elites, in the period usually referred to as the first phase of 'Romanisation' in the Iberian Peninsula. Fear (2000: 28, 31) observes that, oddly enough, '*as Rome found the more urbanized Iberians had a familiar social structure, she was inclined to disturb them less than the more unfamiliar groups she found further north and west. Hence, ironically, there are more physical signs of "Romanization" in the less advanced parts of the peninsula than elsewhere.*' Similarly, Keay (1998: 65-7; 1988: 47) suggests, on the basis of available evidence, that Roman influence was far from being significant prior to the middle of the first century BC in *Hispania Ulterior* characterised by centralised Turdetanian settlements (also León 1990: 367), outside Roman centres of power like *Italica* or *Corduba*, as attested in the lack of evidence for the monumentalisation of the public space when compared to that coming from other parts of the Iberian Peninsula from the end of the second century BC, most notably at *Carthago Nova* (modern Cartagena), *Emporion* (modern Empúries), and the Ebro valley. The Augustan period would have been characterised by the generalised infusion of the *civitas* through a systematic policy of urbanisation in the provincial territory, in such a way as to reveal the entire distance that may have existed between the Greek tradition of the city and the Imperial Roman practice (Le Roux 1993: 189).

Hellenistic influences would have already become determinant over the Iberian culture by the time of the Second Punic War, through the domination of the Barcid dynasty that would have transmitted Hellenistic elements assimilated into the contemporary Punic culture and also certain influences from the Ptolemaic Egypt. Highlighting a strong Hellenising tendency in the ancient Punic culture and a truly Hellenistic character under the Barcid dynasty (237-206 BC), Bendala Galán (1990: 26, 29) attributes to the Barcids the first restructuration of part of Iberian territory with Hellenistic criterion, starting from grand urban nuclei or metropolises such as *Carthago Nova* down to other important cities such as *Carteia*, *Hispalis*, and *Carmo* (fig. A.1). At the political level, the Hellenistic elements included the concentration of power in an individual in the manner of the Hellenistic kings, resulting in dynastic tendencies reinforced by marriages for political ends and, more importantly, a hierarchic society also supported by the much older autochthonous tradition of exalting the divinised chief. An example may be found in the iconography of the Barcid coins of the Iberian Peninsula where the portrayal of the

Barcid dynasts with diadem, following the tradition of Alexander the Great, apparently represented their place ideologically-elevated over the Iberian rulers and rules (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 115). In this way, Almagro-Gorbea (1988: 115) attests a double origin for the Imperial Cult in the Iberian Peninsula—namely, the Orientalising Iberian tradition and that influenced by the Hellenistic world. Noteworthy within this framework is the fact highlighted by Thouvenot (1940: 290) that, unlike the provinces of *Galia* and *Tarraconensis*, the cult of Roma and Augustus was never practiced in the province of *Baetica* where devotion to the Roman power was manifested in a more explicit form symbolised by the Emperor himself. Interpreting this as continuation in the Iberian culture of the Barcid tradition attesting the sacred character of royalty well into the Roman period, the author recalls the reception of Scipio as *basileus* long before the divinisation of Augustus on Iberian soil, materialised in his portrayal on coins and the burials of the Scipio family in *Carthago Nova* (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 118). In the aftermath of the fall of *Carthago Nova* to the Romans, Scipio is reported to have returned to *Tarraco* and met here by three chieftains of the important Ilergetes tribe in the lower Ebro valley who ‘not only made an alliance with Scipio, but also acknowledged him in some sense as their king [...] a respect which seems to be modelled on the way in which they had previously regarded Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, in the 220s.’ (Richardson 1998: 33-4) A similar incident would be the divinisation of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius in *Corduba* by crowning him with a victory in a totally Hellenistic theatrical scene in the social context of the local urban elite, in a chain connecting the *fides Iberica* (i.e. the Iberian devotion to their leaders without regard for their own lives) through Scipio, Gracchus, Sertorius, Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus to the Imperial Cult (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 118; Curchin 1991: 43, 162).

In likewise manner, in the foreword of his book on the Imperial Cult in the Iberian Peninsula, Roland Étienne (1958: xi) refers to Dio Cassius’ report of the historical meeting of the Roman Senate on 16th January 27 BC when the Empire was officially founded. In Dio Cassius’ description of the Ampudius representative as devoting himself to the new emperor in the ‘Iberian manner’ that day, Étienne finds a clue for the success of the Imperial propaganda in the West. Accordingly, the author interprets the final adherence of the Iberian Peninsula to the Imperial Cult (*devotus numini maiestatique*), not as a dissolution of the two-century-long Iberian resistance against cultural ‘Romanisation’, but as an homage paid to the Emperor to satisfy deep tendencies already manifest in the Iberian past (Étienne 1958: xi). This interpretation would appear as conflicting with the dominant view in former studies on the subject that the origin of the Imperial Cult ought to be sought in the models offered by the Hellenistic monarchs of the East and transported to the West with the Roman Empire (Étienne 1958: 2). The author criticises this interpretation by noting its lack of a profound analysis of the concepts of ‘East’ and ‘West’, the former of which fails to offer a unity in itself while the latter is hardly more than an abstraction that is confined to Rome and Italy. According to an alternative interpretation, the Imperial Cult would have

originated in Italian traditions, such as the cult of the Lares or that of the *Dea Roma*, and imposed by Rome over its western provinces as a tool of imperialist domination of the conqueror over the conquered (Étienne 1958: 4). Noting the fact that more often than not Roman gods were dressed up like indigenous divinities in the Iberian Peninsula, Étienne (1958: 4) highlights, against this second interpretation, the possibility that the Imperial Cult may have come upon favourable land in this geography, and a mentality ready for reception, which would explain its apparent success.

Passing to the built environment, although he accepts the possibility that the Iberian Imperial Cult may have devolved as much from local, pre-Roman forces as from any outside influences, as argued by Étienne, William E. Mierse (1999: 1967-8) urges the acknowledgement that:

the physical, architectural manifestations that it assumed were ultimately of Greek origin. The earliest altars were out of the old Ionian tradition, which goes back to the archaic period and certainly blossomed with the Hellenistic altars in both the East and the West. Augustus himself seemed to have intentionally promoted the altar as an element in Imperial architectural propaganda. It may simply have been that Asia Minor and the old Hellenistic cities were seen as providing the proper architectural prototypes for the city elites in Tarraco and Baetica to emulate. (Mierse 1999: 167-68)

As an alternative to Mierse's argument that Hellenistic forms of urbanisation would have been introduced into this geography through Imperial Roman agency, Martin Almagro-Gorbea (1988: 121) presents the Imperial Roman as a period unifying different Hellenistic traditions pre-existing in the eastern and southern parts of the Iberian Peninsula, which would have been absorbed into the Hellenistic-Roman tradition characterising the first phase of 'Romanisation'. According to the author, the initial influences of Hellenisation over the Iberian culture would have come with commercial contacts with the Greek East, as in *Ampurias-Emporion*, which appears to have been founded by Phocaeen colonists from *Massalia* (modern Marseilles) and later undergone an urban transformation in the third century BC when its settlement area was enlarged. The enlargement consisted of city walls reinforced by rectangular towers that find their parallel in the fortifications of *Tarraco* and two Sanctuaries dedicated to the popular divinities of Asclepius and Zeus Serapis, the former of which extended over successive terraces. Almagro-Gorbea (1988: 119) explains the similarity between the construction techniques applied in these works and in the more regularly- and orthogonally-laid-out Roman period *Neapolis* of *Ampurias* with Carthaginian agency that would also explain the continuity in the employment of diverse aspects of the Hellenistic tradition in Roman period fortifications of *Ampurias*, *Gerone*, and *Tarraco* that resemble closely the fourth century BC defence works of *Saguntum*, *Ullastret*, and *Tivissa*. In likewise manner, the author traces Hellenistic influences originating from Alexandria in some Roman period burials in the necropolis of *Carmo* which he identifies as of Punic origin (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 117; Bendala Galán 1990: 27). These would have co-existed with the atrium type of Hellenistic-Roman house, with peristyle and mosaics, exemplifying more direct influences of

oriental Hellenism (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 121). The main argument of Almagro-Gorbea (1980: 123-4) is that, the parallel colonial traditions of Phocaean Greek and Punic Barcid cultures, influences from *Magna Graecia* attested through commercial and artistic interactions and through the intermediacy of mercenaries, and finally the Hellenistic-Roman culture of the Imperial Rome would have unified in the Iberian Peninsula under Roman rule, which would explain the rapid assimilation of Iberia by Roman culture. Similarly Simon Keay (1988: 24-5) argues that the multitude of regional pre-Roman cultures in the Iberian Peninsula, which owed their sheer variety and sophistication to varying cultural influences from the south, east, and north, were transformed beyond recognition by the establishment of Roman that united the peoples of Iberia for the first time under a single authority, resulting in a new degree of cultural uniformity at the expense of strong regional differences. As an important difference between Phoenician and Roman colonisation of the Iberian Peninsula, Phoenician and later Punic presence in native Iberian towns had not changed the local language that is accepted to be a fundamental means of trans-generational acculturation indispensable for the acceptance of a new religious structure (Escacena and Belén 1998: 36). Rome had managed to generalise the use of the Latin language in the Peninsula by the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD (Escacena and Belén 1998: 37), which would later provide the base from which the region's romance languages would evolve as a vital intellectual link to the rest of Europe and the Roman rule, by unifying the region into an identifiable unit, would be '*responsible for creating the notion of a Hispanic as opposed to a purely local identity, and in this sense Spain itself can be seen as a Roman invention and Spanish history as having its beginning in the Roman period.*' (Fear 2000: 38) Nevertheless, in places like *Carmona*, Phoenician construction techniques used by local pre-Roman communities would survive down to the Roman period, with the Hellenistic period appearing nothing more than a continuation of the first centuries of the later Iron Age, due to the cultural Hellenisation of the whole Mediterranean from the fifth century BC onwards rather than to the direct impact of the Greek world on southern Iberia (Escacena and Belén 1998: 30). One of those construction techniques would have been the *opus Africanum* construction of walls out of irregular stone courses sandwiched between stone uprights that would stay in use down to the Flavian period (Keay 1988: 136; Mierse 1999: 262). This Phoenician technique that had been developed during the early Iron Age would have come to the Iberian Peninsula with the arrival of the Phoenicians and can be found in the Early Imperial Baetican remains near the Puerta de Sevilla at *Carmona* and the outside wall of the Theatre of *Baelo Claudia* (Mierse 1999: 263, 274).

The linking chain would have been the cities founded (or re-founded) by members of the Barcid dynasty following the Hellenistic princes (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 115) that would have contributed to a gradual evolution, well-documented for the period from the third century BC onwards, towards an orthogonal town plan (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 119-20). These cities are distinguished by the prefix *qart-*

in their name, which comes from the root *krt* meaning 'city', as in the name of the god Melqart meaning 'king of the city' (Harrison 1988: 123) and in the famous Carthage of Africa and *Carthago Nova* (or *Quart-hadašt* meaning 'New City') founded by Hasdrubal in the Iberian Peninsula with a surface area of 80 ha, which was six times larger than *Tarraco*, *Scipionum opus* (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 116), and double in size of the largest indigenous villages known from the Peninsula, such as *Carmo* and *Castulo*. Among other Punic foundations in the Iberian Peninsula were *Cartalia* near *Saguntum*, the *Cartare* Island at the mouth of the *Baetis*, *Carteia* at the Gibraltar Straits where the Roman *Colonia Libertinorum Carteia* would later be founded, and *Cartima* in Celtiberia (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 14).

In the Phoenician homeland in the Levant, there is evidence of city planning in the layout of Byblos as early as 2800 BC. [...] The Phoenicians, therefore, may have brought town planning from the East long before the Romans arrived to provide us with a glib explanation for the planned elements in the Phoenicio-Roman towns of North Africa. Clearly, the Greek colonial origin of the planned town is more complex than it appears, involving traditions in Italy as well as Asia Minor and Phoenicia ... (Ball 2000: 249)

Remarkably enough, Carmen Fernández Ochoa (1992: 14) lists the former Punic sites of *Carmo*, *Carteia*, and *Carthago Nova* in addition to *Hispalis*, where remains have been reported from ancient theatres, among settlements following schemes proper to the Hellenistic world in their urban regulation as native centres for the territorial articulation of the Levantine and southern parts of the Peninsula. The fortifications around these cities have been interpreted by Almagro-Gorbea (1988: 115) as assimilation of Hellenistic defence works into native *oppida*. Additionally constructed were a series of towers popularly known as the *turris Hannibalis*, which were destined for the defence and surveillance of the territory and as a totally Hellenistic communication system, and a series of ports, known as the *portus Hannibalis*, for maritime enterprises (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 115). Additionally, numerous Punic communities mentioned by Strabo appear to have 'resided mainly in certain quarters of Turdetanian settlements, whence they would have controlled commercial activities. This would explain why indigenous mints issued coinages with mainly Punic patterns and legends' (Escacena and Belén 1998: 35) In this way, the Barcids not only secured the territory but also advanced the exploitation of its natural resources, inspiring on the Hellenistic monopoly and techniques of the Ptolemy of Egypt in the working of the mines and applying the highly advanced techniques in agriculture they were used to from North Africa, such as the use of fertilisers in irrigation water known as *plostellum punicum* (Almagro-Gorbea 1988: 116).

These establishments would have co-existed with local communities organised in long- or short-term alliances that may have been controlled either by oligarchies living in semi-urban settlements or by military leaders, depending on the structure of the involved communities (Keay 1988: 15). The larger hill forts along the east coast of the Peninsula were important centres of craft specialisation, such as weaving and the manufacture of iron tools and weapons prior to the second century BC (Keay 1988:

16). The majority of communities of the north-west and northern *meseta*, on the other, had an economy split between exploiting the local metal resources and cattle-raising, and lived in round houses within small, unfortified settlements, with occasional exceptions that had walls around rectangular houses opening onto planned streets (Keay 1988: 21). As these peoples gradually came into contact with the Romans during the second century BC, starting with those living in the central and northern part of the Peninsula who have taken their part in the Classical sources by their prolonged and bitter resistance to Roman control during the second half of the second century BC, their settlements were inevitably fortified with single or double rings of walls employing techniques and planning inspired on the eastern examples (Keay 1988: 22-3). Further to the west where constant tribal warfare had already resulted in a landscape characterised by a myriad of fortified settlements clinging to rocky hilltops and plateaux, the existing defences were extended to enclose large annexes, which apparently managed to resist Roman rule until the end of the first century BC (Keay 1988: 23). In the south, by contrast, a certain *Culchas* is known to have ruled over twenty-eight towns at the time of the establishment of Roman rule in the late third century BC and the 175 or 200 Turdetanian towns mentioned respectively by Pliny and Strabo, the latter of whom never visited the Iberian Peninsula (Downs 1998: 39, 47), '*resemble small city-states with their own agricultural hinterlands.*' (Keay 1988: 18) To establish their control, Roman military commanders are known to have signed treaties with these Turdetanian kings, severing their allegiance to Carthage and later come to use many Turdetanian settlements, which differed from those in the north and east of the Peninsula in having public buildings, as the base of their own 'urban network' (Keay 1988: 18-9). The formation process of such a network would gradually transform the geometry of local and regional settlement systems through a variety of responses to Roman authority and demands, to result in the complete rebuilding of certain sites that best served Rome's interests at the expense of others that were totally abandoned (Keay 2001: 128) while in yet other *oppida* '*the military and political organisation of the region under the Republic ensured the fossilization of the pre-existing territorial order*' (Castro López and Gutiérrez Soler 2001: 150), at least in the upper Guadalquivir valley. Marcelo Castro López and Luis Gutiérrez Soler (2001: 150, 152) take this variety as a warning against the idea of a common Roman policy against native communities and argue for the continued pre-eminence of the *oppida* in the region during the Roman period, as a fortified centre for the residence of elites and the surrounding population engaged in a range of non-agricultural activities, within a largely agrarian landscape centuriated by Rome. Keay (2001: 126, 130) notes that the establishment of Roman rule over the Iberian Peninsula took place in a period of two hundred years when Rome had been transformed into a powerful city-state into a 'structured' imperial system that would mark the distinction of the nature of the Roman presence in Iberia from that of the Phoenicians and Greeks. Leonard A. Curchin (1991: 1) also notes that the

establishment of Roman rule over Spain coincides chronologically with the dividing line between the Republican and Early Imperial periods in ancient Roman history. Therefore, in addition to being the theatre of almost continuous warfare, Iberia was where Rome began to experiment with ways of subjecting conquered and allied peoples to her overall control (Keay 2001: 126). Keay highlights the role of the city-state as fundamental to any understanding of Roman control over provincial communities, such as those in Sicily and Sardinia/Corsica that were largely structured around the pre-existing city-state organisations (Keay 2001: 127). Pointing to the absence of a similar substructure in the Iberian Peninsula, Keay (2001: 127) argues that Rome's only conceivable strategy at this geography was to treat communities that 'resemble' small city-states as if they were city-states, probably in an attempt to build-up a kind of 'confederate network' familiar from Italy. In the absence of a single dominant native centre to be transformed into a base in the Peninsula, Roman power was centred at *Corduba* in *Hispania Ulterior* and at *Carthago Nova*² and *Tarraco* in *Hispania Citerior* (Keay 2001: 127). These would later become provincial capitals after the Augustan re-organisation but, up to that time, 'they should perhaps be regarded as complementary economic and military centres through which Rome articulated her strategies of domination.' (Keay 2001: 127) Apart from these three cities inhabited by Italians and Romans, the only other known Roman foundations in the provinces of *Hispania* prior to the middle of the first century BC were *Italica* (205 BC), the *colonia latina* of *Carteia* (171 BC), *Valentia* (138 BC), *Emporiae* (c. 100 BC), and the *coloniae* of *Metellinum* and *Norba Caesarine* (modern Cáceres), which, according to Keay (2001: 128; 1998: 63) were too distant in time and space to have functioned effectively as a 'network' in a geography where native settlements continued to comprise the overwhelming majority of settlements.

4.2.1 Carteia

Among these establishments, the *Colonia Libertinorum Carteia* (fig. A.14), which was referred to as the *Calpe Carteiam*³ along the *Via Heraklea* or *Via Augusta* in the Roman period (Roldán *et al.* 1998a), was the first Latin colony established outside Italian soil (Roldán *et al.* 1998) little later than those established there in Bologna in 190 BC and in Aquileia in 183 BC (Woods 1967: 6). *Carteia* was an important portuary city within the new Carthaginian 'system', which would have been newly-established in the third century BC through the re-settlement, at the mouth of the Guadarranque and some two kilometres away from the later Roman establishment, of an old Phoenician factory on the Cerro del

² *Carthago Nova* would later become a *conventus* capital in the Flavian period (Collins 1998: 104); then remain in the province of *Tarraconensis* for some time (PECS); and finally become the capital of the province of *Carthaginiensis* after the reorganisation carried out by Diocletian in 287 AD (Collins 1998: 104-5).

³ Originating in the Greek word *kálpe* meaning vase or urn, *Calpe* was the name of the Peñón mountain cited by Cicero as the port in which Balbus the Gaditan sought refuge for three days during a tempest (Roldán *et al.* 1998a).

Prado (Bendala Galán 1990: 27). Thouvenot (1940: 287) identifies the site as that of the ancient city of *Heracleia*. The singularity of its geographic location, along an important coastal road leading from *Málaka* (modern Malaga) to *Gades* (modern Cadiz), with two other roads leading to Seville and Ronda, must have been influential in the choice for the site of *Carteia* for the establishment. According to Titus Livius' much debated version of the foundation of the colony, more than 4,000 *hybridae* born of from Roman soldiers and foreign local women (*peregrinae*), between whom no legal marriage was possible in that period, appealed to the Senate for a city to live in and the Senate established them in a *colonia* with Latin right in *Carteia* next to the Ocean—a status which would be extended to the totality of Hispanic cities only 240 years later, by the Edict of Latinity conceded by Vespasian in AD 73/74 (Roldán *et al.* 1998a; Fear 2002: 36-7). Hence, the problem was that of offering a juridical and economic solution for a notable contingent of individuals born from Roman citizens and women foreign to the Empire (*peregrinae*) far from Rome and from Italy, which personifies an unforeseen and unexpected juridical and political problem raised by the extension of the Empire in the far Hispania at a very early date as a consequence of the definitive war between Rome and the Carthaginians (Roldán *et al.* 1998a). Possibly implying their difficulty in integrating into the indigenous clans of their mothers (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 18), their appeal to the Roman Senate resulted in the incorporation of *Carteia* among the privileged cities of the Empire at the very early date of 171 BC and its distancing from other Hispanic cities of Phoenician-Punic origin that apparently maintained, in general, the status of stipendiary cities inappropriate for any level of citizen rights as subjects for tax payment and other obligations obliged by their condition as defeated cities. As an unprecedented and never repeated case, *Carteia* was better integrated into the structure of the Roman Empire than *Gadir* although the latter benefited from its status of federal city, which used to be admitted by Rome in certain occasions (Roldán *et al.* 1998a; Richardson 1998: 77). In this way, a connection was made for the first time between the *latium* and Roman citizenship, in the sense of the concept of Latinity as a modification or diminution of Roman citizenship (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 18). As such, the utilisation of *Carteia* by Rome as a privileged laboratory for the trial of formulas of integration represents one of the most clear examples of the use made by Rome of the urban organisation extant in *Hispania* and above all in the south of the Peninsula during the initial stages of Roman rule (Roldán *et al.* 1998a; Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 19). The problem remains as to what may have happened to the indigenous local population of the city and their lands after the establishment of a community with Latin right and its integration into the Roman way of life (Presedo Velo *et al.* 1982: 18).

Passing to the urban and architectural milieu, the foundation of the Roman colony in 171 BC apparently did not bring about an immediate reform, at least in those areas that have been studied in detail to attest a clear continuity with the qualitatively much superior anterior Punic phase (Roldán *et al.* 1998a).

A possibly Capitoline Temple built at the end of the second century BC marks an important renovation in the Forum area while a more comprehensive implementation would come only at the end of the Republican and early Augustan era when the early access to the Forum would be definitely covered by a Roman atrium type of dwelling (Roldán *et al.* 1998a). Lourdes Roldán Gómez and his colleagues (1998a) attribute this re-modelling, which took place as part of the general wave of Augustan renovations in the cities of *Hispania*, to possible destruction suffered by the city as a consequence of the help it offered to the side of Pompey the Great during the Civil War. The reconstruction would have made use of the pre-existing town-plan, partly reconstructing and/or enlarging it wherever necessary, inside the city walls with pre-Roman foundations that enclose an area of some 23-30 ha (Roldán *et al.* 1998a; Woods 1967: 7). A quadrangular bastion popularly known as the Carthage Tower (Torre Cartagena) was a Roman addition to the fortifications for the purpose of vigilance and control rather than defence (Roldán *et al.* 1998a: 73). Remains from the **Theatre of Carteia** (fig. A.14) is located some 450 m to the southwest of this structure, in the upper part of the city, and are believed to date from the period when the city was embellished with monumental buildings in the early Augustan period, due to its importance as a centre for fishing and *garum* production and as a port for commercial interchange with North African cities along the route of communication leading to *Gades* (Roldán *et al.* 1998). In the absence of epigraphical documents, an earlier initial construction date has been established for the Theatre on the basis of its architectural characteristics which include the building of its *cavea* largely by carving into the natural rock at its central part, with wings constructed out of fossilised limestone, and the absence of the traditional *pulpitum* of Imperial Roman theatres, with alternating rectangular and semicircular exedras (Roldán *et al.* 1998, 1998a: 178; Lorente Enseñat 2000b). Keay (1998: 68) reports a re-analysis of the Forum, with its Temple, adjacent houses, and the Theatre of *Carteia* (fig. A.14) to have pointed ‘to a mixture of Roman architectural ideas and underlying Punic cultural traditions.’

4.2.2 Carthago Nova

In terms of its *cavea* construction technique, the Theatre of *Carteia* (fig. A.14) finds its closest parallel in the **Theatre of Carthago Nova**, which is also an Augustan construction (figs. A.6, A.13). Remains from the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* are situated on the north-west slope of the Castillo de la Concepción that has traditionally been identified as the Acropolis, which had been continuously inhabited since the fifth century BC until very recently (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 19). The top of the Concepción hill is traditionally thought to have been occupied by a Temple of Asclepius described in detail by Polybius (X, 10, 7), despite the absence of any archaeological evidence, while the numerous architectural remains recovered below the Old Cathedral now forming an architectural complex with the Theatre may have

belonged to a Temple of Augustus. The Theatre was integrated into the rectangular urban grid, which was introduced during a comprehensive urban transformation at the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD, with the width of its *porticus post scaenam* corresponding to an *insula*, as could be judged on the basis of measurements taken around the Forum area downhill to the north (Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 89). Although remaining inside the fortified urban nucleus, in close relation with the civic and religious centres, the Theatre occupies a peripheral position considerably distant from the administrative centre of the city, apparently to benefit from the possibilities offered by the topography of the site (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 60, 117). The *cavea* of the edifice sits, at its two extreme upper ends, over semi-circular galleries separated by radial walls while its central parts rests directly over the natural slope of the hill, which has been taken by the excavators of the monument as a type of construction that was in use from the first century AD onwards, confirming to a Late Republican or early first century AD chronology for its initial construction (Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 81). Other architectonic evidence confirming a similar chronology include the massive or continuous foundation system of the edifice, as different from the hollow or discontinuous system formed by empty compartments, and the technique of facing *opus caementicium* with *opus quadratum* (Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 81). A highly reconstructive restitution of two inscribed panels coming from the Theatre confirm to an Augustan chronology for the edifice as they were dedicated to Caius and Lucius, who were the sons of Marcus Vespasian Agrippa and Julia, the daughter of Augustus (fig. 4.3). Born in 20 and 17 BC respectively, the two boys were adopted by Augustus in 17 BC. After the death of their father in 12 BC, they became the virtual heirs of the Emperor and were designated as his successors in 6 BC, a date which coincides with the ostracism of Tiberius who was voluntarily sent to Rhodes in exile in that same year. Since the younger successor Lucius died in *Massalia* (modern Marseilles) on 20th August AD 2 at the age of nineteen due to external reasons little after he set off Rome towards *Hispania*, the lintel of the east *aditus* dedicated to him enables a dating of the construction before the year AD 2. His brother died two years later in *Lymina* in *Lycia* on 21st February AD 4, after having received the *cursus honorum* of *pontifex* in 6 BC, of *consul designatus* in 5 BC, of *consul* in AD 1, and of *imperator* in AD 3. The mention only of the titles *pontifex* and *consul designatus* in a third inscription from the Theatre implies a construction date between 5 BC and AD 1. (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 131-8)

Additionally, worked on a single marble block in varying dimensions, the capitals belonging to the *scaenae frons* of the building follow the canonical Corinthian order, displaying characteristics of the final years of the Republic and the first years of the Empire, as do the bases and sculptured relieve fragments probably belonging to the *pulpiti frons* (Ramallo *et al.* 1993: 84-7). These components probably constituted the first architectonic programme in marble imported into the Iberian Peninsula from Italic workshops, which would have been made possible by the excellent maritime location of

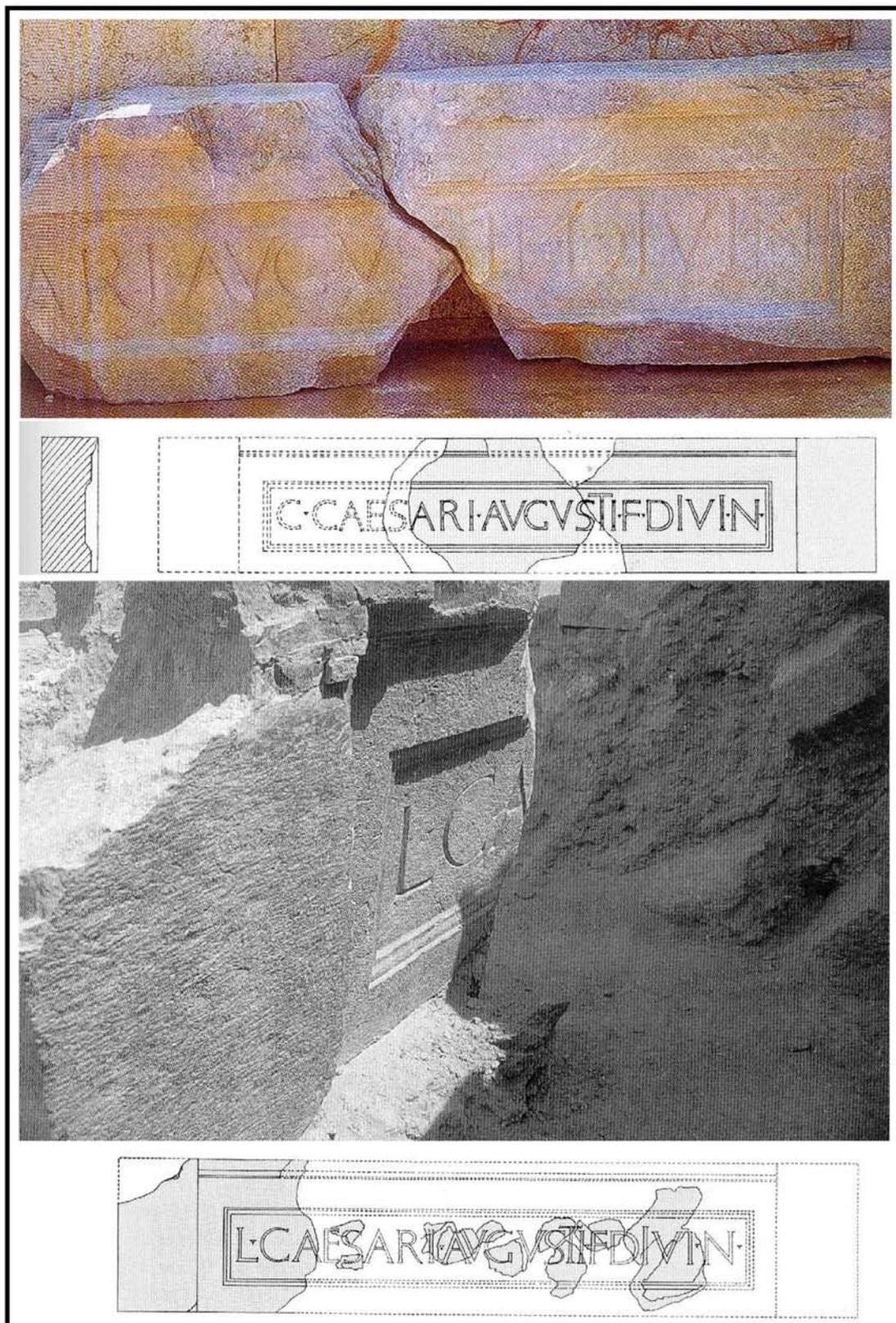


Figure 4.3 Two inscription panels from the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* that establish a connection with the imperial family through Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the two grandsons and adopted heirs of Augustus (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 129-30)

the city (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 164). Contrasting with the local architectonic traditions characterised by the extensive use of the Tuscan and Ionic orders, the architectonic and decorative programme of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* is interpreted by its excavators as an indication of direct involvement by the young Caius, which is argued to be evidenced most clearly in the three cylindrical white marble neo-Attic altars that were endowed by a special religious symbolism (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 139). Worked in a Roman workshop but probably by Greek craftsmen, each one of these altars feature a group of three walking or dancing women that probably belonged to a large catalogue of copies from original Classical and Late-Classical Greek works with Hellenistic interpolations (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 140). A parallel Iberian example comes from the Theatre of *Italica* where cylindrical altars discovered over the *orchestra* depict a Bacchic *thyasos* (fig. A.19) (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 143). Three bird figures on the three altars from *Carthago Nova* representing the Capitoline triad (i.e. the eagle of Zeus/Jupiter, the peacock of Hera/Juno, and the owl of Athena/Minerva) may have alluded allegorically to Augustus and his two heirs, Caius and Lucius, while the possible Temple of Augustus below the Old Cathedral above the Theatre strengthens the connection with the Imperial Cult (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 149). In this way, the extant remains from the Augustan period Theatre of *Carthago Nova* would suggest an intimate link with the imperial family, which would justify the attempt, reported in detail in the previous chapter for a restitution of the edifice according to the Vitruvian recommendations and would find justification in the urban history at the site. As has been noted earlier in the same chapter, the young Octavian is reported by Nicolaus Damascenus to have visited *Carthago Nova* in 45 BC in the company of Agrippa and Caesar (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 138-9) and Vitruvius is known to have written his *Ten Books on Architecture* after having served in Spain under Julius Caesar (Onions 1988: 33) and dedicated it to Augustus.

According to one theory, *Carthago Nova* would have acquired colonial status from Caesar during this visit to become *Colonia Urbs Iulia Nova Carthago*, as attested in an inscription dating to 19-16 BC at the earliest, as a reward for the services of the city to his cause during the period when it was besieged by Gnaeus Pompey in 46 BC during the Civil Wars (Collins 1998: 104). Caesar is thought to have realised a series of coastal colonial foundations during his return trip to Rome after the Battle of Munda, among which may have been *Tarraco* and *Emporiae* (Llorens 1994: 20; confirmed in García y Bellido 1959: 459-60, 467-70). Some others have suggested the year 42 BC as a possible foundation date for the colony at *Carthago Nova* on the basis of some local Latin emissions that may have been issued by Octavian to serve the colonial ideals of his adopted father in *Hispania*, as 42 BC corresponds to the year of Caesar's deification and Octavian's designation as his adoptive son (Llorens 1994: 19-21). In any case, the colonial foundation of *Carthago Nova* should have taken place before 27 BC, since the foundations after this year are known to have received the name *Augusta* instead of *Iulia*, which would

make *Carthago Nova* either a Caesarean or an Augustan colony (Llorens 1994: 23). This event marks the beginning of strong Roman influence in the city, which was superimposed over its strong local character to result in an elimination of the Punic language from local coinage that is now marked with the abbreviation C.V.I.N.K. (i.e. *Colonia Urbs Iula Nova Karthago*) (Llorens 1994: 22, 150). As a physical expression of this influence, the city underwent a vast building and urbanisation programme which resulted in an expansion in the settlement area, through the introduction of formerly unfamiliar Italian atrium type of houses and multi-family dwellings that were frequent in the principal ports of the Mediterranean (Ramallo and Ros 1993: 264, 267), and a tendency for monumentality especially in the newly-built public buildings such as the Theatre (Llorens 1994: 150), in whose construction some scholars argue for the direct involvement of the *patroni* (i.e. members of the imperial family or people very close to them) in the final decades of the first century BC and the early years of the first century AD (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 49). Additionally Mierse (1990: 311) suggests that Augustus may have served as *patronus* for *Carthago Nova* as he did for some veteran colonies in Italy. Important in this regard would be the parallelism, pointed out by Ramallo and Ruiz (1998: 113), between the three Hispanic cities of Semitic origin (i.e. *Gades*, *Malaca*, and *Carthago Nova*) in their programme of monumental renovation, which consisted of theatre buildings as indispensable elements, whose construction involved, more or less directly, notable and influential personalities of the Roman public life who were very close to the Emperor by blood or by friendship. As noted earlier, the Theatre of *Gades* was built by Balbus the Younger, from the *Balbi* family under the personal protection of Caesar, as part of a large programme of urban renovation, probably a few years after the building of the *Urbs* and in similar dimensions. Ramallo and Ruiz (1998: 113) note the similarity of the Theatres of *Malaca* and *Carthago Nova* in the disposition of their *pulpiti frons*, *orchestra* dimensions (around 13.80m), the four-partite division of the *ima cavea*, the three *proedria* tiers around the *orchestra* that are separated from the rest of the tiers by a *balteus* and a wide passage, and the form of the *scaenae frons* with three semicircular exedras.

4.2.3 Malaca

The early Augustan Theatre of *Malaca* (fig. A.20) is located on the western slope of the present Alcazaba hill, on a site that has revealed large quantities of hand-moulded local ceramics, Greek ceramics including a sixth century BC Ionic and a fifth century BC Attic cup, Phoenician ceramics dating to the period extending from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the fifth century BC, chandeliers, and metal objects (Gran Aymerich 1983: 60-2). Greek finds at the site has enabled the dating of Phoenician and Punic material to reveal a stratigraphy starting with the first installations of *Malaka* dating to the first half of the sixth century over the hill and followed by a succession of Phoenician-Punic (early sixth – early fifth century BC), Punic (later fifth – end of third century BC), and Punico-Roman

(end of third – middle of first century BC) layers (Gran Aymerich 1985: 136-7, 140-1). This uninterrupted prosperous settlement sequence was largely due to the extraordinarily favourable location of the city inside a natural bay that opens onto the Guadalmedina river valley and the wide and fertile Guadalhorce plain, the latter of which serves as the major route penetrating into eastern Andalusia that is otherwise isolated from the rest of the southern Peninsula by the Penibética mountain range (Gran Aymerich 1983: 58; 1985: 127). As such, the city lived for and by a cosmopolitan population of foreign merchants, controlling the traffic of the Gibraltar along the route leading from *Carthago Nova* towards *Gades* where there had been the maximum concentration of Semitic colonies and foundations in the west (Gran Aymerich 1985: 146-7).

Very close to the earliest settlement area at the site that leads back to some 4,000 years, traces of early Semitic settlements were located on the Villar hill at the mouth of the Guadalhorce and over the west slopes of the small Gibralfaro rock that presently dominates the coast and controls the whole fertile plain with its medieval fortress at a height of 132 m (Sarria Muñoz 1995: 152; Gran Aymerich 1983: 58; 1985: 134). The abandonment of these coastal settlements in the sixth century BC seemed to have corresponded to the foundation period of the Phoenician colony of *Malaka*, exemplifying the transition from an emporium to a city closely linked to Carthage (Gran Aymerich 1985: 144-5). As a seat of the nascent Carthaginian imperialism that coincided with the end of the Phoenician hegemony in the East after the fall of Tyre in 557 BC and stabilisation of the Phoenician expansion in the West as a reaction to the Phocaeen expansion, the Punic *Malaka* may best be understood in symmetrical opposition to the orthogonally-planned Greek *Mainake* along the same coast, as suggested by Strabo (Gran Aymerich 1985: 129). Adaptation to the configuration of the land was the principal characteristic of the Semitic urban development in early *Malaka*, which expanded in a single direction towards the Guadalmedina river valley from the Alcazaba hill, as different from the typically concentric development in the classical model, and consisted of a 1 ha upper and a 16 ha lower city separated by a main necropolis area (Gran Aymerich 1985: 145-6). While the accentuated Semitic character of ceramic finds dating to the end of the third to the first century BC has been interpreted by Gran Aymerich (1985: 144) as a particular relation between *Malaka* and Carthage and taken to explain the Egyptianising influence that has no parallel elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula, L. Baena del Alcázar (1979: 44 cited in Gran Aymerich 1985: 133) has argued the city to have maintained its Semitic character also under the Roman rule, beneath a 'varnish of Romanisation'. In addition to its Punic name, whose etymology is still being debated, *Malaka* appears to have preserved an urban ensemble of Semitic type in the Roman period, as opposed to the orthogonal plan of the neighbouring city of *Mainake*, at least

⁴ Baena del Alcázar, L. 1979. 'El hábitat fenicio en la provincia de Málaga', *Jábega* 26: 44.

according to Strabo (III, 4, 2) who underlines the importance of the city as a port for Maghribian products (Gran Aymerich 1983: 59). As a treaty town federated with Rome, *Malaca* appears to have been particularly prosperous in the Augustan period, as could be judged from the architectural characteristics of the Early Imperial Theatre, which is unfortunately the single monumental remain dating to the Roman period that revealed so far at the site (Gran Aymerich 1983: 59; Keay 1998: 85; Colins 1998: 175).

The **Theatre of Malaca** is believed to have been constructed in the early years of the principality of Augustus, through a levelling of the Hippodamian urban layout dating to the Early Republican period and a Republican Bath complex pre-existing at the site (Rodríguez Oliva 1993: 189; Sarria Muñoz 1995: 151). Although the building was initially thought to have a tripartite *cavea* built over the natural slope of the modern Alcazaba hill, excavations in 2000 attested the existence of an upper enclosure wall out of polygonal masonry and the absence of a *summa cavea*, resulting in a configuration very similar to that in the above-described Theatre of *Acinipo*, which is also in the province of Málaga (*Andalucía 24 horas* 18.07.2000). This enclosure wall forms the external limit of a 6m-wide corridor that apparently served for the extraction of water flowing down from the upper parts of the hill while also providing access to the three upper *vomitoria* in line with the three stairways leading from the *ima cavea* to the first *diazoma*, dividing it into four *cunei* (Gran Aymerich 1985: 60, 137).

4.2.4 Emerita Augusta

Despite its parallelism with the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* in its being part of a programme of monumental renovation through the direct involvement of the *patroni*, which apparently resulted in particular richness in the architecture and decoration of the *scaenae frons* (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 114), the architectural layout of the **Theatre of Emerita Augusta** (fig. A.17) is quite unlike that of the Theatres of *Carthago Nova* (fig. A.13) and *Malaca* (fig. A.20). Consisting of three *maeniana*, the *cavea* of the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* is carved in the slope of the San Albín hill in its *ima* and *media cavea* while its *summa cavea* rests on substructures largely built out of granite and brickwork (Sese Alegre 1994/95/96a: 251). As such, the edifice represents the second most common *cavea* type in terms of the applied construction technique (fig. A.3). Although the *cavea* of the Theatres of *Carthago Nova* and *Malaca* was divided into four *cunei*, that of the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* was divided into six, with a *vomitium* opening out from an intermediary ambulatory half way up each *cuneus* (Sese Alegre 1994/95/96a: 251). While the architectural and decorative material belonging to the *scaenae frons* of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* may have constituted, as noted earlier, the first architectonic programme in marble imported into the Iberian Peninsula from Italic workshops thanks to the excellent maritime location of the city (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 164), all the materials used in the construction of the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* were produced in nearby quarries (Elvira 1992: VI) and the most important

parts were faced with plaster and marble slabs (Sese Alegre 1994/95/96a: 251). Even the collection of sculptures adorning the colonnade of the *scaenae frons*, including those of Augustus and Tiberius from the early construction phase and many from the later two phases of the edifice, were the product of local workshops (Alvarez Martínez 1991: 22, 27). By the end of the second century AD, the aedicular or marble style first developed in Asia Minor would be seen in the new *scaenae frons* of the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* (Mierse 1999: 296). Additionally, comparing the Theatres of *Emerita Augusta* and *Carthago Nova*, Roger Collins (1998: 105) notes the latter to be 'structurally of pure Roman form'

rather than representing the earlier Graeco-Roman style that is to be seen in the theatre of Mérida (built in 16 BC). Roman theatres proper had a strictly semicircular *cavea* or seating area, with a covered colonnade around the highest level, and balconies flanking the stage that were reserved for imperial or local dignitaries. The only other early examples of this tradition that are known are the theatres of Pompey (55 BC) and of Marcellus (13 BC) in Rome, but in contrast to that of Cartagena only very limited traces of these have survived. (Collins 1998: 105)

In this way, the author attributes Graeco-Roman characteristics to a Theatre such as that of *Emerita Augusta*, which is known to have been an official commission that was designed by architects linked to the court of Augustus and donated by Marcus Vipsanus Agrippa, the son-in-law of Octavius Augustus, in 16-15 BC (Elvira 1992: 27). Agrippa is also suggested by Thouvenot (1940: 223) as a patron of the *municipium* of *Gades*. Elvira (1992: 27) also notes that, despite his close link with Rome, the technical developments that had made possible the Theatres of Pompey and of Marcellus in Rome apparently had very little, if any, share in the grandiosity of the Emeritan theatre. Nevertheless, the building was closely linked to the Imperial Cult, as attested in the sculptural decoration of its *scaenae frons*, the monumental portico opening onto a central garden and a small chapel dedicated to the Imperial Cult behind the stage building (Alvarez Martínez 1991: 22, 27), and the possibly Trajanian *sacrarium larum et imaginum* at the lower part of the *ima cavea* on whose six small pedestals has been discovered the inscription *AVG(usto) SACR(um)* (Beltrán Lloris 1993: 104). Additionally, Julio-Claudian portraiture decorating a room in the peristyle of the Theatre would have been part of an iconographic programme that 'served to stress the Augustan associations with the city almost seventy-five years after its foundation.' (Mierse 1999: 75)

The difference in the architectural characteristics of the Theatres of *Carthago Nova* and *Emerita Augusta* may perhaps be explained, at least partially, by the position of the two settlements in the hierarchical 'network of cities' that was being established in that period over the Mediterranean under Roman rule. Located in the former Carthaginian capital in the Iberian Peninsula, the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* may have been invested with more powerful representations of *Romanitas* as part of a process that may be thought of as 'forced cultural Romanisation' over Carthaginian cultural domination which would soon to lose its power. At *Emerita Augusta*, on the other hand, the Theatre was part of the

most important building complex, possibly after the two Fora (Mierse 1999: 66), consisting also of an Amphitheatre located at the south-eastern end of the city, at the fringe of the walled area, that was projected according to the general plan for the urbanisation of the new provincial capital, which would have created a precedent to be repeated in *Hispania* with certain intensity, particularly in the Theatres of *Italica* and *Metellinum* (Alvarez Martínez 1991: 21; Elvira 1992: 27). 'On the other hand, the Roman theatre at *Olisippo* (modern Lisbon) was graced with a stage building similar to that at *Emerita*.' (Keay 1988: 137) It is noteworthy that *Metellinum* and *Olisippo* are among the few cities within the former Roman province of *Lusitania* where remains from an ancient theatre have been reported so far, which would suggest that the Theatre built by Agrippa in the provincial capital may have served as a model for the other cities of the province. Fear (2002: 91) includes the Theatre among what he describes as 'clear signs of rapid, Roman-style urbanisation' over a virtual greenfield site which was 'built by, or under the guidance of, Roman architects, and so would have taken on a Roman guise almost automatically. Nevertheless there are some traces of native influence.'

With *Emerita Augusta*, therefore, we come to the issue of the provincial organisation of Rome in the newly-conquered areas of the Iberian Peninsula. 'Throughout the period from 218 to 206 the senate seems to have allocated the single provincia of *Hispania* to a single consular or proconsular commander, with the exceptions of the disastrous joint command of the Scipio brothers in 212/211 and the sending of C. Nero pro praetore in the latter part of 211.' (Richardson 1998: 36) J.S. Richardson (1998: 38) argues that in the following dozen years, the *provincia Hispania* remained neither more nor less than a military command crucial in the war against Hannibal. This crucial period saw the beginnings of taxation, the establishment of a set of intricate relationships between Roman officials and local rulers, and early settlements initiated by commanders *in situ*.

Carteia was the only instance in which the foundation was made by application to the senate in Rome, rather than by the commander in the *provincia*. In the other cases, the settlements were apparently made on the initiative of the commanders themselves, with the result that they remained initially outside the system which had been developed at Rome to deal with foundations in Italy. This is the same pattern ... for the conduct of warfare in the peninsula from the very beginning, and indeed seems to reflect the view that the Spanish *provinciae* were still essentially war-zones, to which commanders were sent with virtually plenipotentiary powers. (Richardson 1998: 78)

4.2.5 Italica

As an example, *Italica* (fig. A.19) was founded at a nice fluvial port communicated with the area of Huelva mines and the access from *Baetica* to *Lusitania* through a natural route of land communication linking the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana rivers (Keay 1997a: 25), by Scipio for his wounded soldiers in 206 'in the context of this military command which was part of the most desperate struggle Rome

ever undertook in its long history of almost continuous warfare.' Among these early settlers would have been the ancestors of the *Ulpia* family that would give Rome its first Emperor of provincial origin, *Marcus Ulpius Trajanus* (98-117) who would be known as the *Optimus Princeps* after carrying the Roman Empire to its maximum expansion after conquering Dacia, Arabia and provisionally Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia (Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 29), and the Oscan *Aelia* family of his cousin, pupil, and successor *Publius Aelius Hadrianus* (117-38), which originating in *Hadria* in the southeast end of Piceno (Blanco Freijeiro 1982: 293-4, 296). While earlier settlements in Italy and overseas were established on the orders of the Roman Senate, *Italica* initially had no formal legal status as *colonia* or *municipium* (Richardson 1998: 38-9) and, 'despite the presence of retired Italic veterans, this was a settlement in which Turdetanian cultural traditions prevailed.' (Keay 1998: 64)

After the decisive Battle of *Iliipa*, *Italica* protected the right wing of the army that now moved to *Gades*, while also watching over the Lusitanians that were always disquiet (García y Bellido 1960: 14-5). Although these early settlers are often thought to have been followed by a growing body of Italic and Roman citizens in the course of the Republican period (Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 22), archaeological evidence suggests *Italica* to have been a small settlement which was not central to Roman interests and, therefore, exercised no great attraction to would-be settlers (Keay 1997a: 26). As the only city in the whole *Hispania* with an exclusively Roman name (Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 22), *Italica* would have had an important integrating function between the indigenous community that numerically formed the majority and the *conventus Italicorum* in which the later immigrants were organised (Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 23), with the name of the settlement pointing to the pre-eminence of the latter group (García y Bellido 1960: 73). Some scholars argue this early Roman urban nucleus (named *Vetus Vrbs*, or the 'old city') to have formed a *dipolis* with a Turdetanian settlement dating from the fourth century BC over 'lower lying land on the western side of the plateau overlooking the river Huelva. The Roman town would have lain on the higher eastern side.' (Keay 1997a: 28) However, Turdetanian remains pre-dating fifth or fourth centuries BC in the latter area rather suggest that the Italian population would have been simply installed within the same Turdetanian settlement or in a campsite within a defensive belt partially excavated by A. Blanco (Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 56-7). Simon Keay (1997: 31-3) suggests native architectural conditions and patterns of consumption to have persisted until at least the end of the second century BC, which would render it impossible to picture *Italica* as a major 'italicising' centre such as *Gades* or *Carthago Nova*, diffusing Roman material culture and ideas in the lower *Baetis* region throughout the Republican period. Nevertheless, *Italica* is the site where there revealed the earliest example of a type of Temple, dated by José Luis Jiménez Salvador (1992: 14) to the initial settlement of the site around 2000 BC, featuring 'a three-chambered complex of rooms that share no direct means of intercommunication and must be entered from the front' (Mierse 1999: 6), which,

although lacking a podium, looks like a Capitulum Temple that has precedents elsewhere in the territory conquered by the Romans and settled with colonies, except in the Iberian Peninsula. Mierse (1999: 9) cites A. Lézine to trace in the Italican temple the survival of a Punic form developed in the Eastern Mediterranean where there are remains from multi-chambered shrines without podia for the worship of a major deity flanked by two lesser deities that represent a triadic element in Phoenician religion. This formal design idea may have been carried to the West by the Phoenicians, as a manifestation of a tripartite cult, the oldest example of which would be the *Italica* Temple that would then provide 'the missing link between developments of the type in Egypt, Cyprus, Delos, and Cyrene during the second and early first millennia B.C. and the Romanized triple-cella temples of North Africa' (Mierse 1999: 10). Although the site has revealed no evidence for a Punic settlement, 'Italica was located in an area within the radius of Punic influence if not direct colonization' (Mierse 1999: 10) and the Temple may have been commissioned to local builders with Punic training from elsewhere in the south who would have borrowed a Punic form for the Capitoline triad, if not for the satisfaction of the cultic needs of a Punic portion of the population who had moved into the new foundation of *Italica* (Mierse 1999: 11). In this way, the Italican example supports Mierse's (1999: 48) observation on the absence of an immediate change in the architectural forms employed in temple-building in the Iberian Peninsula immediately after the establishment of Roman rule, for the Republican period seems to have 'lacked any strongly defined architectural sensibility that could be easily transported to a newly conquered region.' The same observation seems to apply also to Roman Republican and Early Imperial theatre architecture in the Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere.

The transformation of *Italica* into a beacon of Roman Imperial culture, however without an elimination of the indigenous cultures (Alonso 1985: 220), seems to have started in the early first century AD, following the grant of municipal status (*municipium iuris latini*) some time in the second half of the 1st century BC, and completed rapidly by the beginning of the second century AD, making the city an exceptional centre in this sense (Keay 1997a: 37, 44). In this period, *Italica* developed its public image in line with the programmes of Imperial propaganda which were being developed in contemporary Rome, re-stating its special 'historical' link with Rome through the issue of very special commemorative bronze coins featuring wolf and twins, which were the symbols of Augustan political propaganda and are unique of their kind in the *Hispaniae* (Keay 1997a: 37-8). Part of the same programme of monumental remodelling that involved the development of a Forum area at the heart of the *Vetus Vrbs* was the construction of the **Theatre of Italica** (fig. A.19) possibly by Tiberius, who was one of the patrons of the city before his adoption by Augustus (García y Bellido 1960: 38; Keay 1997a: 38; Collins 1998: 150), which would suggest an Augustan dating for the moment.

The construction of the theatre initially involved cutting away the north-east corner of the Republican town, the "Colina de San Antonio" and buttressing the scrap with a dentate wall. This was constructed in the *opus africanum* technique and seems to belong to the same constructive phase as existing stretches to the south, the tower immediately to the north and, probably, the tower and curtain wall along the north side of the town recorded by Demetrio de los Ríos in c. 1870. Subsequently the first phase of the *cavea* of the theatre was built. (Keay 1997a: 40-1)

In this way, the Theatre was constructed outside the city walls but in continuity with them, through the destruction of earlier settlement layers at the site which date back to the fourth century BC at the oldest (PECS). A progressive change has been attested in the way the Theatre was connected to the city, as the street surrounding the *cavea* to which access had initially been provided through five doors was interrupted in latter years by other public constructions and access was provided through the large porticoed square behind the stage building that opened onto the lower part of the city crossed by the roads leading to *Hispalis* and *Emerita Augusta* (Corzo 1993a: 159) which were flanked by abundant graves of the Pradillo cemetery (Luzón Nogué 1982: 190).

The initial *cavea* was built over foundations composed of circular walls with radial perforations and infill between them, over which sat the tiers on a base of fine mortar, with the *summa cavea* featuring a portico over an ambulatory onto which opened five doors corresponding to five stairways (Corzo 1993: 161) that divided into four *cunei* the *ima cavea*, presenting the typical scheme encountered also in the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* (Corzo 1993: 168; Jiménez 1982: 282). The *ima cavea* consisted of three tiers on which were carved the names of the people for whom the seats were reserved. This interior part would have been totally renovated to accommodate the honorary seats of emperors (Corzo 1993: 168) that were much wider and lower than the regular seats and occupied the area immediately around the *orchestra* without any physical separation from it (Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 94). Later to be faced with marble sometime in the second century AD (Luzón Nogué 1982: 188), the initial construction would have been out of low quality tufa benches, a material also used in the *scaena* and the portico behind it, which had to be finished with polychromatic stucco whose traces still survive (Luzón Nogué 1982: 186).

The *scaenae frons* of this initial construction, to which apparently belongs part of the material encountered in the *hyposcaenium*, would have been demolished at a later date for the purpose of a marble embellishment that also extended to the *orchestra*, *proscenium*, *itinera*, and altars, which is documented by a monumental inscription running along the whole length of the *orchestra* in front of the *proscenium* (Luzón Nogué 1982: 186) to have been paid for by two Italican citizens in the occasion of their re-election as *duumviri* designates and priests for the newly instituted 'cult of Augustus', which would make their contribution to the edifice an euergetic act in the context of a public act of loyalty to the deified Emperor Augustus (Keay 1997a: 42). Despite Blanco's Tiberian dating, José M.^a Luzón Nogué (1982: 187) believes the donation to have been Augustan, since the *pontifex* mentioned in the

text is not of the Imperial Cult and Augustus is not mentioned as *divus* as would have been done if he were dead. The author dates the cylindrical Neo-Attic altars with Bacchic figures to a posterior Hadrianic modification on the basis of stylistic evidence and the argument that in *Hispaniae* the use of certain types of polychromatic marble did not start before Hadrian. The abundant imported material present in the decorative scheme of the Theatre of *Italica* attest official patronage in the construction of the building as many came from imperial quarries (Mayer and Rodà 1998: 232). These apparently include the local *carystivs* or 'cipollino' marble from Almadén de la Plata (*Mons Marmorum*) (Luzón Nogué 1982: 188), which was exploited under imperial control, and imported varieties from Africa, Italy, Greece, and Turkey (Mayer and Rodà 1998: 232). While Keay (1997: 42) highlights its lack of sophistication and finer Pentelic marble used on the Theatre of *Carthago Nova*, Ramallo and Ruiz (1998: 112) find the closest typological parallel of the plan of the Theatre of *Carthago Nova* in the Theatre of *Italica* where the *pulpiti frons* was articulated by a central semicircular niche that is flanked by two quadrangular and then by two other semicircular ones to end in narrow quadrangular exedras. With its concave space at the centre, and rectangular *hospitalia* and niches at the back, the existing remains from the *scaenae frons* have been dated to the Flavian era on the basis of their similarity with some Italian examples such as the Theatre of Trieste (Corzo 1993: 166) while two sculptures carved out of the material of earlier figures in togas for the fountains (*salientes*) that represent resting and sleeping nymphs, reproducing a well-known prototype pertaining to the Pergamene tradition, have been dated to the middle of the third century (Luzón Nogué 1982: 190; 1999: 187; Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 97).

In its initial construction stage, a simple stage building with fluted columns out of stuccoed sandstone stood in front of and detached from the *cavea* of the Theatre of *Italica*, whose remains were later reused in the *proscenía* and in the portico behind the stage, the latter of whose material and style implies a period earlier than the ornamentation of the *orchestra* (Luzón Nogué 1982: 188). Between the stage and the *cavea* initially stood the *proscenium* that cut off the *scaena* from the *cavea* with ramped entrances at the two ends and statues of equestrians between the columns near the road leading to *Emerita Augusta* and *Hispalis* (Luzón Nogué 1982: 188). After its renovation in the Flavian period, the stage would become wider and more consistent in delimiting the *parascaenia* (Luzón Nogué 1982: 188). In reference to Stillwell (1952), Corzo (1993: 166) draws a parallel between the evolution process of the stage at *Italica* and at Corinth, where it is also documented to have been independent first and then semi-detached from the tiers but without managing to develop with the *parascaenae* standing out. Similarly, J. M.^a Luzón describes the *scaenae frons* as responding to a scheme of the Hellenistic tradition representing a house with three doors and fluted Republican columns stuccoed in blue, of which two pieces survive, facing a '*gradería a la griega, apoyanda en la colina*' (Jiménez 1982: 290),

however thoroughly over manmade subconstruction, which apparently aims at controlling the physical characteristics of the site rather than adapting to them, unlike the case of *Metellinum*.

4.2.6 Metellinum

Located almost at the centre of the southern slope of a hill, overlooking the settlement area at its feet, the small **Theatre of Metellinum** (fig. A.21) was perfectly adapted to the physical characteristics of its site, through its incision into the hill and through the sacrifice of axial symmetry, apparently for economy in materials and workmanship (del Amo 1982a: 318). Despite the striking differences between the settings of the two towns (Richardson 1998: 139), the *cavea* of the Theatre of *Metellinum* rests partly on the natural slope and partly over manmade subconstruction as at *Emerita Augusta*, and consisted possibly of three *maeniana*, the upper ones of which were accessible through a semicircular outer ambulatory (Sese Alegre 1994/95/96: 249). The hypothesis concerning the existence of a *summa cavea* over the enclosure of this *crypta* could not be confirmed due to the seriously-damaged state of the top of the *cavea* (PECS). In the absence of reliable stratigraphic data, the edifice has been dated to the last quarter of the first century BC on the basis of the techniques employed in its construction, which find their closest parallel in the Theatre and Amphitheatre complex of the nearby *Emerita Augusta* dating respectively to 16-15 BC and AD 8 (del Amo 1982a: 323). Especially noteworthy in this regard is the *opus caementicium* and *opus incertum* of some parts of the Emeritan Amphitheatre whose similarity to the *Metellinum* example, especially in the dimensions of the stone blocks used in the construction brings to mind their possible implementation by the same constructors (del Amo 1982a: 324). Other similarities include the painted stucco finishing of the elements pertaining to the *scaenae frons* and the occasionally applied *opus quadratum* construction out of granite blocks (del Amo 1982a: 324).

Having served as a *praesidium* of Metellus against Sertorius (García y Bellido 1959: 458-9), *Colonia Metellinensis* was one of those pre-Caesarean military establishments that were, according to Keay (2001: 128; 1998: 63), too distant in time and space to have functioned effectively as a 'network' in a geography where native settlements continued to comprise the overwhelming majority of settlements. Nevertheless, they reveal the fact that military establishments represent the first manifestation of Roman Architecture at the Iberian Peninsula, in addition to being the first urbanising activity⁵. The foundation of the *Colonia Emerita Augusta*, on the other hand, should be understood as part of an attempt to create a hierarchic 'system of socio-economic and administrative structures' out of those pre-existing settlements through the introduction of new establishments wherever necessary. Unlike the long settlement history and highly advanced level of urbanism of *Carthago Nova* prior to Roman

⁵ http://marfil.hypermart.net/epoca_republicana.htm, 27.01.2001.

rule, pre-Roman habitation traces at *Emerita Augusta* were limited to a small Celtiberian nucleus isolated by the Guardiana and Albarregas rivers. With the characteristic topography of an island that would later turn into a classical bridge-city like *Lutetia* (modern Paris), this special point where the lands of *Baetica* were connected to those at the north through a bridge on Guardiana was the only one within the reach of many kilometres where the *Anas* might be crossed without much difficulty (Alvarez Martínez 1991: 4, 6). The semi-military Roman *Colonia Emerita Augusta* was established in the year 25 BC by Publius Carisius, the general who continued the invasion westward into Asturias after the evacuation in 26 BC of Augustus to *Tarraco* when he fell ill during the so-called Cantabrian Wars (Curchin 1991: 52), with the order of Emperor Augustus and populated mainly by veterans from the legions V *Alaudae* and X *Gemina* who had fought with the Cantabri, at a very strategic position to hold this difficult territory under control in the middle of the Tudulos, Vettones, and Lusitani populations that were very unlikely to get Romanised, (Alvarez Martínez 1991: 4, 6; Keay 1988: 56). Especially the latter legion is known to have provided settlers also for the *Colonia Caesar Augusta* in the Ebro valley (Richardson 1998: 140). '*Despite recent arguments that there had been an earlier settlement here already in the time of Caesar, there is no doubt that the major foundation took place at this time. The very name Emerita echoes the Latin word emeritus, used for a time-served veteran soldier...*' (Richardson 1998: 138; also mentioned in Curchin 1991: 106) According to Gruen (1990: 400) the veteran *colonia Augusta Emerita* was a symbol of the settled status of the land. Featuring at the junction of the ancient roads, the colony would soon become an important node in the Roman communication network and, after the establishment of the province of *Lusitania* probably in 16/5 BC, the westernmost capital of the Roman Empire (Curchin 1991: 3), which would bring us to the administrative restructuring under Augustus.

4.2.7 Tarraco

There are references to the *Colonia Tarraconensis* in the years 26-25 BC when Augustus, having fallen ill in the Cantabrian Wars, stayed in the city to reform there the administration of the Empire, which made *Tarraco* not only the capital of the province of *Hispania Citerior* but also temporarily the centre of the power and political decisions of the whole Empire immediately after the establishment of monarchy by Augustus in 27 BC when he even received there the ambassadors of other countries including India, south Russia (Alföldy 1988: 20; 1991: 35, 38; Dupré i Raventós 1993: 5) as well as the city of *Tralles* in *Asia* who asked for help after an earthquake (Mitchell 1990: 21-2). As noted earlier, in the third chapter, it would become normal for an emperor to rule the Empire from outside Rome in the third century AD but in the history of Imperial Rome, the stay of Augustus in *Tarraco* was the first instance when the imperial seat was translated from Rome, although not officially nor permanently (Alföldy 1988: 20).

Later Galba, the governor of the *Hispania Citerior* seated in *Tarraco*, would claim to become the Emperor in AD 68 against Nero, on which occasion Tacitus would assert the possibility of proclaiming sovereignty also from outside Rome (i.e. *arcanum imperii*), following the example set by Augustus a century ago, with *Tarraco* as the first milestone in the path leading from Rome to Constantinople (Alföldy 1988: 20). Later Septimus Severus would also govern *Tarraconensis* from *Tarraco*, before becoming the Emperor (Arce 1976).

An important embassy received by Augustus during his stay at *Tarraco* was from *Mytilene*, who had come to ask for, among other things, the permission to honour the Emperor as a god, whose grant was celebrated by publishing a formal announcement (Mierse 1999: 125). According to Mierse (1999: 125), the elite of *Tarraco* would have learned about the sanctioning of the Imperial Cult in the East, which devolved from an older Hellenistic tradition of rivalry among Greek cities for the favours of the Hellenistic rulers, through a copy of this *Mytilene* decree that was set up in *Tarraco* on public display. The Altar marking the unofficial initiation of the Temple of Augustus at *Tarraco* has been dated to 26-25 BC by Étienne (1958: 365-70) who suggests the embassy from *Mytilene* as its source of inspiration while Mierse (1999: 125) finds it difficult to know 'if the request of the embassy from *Mytilene* struck a chord within the native elite of the city, reminding them of an older, pre-Roman tradition of honoring by deification worthy leaders, as Étienne has implied, or if *Tarraco* simply wanted to enter into competition with the older cities of the East', as he himself suggest. The official establishment of the Imperial Cult in the city had to wait until the reign of Tiberius before whom an embassy of citizens from *Tarraco* would appear in AD 15 to request permission for the erection of a temple to the Divine Augustus 'following the pattern that had been established in the Greek East during the Emperor's lifetime' (Mierse 1999: 132). Perhaps thanks to some political motivation on the Emperor's part, *Tarraco* thus became the first western city so privileged. 'With the establishment of the Imperial Cult, *Tarraco* became the center for the *concilium provinciae*' (Mierse 1999: 233) that was comprised of the *conventus* units the province had been divided into for administrative purposes, attending the cult of Roma and Augustus during an annual meeting at *Tarraco*.

Coming to the comprehensive building activity that took place in this period for the making of the provincial capital, perhaps its most important component for the 'Romanisation' of *Hispaniae* by serving as a model for other cities of the Roman *Hispaniae* with its architectural and sculptural programme was this Altar dedicated to the Imperial Cult in what would later become the *concilium provinciae* consisting of a Temple and a Flavian monumental provincial Forum over a complex of three monumental terraces in the upper part of the city that would later be cut off from the rest of the city from the front by a Circus for some 27,000 people, dating to the reign of Domitian (Alföldy 1988: 22; Cortes and Gabriel 1983:

961; Cepas Palanca 1997: 156). Hauschild⁶ has found the closest conceptual parallel of the *Tarraco* complex in the provincial sanctuary in Ankara, modern Turkey where epigraphic evidence coming from the Temple of Roma and Augustus has attested a similar complex with a plaza and a hippodrome reserved for the official games of the *koinon* of *Galatia*, implying the existence of a sort of 'model' that may have been adopted also in other regional capitals such as *Lugdunum* (modern Lyon) (Gros 1990: 381). According to Whittaker (1997: 149), a comparison between the two complexes would

show how closely monumental urban projects at opposite ends of the empire followed a model laid down by Augustus in the complex of the Circus Flaminius, Theatre of Marcellus and Portico of Octavia at Rome, which was recognized as a kind of *Augusteum*. As at Nîmes and Orange, so at Mérida and Tarragona the theatre and forum were in close relationship with the temples of the imperial cult. I believe, a gold statue of the emperor was almost certainly carried in procession to the theatre under the direction of a choirmaster *mimographus*, similar to the event recorded at Gytheum near Sparta [see Chapter 5: Mapping the Network of Ancient Theatres in Greece], which progressed from the temple of the *divi* to the theatre, for sacrifice before the portable statues of Augustus and his family. (Whittaker 1997: 149-50)

Joaquín Ruiz de Arbulo (1993: 102) insists that the site selection for the multi-functional Circus at *Tarraco* would have allowed not only for the resolution of the relation between the provincial precinct and the rest of the city but also for the participation into the ceremonies and spectacles of an enormous public during the annual celebrations. By the time the Flavian Amphitheatre for some 12,000 spectators was built, the city had already expanded outside the city walls that had been extended to enclose an area of some 60 ha, which is almost double the size of 36 ha enclosed within the Augustan walls when the city had some 30,000 inhabitants (Cepas Palanca 1997: 156; Alföldy 1991: 29; Arce 1976). In the winter of AD 122/3, Hadrian visited the city to celebrate there a *conventus* for the whole *Hispania* and to reconstruct the Temple of Augustus, during which time an insane slave attempted to kill him (Alföldy 1991: 39; Curchin 1991: 178).

The **Theatre of *Tarraco*** is located outside the city walls to the southeast of the harbour district and close to a small colonial Forum to its north, taking advantage of a 15m-high slope that used to separate the urban nucleus from the harbour area (Sese Alegre 1994/95/96c: 271). Its architectural characteristics are best understood in terms of its proximity outside the city walls to the sacred asylum around the Temple of Augustus further to the north, which may be explained by the Roman official propaganda systems in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian eras, in a provincial capital where the Imperial Cult was very early to take roots, with the aim of 'Romanising' conquered territories (Lorente Enseñat 2000h). The construction of the Theatre would have inaugurated the monumentalisation of a part of the city that had been, until then, dedicated to the requirements of maritime traffic (Ruiz de Arbulo 1993:

⁶ Hauschild, Th. 1972-4. 'Römische Konstruktionen auf der oberen Stadterrasse des antiken Tarraco', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 45-7: 3ff; 1977. 'La terraza superior de Tarragona, una planificación axial del siglo I', pp. 209ff in *Segovia y la Arqueología Romana*. Segovia.

95). Keay (1997: 201) describes the Theatre of *Tarraco* as sharing the orientation of the Forum complex as do the *insulae* into which lower town would have been divided. According to the author, 'the situation and interrelationships of forum, theatre, streets, and imperial cult complex at *Tarraco* were symbols which may have been understood by its inhabitants as manifestations of power in the broader world at a local level' (Keay 1997: 204), which would allow for a reading of the topography and planning of Early Imperial *Tarraco* as a cognitive map pertaining to the local elite's perception of the religious and political ideals of the period. Therefore, the abandonment of the Theatre towards the end of the second century AD would have signified the loss of its urban meaning as a building for public gatherings throughout the century when the ceremonies for the Imperial Cult would have been gradually shifted towards the provincial precinct, with the Amphitheatre and Circus functioning as the grand edifices for spectacles that monopolized the attention of the masses as well as that of the organizers (Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 108).

Constructed over second and first century BC Republican levels, featuring grand storage spaces carved into the rock which were overbuilt in the last quarter of the first century BC by a large warehouse that had two parallel naves separated by masonry pillars and adjacent *tabernae*, the Theatre of *Tarraco* has been dated to the Augustan era, primarily on the basis of stylistic evidence provided by some Corinthian capitals cut out of local sandstone and finished with painted stucco and by the presence of an Altar of the Imperial Cult dedicated to the *numen* of Augustus (Mar *et al.* 1992: 14, 16). Additionally, Géza Alföldy⁷ has interpreted certain epigraphic remains as coming from a monumental inscription from the Theatre, which was dedicated to the Emperor Augustus to commemorate his involvement in the finance of the building (Ramallo and Ruiz 1998: 88). An important collection of sculptures attributed to the *scaenae frons* and interpreted as demonstrating the operation of the Roman official propaganda system in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian eras through the promotion of the Imperial Cult by adorning theatres with sculptures of the imperial family allows for an identification of a group of busts belonging to two Julio-Claudian princes with an initial construction phase and of a second group with Julio-Claudian and Antonine reforms in the decoration of the building (Dupré i Raventós 1993: 17). Contemporary with the first construction phase would have been several column bases and drums, cornices, architraves and friezes, all carved out of local sandstone while a great number of marble plates, mouldings, and cornices apparently belonged to the second marble *scaenae frons* (Mar *et al.* 1992: 18- 19). Although excavations around the remains from the Theatre have suggested continuity of use in the late first century BC harbour warehouse throughout the Augustan and Tiberian period, and a consequent Flavian dating for the overlapping Theatre which would leave

the Julio-Claudian *Tarraco* without permanent performance buildings, such an hypothesis would fail to explain the 'old' style of the Corinthian capitals and the presence of the Julio-Claudian group of statuary in the Theatre which would fit perfectly well into the ideological and symbolic logic of an Augustan Theatre in the urbanisation of the *Colonia Tarraco* (Mar *et al.* 1992: 22).

Divided into four *cunei* out of the local sandstone except in the two central that were faced with white marble, the *ima cavea* of the Theatre of *Tarraco* stands on the levelled remains of earlier structures at the site, as do its *orchestra* and *proscenium*, while the middle part of its *media cavea* had to be carved into the main rock and a substructure with curvilinear circulation passages had to be constructed for its lateral extensions (Sese Alegre 1994/95/96c: 271; Berges Soriano 1982: 117). Forming the exterior façade of the building, the *summa cavea* terminates in an annular gallery running through its perimeter at the ground level, over which rests the façade and upper crown of the *cavea* (Mar *et al.* 1992: 21). The existence of a plaza has been suggested for the upper part of the slope on which the seating rows of the Theatre were located, which would have served part of an access into the edifice from this part (Berges Soriano 1982: 117). Additionally, there are remains from a landscaped space by the side of the Theatre, which appears to have provided entrance and exit for the spectators sitting in the first tiers of the *orchestra*, through a small portico connecting to the *parascenium* and to a stairway leading to the end of the western *aditus* (Mar *et al.* 1992: 16).

At a later date, the first three marble-faced tiers of the lower two *cunei* on both sides of the central stairway were modified for the installation possibly of a series of monumental altars or stylobates for the Imperial Cult (Mar *et al.* 1992: 21). The substructure upholding the infill below the lower seating rows consists of a wall parallel to the stage building and various perpendicular to it, rather than the more common annular and radial walls that follow the curvature of the *cavea*, which has been interpreted by Hernández Sanahuja and Puig i Cadafalch as a unique feature of the edifice (Berges Soriano 1982: 118). Additionally, M.A. Elvira (1992: 28) presents the Theatre of *Tarraco* as representative of a remarkable renovation in the plan geometry of theatre architecture in Roman *Hispania*: breaking the traditional dogma that conceived of the theatre building as a unity of circles and radials originating from a single geometrical centre, the *cunei* and *scalae* of the Theatre of *Tarraco* originate from separate geometrical centres. According to the author, the idea of a semi-circular *orchestra* that is destined to develop around its centre loses its appeal in this way and there opens the possibility of making a much narrower *orchestra*. Despite these peculiarities, however, the architectural features of the Theatre of *Tarraco* would appear rather 'provincial' when compared with those of the Theatre of *Corduba* (fig.

⁷ Probably in Alföldy, Géza 1994. 'Evergetismo en las ciudades del Imperio Romano', pp. 63-67 in *Actas del XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica, Tarragona, 1993*; cited in Ramallo and Ruiz (1998: 177).

A.16), which is partly explained by Keay's (1998: 64) portrayal of *Corduba* as the focus of Roman power for much of the Republic.

4.2.8 Corduba

Musterian, Neanderthal, Lower Palaeolithic, Mesolithic (8000 BC), Neolithic (5000 – 3000 BC), Megalithic, middle Chalcolithic (2000 BC), Bronze Age, Phoenician (8th c. BC), Tartessian, Ibero-Turdetanian (7th and 6th c. BC), Greek, Punic, Roman, Hispano-Visigoth, Medieval Arab and Christian traces reaching up to the present attest 350,000 years of human presence at various places in the valley where the modern Cordoba is located at the intersection of the a fertile plain with mountains rich in mines, which explains its never-changing function as a populous commercial and administrative centre of primary rank (Cuenca Toribio 1993: 5; Bernier Luque 1975: 18; Knapp 1983: 3; Ventura *et al.* 1998: 87; Aguilar Gavilán 1995: 12; Collins 1998: 117). The earliest settlement area within the Verdad district of modern Cordoba dates to the middle of the second millennium BC (Cuenca Toribio 1993: 7) while eighteen subsequent layers extending from the first millennium BC up to the Roman period revealed in the Municipal Cruz Conde Park area (Bernier Luque 1975: 20) and the largest proto-historic settlement so far discovered in the Iberian Peninsula was unearthed on the Colina de los Quemados (Hill of the Burnt) along the Guadalquivir river, to the south-east of what would later become the Roman city (Marcos Pous and Vicent Zaragoza 1985: 245). Apparently dedicated to copper production to be exported through the Guadalquivir to the Mediterranean via Punic trade (Marcos Pous and Vicent Zaragoza 1985: 245), the site was abandoned in the first century BC and not re-occupied until the tenth century AD (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 88).

By the first century BC, the Roman army under the command of Lucius Marius had already conquered the city in search of a bulwark against the marauding Lusitanian tribes of the area between the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir rivers during the Second Punic War (Knapp 1983: 8; Bernier Luque 1975: 21) and, according to one theory, the *Colonia Patricia Corduva* had been founded mainly for military purposes by M. Claudius Marcellus, the first and thrice Roman consul of *Hispania* in 166 BC, 155 BC, and 152 BC who was also the founder of Vienna (Castejón 1975: 114). As an indication of the symbolic nature of the foundation, the city retained, in its Latinized form, its indigenous name (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 89), which probably meant 'town by the Guadalquivir' since the suffix *-uba* occurs in various native town names of Andalusia, such as *Iponuba* or *Onuba* (Aguilar Gavilán 1995: 16), and '*the element Cord- probably is cognate with the native name for the Guadalquivir River*' (Knapp 1983: 7). According to the same theory, the foundation may date to 171 BC (Bernier Luque 1975: 21), 169/8 BC (Castejón 1975: 114), or 152/1 BC (García y Bellido 1959: 452; Collins 1998: 117) when Marcellus is known to have wintered in *Corduba*, by the side of an ancient native site inside fortifications that

unified the Iberian and the Roman populations in what was perhaps the largest Roman Republican city in the *Hispaniae* (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 88-9). The foundation may have had the status of Latin colony right from the beginning, which would have made it the first of its kind in *Turdetania*, and possibly formed a *dipolis (didyma)* and constituted a single *civitas* with the pre-Roman settlement located on the other side of the river, which continued to be occupied throughout the second century BC as the new Roman city was developing (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 89). Rejecting this hypothesis, however, Bendala Galán (1990: 32-4) list *Corduba* among the examples for the practice of synoecism through the translation of the indigenous population into the newly-founded Roman establishment. The site selected by Marcellus for the Roman settlement was principally located on a terrace distanced from the river and at an altitude that allowed visual control over the facing pre-Roman settlement (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 89), which would later be called the *vicus Hispanus* while the *vicus Forensis* would refer to the urban sector around the later Colonial Forum that was possibly the initial Roman settlement area at the site (Baena Alcántara 2002: 54). The two settlements may have been divided by a wall in their early history, which would have reflected a racial divide in the *colonia* (Fear 2002: 97, 214).

Such a partition of the town, if it existed, could have resulted from fortifications erected for Marcellus' original settlement. A similar arrangement occurs in Britain, where the *colonia* of Lincoln was divided by the old walls of the legionary fortress which were left in place. [...] There is no indication if, or when, the two groups at Corduba merged. It would be a fair inference, though, that the native quarter, at least initially, would have had a less 'classical' appearance than the Roman areas. The genesis of a dual community in a *colonia*, where a new Roman population had been imposed on a pre-existing town, is easy to understand. (Fear 2002: 215-5)

Very far from the grandiose and monumentality of the posterior periods (Aguilar Gavilán 1995: 18), both settlements featured humble buildings constructed in similar techniques out of sun-dried brick and mud-brick, with perishable roof material, and organised austerely, without paved streets or sewers, although the main alignments of buildings and streets were already fixed at this early date and persisted into later centuries with few modifications (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 89). After the rapid integration of the city into the commercial networks of the Western Mediterranean, as evidenced in the imported Italican ceramics unearthed at the site, the 42 ha town was walled in the third quarter of the second century BC (Keay 1998: 64) and there appeared a degree of monumentalisation during the transition from the second to the first century BC, which is attested at the site in solid ashlar blocks and flat roof tiles (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 91). 'This period seems to have been decisive in the complex process of acculturation or Romanization, paralleled by the contemporary transformation of Rome through its contact with Hellenistic culture.' (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 91)

Having served as the Roman operational base during the wars against Viriathus (149 BC) and Sertorius (80-71 BC), *Corduba* became a Pompeian stronghold in the *Baetica* during the struggle between Caesar and Pompey, especially after the arrival in 46 BC of Pompey's two sons, Gneus and

Sextus (Bernier Luque 1975: 21; Aguilar Gavilán 1995: 20-1). Failing to take the city up to his victory in the Battle of Munda in 45 BC, Caesar's final conquest of *Corduba* left behind a destruction level documented in some stratigraphic sequences (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 92) and 20,000 reported deaths on the streets, including the *Legio XIII* under the command of Pompey (Bernier Luque 1975: 21; Fear 2002: 90). According to a second theory concerning the foundation of the *Colonia Patricia Corduva*, it was ordered in 45 BC, either by Gneus, son of Pompey the Great, or by Caesar as a punishment of for the support the city provided for the Pompeians (Ventura Villanueva 1999: 58) and received the title *Patricia* from Augustus when veterans of Legions V and X were settled there (Roldán 1976). 'They would have promoted the agricultural exploitation of the territory. The required distribution of plots of land would have been organized orthogonally through the system of centuriation, fossilized traces of which can still be recognised in modern maps.' (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 92) According to Ángel Ventura Villanueva (1999: 58), Augustus completed the establishment of the *Colonia Patricia* definitely, before AD 14 and possibly in 25 BC as part of the administrative reorganisation of the provinces of *Hispania* when the new *tribus* of *Galeria* was created for the inscription of his veteran soldiers as citizens. 'Marcus Agrippa may have been a patron of the city. Augustus visited Corduba in 15-14 B.C., an event recorded in numismatic record.' (Mierse 1999: 238)

Pilar León (1996) describes the Augustan *Corduba* after the Caesarian destruction of the Republican settlement as a 'city under construction' with finance from a wealthy urban elite (Ventura Villanueva 1999: 69). The city built over its ruins during the second half of the first century BC followed a carefully regulated plan involving an important new infrastructure and an extension by some 36 ha down to the river Guadalquivir that adopted to the topographic peculiarities of the site, to enclose a polygonal area of 78 ha derived in principal from the military *castrum*, within walls oriented in north-south direction, possibly to accommodate a population increase resulting from the *deductio* of the colony (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 92-3; Bernier Luque 1975: 21). In this way, the size of the walled-in area of *Corduba* tripled that of the other provincial capital, *Emerita Augusta* (Marcos Pous and Vicent Zaragoza 1985: 245-6), which would be 'mirrored' in the grave difference between the sizes of their Theatres. The extension of the Republican *Kardo Maximus* to the south diagonally, with a change in its angle in such a way as to coincide with the actual Rey Heredia Street, segregated a 'district of spectacles' reserved for a Theatre over the fluvial terrace and connected through a spacious gallery to an Amphitheatre traced in the actual urban morphology to its south, as at *Emerita Augusta* (figs. A. 16 and A.17) (Castejón 1975: 114; Ventura Villanueva 1999: 58-9). These were among the plurality of functions such as the colonial Forum, which were introduced into *Corduba* during the Augustan transformations that were necessitated by its position as the capital of one of the richest and 'most Romanised' provinces of the Empire (Baena Alcántara 2002: 52). A second branch of the *Kardo Maximus* leading to the existing

Roman Bridge had an angle different from both the former, delimiting the 'district of spectacles' and the city walls, which has been fossilised in the central *mihrab* nave of the Mezquita Aljama (Ventura Villanueva 1999: 59). This hypothesis conceives of a *Kardo Maximus* some ten meters to the east of the entrance to the actual stone bridge, which has led Ventura Villanueva (1999: 59) to the hypothesis that there would have existed an earlier timber bridge on the site that was abandoned after the construction of the latter, possibly in 3-2 BC when the *Via Augusta* was refurbished for military purposes.

According to Ventura Villanueva (1999: 61), the **Theatre of Corduba** (fig. A.16) was the most emblematic monument of the Augustan *Colonia Patricia*. The building was constructed taking advantage of a steep natural slope at the foot of the southern section of the Republican wall, at the point of union between the Republican city and the Augustan enlargement towards the south (Ventura 1996: 82), which is 'the only part of the city where there are significant topographical variations, offering a suitable site for this type of building' (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 103). The rest of the adjacent hillside was developed with a complex of four large terraced squares involving artificial infill and flights of steps at distinct levels on both side of the Theatre, which facilitated communication between the old urban nucleus and its Augustan extension, and ordered the access routes to the Theatre, in a manner reminiscent of Hellenistic patterns (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 95; Márquez 1998: 192; 1998a: 64-5, 74-5). Three of these terraces were located to the east of the edifice and one to its west, the lower two of which are reminiscent of the terrace of the Theatre in Tusculum dating to the first half of the first century BC, which has a similar function of sustaining the possibly 15m-high curvilinear façade of the *cavea* through which the seats were accessible (Márquez 1998a: 71; Ventura Villanueva 1999: 61; Baena Alcántara 2002: 55). The slightly more-than-semicircular *cavea* rests on a natural slope over annular galleries and concentric or radial walls, with a complex network of stairs that distributed the internal circulation. Ángel Ventura Villanueva (1999: 61-2) finds its closest parallel in Republican and Hellenistic buildings, and more particularly in the Caesarean Theatre planned to rest on the Tarpeya rock, which would have united the 'new Rome' of Campus Martius with the traditional Capitol as do, at least conceptually, the terrace complex on both sides of the Theatre at the point of union between 'old Corduba' and the new *Colonia Patricia*. The huge size of the edifice, which is in no way comparable to that of the theatres constructed by the local elites in places like *Acinipo* or *Malaca*, and the direct involvement of the *patroni* (i.e. members of the imperial family or people very close to them), namely Augustus himself and Agrippa, in the construction respectively of the Augustan Theatres in the provincial capitals of *Tarraco* and *Emerita Augusta*, when added to that of Lucius and Gaius Caesar in the Theatre of *Carthago Nova*, has led Ventura Villanueva (1999: 62-3) to suggest imperial finance for the construction of the Theatre of *Corduba*, relating the edifice to M. Claudius Marcellus, the niece, son-in-law and heir of Augustus, on the basis of the similarities the Corduban example has with the Theatre

bearing his name in Rome, in addition to the link he would have had with the city as its patron, which he would have inherited from his ancestor of the same name. 'It seems that the architect responsible for the building tried to emulate, both in decoration and size, the theatre of Marcellus at Rome.' (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 107) This hypothesis finds support in a tragic feminine mask discovered during the excavations in the Theatre of *Corduba*, which resembles the decoration of the Theatre of Marcellus constructed during the reign of Augustus, as does the absence of a *porticus post scaenam* (Ventura Villanueva 1999: 61; 1996: 90). 'The theatre of Marcellus is only 5 m larger than that at *Córdoba*, which suggests that *Córdoba's* was one of the largest theatres in the western provinces.' (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 107) Carlos Márquez's (1998: 191) comparative stylistic analysis of the decorated pieces pertaining to the edifice confirm to an Augustan dating for the beginning of its decoration, with a capital, a base and the only architrave so far discovered at the site belonging to this earlier phase. Yet the majority of the analysed pieces, including a relive with garland which is attributed to a possible *sacellum in summa cavea* demonstrate characteristics of the first half of the first century AD when the structure of the stage building and the lateral terraces would have been completed, implying an impetus for the completion of the decoration in the Julio-Claudian period (Márquez 1998: 191).

Such a direct connection with Rome would accord well with the evidence, especially in the Corinthian and Doric capitals unearthed in the city, of a strong Italian tradition characterised by the widespread use of marble in the *Colonia Patricia* right from its inception, which has been highlighted by Carlos Márquez (1998: 201-2) as attesting Late Republican Italian contact on the basis of its stucco or painted terracotta attachments decorating the Late Republican layers. The parallel absence of any contemporary local tradition prior to the second century BC leads the author to the conclusion that the Italian settlers of the city would have brought with them the traditions of their places of origin, which apparently found acceptance from the local population that immediately adhered to the new programme. Part of the Roman settler community at *Corduba* was the Seneca family among whose members only the one known as Seneca the Elder is documented to have spent any significant portion of his life in *Hispania*. His sons, Seneca the Younger, who was teacher, confidant, and victim of Emperor Nero, and Junius Gallio, who judged St. Paul when governor *Achaea*, as well as his grandson Lucian, the epic poet who also perished at the hands of Nero, although born at *Corduba*, all moved to Rome in their youth and never returned (Fear 2000: 33-4; Birley 1998: 237). Among other Roman citizens of *Corduba* who had a direct contact with the *princeps* and the imperial family was Sextus Marius, who was the richest man in *Hispania* and a friend of Tiberius, thanks to which he stabilised his position in Rome (Ventura Villanueva 1999: 71). The inscriptions *M·P* denoting the quarry from which the cornices of the *cavea* façade of the Theatre originated most probably corresponded to the initials of *Persini* branch of this family that used to run the quarries and mines of Sierra Morena (Ventura Villanueva 1999: 72).

Observing a remarkable parallelism between the ornamental motives used in the *Colonia Patricia* and those known from Rome, the author suggests the import from Rome of the primary marble materials such as decorated pilasters, altar bases, and garmented frieze blocks during the Augustan period, which were later produced out of very similar material in workshops established under the *principate* of Tiberius, at the latest (Márquez 1998: 206). This would provide an archaeological basis for the description of *Corduba* by ancient historians as a city that imitated Rome in its splendid monuments whose construction materials are known to have come in greater part directly from Rome to achieve an aesthetical uniformity among all the provinces of the Empire (Castejón 1975: 115). In this way, the ‘Republican *Corduba* of limestone and sandstone became *Colonia Patricia* of marble.’ (Ventura *et al.* 1998: 95) According to Márquez (1998: 204-5), the extensive use of marble in both private and public commissions in Roman *Corduba* symbolized an adhesion to the imperial power and a desire, on the part of the individuals, to manifest their Italian roots in more modest architectural forms mostly of funerary character. As a conclusion, comparing the capitals of the three Augustan provinces of *Hispania Romana*, Márquez (1998: 209-10) notes both *Emerita Augusta* and *Corduba* as following the Italian course of urban development, with the latter following the lead of Rome, while observing what he calls a ‘provincialisation of the decorative arts’ at *Tarraco*. There existed marble workshops in both of the former two capitals but the use of marble started much earlier, in the Late Republican period, and more extensively in *Corduba* than in *Emerita Augusta*, which was cast in marble in the late Claudian period and followed by *Tarraco* where its generalisation occurred in the Flavian period with the construction of the complexes in the upper city. Rather than the other two provincial capitals, *Corduba* appears to find its closest parallel, in terms of urban planning and theatre architecture, in the *conventus* capital *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) on the Ebro at the north, which would bring us to the third great moment traceable in the panorama of ancient theatres in the Iberian Peninsula.

4.3 The Tiberian Period

Cepas Palanca (1997: 227) notes that the Theatre of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) is the sole public construction in the Ebro Valley whose evolution could be followed with precision, although there have been suggestions concerning a Tiberian initial construction date for the majority of the other theatres in the region (fig. A.6).

4.3.1 Celsa

Due to its strategic and commercial importance with its bridge that used to be the only one in the upper third course of Ebro up to Tortosana/Dertosa (Lorente Enseñat 2000c; Beltrán 1976), **Celsa** is

described by García y Bellido (1959: 473; also Beltrán Lloris 1990: 190) as the centre of 'Romanisation' in the Ebro valley in the period before the establishment of the *Colonia Caesar Augusta* possibly in 24 BC, especially after the re-settlement here of some 6,000 high-ranking immigrants by Caesar in 51 BC, which included sons of senators and knights, as a preparation for his control over *Llerda* in 49 BC. Mozota (1991: 44) interprets the early abandonment of *Celsa* in the late Claudian or early Neronian period as a reflection of the culmination of Rome's activity in the area when other contemporary towns such as *Caesar Augusta*, *Tarraco* and *Barcino* were at the peak of their urban development. 'There was a process of greater hierarchisation and centralisation, with only *Bilbilis* and *Caesaraugusta* persisting as true centres [...] It must be emphasized ... that it is the towns founded by Augustus which begin the growth, whilst it is the Republican foundations which fall into decay or disappear.' (Mozota 1991: 44)

There has revealed no trace of a pre-Roman population at the site of the Roman colony, implying that the Iberian settlement may have been located possibly at a higher terrace dominating over the Ebro (Bendala Galán 1990: 33). The later translation of the settlement area would have been for a better situation next to the river and the bridge constructed at that point (Bendala Galán 1990: 33). Like *Caesar Augusta*, *Celsa* consisted of a fortified precinct next to a river that clearly acted as the backbone of the territory, conditioning the development and macroform of the settlement, especially in its road network that takes advantage of a system of terraces on which was established the colony (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 190). A tendency for enlargement has been observed for the Augustan period in the initial regular layout of rectangular *insulae* along which was organized the residential quarters of the settlement while other modules and sharp changes in the orientation of road axes, forming trapezoidal *insulae*, have been traced in other parts of the settlement (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 190). A noticeable percentage of marble imported from *Teos* (Anatolia), *Simithu* (Tunisia), *Tenaro* (Greece), and *Carrara* (Italy) has been attested among the remains (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 193-4). Remains from the *scaena* and one third of the *cavea* of the **Theatre of Celsa** were identified beneath the hermitage of S. José (Ianiro 1994/95/96: 240) in the west part of the colony (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 191).

4.3.2 Termes

Termes was located in the high northern Meseta delimited by the rivers Duero and Jalón (*Tiermes* 1990: 21), within the territory of the *Arevaci* who were among the tribes who joined Viriathus in his rise against Rome. The mention only of *Termancia* and *Numancia* as the Celtiberian strongholds during these wars has been interpreted by experts as an affirmation of the concentration of the *Arevaci* in these two fortified places that formed the nucleus of their resistance against Rome. This would explain why, after his unsuccessful siege of *Numancia*, Quintus Pompey, who came to *Hispania* in 141 BC as the Roman consul, attacked *Termancia* next. But the city appears not to have been destructed,

retaining its fortifications up to the early first century BC when it became once more a dangerous city maintaining Celtiberian resistance at a strategic location at the junction of three important routes of communication. Consul Titus Didius' campaign against the uprising proved long and difficult, finally ending in victory in 93 BC. The opposition to Rome would, however, resurrect during the Sertorian wars (80-72 BC), after which Roman domination would start over the cities that allied with Sertorius, including *Osca*, *Termes*, and *Clunia* (fig. A.15) among the places where remains from ancient theatres have been reported or hypothesised (fig. A.2) (Argente Oliver *et al.* 1980: 21-30). Unfortunately, those from the **Theatre of Termes** (fig. A.30) '*are too few to outline the plan of the building and specify its structure. All we know is that the cavea rested on a natural slope.*' (Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994/95/96a: 273)

After the Sertorian wars, Hispania had a trajectory parallel to the nucleus in Italy, being affected more from the political and social upheavals there such as the civil war between Pompey and Caesar (Argente Oliver *et al.* 1980: 29-30). No matter how intense was the penetration of Roman culture into the Meseta, however, the Celtiberians were still speaking their native language by 25 BC and inscriptions dating from the second and third centuries demonstrate that Latin was used only in the big cities while the religion of the people was based on indigenous cults (Argente Oliver *et al.* 1980: 31). Although costumes and customs changed into those worn in the Roman world, the conservative attitude of the Meseta resulted in the reception of the Roman culture over the ethnic basis of the population, who assimilated it without losing its own racial characteristics (Argente Oliver *et al.* 1980: 31). After the new administrative distribution of the provinces of *Hispania* under Augustus, *Termes* was ascribed to the juridical *conventus* of *Clunia* (fig. 4.5). Roman remains at the site are believed to date from the Julio-Claudian period at the earliest, in the light of the close relation between the urbanisation of the city and concession to it of the status of *municipium* (Cepas Palanca 1997: 189-90). Nevertheless, outside the monumental Imperial Forum area, which consisted of what Sentenach had identified as a Basilica that turned out to be a Temple possibly dedicated to the Imperial Cult after the excavations in the 1980s, a continuation is observed in the physical characteristics of the site well into the Roman period, which is dominated by a rocky formation of red sandstone that had apparently led to the development of a 'Rock Architecture' (*Arquitectura Rupestre*) already in the Celtiberian period, with the sandstone living rock sustaining the upper structures and providing for their intact conservation below occasionally rather thick layers of accumulated earth (*Termes* 1990: 23). As a striking example of such continuation, the steps that were carved into the southeast of the fortifications following the natural topography of the land and interpreted as a public space possibly for public gatherings, seem to predate the Roman period monuments although they seem to have stayed in use in the later periods (Cepas Palanca 1997: 190). Instead of the highly-deteriorated Roman Theatre at the site, these well-

preserved steps serve as the venue for annual performances classical drama organised since 1990 by the *Asociación Cultural Comarca de Tiermes* in collaboration with other institutions (*Tiermes* 1991: 77; 1992: 123-25; 1993: 59-61; 1994: 50, 52-53; 1995: 46; 1996: 45-46; 1997: 45-46).

4.3.3 Bilbilis Augusta

When compared to the *Arevaci* of *Termancia*, the *Lusones* of *Bilbilis* seem to have followed a totally different strategy in their relations with Rome. Famous as the scene of struggle between Sertorius and Metellus in the year 74 BC and located over an easily-defendable twin-peaked mountain at a strategic position on the banks of the Jalón river at its junction with the Jiloca river between the natural passes connecting the Levant coast to the Castellanian Meseta via the Ebro valley, the foundation of *Bilbilis* is ascribed to the *Lusones*, who are known to have shown no resistance to Rome during the First Celtiberian War and benefitted from Roman friendship in the years to follow (Martín Bueno 1975: 29; Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén 1993: 119). This early settlement area is believed to lay somewhere below the existing Roman period remains, either on the *highest point on the natural rocky outcropping* overlooking the Jalón valley, which is known as Bámbolea or San Paterno and identified by some authors as an Iberian Citadel (Mierse 1999: 150; Martín Bueno 1975: 202), or at the central part of the city which was easily accessible from the plain below where construction was much easier when compared to the upper parts, or distributed over the whole middle and upper part of the site (Martín Bueno 1975: 202). With Roman intervention in Celtiberia, there would have emerged a walled-in precinct, which may have been limited to the later Acropolis, as argued Sentenach, unless there existed a sort of 'Apartheid' between indigenous and Roman populations, with determined and limited zones occupied by each, as suggested by Galiay Sarañana (Martín Bueno 1975: 203). According to Mozota (1991: 40) this latter is a later Roman foundation, *Bilbilis Italica*, whereas the initial settlement would have been located in the lowlands on a river terrace at the junction of the Jiloca and Jalón rivers in the middle Ebro valley. In either case, the initial settlement at the site would have undergone comprehensive transformation after the city received Roman citizens during the Caesarean civil wars and attained municipal status in 27 BC under Augustus and later under the Julio-Claudians when the early settlement was thoroughly built over by a new urban structure of public and private spaces, monumentalising and embellishing the city that now expands over some 24 ha (Mierse 1999: 156), by monumental complexes and single buildings including the Theatre and the Forum with its principle octastyle Temple, which apparently formed an architectural complex (Lostal Pros 1980: 194-5).

Both Roman ritual practice and architectural development show that the theatre and temple at Bilbilis probably were conceived as a single unit. Though not paralleled by any other construction yet known from the western provinces, the concept invoked at Bilbilis had good solid Roman cultic and architectural pedigrees, though it does seem reasonable to suggest that the combination of theater with Temple to the

Imperial Cult (if such is correct) places the Bilbilis ensemble on the cutting edge of architecture designed for cultic practice. (Mierse 1999: 159)

One of the characteristics of this later settlement was the existence, in the intramural area, of walls resembling the city walls, which would have divided the city into quarters, according to Sentenach (Martín Bueno 1975: 213). Their primary function seems to have been levelling the land in the best possible way for the construction of houses, the majority of which are thought to have been small flat-roofed edifices that were scattered irregularly over the land due to the site topography, with the roof of one serving as the floor of the other, in a principally terraced city where the characteristics of the natural terrain dominate over other considerations, making it hardly comparable to a classical Roman city like the nearby *Caesar Augusta* (Martín Bueno 1975: 214, 216). This image would conform to García y Bellido's (1966⁸; cited in Martín Bueno 1975: 199) mention of *Bilbilis* among the cities that were born spontaneously, without clear characteristics of urbanisation and generally adapted to the imperative necessities of the land. The outpost that controlled the natural passes connecting the Mediterranean coast to the Castellanian meseta via the Ebro valley during times of war would soon lose its strategic importance under the *pax romana* and the difficult terrain that made the city easily defensible would turn into an economic disadvantage, especially when compared to the location of the nearby *Caesar Augusta*, leading to the total abandonment of *Bilbilis* as early as the fourth century AD (Martín Bueno 1975: 239).

The Temple-Forum-Theatre complex is located in the heavily-eroded south part of the site, where the land drops sharply to the valley floor like it does in the east as opposed to its north and west parts that continue to climb further high. The lower and intermediary *maeniana* of the less-than-semicircular *cavea* of the **Theatre of Bilbilis** is bedded into the virgin natural curve of a crevasse of a profound ravine between the Sta. Bárbara and Bámbola hills, while the upper *cavea* was amplified with concrete construction, which is also the material used to mould the entrances (Mierse 1999: 150-1; Lostal Pros 1980: 196). Extending between the two hills, the *orchestra* of the edifice rests over an impressive 6m-deep mass of concrete and stone infill that would have served as the foundation of the stage building, featuring material that enabled a dating of the edifice to the late first century BC when *Bilbilis* was granted municipal status by Augustus (Mierse 1999: 151-2). In this way, the Theatre of *Bilbilis* exploits the natural characteristics of its site through the introduction of a platform extending the natural spur of jutting rock, which may be interpreted as a continuation of the intramural walls constructed for levelling the land. Site characteristics had apparently necessitated the employment of a mixed system of carving into the living rock and filling of the repressed parts with *opus caementicium* up to the required level to

⁸ García y Bellido, A. 1966. *Urbanística de las Grandes Ciudades del Mundo Antiguo*. C.S.I.C., Madrid.

place the seating blocks, which takes the form of filled box-like compartments out of 45 cm-thick concentric and radial *opus incertum* walls in the central part of the *cavea*—a system commonly adopted for performance buildings and detected also below the *orchestra* at *Bilbilis* (Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén 1993: 119, 121).

These manmade contributions would have contributed rather than diminishing the impact of natural features, especially when seen from below (Mierse 1999: 160). Mierse (1999: 160) underlines that although earlier Republican Italian sanctuaries provide legitimate comparisons to the concept applied at *Bilbilis*, they fail to provide actual design parallels as does the great Theatre-Temple complex at the Acropolis of *Pergamum* in Asia Minor, to which the Temple-Forum-Theatre complex at *Bilbilis* is linked by three specific design traits:

- (1) casual placement of the individual elements of the composition, which permits the landscape itself, rather than rules of axially or symmetry, to determine how and where structures are placed;
- (2) the arrangement of the sanctuary above the theatre;
- (3) the use of a long projecting tongue of land to move the architecture out into the void. (Mierse 1999: 160)

At *Pergamum*, the Athena Sanctuary crowning the Acropolis overlooks the Selinus plain below from the top of the west slope of the hill that has been exploited as the bed for a Theatre to end in a jutting out terrace. Mierse (1999: 160) notes after Lehmann (1954)⁹ that the Athena Temple initially stood alone, dominating its high position, and later the Temenos of the Temple was enclosed on two sides and the Theatre was built during the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 BC), as proposed after Radt (1988: 180, 286)¹⁰. In this way, the Athena Sanctuary above was linked to the terraces and two small temples below through the Theatre (Mierse 1999: 160). Although not clearly known, the Temple and the Theatre may have been conceived of as a single unit, as suggested by Mierse (1999: 160-61) in the absence of any major buildings on the west side of the Temple Temenos in such a way as to permit movement between the two. The excessively steep *cavea* of the Theatre that has been cut partially into the living rock is emblematic of the great part played by the natural terrain in decisions concerning the layout and interrelations among individual architectural components of the overall urban complex of the *Pergamum* Acropolis, enabling Mierse to evaluate it as a probable prototype for *Bilbilis*. The concern for vista, both from inside out and from the outside, would have also played an important part in the design decisions, as revealed in Lehmann (1954) and applicable to *Bilbilis* where '*The ensemble moves up the south slope, spreading from the orchestra of the theatre up through the cavea to the level of the terraces, where the composition is at its largest, and then resolving in the raised temple, the roof of*

⁹ Lehmann, P.W. 1954. 'The setting of Hellenistic temples', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 13 (4) 15-20.

¹⁰ Radt, W. 1988. *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole*. Cologne.

which must have peaked just above the surrounding porticoes' (Mierse 1999: 162-3). The platform of the Temple dominating the east side of the Theatre 'was extended to the south by means of a concrete and stone vault that created a profile visible from the valley below. The reason could have been a dramatic setting for the temple.' (Mierse 1999: 156) The situation of the Theatre at a level lower than the Temple would have prevented its *scaenae frons* from blocking the view up to the Sanctuary dedicated to the Imperial Cult (Mierse 1999: 160). The west side of the Theatre is bounded by the main access into the city (Mierse 1999: 157). Robbing the entire ensemble of any sense of axuality (Mierse 1999: 159), these all demonstrate for Mierse (1999: 156) that the Temple-Forum-Theatre complex at *Bilbilis* has been conceived in Hellenistic terms, as a reflection of the significance of the political rank of the city within a region dominated culturally and politically by the *conventus* capital *Caesar Augusta*, in which regard the old native centres at *Numantia* and *Termantia* were nowhere near, although in the process of rebuilding and 'Romanising'.

However, references in the context of *Bilbilis* to the Hellenistic constructions of Asia Minor were not confined to these. As suggested by Mierse in reference to Martin-Bueno's dating of the first construction phase of the Temple at *Bilbilis*, specific techniques implemented in its construction also support the relationship implied between the 'Hellenistic East' and this new urban centre on the Iberian Peninsula. These include the use of post-and-lintel system for the multi-storey porticoes and of isolated supports for each column, in addition to the construction of large artificial platforms to support the Temple podium (Mierse 1999: 161-2). These observations would strengthen the view that, despite the strong possibility that a pre-Augustan town with a considerable population was present at the site which may also explain the grant of the rank of *municipium*, this native element seems to be as insufficient as the Roman design principles developed at the nearby *conventus* capital *Colonia Caesar Augusta* in explaining the design choices made at *Bilbilis*, which were governed by the natural terrain and the preconceived notions of the 'Imperial Roman city' as they had already developed so far in the Roman west, as suggested by Martin-Bueno (Mierse 1999: 156-7). Mierse (1999: 157) agrees that:

The site itself did dictate choices. There is no evidence for an orthogonal arrangement at *Bilbilis*, and in fact the residential quarters appear to have climbed the hill to the north or descended the slopes near the theatre. The features of the south side are adapted to the setting, but moreover, the theatre, temple, and forum are all specifically Roman features that belong to the Imperial design programs of the West. Theatres, temples, and fora were among the first items built at new foundations or recently Romanised native settlements. What is novel at *Bilbilis* is their arrangement, for here the difficulties of the terrain have been exploited to create a truly dramatic siting for these elements (Mierse 1999: 157)

Consequentially, Elvira (1992: 27-28) describes the Theatre of *Bilbilis* as one of those post-Augustan monuments where the perfect semicircular form of the *cavea* was dispensed with to avoid the cost to shape the slope in the required shape. Indeed, the plan of the edifice appears to be strictly semicircular

along the symmetry axis of the building, up to the *praecinctio* between the *ima* and *media cavea* where the diameter line retreats 21 degrees, which is, however, explained by Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén (1993) as an 'anomaly' caused by the difficulty of projecting a confluent harmony between the rectilinear architecture of the Forum and the semicircle of the Theatre to achieve an organic unity in a complicated topographical situation. Located over a higher-level platform close to the Theatre is a Temple possibly dedicated to the Imperial Cult, whose construction must have been finished by AD 28 when it was dedicated by a commemorative inscription to the Emperor Tiberius in his twenty-ninth *Tribunicia potestas* (Mierse 1999: 152; Cepas Palanca 1997: 160; Jiménez Salvador 1992: 22). An access ramp from the Temple to the Theatre has suggested a direct connection between the two buildings which appear to have been planned together (Martín-Bueno 1982: 89), as does the Augustan or Tiberian Forum that is situated over the plain flanking the east side of the Theatre from a higher level reached by the uppermost tiers of the *cavea* (Martín Bueno 1975: 233). At a period immediately after the initial construction of the Theatre sometime between 1 and 14 AD, and certainly after the inauguration of the essential elements of the Forum complex, a *crypta* must have been constructed in the upper *cavea* to establish unity with the porticoes of the Forum, as testified by the analysis of the ceramic deposit below this area.

The upper *cavea* possibly consisted of timber seating rows over this ambulatory or *crypta* between the perimeter wall of the semicircle of the Theatre and the exterior façade of the edifice, from which the *media cavea* was accessible through the *vomitoria* (Gaudens Cross 1994/95/96: 235; Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén 1993: 125). Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén (1993: 125-6) analyse this circular corridor in three functional zones. Lying in the east-west direction, the first one of these corresponds to the Forum-Theatre connection, from where the public may have been directed either towards the eastern or central part of the *cavea* from the rectilinear portico of the Forum. The second zone corresponds to a closed corridor running below the central part of the tiers, between two gates on either side of a *sacellum* situated at the highest part of the axis of the *cavea*, which is the only part of the building that has an exterior façade out of plain *opus incertum*, providing connection with the exterior through a staircase connecting to the *porticus in summa gradatione*. The third zone occupies the small, isolated area between the accesses that flank the *podium* of the *sacellum* and below its superstructure. Most probably dedicated to a member of the imperial family, and possibly to Livia, as may be inferred on the basis of the unique piece of sculpture recovered from its vicinity, the *sacellum* of the Theatre of *Bilbilis* is described by Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén (1993: 127) as one of the most notable examples of its kind, in maintaining best the physical characteristics of the Pompeyan model in Rome with its notable prolongation towards the exterior of the *cavea* and its colonnaded façade opening onto the interior.

This analogy established with the archetypal Theatre of Pompey in Rome would have formed the basis for a restitution of the highly-deteriorated extant remains from the Theatre of *Bilbilis* using the Vitruvian canon for Latin theatres and the architectural orders, in the face of the 'anomaly' observed in the layout of the building to achieve an organic unity in a complicated topographical situation. As already mentioned in the previous chapter (fig. 3.2), the *sacellum* of the Theatre of *Bilbilis* has been observed by Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén (1993: 124) to confirm to the order based on a regular division of the *orchestra* radius, repeating the proportions in the circles that mark the *valvae*, since the measurement of its frontal part is equal to the *orchestra* radius itself while the proportions of its main body fits well into a Pythagorean triangle of 3-4-5, with a unit dimension that equals 1/4 of the generating radius, which enabled the authors to reconstitute it in three dimensions. The overall dimensions of the building have also been found to obey the same logic of units, as the length of the *scaenae frons* equals 22/6 of the *orchestra* radius, which corresponds exactly to the distance that separates the centre of the *orchestra* and the exterior line of *cavea* wall. In their restitution drawing, the *orchestra* of the building appears as a complete semicircle measuring 20m in diameter up to the limit of the *ima cavea* and, on the basis of the positions of the elements of the *scaenae* with regard to the Vitruvian schema, the *cavea* is proposed to have been composed of six *cunei*, following the vertices of the inscribed triangles that control the positioning of the *valvae*. After tracing the circle of the *orchestra* and the four equilateral triangles, the authors continue with the same logic to find the geometrical centre of the *scaenae frons* as indicated by the tangent of the *scaenae*. They divide the distance between the tangent and the centre, that is, the radius of the *orchestra*, into six to align the principle elements of the stage building. They locate the *pulpiti frons* at a distance of 1/6, as this would also conform to the missing decoration of the niches and exedras, while saving the units 3/6 and 4/6 for the doors of the *itineraria versurarum* or the centre of the circle of the *valva regia* of the triple *valvae* of the stage building, whose diameter would equal the radius of the *orchestra* circle. The vertices corresponding to a parallel of the 5/6 at a distance of 1/4 of the radius were used to locate the *valva hospitalis*, whose centre is not known as it is aligned with the *valva regia*. *Itineraria versurarum* accesses have been also located along the same line.

Passing to the extant remains from the stage building, although the columns of the stage building stylistically imply an older date, their composition and painted stucco decorations on the *porticus*, which have been dated to a period between 35-45 AD¹¹, suggest that the architectural decoration of the *scaenae frons* was probably realised during the last years of the reign of Tiberius or the first of Claudius. Later, between the end of the first and the first quarter of the second centuries AD, the *postscaenium* started to be enlarged, seemingly as an isolated activity that constituted the final

¹¹ Guiral, C. 1990. *Bilbilis: Decoración Pictórica y Estucos Ornamentales*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Zaragoza.

construction stage of the edifice. For Elvira (1992: 28), the renovated stage design of the Theatre of *Bilbilis* represents the last phase in the theatre architecture of Roman *Hispania*, which is characterised by showy apses between colonnades. Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén (1993: 130) find the closest geographical and chronological parallel of the *scaenae frons* of the Theatre of *Bilbilis* featuring three curvilinear exedras in that of the Theatre of *Saguntum* and note these two examples as the earliest in the Empire documenting this compositional solution. The *scaenae frons* of the Theatres of *Carthago Nova* and *Malaca* also feature three curvilinear exedras, the central one of which is, however, slightly larger than the lateral ones.

4.3.4 Saguntum

In addition to the parallelism drawn between the *scaenae frons* of the Theatres of *Bilbilis* (fig. A.11) and *Saguntum* (fig. A.25), Mierse (1999: 152) finds the closest Hispanic parallel of the contemporary Temple-Forum-Theatre complex at *Bilbilis* in *Saguntum* where a Theatre was constructed in a natural hollow in the old city that was partially filled at a period when the city fathers were redesigning their Forum. The *cavea* of the **Theatre of *Saguntum***, which features an interruption at the centre of the attic portico, possibly for a *sacellum* as at *Bilbilis*, as another parallelism between the two examples

is split up into three *maeniana* separated by one or more passages and a portico *in summa cavea*. The *maenianum imum* (six steps divided into four *cunei*) and *medium* (eight steps and six *cunei*) are dug out of the limestone, whereas the *summum* (nine steps and ten *cunei*) and the portico are built on substructures. A second ring (3rd century restoration) running around the *cavea* with an interruption in the middle provides access from outside. The inner access and circulation passages were fully planned to correspond to the different orders of steps. The *parodoi* provided access to the *proedria* formed by two broad steps, *cavea*, second ring, *parascaenia* and rooms. The other entrances opened into the wall bounding the hemicycle. (Aranegui and Gaudens Cross 1994/95/96: 262)

The *Saguntum* complex has been dated to the late-Augustan or early-Tiberian period on the basis of infill material, which makes it contemporary with the urban-scale implementation at *Bilbilis*. Both *Bilbilis* and *Saguntum* were 'native' cities that used to extend over rocky, raised landscapes where 'the commanding heights of the older town were kept and then adopted to suit the new Roman model' (Mierse 1999: 158). At *Saguntum*, the pre-Roman settlement area at the heights of the Castle Hill, which had been fortified since the fourth century BC, expanded towards the east during the second century BC and a Capitulum-type Temple was built directly on the bedrock on virgin land, out of local dry masonry (Mierse 1999: 37). Such early appearance of a Capitulum Temple in a native town with no evidence of a resident Roman community has been explained by Mierse (1999: 39) by the special relation *Saguntum* had with Rome. Rome was involved in the Second Punic War officially to help and avenge *Saguntum*, after whose recovery Publius and Gneus Scipio are known to have gone great pains to re-establish the city, even seeking out former residents who had been sold to slavery after the

city's fall in 219 BC. 'The temple, erected in a new sector, could well have been a physical manifestation of the relationship between Saguntum and Rome' (Mierse 1999: 39) and of the degree of native willingness to emulate and imitate a foreign cultural model (Mierse 1999: 49). The Augustan period would witness an expansion of the settlement over the region surrounding the Republican Temple, through the construction to its north and west of strong terracing walls out of mortared blocks of local dolomite limestone, setting it apart on a platform space possibly in a larger architectural ensemble (Mierse 1999: 59).

Roman Republican precedents for the combination of a Sanctuary and a Theatre into a single architectural complex, as in the Theatre of Pompey with the overlooking Temple of Venus Victrix or the Sanctuary of Fortuna at *Praeneste*, must have informed choices made on the Iberian Peninsula throughout the reign of Augustus (Mierse 1999: 158). As in these examples that were constructed partially out of concrete, the Theatre of *Saguntum* 'was designed to form an element in the urban plan centered on the forum, and was physically joined to it' (Mierse 1999: 152) whereas the Theatre of *Bilbilis* was, instead, an element in a type of ensemble resembling the *Pergamum* Acropolis in the casual allocation of the Theatre and Sanctuary by taking advantage of the natural setting, with additional artificial terracing to support the *orchestra* and the *scaenae frons*, which largely determined the general layout and form of the complex, dominating the overall ensemble to a degree unusual for a Roman construction and resulting in a total loss of axiality that is characteristic of Republican period Roman urban design concerns (Mierse 1999: 152). Another important difference between the two examples is the importance accorded to the Sanctuary dedicated possibly to the Imperial Cult on the east side of the Theatre at *Bilbilis* while at *Saguntum*, the Sanctuaries were located on the Forum (Mierse 1999: 159). Despite these differences, Mierse (1999) sees a connection between these two Tiberian complexes at *Bilbilis* and *Saguntum* and the contemporary situation of architecture in western Asia Minor in the first quarter of the first century AD while Jiménez Salvador (1992: 18) relates the system of terracing adopted in both examples to a tradition commonly adopted throughout the whole Mediterranean to cope with geographical difficulties in a spectacular way, and Carmen Fernández Ochoa (1992: iv) attests in it a clear Hellenistic inspiration that would have resulted in a great theatrical perspective. The commonness of this method in the settlements where we find remains from ancient theatres in the Ebro valley would provide a partial explanation for their organisation around a single main street instead of the two (*decumanus maximus* and *cardo maximus*) usually expected in Roman foundations, which is highlighted by Fernández Ochoa (1992: 12) among the town-planning characteristics of this region. Ball (2000: 249) would relate this concept with the layout of Mausolus' new monumental city of *Halicarnassus* that involved new elements such as monumental terracing, grand approaches, massive propylaea and monumentality for the introduction of visual properties that

elaborated the city as a medium of self-glorification and propaganda, as in the Hellenistic *Pergamum*, *Cos*, *Lindos* and *Labranda*. According to the author, '*Iranian origins can be seen in these new elements, demonstrated so impressively by the monumental royal layouts of Pasargadae, Susa and Persepolis, or perhaps by the earlier Neo-Babylonian ceremonial centre of Babylon.*' (Ball 2000: 249) Yet their introduction into the Iberian Peninsula seems to have waited until the Tiberian period.

When compared with the Augustan period, which was marked by the personal interest of the *princeps* in the monumental architecture of the cities founded or re-founded especially in the newly-established western provinces of the Empire, the Tiberian period would appear as comparatively inactive in terms of architectural production since Tiberius was not particularly generous to the provinces and did not engage himself with major urban programmes, apart from finishing the already-started. While Mierse (1999: 164) finds support to believe that Tiberius was a philhellene in his fondness of Rhodes, where he had spent his years of exile engaging in philosophical debates and attending lectures, and in his Villa Jovis on Capri, where he had surrounded himself with a Greek atmosphere, this does not necessarily lead to the suggestion that he promoted Hellenic culture in the Roman West where he left the responsibility largely with local patronage in funding public architecture. One exception apparently occurred with this general policy when an earthquake in AD 17 damaged the cities of Asia Minor, including Sardis '*where Tiberius gave outright 10 million sesterces and the remission of all contributions to the Imperial and public treasuries for five years. This was a tremendous amount of money, and the excavations have produced some glimmers of how the city responded to the rebuilding process.*' (Mierse 1999: 169) By that time, the old Hellenistic centres along the west coast of Asia Minor, which were subjected to such large-scale repair and rebuilding activity in the third decade of the first century AD, had undergone major construction, as exemplified in the Theatres of *Pergamum* during the first century BC or *Ephesus* during the Augustan period. Mierse (1999: 169) reminds us, within this framework, that Herod of Judaea is known to have donated large sums to the cities of the Anatolian coast, which '*may have served to encourage traditional Hellenistic building, particularly in places like Pergamon, considering his fondness for grand, dramatic architectural projects.*' The author suggests that the architects responsible for the complexes at *Saguntum* and *Bilbilis* may have been trained in projects for the repair and reconstruction of the earthquake-beaten cities of Asia Minor, the majority of which were likely to have a dominantly Hellenistic architectural heritage and tradition. In addition to the impact of Hellenistic theory on the work of Vitruvius, Mierse (1999: 164-5, 170) bases his proposal on documents referring to the contemporary architectural profession in Rome as often practised by Greeks who were trained through apprenticeship in projects such as these and then moved around the Mediterranean by the Roman army and the Imperial administration, together with building material. In this way, the author highlights Imperial Roman agency in passing Hellenistic architectural traits of Asia

Minor on the Iberian Peninsula during the Tiberian period and the willingness of local elites who favour integration in Roman administration in their absorption:

A Greek or a non-Greek architect, apprenticed in the East on one of the large-scale projects, easily may have been brought to the Iberian Peninsula as an army engineer or perhaps in the service of the governor. Pliny asked the Emperor Trajan to send him an architect to undertake specific projects. Under such circumstances, it is not hard to imagine the elite of Saguntum or Bilbilis tapping just such a person to redesign their cities. (Mierse 1999: 170)

As to the motivating force behind the decision to employ design ideas from Asia Minor in places like *Saguntum* and *Bilbilis*, Mierse (1999: 170-2) traces local desires rather than Imperial policy and explains the choice of an Hellenistic form recalling *Pergamum* by the Roman associations of the latter, reminding us of the fact ‘*that the Athena temple at Pergamon was one of the sites of honoring the Emperor Augustus at the city, and so there may have been some exploitation of iconographical associations when a similar design was created for the Imperial Cult sanctuary at Bilbilis.*’ (Mierse 1999: 172) As noted by Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén (1993: 119), these efforts on the part of the local élite were apparently aimed at emerging from the anonymity of many centres to transform into a rivalling prosperous nucleus for the Roman *emulatio*—a well-thought and executed policy of the Roman administration and the local elites who had converted themselves to the most effective supporters of the situation created by the imperial administration and the new order.

4.3.5 Arcobriga

A similar development may perhaps be suggested for the city of *Arcobriga* (fig. A.8), on the basis of its similarity with the nearby *Bilbilis*, as described in a manuscript dating from 1910s by Enrique Aguilera y Gamboa, Marquis of Cerralbo, who was the first to identify a site on Cerro Villar (Villar Hill) overlooking the Jalón river as the ancient city of *Arcobriga* and to excavate it for four years. Breaking into three concentric plateaux, the east and west flanks of the Villar Hill are limited by the Hermosa and Poyatos ravines while its south side was separated from the Sierra Gonzalo artificially for defence purposes (Lostal Pros 1980: 202) and heavily fortified by double walls except on the east, with additional fortification around the highest of the plateaux identified by Cerralbo as the Acropolis (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 19). Access was provided from the fertile Jalón plain up through a series of ramps on the north-east slope of the Hill that enter the fortifications from a stairway (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 19).

Lostal Pros (1980: 202) attests the etymology of *Arcobriga* in the Celtic deity *Arco*, whose name originated in the Indo-European root **ork-s-os* denoting ‘bear’, as does *oso* in Castellano, suggesting a cult of bear, while ‘-*briga*’, meaning ‘fortress’ or ‘fortified settlement’, is known to have stayed in use among Romanised Celtic populations (*Caesarobriga*, *Augustobriga*) up to the Flavian period

(*Flaviobriga*). Despite these Celtic implications, limited archaeological research at the site has so far produced a short chronological sequence extending from the middle of the first up to the third centuries AD (Lostal Pros 1980: 207), although experts seem to agree on the existence of a yet ignored indigenous level dating to the last two centuries BC at the earliest and on the first century AD as the most important and definitive moment in the settlement history of the site when the remodelling of the city was initiated (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 65). By that time, Roman presence had been attested at the site during the Augustan period, which marks the beginning of Roman assimilation of indigenous contingencies in the strategically important territory of *Celtiberia Citerior*. As noted earlier, Celtiberian strongholds of *Numancia* and *Termancia* were among many others were re-founded over existing remains in the time of Augustus, when *Arcobriga* was most probably re-founded over pre-existent remains (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 65). The characteristics of the landscape must have necessitated a development along the lines of the indigenous layout, with streets following the axes of the indigenous while *insulae* fail to repeat an easily observable module (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 65). As before, the principle must have been to take maximum advantage of the natural terrain (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 65).

Controversially highlighting the rectilinearity of the remains at the site as a characteristic of Roman as opposed to the disordered Iberian constructions (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 20) that were characterised in the urban scale by their strict adaptation to the natural topography of the land, Cerralbo describes in detail a badly damaged rectangular construction fitting into the north-east slope of the Hill, with its two surviving sides serving as strong retaining walls, which he identified as a Roman Temple (Lostal Pros 1980: 205). A series of eleven column bases discovered by Cerralbo along the longitudinal axis of the rectangle have been interpreted as pertaining to a *Marcellum* or food market in one of the galleries of the Forum to the north of the grand Acropolis walls, among a group of public buildings on one of the lower plateaux. Entered from the street in front of the south gallery of the *Marcellum* was a rich structure designated by Cerralbo as a Palace (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 22) and reached through a ramp lowering from the marketplace was the biggest edifice of the building, a Basilica situated near the Forum and the marketplace (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 23). Surrounded by terraces, the Basilica was almost tangent to the circle of the Theatre over the south slope of the Villar hill, which would have been accessible through a ramp conserved at the south end of the Basilica that was located at such a dominating height that would have provided for a perfect enjoyment of the representations while also serving as a lounge during the intermissions, very much like the colonnade the Theatre of Pompey had for this very purpose. Despite the failure of later authors to detect any trace of them¹², the Marquis has

¹² In a footnote of the fifth chapter on the theatres of his essay on the Roman province of Baetica, Thouvenot (1940: 426) notes that the theatre at *Arcobriga* was not totally excavated by the Marquis of Cerralbo but that its grand lines are visible, which should be the reason why he could give the diameter of the edifice as 58m (Thouvenot 1940: 427), a piece of information not included in the

imagined the tiers of the *cavea* to have descended down from the Basilica, taking advantage of the grand and profound ravine between the Acropolis and the plateau of public buildings, which would have been modified greatly to give them a semicircular form through carving into the living rock following the 'Greek custom', in Cerralbo's words (fig. A.8).

4.3.6 Clunia

A similar but much better conserved example is the 'Greek style' (Mierse 1999: 176) Theatre of *Clunia* (fig. A.15), which is the only Roman Theatre so far located in the Northern Meseta and in the whole north-eastern and northern Spain (Almagro Basch and Almagro-Gorbea 1982: 25). It is the first monument that catches the eye, possibly near a gateway outside the probably fortified area (Cepas Palanca 1997: 183; Palol 1982) at the border of the plateau on which the Roman city of *Clunia Sulpicia* was located. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the fact that the *summa cavea* of the edifice has eight *cunei*, which is double the number in the lower two, has been interpreted by Palol (1978: 29) as a compliance to Vitruvian conventions and the unity observed in the construction and distribution of the *cavea* has formed the basis for its restitution through the inscription of squares into the circle of the *orchestra* to define a series of Pythagorean relations based on the ratio $\sqrt{2}$, which is reminiscent of Vitruvian method for Greek theatres (fig. 3.7). The building has been dated to the Tiberian period on the basis of ceramic and numismatic evidence, in addition to stylistic evidence coming from its Corinthian capitals that are very similar to those of the Forum, which was dated to the Julio-Claudian period and more precisely to the beginning of the first century AD (Elvira 1992: VII; Palol 1978: 36-39), when the Roman settlement founded on the Alto de Castro by Augustus or Tiberius seems to have started its development to become, probably under Claudius (Mierse 1999: 176), the chief market town of the northern plateau (Curchin 1991: 118) and an important centre in the administration of the *Provincia Tarraconensis* at the head of one of the *Conventi Iuridici*, which is described by Palol (1978: 19) as the largest in the *Hispaniae* with its territory of 130 hectares. Public buildings so far excavated bring to minds the possibility that they may have served for the whole region, as may be deduced also from a map showing the distribution of antique theatres and from the theory of Carmen García Merino who considers *Clunia* to be a regional centre (Palol in Beltrán Martínez 1982: 50), which would explain the great size of its Theatre that is among the largest so far discovered in the Iberian Peninsula (fig. A.4).

manuscript of Cerralbo dated 20 October 1911, as published under the direction of Beltrán Lloris (1987: 24). Here, in this later publication, the authors commenting on Cerralbo's manuscript in footnote additions note that no remains from the Theatre have survived at the surface to their day and therefore denote the edifice in their opening statements as the 'supposed theatre' (*supuesto teatro*) (Beltrán Lloris 1987: 11), repeating the statement of Lostal Pros (1980: 206) that there had not remained anything noticeable from the Theatre to his day.

The Alto de Castro is one of the two hills separated by the Arandilla river at its junction by the Espeja river, on which are located major remains from ancient *Clunia* that is thought to have been the head of Celtiberia as the last Carthaginian *conventus* (Almagro in Beltrán Martínez 1982: 50). ‘Two Roman bridges cross the Espeja, and a winding road leads up the hill to the town.’ (Curchin 1991: 118) ‘The earlier native and Republican settlements may have been located somewhat away from the forum area of the later city, which has been the focus of excavations.’ (Mierse 1999: 176) According to another theory, remains from the pre-Roman Celtiberian city of the *Arevaci* were located on the other hill, Alto del Cuerno to its southwest (Palol 1978: 11; Curchin 1991: 118). The *Arevaci* are known to have played an important part in the Sertorian Wars and in general during the Republican Roman period, siding with *Numancia* in a final attempt for independence from Rome in 56 BC (Palol 1978: 11, 17-18).

Livy (*Per.* 72) says that Pompey besieged Sertorius in Clunia in 75 BC, but according to Sallust (*Hist.* 2.93) Clunia hesitated between Sertorius and Pompey. It fell into the hands of Perpenna (*Exuperantius* 8; *Florus* 2.10.9), and is mentioned at the end of the Celtiberian wars when the *Vaccaei* were defeated by Metellus who attacked Clunia. Winter imposed an armistice in 56 (*Dio Cass.* 39.54) Africanus, a legate of Pompey during the triumvirate, finally subdued the *Arevaci* and the *Vaccaei*. (PECS)

Palol (1978) underlines the possibility that the part the city played in these upheavals against Rome would have necessitated a constant Roman presence at *Clunia* through the creation of a separate Roman settlement recalling the *dipolis* model, which owed much of its importance to its being located along some major and minor Roman roads that included the ‘*grand via del Duero*’ that started off from *Caesar Augusta* (modern Zaragoza) on the *Iberus* (modern Ebro) and branched off at *Clunia* in the direction of *Termes* and *Segontia* to connect *Caesaraugusta* to *Toletum* (Palol 1978: 11-15). Whether there existed Celtiberian remains also below the Roman levels at Alto de Castro has not yet been clarified but pre-Roman indigenous remains have revealed in the southeast of the Castle of *Clunia* that may have belonged to the initial *Arevaci* settlement from which the later Roman city took its name, and remains from another Roman period settlement have been located over those from an Early Iron Age *oppidum* in the plain to the northeast of the third hill at the site, the so-called Muela (Palol 1978: 11, 17).

After the establishment of Roman domination over the Celtiberian revolts led by the *Arevaci*, the name of *Clunia* came to the forth in the year AD 69 on the occasion of another revolt, this time against the Emperor Nero by his successor Galba, who founded specifically for this purpose the famous *Legio VII Gemina* also known as the *Legio Galbiana* for whom the city of Leon would later be founded as their permanent camp in *Hispania*. ‘It was undoubtedly in Clunia that Galba gave the standard to the new *Legio VII Gemina* on 10 June 68 (*Tac.*, *Hist.* 2.11.1; 3.22.4; *Dio Cass.* 55.24; *Suet.*, *Galba* 10).’ (PECS) After the defeat of Vindex, his colleague in the rebellion, Galba remained within the walls of *Clunia* until he received there the news on the death of Nero and left the city in the company of the *Gemini* to be

granted the imperial diadem in Rome. Commemorating this event is a series of *sestercios* with a female figure offering the *palladium* to the enthroned Galba and the inscription *HISPANIA CLVNIA SVL(picia)*, possibly in allusion to the title *imperator* which Galba took in *Hispania* and specifically in *Clunia* (Palol 1978: 19-20). The same representation brings forth the possibility that *Clunia* may have been given the title *Sulpicia* by Galba, although it fails to give any clue concerning the grant of colonial status, which is attested in a Hadrianic inscription dating from AD 137 (Cepas Palanca 1997: 181; PECS).

As to the layout of the Roman urban nucleus, Mierse (1999: 184-5) points out to the resemblance *Clunia* (fig. A.15) bears to *Bilbilis* (fig. A.11) in the construction of the town in a high position rather than in the valley and in the treatment of the Theatre. One characteristic of the monuments so far excavated and integrated into a site plan is the diversity observed in their orientations with regards to the cardinal directions that result in what Palol (1982) describes as a Pergamon-like layout in a Pergamon-like setting. According to the author, this would have resulted from the existence of an older orthogonal plan, over which others were superimposed already in a very early period prior to the implantation of the grand rectangle of the Forum before the Flavian era and possibly after *Clunia's* assumption of the role as a *conventus* capital (Mierse 1999: 176), whose orientation is indicated by the *insula* occupied by House I (Casa I) and the *decumanus* delimiting it. Palol (1982; also Mierse 1999: 178) believes the central axis of the **Theatre of *Clunia*** (fig. A.15) to be parallel to the *decumanus* that is reminiscent of this earlier orthogonal layout. The layout of the Claudian Forum, which is the largest in the Peninsula, is at angles with the *decumanus* from where a gateway leads from one corner (Palol 1982). A *decumanus maximus* is expected but not yet revealed to the north of the Forum where it is flanked possibly by a Temple (Palol 1982). At the opposite end of the Basilica inside the Forum was another Temple, of Jupiter or the Capitoline Triad. Other public buildings unearthed so far include two Bath complexes dating to the second century, in addition to another smaller thermal complex to the east of the Forum (Cepas Palanca 1997: 183-4).

Despite the high level of 'Romanisation' suggested by these monuments in what apparently was a native Celtiberian stronghold against Rome, Palol (1966-67: 269) defines the architectural features of the Theatre of *Clunia* as 'provincial' in the sense of being within the local stylistic norms, which produced its ornamentations carved into limestone instead of marble. The upper two of the three *maeniana* in the *cavea* of the edifice are carved into the living rock 'in the Greek manner' (Palol 1978: 27-28; 1982) while the lowermost was curiously constructed out of earth, which is described by Palol (1966-67: 261) as an 'anomaly'. Additionally, Palol (1982) describes the system of access to the tiers as too coarse for such a grand theatre for, in the absence of staircases at the two extremes of the *cavea*, only three serve the lower *maeniana* instead of the usual five, dividing them into four *cunei*.

Moreover, in the absence of *vomitoria* and *aditus maximus* entrances, the only possible exit to the outside from the north is through the *parascaenium* (Elvira 1992: VII). Here, a corridor runs along the depth of the stage building, opening to the outside at one end but closed at the other, which has been interpreted as a gallery leading to the *orchestra* as a substitute for the usual *parodos* or *aditus maximus* entrances commonly built over by *tribunalia* (Palol 1966-67: 265). While one flight of timber steps would have descended into the *orchestra* from here, another would have carried the spectators to the first precinct through the upper *parascaenium* level (Palol 1982).

The deviation of the Theatre of *Clunia* from the ideal model of a Roman theatre that is represented by the archetypal Theatre of Pompey in Rome and described by Bieber would reveal better in a comparison with the Theatre in the nearby *conventus* centre of *Caesar Augusta* in the Ebro plain (fig. A.12), which is among the examples that follow closely the Pompeian model especially in the construction of its *cavea* entirely over manmade subconstruction, finding its closest parallel in terms of its 'size' and 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*', in the Augustan theatre in the provincial capital *Corduba* in *Baetica* (fig. A.3).

4.3.7 Caesar Augusta

The foundation of the Roman *Colonia Caesar Augusta* must have followed the settlement of bachelor soldiers pertaining to the legions *IV Macedonica*, *VI Victrix* and *X Gemina* after the Cantabrian Wars around 24 BC at diverse points of *Hispaniae*, including this excellent strategic point at the centre of the Ebro valley in control of the entrance into the Castellanian Meseta from the north-east, which would become the bridgehead of Cisiberian lands and the administrative centre of the *conventus* bearing its name (Lostal Pros 1980: 123-4; PECS). The existence of a pre-Roman Iberian population that was 'Romanised' during the Republican and Early Imperial period has been attested at the site by archaeological discoveries that pre-date the foundation of the *Colonia Caesar Augusta*, in which Agrippa may have been directly involved (Jiménez Salvador 1992: 17; Bendala Galán 1990: 39). The remains have been associated with the *oppidum Salduie* mentioned by Pliny, cited in the bronzes of Ascoli as *turma salluitana* and by coins struck around it, although Lostal Pros (1980: 124-5) doubts the suitability of their location at the border of the Ebro for natural ease of defense, which was apparently of primary concern in site selection for Iron Age *oppida*. The names of a squadron of 30 cavalry of different local origin (*Segia*, *Ilerda*, *Salduie*, etc.) are known to have settled in this town to receive there Roman citizenship as a reward for their military help to the Roman army (Historia de Aragón).

The very name of the city provides a *terminus post quem* for its date of foundation, as the exact date when Octavian received the title Augustus is known to be 16th January 27 BC, and the portrayal of

Augustus without laurel on the first coins issued by the city provide a *terminus ante quem*, as the laurel would begin to appear on coins after the concession of the Tribunicia Potestad which took place on 27th June 23 BC (Lostal Pros 1980: 125-6). This would make the foundation of *Caesar Augusta* contemporary with that of the provincial capital *Emerita Augusta*, which is known to have taken place in 25 BC (Lostal Pros 1980: 126). According to Balil (1976¹³: 60, cited in Beltrán Lloris *et al.* 1985: 62) both foundations may be interpreted as possible reflections of Augustan urbanism at *Augusta Praetoria* (modern Aosta in Piamonte, Italy) around 25 BC, which is characterised by a form that is a mixture of a *castrum* and a *civitas*, since both are colonies of *civium romanorum* in addition to being military colonies, with the former necessitating buildings that are excluded from a military camp (Lostal Pros 1980: 126). 'Army engineers could have been responsible for the layout of places like *Caesaraugusta* and *Emerita Augusta*, since both were strategic strongholds in recently pacified areas, and foreign—Italian—workmen probably built some of the first structures such as temples.' (Mierse 1999: 120)

The macroform of *Caesar Augusta* is a rectangle measuring 900m by 550m that had a fortified perimeter wall of about 3,000m with four gates, defining a total of 60 ha over terraces that descend down towards the river bed on the smoothly inclined south bank of the Ebro (Lostal Pros 1980: 126; PECS; Beltrán Lloris *et al.* 1985: 67; Beltrán Lloris 1990: 196-7). The *decumanus maximus* runs parallel to the Ebro river and the axes of the centuriation appear to have been coinciding with those in the settlement area, implying that the rural and urban layout may have been considered together (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 197). Bendala Galán (1990: 39) draws a parallel between *Caesar Augusta* and *Emerita Augusta* in their mutual flanking of a major river (i.e. Ebro and Guadiana respectively) and centring on a bridge crossing it while being protected in the opposite flank by a flow that serves as a natural defensive ditch. The interior division, marked by the installation of a Forum complex at intersection of *decumanus maximus* and *cardus maximus*, was based on a unit measure of 0.295m that produces a rectangular module of 35.40m and a width of 15.6m for streets (PECS). The plantation of the colony must have started with an infrastructure of waterworks, including a bridge-aqueduct in order to bring the water of the Gállego up to the colony, and proceed with the city walls and the Forum alongside houses, while the four *insulae* that would become the site of the Theatre seems to have been kept empty up to the Tiberian period, which was marked by dense construction activity especially of public buildings and of domestic renovations (Beltrán Lloris 1993: 98-9; 1990: 199) that made the city the centre most representative of Roman presence in the Ebro valley, substituting *Celsa* politically and strategically (Lorente Enseñat 2000a), with an additional extramural population especially from the Flavian period in the first century AD onwards. Cepas Palanca (1997: 228) describes the development

¹³ Balil, A. 1976. 'Las ideas urbanísticas en época augustea', *Simposio de Ciudades Augusteas*. Zaragoza.

of *Caesar Augusta* as paradigmatic for the greater part of the urban nuclei in the Ebro valley and neighbouring areas.

The **Theatre of *Caesar Augusta*** (fig. A.12) was constructed over virgin land at the centre of a large lot in the *regio antica dextrata* (or *citrata*), near an important *decumanus* and at the extreme south gate of the *cardus maximus* from which it was also accessible, and the line of its *pulpitum* or *proscenium* followed the urban grid (Beltrán Martínez 1982: 42, 44, 47). A distance of some 50m, which almost is equal to the diameter of the *cavea*, separated the *postscenium* from a secondary *decumanus*, rendering likely the existence of a *prothyron* or monumental area occasionally with porticoes and gardens between the two. This area would have provided access to the lateral entrances that undoubtedly led to vaulted passages situated in the *parascaenia* and also to the arcaded circular passages in the substructure of the *cavea* that led to the six or seven tiers forming the perimeter of the Theatre at the south (Beltrán Martínez 1982: 42, 44). One of the singularities of the building is a central access from the exterior reaching to the *orchestra* that looks as if it were an independent passage into the *orchestra* (a third *parodos*), which was an innovation of the first century AD (Beltrán Lloris 1993: 107). Gaudens Cross (1994/95/96a: 267) interprets it as an indication ‘*that the theatre was used for contests between gladiators.*’

After those at *Corduba* and *Gades*, the building is the third-largest among the theatres so far discovered in the Iberian Peninsula and, as in the case of *Clunia* (fig. A.15), its huge size which is not in proportion with the population of the city implies its use by a large region or *conventus* (Beltrán Martínez 1982: 48). Before the discovery of the Theatre of *Corduba*, Elvira (1992: 28) has described the Theatre of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) as the unique example in the *Hispaniae* where the hollow structure, featuring two or more *ambulacra* with radial chambers in-between, was adopted in a rather eclectic manner, without making exhaustive use of substructure permeability, for the construction of the *cavea* over concrete vaults finished by cut stone blocks out of local sandstone, probably because there was not enough inclination in the site selected for the foundation of the *Colonia Caesar Augusta* for the *cavea* of its Theatre to rest on a natural slope (Beltrán Martínez 1982: 42, 44). As such, Beltrán Lloris (1990: 199) describes the building as developing along the formula exemplified in the scheme for the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome for the theatre on the plain, which would have become popular in the first half of the first century AD when it diffused to whole Italy while in the provinces of *Hispania*, the Theatre of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) was the unique example, at least up to the discovery of the Corduban example. According to Arce (1998: 48), the tiers were originally timber and later replaced by ashlar. The *orchestra* and *ima cavea* sit directly onto the natural rock, whose natural levels were lowered wherever necessary, whereas the radial chambers below the upper two *maeniana* were filled with earth

and debris (Beltrán Lloris 1993: 100-1). Still pending for verification is hypothesis that the building had masonry exterior façades (Beltrán Lloris 1993: 100-1) that may have consisted of two or three orders of arcades around the *cavea* to reach an approximate height of 25-30m from the *orchestra* level, with a *vomitorium* on the central axis of the steps representing the main entrance (Gaudens Cross 1994/95/96a: 267; Beltrán Lloris 1993: 103). In this way, the thrust of the *sumum maenianum* would have been divided between the radial chambers between the two precincts and the massive exterior wall, the lower part of which must have supported an interior gallery (Beltrán Lloris 1993: 103).

4.4 The Flavians

The example of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) conforms to Pascal Guichard's (1993: 67) characterization of the pre-Flavian period by the pre-eminence of a very reduced number of colonies and municipalities that take the lion's share thanks to their better agricultural land and favorable locations, which would have created an extreme inequality among the cities of the Iberian Peninsula, as attested also in the presence of theatre buildings only in the pre-eminent group. The number of cities that obtained a superior status and the hierarchy established through the Augustan transformations would have been maintained up to the Flavian period without much change (Guichard 1993: 71; also implied by Le Roux 1993: 192). In his outline of the development of towns in Early Roman *Baetica*, Simon Keay (1998: 78) portrays the Flavian period as one marked by the grant of municipal status (*ius Latii*) by Vespasian to communities in the province and a parallel profound monumentalisation of many of the native towns that may have been already aspiring to *urbanitas* and a closer identification with Roman political, social, and cultural values. A striking example in this regard would be the Flavian dating of the vast majority of Bath complexes that lie along the Mediterranean coastal strip or the *Baetis* valley in the province of *Baetica*: 'Given that they were closely linked to the Roman style of life, Vespasian's grant of the *ius Latii*, giving to the inhabitants of the province a status similar in many respects to that of *civis Romanus*, may have been a spur to the construction of this Roman institution par excellence.' (Fear 2002: 185) On the other hand, Fear (2002: 226) points to the fact 'that the grant, if it did provide such a stimulus, did so entirely unintentionally. No uniform trend of urbanization can be discerned, which may support the assertion ... that the existence of a deliberate policy of urbanisation is a hypothesis which requires further demonstration if it is to be accepted.'

Several substantial fragments of Vespasian's law have survived as engraved on tablets of bronze in sites all located in *Baetica* (Vincent and Stradling 1995: 37). Isabel Rodà (1997: 213) interprets Vespasian's concession as an attempt to establish a bridge of continuity with the earlier Julio-Claudian dynasty after the successive strikes against the central Empire by the Emperors Galba and Otho in AD

69 from bases in the Iberian Peninsula and exploiting its resources, which would have broken the alliance of the provinces of *Hispaniae*. Thanks to the grant, some cities would have increased and ameliorated their sovereignty and control over their own territory (Guichard 1993: 74). Yet, another motive may have been a redressing of the impact of the financial levies imposed by Galba in his quest for the throne in AD 69, which would have presumably resulted in more resources for the urban communities to direct towards monumentalisation of townscapes, partially with the political motive of renewing public expressions of loyalty on the part of the local elite to secure favour from a new regime after the restoration of order after a period of uncertainty (Keay 1998: 78-9). 'Whatever the reason, the Iberian provinces were the only ones in the empire to enjoy this privileged status en masse. The law embodying the grant was only finally put in place by Vespasian's son, the emperor Domitian (81-96).' (Vincent and Stradling 1995: 37) By that time, the *coloniae* established during the reign of Caesar and Augustus had already set the example of the Roman way of life but although the *patroni* may well have given resources for the construction of buildings at *Emerita Augusta* and some other foundations up to the Flavian period, it was not their concern to do the same in the smaller communities (Richardson 1998: 144). So, the Flavian *municipia* would bring it within the reach of many provincials (Keay 1988: 59). Keay (1988: 80) argues that local patriotism, which was born out of an intense rivalry between the local communities, was responsible for many of the public buildings including theatres built in this period. Mierse (1999: 257-67), on the other hand, characterises the Flavian period constructions in the Iberian Peninsula by their urban and architectural diversity, which he explains by the opening up of the Peninsula to new sources of design in this period from all around the Empire while highlighting the growing role played by the local elite in determining architectural choices.

4.4.1 Regina

One such example is offered by the Theatre of *Regina* (fig. A.24) along a Roman road connecting *Emerita Augusta* to *Hispalis* through *Astigi* that forks at *Regina* (modern Casas de Reina) towards the mining area of *Azuaga* (*Municipius Iulium Ugultuniacum*) (Alvarez Martínez 1982: 268). Late Neolithic or Copper Age settlement layers at the site were followed by a pre-Roman Turdulan population in control of the mines in the region from an urban nucleus in the heights now occupied by the Alcazaba of Reina (Collins 1998: 107; Alvarez Martínez 1982: 268). After the start of Roman control in the area, this settlement was apparently abandoned for a new city in the plain, which is referred to as *Respublica Reginensium* or *Reginensis* in inscriptions and developed especially in the Flavian period due to its abundant natural resources and strategic position (Alvarez Martínez 1982: 268). 'The perimeter of the ancient town has not yet been satisfactorily traced.' (PECS) Trial trenches in the higher parts of the site revealed a series of structures identified with a public area consisting of a small porticoed plaza, on

whose two ends two buildings, possibly with commercial and religious function respectively, stood on the *cardo maximus* (Cepas Palanca 1997: 223). A group of Roman peristyle houses among the extant remains have been interpreted by Fear (2002: 211, 219) as fitting in well with the general thoroughly-Roman appearance of the town, with its Theatre, gridded street-plan, and understreet sewers.

The **Theatre of Regina** is known to be located in the northwest end of the city, with an approximate east-west orientation. The lower part of the *cavea* rests on a smooth slope while its upper part rests on straight wall with external buttressing. Except in the *summa cavea*, which may have had timber seating and possibly a portico, the seats were faced with granite from the quarries in Guadalcanal, which was also used in the *scaena* together with marble. In addition to two *parodoi* entrances, four *vomitoria* would have provided direct access to the upper *diazoma* from the street outside, whose distribution does not coincide with that of the stairways dividing the *cavea* into four *cunei*. A 'very Augustan' aspects of the building is its construction in *opus caementicium* out of local stone and lime mortar, as in the nearby Augustan Theatres of *Emerita Augusta* (fig. A.17) and *Metellinum* (fig. A.21), while the *opus incertum* out of irregular smooth-faced local stones whose joints were filled with mortar for facing it was used in the period from 55 BC until the end of the Flavian period, at least in Italy and *Gallia*. Flavian dating of the building has been attested on the basis of the *opus incertum* remains at *Emerita Augusta*, which have been securely dated to the decade AD 60-70 on the basis of epigraphic and other archaeological evidence (Alvarez Martinez 1982: 269-75).

Alvarez Martinez (1982: 273) evaluates the scheme of the *scaenae frons* of the Theatre of *Regina* as an ordinary example of the so-called 'occidental type', with triple semicircular *valvae* closed by *parascaenia* exemplified also in the Augustan Theatre of *Leptis Magna*, although the diffusion of the type was more notable starting with the Flavian era and especially during the second century AD, as attested in the Fourth Style paintings at *Pompeii*. Indeed, the plan with three generally very deep semi-circular exedras appears to have been applied from the middle of the first century AD to the third century AD, usually in remodelling the *scaenae frons* of existing buildings (Ramallo Asensio *et al.* 1993: 75). According to Elvira (1992: 28), the renovated stage design of the Theatre of *Regina* represents the last phase in the evolution of theatre architecture in Roman *Hispania*, which is characterised by showy apses between colonnades that are marked by a baroque quality.

4.4.2 Segobriga

Another example of the same phenomenon may be found in the renovated *scaenae frons* of the Theatre *Segobriga* (fig. A.26), among the sites featuring a Theatre initially dating to the period between the Julio-Claudian era and the reign of Vespasian (Elvira 1992: VIII). Remains at *Segobriga* suggest a

rectilinear plan with a central semicircular *valva regia* and lateral quadrangular apses (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 60, 65), as in the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* (fig. A.17). Even more than *Regina*, *Segobriga* apparently owed the importance it attained under Roman rule to its strategic location at the junction of natural overland routes connecting east of the west and north to the south on the inner Iberian Meseta (figs. A.1, A.26). The singularity of this location may explain the Amphitheatre of *Segobriga*'s being the only one of its kind so far discovered in the interior of *Hispania* (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 71). The Theatre adjoining it is the only one in the region expanding from *Emerita Augusta* to *Caesar Augusta*, with the Theatre of *Clunia* (fig. A.15) being the only one so far located in the Northern Meseta and in the whole northeast and north of Spain (Almagro Basch and Almagro-Gorbea 1982: 25). As in *Clunia* (fig. A.15), both monuments are located outside the city walls and near one of their gateways.

Called 'Segobriks' in Celtic, the name *Segobriga* meaning 'victory city' implies a Celtic origin for the settlement, with 'Seg-' signifying 'victory' while '-briga', meaning 'fortress' or 'fortified settlement', is known to have stayed in use among Romanised Celtic populations (*Caesarobriga*, *Augustobriga*) up to the Flavian period (*Flaviobriga*), as in *Arcobriga* and *Segobriga* among the places where remains from Roman period theatres have been attested. Indeed *Segobriga* was originally a Celtiberian settlement which had benefited largely from the early Iberisation of these lands under Mediterranean influences brought from the Levant by the Olcads and from the southeast and Andalusia by the Oretans, thanks to the topographic and strategic situation of the site in control of communications with the east of the Meseta. Dated to the end of the second millennium BC, a collective Bronze Age burial is the earliest-dating archaeological remain so far unearthed in the vicinity of *Segobriga*. The Urn Fields dating to the end of the Bronze Age (i.e. the early first millennium BC), on the other hand, are associated with the Celtic tribes of the Peninsula who, fusing with the earlier inhabitants to form the Celtiberian tribe of the Olcads, continued to use bronze weapons and utensils together with handmade ceramics of Central European origin. Although iron was introduced to the area in this period, its wide use is attested in archaeological record only starting with the fifth century BC when red figured black Greek ware also began to appear, together with other items imported from the Phoenician, Greek and Etruscan colonial settlements in the Mediterranean, as an indication of the existence of an elite with great acquisition power. Similarly starting with the second half of the first millennium BC, this part of the Meseta underwent a progressive urban development as small *castros* (or hill-forts) were gradually substituted or dominated by grand *oppida* or fortified settlements such as *Segobriga*. (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 15-20)

According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* III, 25), Celtiberia and the Celtiberians started from *Segóbriga* and ended in *Clunia* (Burgos), while Strabo (*Geogr.* III, 4, 13) cites *Segóbriga* and *Bilbilis* (modern Calatayud) as

two Celtiberian cities at the two extremes of the territory forming the Iberian system. On the basis of Titus Livius' (XL,501) account of the victorious campaign of Tiberius Sempronius Graco, who was proconsul in 180-179 BC, to dominate and pacify the Celtiberians in the region, *Segobriga* seems to have surrendered to Rome to become a stipendiary city whose elite families were gradually drawn into the political orbit of Rome. By 159 BC, however, all Celtiberia was uniting against Rome. Hence in 153-51 BC the First Celtiberian War took place around Jalón and Upper Duero and in 147-33 BC a second war started when the Celtiberians helped Viriathus against Rome and ended in the famous siege and destruction of *Numancia* by the Roman general Scipius Africanus. Although Roman control was not yet secured, Romanisation of the territory advanced through the progressive integration of the local population into the Roman army and the *clientèle* system, which may have won the support of the city for the cause of Caesar in the Civil War. (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 21-25)

Segobriga was granted the status of *municipium* sometime between 12 BC, when it was included by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* III,25) among the stipendiary cities of the *Conventus Carthaginensis*, and AD 12-14, when local inscriptions document its organisation as a *municipium*. This was followed by large-scale construction activity that started in the Augustan era in *Hispania* and uniquely represented in the Meseta by the grand monumental program realised at *Segobriga*, which transformed the roughly rectangular (Collins 1998: 255) Celtiberian *castrum* into the Acropolis of the Roman city to the southeast of the urban area, while urban development continued towards the north and east in the form of regularly-divided terraces characteristic of Roman urbanism. As a key part of this programme, the Theatre of *Segobriga* (fig. A.26) has been interpreted by Almagro Basch and Almagro-Gorbea (1982: 25) as one of the monuments that represent best the mode of construction proper to a provincial region of the Roman Empire and a manifestation of the cultural penetration therein of the Roman world. Starting with the Augustan City Walls, which follow a regular trace in their adaptation to the topography, and their Late Augustan monumental main gate that opens onto the *Kardo Maximus* from the north, which was lined probably by the Forum with a Roman Basilica and the Curia on its east and the Capitoline or Imperial Cult Temples on its west sides, this building program was continued, from the early Tiberian up to the Flavian era through the implementation of an architectural complex that was possibly planned in the Late Augustan period to consist of an extramural Theatre and Amphitheatre, whose seating rows were largely carved into the rock of the hill and partly rest on the city walls from the outside while uniting with an intramural Criptoportico with Ionic pilasters, a Gymnasium and a Bath complex (Almagro-Gorbea 1990: 207, 209). Remains from what has been identified as a *Macellum* were located over the platform situated in the north inside the walls while another Bath complex was unearthed outside the city, over the grand platform extending towards the west from the Theatre (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 27-52). By the time of the completion of these

monuments in the Flavian period, the Celtiberian *Segobriga* had already been converted into a Roman provincial town within a few generations, as attested in its ruling elites and in the small objects of everyday life as well as in the abandonment of Celtiberian and adaptation of Latin as the common spoken and written language (Almagro-Gorbea 1990: 215), whose speed is best explained by the will to exploit the economic potential of the city and its territory.

Located outside on the northern part of the Ibero-Roman City Walls, Theatre of *Segobriga* partially rests on them in its now demolished upper part, which was constructed over a strong vaulted subconstruction that allowed for a road running parallel to the City Walls and connecting the Northeast Gate with the principal North Gate (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 55). This original solution provided access to the *summa maenianum* crowning the upper part of the *summa cavea* from the floor over a Cryptoportico inside the city walls, which itself had an access from a Gymnasium to its south, suggesting that all these monuments, including the extramural Amphitheatre and an intramural Bath complex, were planned together but implemented in a long span of time (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 56). Almagro-Gorbea (1990: 213) interprets the presence of a Cryptoportico and a connected Gymnasium in the same monumental complex to which the Theatre also belonged as an indication of Roman Imperial propaganda, whose roots should be sought in the Hellenistic tradition that took its final shape in Agrippa's organisation in the *Campus Martius* of Rome and exemplified at *Caesarea* where the Gymnasium would have functioned as a place for the physical and intellectual preparation of the youth for the Imperial Cult to facilitate the integration of the local elites into the socio-political clientèle system established by Rome. After the discovery, in the monument, of statues of Augustus and *Dea Roma* in addition to those of Agripina and Livia (Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal 1999: 62), the ideological function of the Theatre of *Segobriga* in the service of the Imperial Cult is further attested in the presence of a large room at the centre of its *postscaenium*, which seems to have been devoted to the Imperial Cult, as implied by the disposition of an extramural altar a few meters to its southeast and clearly oriented towards the east in the direction of the *valva regia* providing access to the room (Almagro-Gorbea 1990: 212). Additionally, Geme Sese Alegre (1994: 412, 423-24) interprets its relation with the main axes of the city as well as its connection with the Cryptoportico and the Gymnasium, as a clear Hellenistic origin for the Theatre of *Segobriga*, which is further attested in its being 'half-constructed' (i.e. built partly on a slope by cutting into the rock and partly on substructures) just like the majority of theatres in *Hispania* in the sense discussed above for the Tiberian Theatres of *Bilbilis* (fig. A.11), *Clunia* (fig. A.15), and *Saguntum*.

The steps could be reached from five *vomitioria*. The central *vomitiorium* and the one immediately to the left communicated with a vaulted ambulatory over which there was the *porticus in summa cavea*. The other three communicated directly with the exterior. The upper part of the *cavea* was supported by two semicircular walls linked by a series of walls built in *opus incertum*. These walls alternated with large pillars built in *opus quadratum*. The

same building technique was used for the walls of the stage structure and the *parodoi*. The *tribunalia* were laid out over the *parodoi*, which were partly cut into the rock and partly covered by vaults. (Sese Alegre 1994/95/96b: 260)

Elvira (1992: VIII, 28) suggests the plan geometry of the Theatre of *Segobriga* to have followed the example set at the provincial capital *Tarraco* where, instead of the traditional dogma that conceived of the theatre building as a unity of circles and radials originating from a single geometrical centre, the *cunei* and *scalae* originated from separate geometrical centres. In this way, in addition to a common baroque quality attested in the *scaenae frons* of the Flavian Theatres of *Regina* and *Segobriga*, influence has been suggested of the example set by the provincial capitals respectively of *Emerita Augusta* (fig. A.17) and *Tarraco*, in the construction technique applied in the former and in the geometric layout of the latter. On the other hand, the 'provinciality' of the Theatre of *Segobriga* seems to have been attested in its not strictly following the outline described by Vitruvius most probably due to reasons of economy, especially in its less-than-semicircular *orchestra* and *cavea*, the latter of whose tiers increased in height and decreased in depth as they proceed from the lower to the upper part, in three *maeniana* divided into four *cunei* except in the *summa cavea* divided into ten (Almagro Basch and Almagro Gorbea 1982: 28, 30-1; Sese Alegre 1994/95/96b: 260). According to Almagro Basch and Almagro Gorbea (1982: 28, 31) obtaining a semicircular outline for the *orchestra* and the *cavea* would have required either a deeper carving into the natural rock or the construction of a much bigger subconstruction, both of which would have been very costly. Hence, even its two *parodoi* carved out of the natural rock were not carved deep enough to start horizontally from the level of the *orchestra*. This is the reason why the eastern *parodos* gate offers a stair to descend to the *parascaenium* level while the western one is level with it. This solution devised in adapting the building to the irregularity of the land indicates the limitation in the means of theatre-building in a provincial context.

4.4.3 Baelo Claudia

Another example of the same phenomenon is found at *Baelo Claudia*, which 'is one of the few Roman towns in southern Spain which has no apparent pre-Roman origin.' (Keay 1998: 71) Located at the border of the Straits of Gibraltar and at the skirts of the Bolonian creek, the site of *Baelo Claudia* is surrounded by the heights of Sierra de la Plata, Sierra de la Higuera and the Loma de San Bartolomé, which were most probably occupied in the Antiquity by settlements that must have served as refuge in times of trouble (figs. A.1 and A.9). An example is located over the principal peak of the Sierra de la Plata where traces of numerous multi-storeyed dwellings built on successive terraces through partial carving into the living rock are clearly visible on the rocky faces of the Silla del Papa, which has been identified as an authentic *oppidum* corresponding to the pre-Roman city at the site before the establishment of the Roman *Baelo Claudia* probably over virgin land at the bottom of the small Bolonia creek that is

protected from the west by the Cape Camarina and from the east by the Paloma Point (Sillières 1997: 20, 52, 67-70). The primary importance of this latter site was its potential as a commercial, passenger, and military port facing Africa right across the Straits of Gibraltar. *Baelo-Tingis* (modern Tangier) route was the one recommended by many ancient writers to cross the Straits and, since *Tingis* was the capital of the kings of Mauritania and a Roman colony since the time of Augustus, it is highly probable that *Baelo* was better connected to this African city than to any Hispanic town, especially during the establishment of Roman rule over *Mauritania Tingitana* (modern Morocco) in AD 40-44 when troops would have been sent from its port (Sillières 1997: 24-25, 27). As the name of the city suggests, *Baelo Claudia* would have been given the rank *municipium* by the Emperor Claudius, 'in an attempt to secure and stabilize the new Roman province of *Mauritania Tingitani* as well as to assure the continued trade lines and communication between southern Spain and north-western Africa' (Mierse 1999: 186-7). *Baelo* was noted by Strabon as an *emporion* where foreign goods were traded by local ones, which situates the city among the most active commercial cities of the Iberian Peninsula, together with the sea ports of *Malaca*, *Carthago Nova*, *Ampurias*, *Gades* and river ports of *Hispalis* and *Corduba* (Sillières 1997: 28). 'The arrangement of the town and the placement of the parts were determined by the coastal location, the gentle rise of the land, and the need for the industrial quarter to be laid out next to the sea.' (Mierse 1999: 189)

Extending over a land measuring some 300m in width at its southern and 600m at its northern extreme, the site is terraced over the first slope bordering the littoral and rises from four meters over the sea level at the limit of the beach to fifty-five at the foot of the heights that surround the creek (Sillières 1997: 20). The Republican city dating from the end of the second century BC would have been confined the south-east part of this area, not far from the *decumanus maximus*, below the *Macellum* and under the neighbouring salting factory towards the east (Sillières 1997: 52). Augustan material from the end of the first century BC has attested the most important economic and parallel urban growth in the history of the city in this period when the settlement area extended towards the north and began to climb the slope that dominated the lower city, after a comprehensive reorganisation through the levelling of earlier Republican constructions, to acquire the characteristics of an authentic Roman city, conforming to the principles of Roman urbanism – i.e. a defense wall, a 'closed' Forum flanked by the three Capitoline Temples in a dominating position to the north and by a Basilica from the south, and a regular quadrangular layout with orthogonal axii observed below the later *Macellum*, Basilica and the Capitoline Temples (Sillières 1997: 52-56). When evaluated in the light of a colossal statue of Trajan discovered in the Basilica, the absence of a common *pronaos* typical of Capitoline temple complexes and of a separate complex dedicated to the Imperial Cult has led to the hypothesis that the Imperial Cult may have infiltrated into these two during the Augustan period when the presence of an Augustan priest in the city is attested by epigraphic evidence (Sillières 1997: 31, 93-6). Economic growth and the

parallel construction activity would continue in the period between the mid-first and early second centuries AD when *Baelo Claudia* would acquire a complete monumental complex of religious and political buildings around the Forum area, occasionally at the cost of earlier edifices (Cepas Palanca 1997: 211). The **Theatre of Baelo Claudia** and its Baths apparently date from this period when the settlement would have ascended to the prestigious category of *municipium civium Romanorum Claudium Baelo*, with the imperial surname *Claudia*, either of Tiberius Claudius or Nero Claudius, which was added to its name in the year 48 AD, indicating possible imperial benevolence in the reconstruction of the city, perhaps after an earthquake (Sillières 1997: 10, 29). South Galician ceramics of the Flavian era in the infill of the Theatre has enabled a dating of its initial construction to 60-70 AD, i.e. the end of the reign of Nero or the beginning of that of Vespasian (Sillières 1997: 143).

Sillières (1997: 20-21) describes the ancient city of *Baelo Claudia* as consisting of two distinct zones distinguished by an irregularly-distributed level difference of some 55m above the sea level. The lower city consists of a beach district, with its salting factories, and the district of the *decumanus maximus*, with its shops, houses and Forum, laying at an altitude of about 10m above the sea level. Then the slope increases and this increase corresponds to a sheer drop in front of the three Temples and the Theatre. The upper city is above this drop where the slope is rather irregular, with two lines of rocky outcrops. The Theatre, probably together with the Baths, was constructed in the line of the greatest level difference, right at the junction of the upper city with the lower while the Temples were constructed over an artificial terrace to dominate over the whole lower city and the rest of the Forum. Located near the west wall of the city which fails to feature any gate opening directly onto the surrounding landscape, the Theatre is rather distant from the monumental city centre but connected to it on its border flanked by the three Capitoline Temples by the *decumanus* north of the *decumanus maximus*. While this location had apparently permitted the building to be carved partially into the natural slope of the hill, it nevertheless integrates perfectly with the orthogonal layout of the city, which is one of the major characteristics that makes it a perfect example of Roman urbanism. The symmetry axis of the building that passes through the *valva regia* and the central *vomitorium* perfectly corresponds to the axis of the *cardus* leading to it and the exterior south-west façade of the stage building lies perfectly parallel to the *decumanus* leading from the monumental centre (Sillières 1997: 129). Located at a distance of 5m from the two ends of the façade of the stage building are two massive projections which were identified by archaeologists as supports for decorative elements. Also visible on the surface of the floor are some blocks of stone that follow exactly the prolongation of the east wall, forming an alignment towards the south. There has not been conducted any excavation so far in this part of the site but these remains have been interpreted by Sillières (1997: 140) as pertaining to a construction semi-detached from the Theatre, which may possibly have been a *porticus post scaenam* of the type seen in the Theatre of

Pompey in Rome and best exemplified in Spain by the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* (fig. A.17), in which case the massive projections may be interpreted as corresponding to the north posts of two monumental entrances situated at the east and west of the portico for the passage of the *decumanus*.

Rather than the three theatres in Rome whose *cavea* rest on imminent radial galleries, that of the Theatre of *Baelo Claudia* is described by Charles-Picard (1970: 43) as following a much more economical model adopted in numerous examples in Italy and Gaul where the substructure of the *cavea* was formed by concentric semicircular galleries that were cut by seven *vomitoria*, with earth fill between them. Later excavations revealed three distinct types of structure in the *cavea*, as explained by Sillières (1997: 140): The tiers at the two ends of the semi-cycle of the *cavea* were constructed over vaulted substructures out of massive masonry, two of which connected the east and west *paradoi* with the upper *vomitium* while the rest probably served as storage spaces. The central portion of the *ima* and *media cavea* were installed over the living rock, terracing the natural slope by carving or filling as required, and the upper part of the *cavea* was constructed over concentric galleries that were cut by radial walls in such a way as to divide the space between each *vomitium* into three compartments, two of which were later filled with earth, as described by Charles-Picard, while the third were reserved for the construction of a staircase to unite the *vomitoria* with the attic, which was most probably covered by a timber portico. The whole of the *cavea* was then covered by a thick cap of *opus caementicium* whose surface was modelled for the installation of the tiers. The reason for the joint use of these three architectonic solutions is clear for Sillières (1997: 142): The architect must have tried to optimise the extent of excavation, removal of earth and masonry construction by taking the maximum advantage of the natural form of the ground. This would confirm to the hypothesis of 'provinciality' in the architectural characteristics of the Flavian theatres in the Iberian Peninsula.

The *cavea* was surrounded by a semicircular wall out of small sized grey limestone masonry, separated by rows of calcareous stone and decorated by sculptured pilasters at every three meters on both sides of the nine doors that provide access to the *vomitoria* leading to the upper *maeniana* of the edifice. The spectators were directed to the distinct levels of the *cavea* through the *paradoi* and by the radial *vomitoria* galleries entered through the doors on the wall surrounding the *cavea*, which most probably ended in a parapet behind the attic. The first *maenianum* was accessible from the *paradoi* and from the first *praecinctio*, and the spectators distributed to their seats from five radial stairs that seem to be confined to this part of the *cavea* and not traced in the upper *maeniana* that were accessible from the *vomitoria*. As can be deduced from the remains pertaining to the start of a vault on the south walls of the *cavea*, the *paradoi* were vaulted over, probably for the *tribunalia* (Sillières 1997: 139). According to the restitution published by Sillières (fig. A1.7), the second *maenianum*, which is the largest of all,

was served by the majority of the *vomitória* except two on either side of the central, which are thought to lead to the upper *maenianum* through staircases that would have led the spectators from doors in the wall surrounding the semicircle of the *cavea* (Sillières 1997: 142-43).

Sillières (1997: 138) describes the *scaenae frons* of the Theatre of *Baelo Claudia* as rigorously rectilinear like in Aspendos, modern Turkey probably with a complementary decoration consisting of a series of sculptures semi-detached from the wall, especially in the semicircular niches flanking the stage doors that would have been three in number. The *scaenae frons* must have displayed an architectonic ornamentation divided into various levels that most probably consisted of various storeys of pilasters that sum up to twelve in number, according to Ponsich and Sancha (1980: 368), resting on six masonry pillars resting on the foundation walls. The presence of remains from two staircases in the wall of the central passage indicate the presence of an upper story probably with other rooms and, as can be deduced from the presence of stairs in these areas, also in double storey would have been the two square large halls at the two ends of the stage building, which were separated from the *cavea* by the *paradoi* and accessible from the *proscenium*, from the *cavea* and from the outside, as proper for their function as a vestibule for the spectators before, during and after the representations (Sillières 1997: 138-39).

4.5 Chapter Conclusion: The 'Network' of Roman Theatres and 'Romanisation' in Spain

The provinces of *Hispania Citerior* ('Closer Spain') and *Hispania Ulterior* ('Farther Spain') were created in the magisterial elections of 198 BC (fig. 4.4) through the election for the next year of six *praetores* for the first time in Rome instead of the usual four, at a period when *provincia* signified 'mission' or 'sphere of responsibility' (Curchin 1991: 29) in an essentially military sense (Richardson 1998: 79, 309). In this early period, *Carthago Nova* and *Tarraco* appear to have served as the capital of *Hispania Citerior*, and *Corduba* as that of *Hispania Ulterior*, judging by Strabo's description of a provincial capital as the seat of the governor (Llorens 1994: 16). The declaration of the *provinciae* brought about an immediate rebellion by the Turdetani of *Ulterior*, which spread to *Citerior* and weakened Rome's grip until the arrival of Cato the Elder who stabilised the situation with a series of sharp campaigns (Fear 2000: 24). Fear (2000: 25-7) points to the fact that Roman imperialism often forced its enemies to combine into larger units, such as the confederation centred on the Celtiberian *Belli* who later based their operations on the town of *Numantia* near modern Soria, whose nine-year siege and final fall to the Romans in 133 BC marked the end of the last major uprising against Rome. *Gracchuris* would have been established as earliest Roman colony in the Peninsula in this period, by the general Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (c. 169-33 BC) who gave the *ex novo* foundation of military character his name in the Hellenistic tradition (Vincent and Stradling 1995: 32; García y Bellido 1959: 448-9).

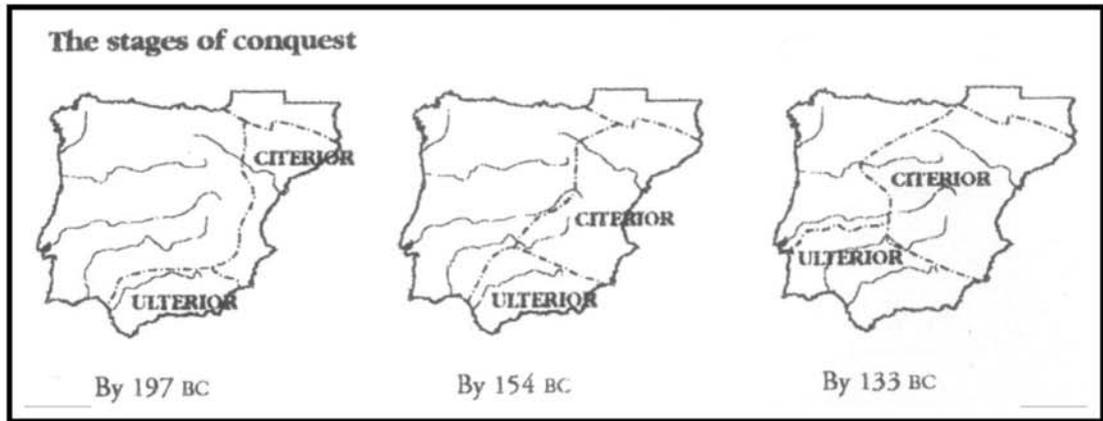


Figure 4.4 The Roman provinces of *Hispaniae* (Richardson 1998: 42; also appears in Keay 1988: 26)

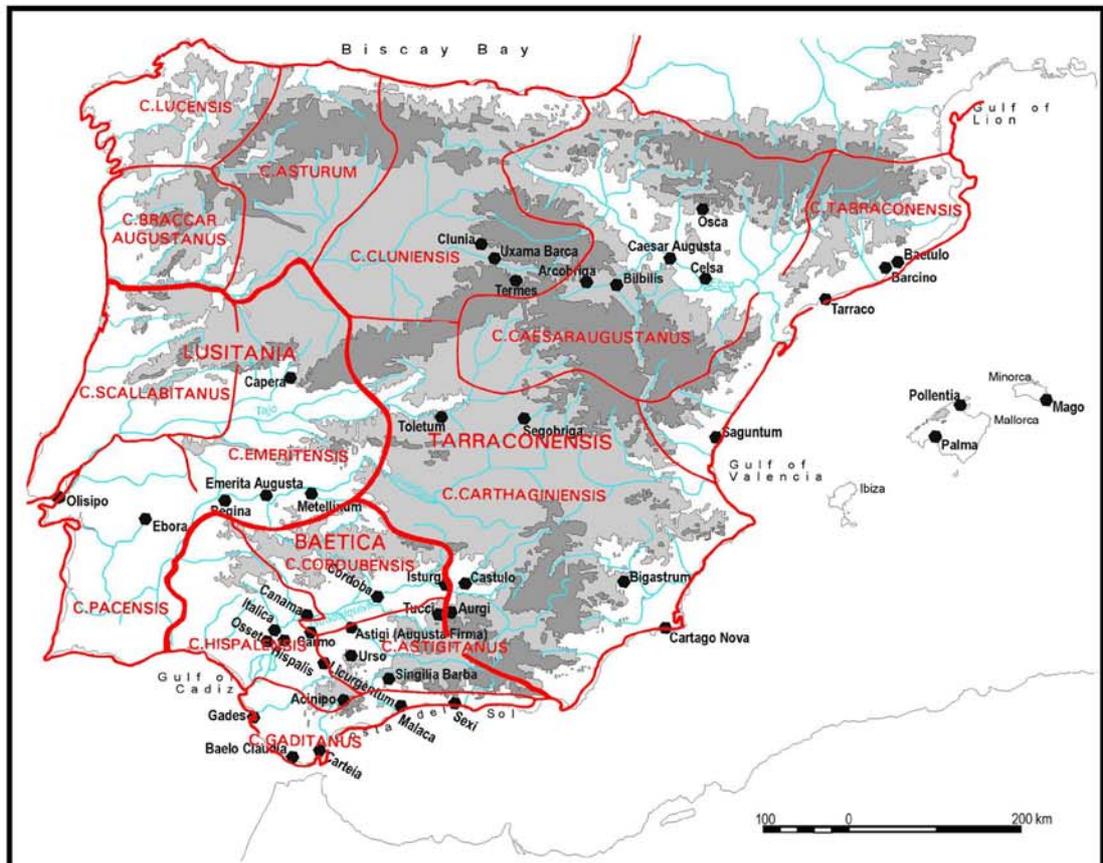


Figure 4.5 Judicial districts (*conventus*) of the Roman provinces of *Hispaniae* (juxtaposed map from Mayer and Roda 1988: 222)

It was when journeying to take up a command at Numantia that the young Tiberius Gracchus (c. 169-133 BC) became distressed at the depopulation of the countryside in northern Italy. This provoked him to launch a series of reforms in Rome that were to shake the Republic to its foundations and eventually lead to its disintegration. (Vincent and Stradling 1995: 32)

'In 123 BC the Balearic Islands were annexed to Citerior, and by 120 BC at the latest a Roman road ran along the entire Mediterranean coast of the peninsula.' (Fear 2000: 27) The Celtiberian area was totally controlled in the year 93 BC (Historia de Aragon). Nevertheless, by the mid-first century BC, few Roman towns were founded in the *Hispaniae* and *'the spread of the Roman way of life was restricted to the Ebro valley, the east coast of Citerior and the greater part of Ulterior.'* (Keay 1988: 55) Fear (2002: 251; also mentioned in Vincent and Stradling 1995: 34) points to the lack of concrete evidence for Roman mass migration to *Baetica* in the Republican period, with settlement seemingly consisting of a wealthier class of Roman traders who formed *conventus* in already existing towns rather than creating new ones on virgin sites. The large-scale settlement of the region by Rome was begun by Caesar after his defeat of the Pompeian camp and continued by Augustus, as in other parts of the Empire (Millar 1990: xiii). Therefore, *'Augustus' promotion of urbanization as a means of achieving homogeneity in a region was not a new policy. [...] Caesar used a similar approach on the Iberian Peninsula, where he instituted governing charters for new and refounded towns.'* (Mierse 1990: 311) Fear (2000: 31) speaks of twenty-two *coloniae* as planted in the region in this period, without mentioning their names. The number of colonies cited by Fear approximates that of twenty-three listed by García y Bellido (1959) in the Caesarian and Augustan eras and between the two, in an article on the Roman colonies of *Hispania*, while Keay (1998: 85) lists nine colonies as created in *Baetica* alone under Caesar, Augustus and the Julio-Claudians. Their successive foundation and the grant of Latin rights to a number of native settlements would have resulted in a major change between the middle of the first century BC and the early first century AD, although the proportion of privileged to tribute-paying communities would have been relatively small, even when the *municipia* were included (Keay 1998: 63).

Nevertheless, Fear (2000: 31; also 2002: 79, 83) importantly states that *'its is unlikely that the coloniae were intended to 'Romanize' the peninsula, and they are best seen as the fulfilment of pledges made to a Roman audience and, in some cases, punishment for pre-existing towns who had backed the wrong side in the civil wars.'* Illustrative examples are *Hasta Regia* on a hill north of *Gades*, *Urso* on a high position overlooking the central part of the *Baetis* valley, and *Ucubi* in the mountainous region south-east of *Corduba* where Caesarean colonies were established due to their having been favourable to the Pompeian cause even after their defeat by Caesar at *Munda* (Richardson 1998: 121, 124). Similarly, Richardson (1998: 313) notes that the foundation *'of coloniae at various places in the valley of the Guadalquivir after the Caesarian wars ... seems to have been as a punishment for failure to support the right*

side, while in *Hispania citerior* the reverse was true.' Keay, on the other hand, interprets the establishment of *coloniae* as part of Rome's attempt to break up the pattern of native settlement and to establish new centres while noting that Caesar's eventual victory over Sextus Pompeius in the Civil Wars and related events of 49, 48 and 46-45 BC, which apparently caused immense physical damage in the areas in which they took place (Richardson 1998: 116) 'saw "retribution" against those communities which betrayed his trust by the confiscation of their lands and the foundation of a *colonia*, while those that remained loyal to him were "rewarded" with municipal status.' (Keay 1997a: 37) There were also some free allies such as *Malaca* or *Saguntum* that were permitted to retain their own laws and internal administration without paying taxes and interference from the governor on account of their long friendship and treaties with Rome (Keay 1988: 52). In this way, Rome had recast the Iberian landscape into a 'network' of semi-autonomous communities by the Early Imperial period, which formed the administrative cells of the provinces supervised by the central authority in each (Keay 1988: 59). Fernández Ochoa (1992: 10-1; also mentioned by F. Beltrán Lloris 1985: 83 and Bendala Galán 1990: 31) lists *synoecism* (the Greek *συνοικισμός*) or forced settlement of the population of a number of small settlements in a large one as another method practiced by the Romans during the re-organisation of the provinces of *Hispaniae*. Among the cities where ancient theatres have been located so far, Strabo refers to *Emerita Augusta* and *Caesar Augusta* with the verb 'συνοικεῖν', which may have implied the integration of indigenous communities with Roman citizens following the colonial *deductio*, leading to their assimilation as also in the old Republican foundations such as *Corduba* (Bendala Galán 1990: 32).

Manuel Bendala Galán (1990: 25) describes the Roman urbanisation policy in the Iberian Peninsula after A. Balil (1971)¹⁴ as characterised by an appraisal of pre-existing cities in continuation of the urban tradition brought by the Greek and Phoenicians rather than an encouragement and creation of new cities, with the exception of certain zones urban life was lacking development. In this way, a city-based structure perfectly adapted to its necessities would have been provided for the peripheral areas of the *Hispaniae* as no other form would have allowed for their rapid incorporation into the Empire (Bendala Galán 1990: 29). G.A. Mansuelli (1974)¹⁵, on the other hand, suggested that Rome was selective in the assessment of the multiplicity of earlier urban experience (Bendala Galán 1990: 25).

Although some scholars have understood the concession of Latin rights and a complement of key public buildings, such as a forum, theatre, and baths, as two mutually supportive 'requirements' that would necessarily imply a high degree of 'Romanisation' in the layout of a town, 'this is not necessarily the case, given that municipal status could be awarded to a town that was not at all Roman in its layout,

¹⁴ Balil, A. 1971. 'Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua', *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología de Valladolid (BSAAV)* 37: 39.

or could be “denied” to a town which appeared to have a “Roman” topography.’ (Keay 1998: 63) Keay’s (1998: 65, 67) survey of Roman Republican period urbanisation in *Baetica* has revealed little significant evidence for Roman influence in *Hispania Ulterior*, outside Roman centres of power such as *Italica* or *Corduba*, and no substantial evidence for the monumentalisation of public space prior to at least the first half of the first century BC. This would suggest a gradual decrease in Roman cultural influence as we proceed from regional ‘centres’, including provincial and *conventus* capitals, to the ‘periphery’. Key examples in this regard would be the three provincial capitals, i.e. the already-reviewed *Emerita Augusta* (fig. A.17) in addition to *Corduba* (fig. A.16) and *Tarraco* (fig. A.29), all of which are reported to have Augustan theatre remains. This would confirm to the importance of the Augustan period in the development of an ‘urban network’ and a rationalised administrative system in the *Hispaniae*, after which provincial elites would have publicly identified themselves with imperial power and consolidate their own social positions by ‘*construction buildings and other public monuments that were linked to the imperial house by dedicatory inscriptions.*’ (Keay 1998: 74)

During the triumvirate of Octavian, Marc Antony, and the Caesarian general M. Aemilius Lepidus, following the death of Caesar in 44 BC, the latter was initially in charge of *Hispania Citerior* and then, in 43 BC, given the whole of *Hispania* (Richardson 1998: 127, 130). Among the cities where remains from Roman theatres are reported (fig. A.2), Lepidus appears to have founded the *Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida* in the vicinity of an Iberian town in this period, which was definitely the first Roman colony in the Ebro valley where some 6,000 immigrants appear to have settled by the time of Caesar and change the name of the colony to *Colonia Victrix Iulia Celsa* sometime before the foundation of the *Colonia Caesar Augusta* to become the leading city in the region (García y Bellido 1959: 472-3; Richardson 1998: 132). Octavian and Antony would later re-divide the provinces, having defeated Brutus and Cassius at *Philippi* in 42 BC, with *Hispaniae* going to Octavian who is known to send there his legates to cope with ongoing military activity mainly caused by the former Caesarian Moorish leader Bogud who was now sided with Antony (Richardson 1998: 130-1). After the removal of Lepidus from the scene following his confrontation with Octavian in Sicily in 36 BC and at least down to the end of the triumvirate in 32 BC, the *Hispaniae* remained in the area controlled by Octavian through the commanders he sent there (Richardson 1998: 131-2). Having been awarded with the title of Augustus by the Roman Senate in 27 BC, Augustus divided the Iberian Peninsula into three provinces during his campaigns against the Cantabri and Astures in the mountainous north and north-west in 26-5 BC (fig. 4.5). At the time of the division, Cantabria, Asturias and Galicia still remained outside the Empire (Curchin 1991: 52). ‘*Augustus campaigned against them in person from 26 to 25 BC, and almost died there through illness.*

¹⁵ Mansuelli, G.A. 1974. ‘Considerazioni sull’urbanistica della Spagna romana’, pp. 87-94 in *Colloquio italo-spagnolo sul tema:*

The peninsula was finally subdued in its entirety by Augustus' deputy Agrippa, in 19 BC, almost 200 years after Gnaeus Scipio had arrived in Ampurias.' (Fear 2000: 31) Therefore, Livy describes *Hispania* as the first mainland province to be entered by the Romans and the last to be completely subdued and held out until the Age of Augustus, due to the rugged nature of the country and the recalcitrant character of its people, and particularly the Celts and the Celtiberians (Curchin 1991: 53-4). 'Returning to Rome in 13 after a second tour of Gaul and Spain, Augustus ordered the construction of an altar of peace – the famous *Ara Pacis* – for provinces which he had prematurely declared pacified in 25.' (Curchin 1991: 53) Gruen (1990: 400-1) finds it significant that the monument was erected, not in 25 BC when Janus' doors were prematurely closed and triumphal honours bestowed, but 'Rather in 13 BC, after more than a decade of intermittent insurrection, costly casualties, and terrorism.' Then Rome apparently evolved, between 200 BC and AD 200, an administrative framework that was adapted to the size and diversity of the Iberian Peninsula, maintaining peace among the local communities that all participated now in the exploitation of the country for Rome's benefit under the control of the provincial governors' staff (Keay 1988: 62-3). 'Tarraconensis, Baetica and Lusitania incorporated peoples with very different cultural traditions and were governed by a network of towns.' (Keay 1988: 172) J.S. Richardson (1998: 120) similarly marks the difference in the nature of the Roman *coloniae* established in the *Hispania Ulterior* and *Citerior*. Nevertheless, the period of Roman control over the Iberian Peninsula saw its transformation into a 'unity', which was in turn part of the greater whole of the Roman Empire, 'but in that very process, changed the nature of the empire of which it became a part.' (Richardson 1998: 318)

The senatorial *Provincia Hispania Ulterior Baetica* in the south was established essentially as a 'civilian' province, as different from the earlier division of military origin (Richardson 1998: 137), by carving from *Hispania Ulterior* what corresponds roughly to modern Andalusia and southern Estremadura. The other two provinces of the Peninsula were directly controlled by the Emperor (Richardson 1998: 130-1). Since *Baetica* already had a pre-Roman Punic and Iberian native urban tradition attested in the density of towns, the impact of Rome in this province should be judged, according to Fear (2002: 29), by the growth and adaptation of the particularly 'classical' features in the pre-existing towns and by 'the degree to which they came to predominate over the native features of the region and became its norms.' *Baetica* had its capital at *Corduba* and seaport at *Gades*. *Corduba* was also seat of a judicial *conventus* that extended up to *Emerita Augusta* and *Malaca* (Bernier Luque 1975: 21), forming one of four such subdivisions or juridical districts (*conventus Cordubensis*) in *Baetica*, with seats at *Hispalis* (modern Sevilla), *Astigi* (modern Ecija), *Gades* (modern Cádiz) and *Corduba* (modern Córdoba)

(Cuenca Toribio 1993: 13; Aguilar Gavilán 1995: 18) where merchants and other immigrants involved in farming and the exploitation of the area's mineral wealth were settled (Fear 2002: 28). Constituting an active unity between the two fundamental circumscriptions of province and *civitas*, juridical districts are known to have been attested only at *Ilirico* and *Asia* within the context of the Empire, outside the three provinces of *Hispaniae* (F. Beltrán Lloris 1985: 81). Converted into a *conventus* capital probably by Augustus and possibly after a *colonia Iulia Romula* established by Caesar, *Hispalis* was located along the Via Augusta that connected *Corduba* to Gades through *Astigi* from where departed other roads towards *Malaca*, *Emerita Augusta*, and *Italica* (Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 127-8). It was also at the limit for sea-going vessels on the *Baetis*. *Astigi* was on the navigable limit of *Singilis*, which is the main tributary of the *Baetis*, *Gades* was at the obvious choice for an area comprising the Mediterranean coastal strip, and *Corduba* was at the head of the navigable *Baetis* (Fear 2002: 272). Ancient theatre remains, of yet unattested size, are being hypothesised in the former two of these cities on the basis of the actual urban morphology (fig. A.2) while those that already revealed beneath later layers in the latter two constitute the largest two theatres so far unearthed in Spain (fig. A.4), enabling presumption of the former two at least among the very large in the country. Among the nine Roman *coloniae* established in the province at *Corduba*, *Hispalis*, *Astigi*, *Tucci*, *Itucci*, *Ucubi*, *Urso*, *Hasta Regia*, and *Asido* (Fear 2002: 64), theatre remains have been so far reported only in five, including the three *conventus* capitals that rose to prominence thanks to their important trading positions and administrative functions (fig. A.2). It has been suggested by some authors that *Gades* was also a *colonia* (Fear 2002: 66). 'Others, such as *Asido*, simply became average towns, or, as in the case of *Itucci*, declined from prominence to such a degree that their sites are now unknown.' (Fear 2002: 102) So, it would seem rather difficult to observe, at least for the moment, a correlation between the geographical distribution of ancient theatre remains and that of the *coloniae* in the Roman provinces of *Hispaniae* apart from those who have undertaken economic and administrative functions. 'There was no one particular physical type of *colonia*: some ... were founded directly on the site of a previous settlement ... while others were built alongside pre-existing settlements.' (Fear 2002: 73)

The rest of the *Uterior* that corresponded approximately to modern Portugal now formed the province of *Lusitania*, with a capital at *Emerita Augusta* (Baird 2000; Fear 2000: 31), which was also the capital of one of the three judicial districts (*conventus*) of the province, with the other two having been located at *Scalabis* (Santarém) and *Pax Iulia* (Beja) now in Portugal (Keay 1988: 61). While *Emerita Augusta* features one of the large theatres in the Peninsula (fig. A.4), no ancient theatre remains have been reported so far in these latter two *conventus* capitals that may have had similarly large theatres. The rarity of theatre remains in the area corresponding to *Lusitania* may perhaps be partially explained by Fear's (2002: 21) suggestion that, after the establishment of the *Pax Romana*, Rome would have

actively discouraged urbanisation, as attested in Appian's mention of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus' prohibition on the Celtiberian tribes against building further *poleis* or fortifying their existing ones and in Strabo's remark about Rome's reduction of the majority of the *poleis* in northern *Lusitania* to mere villages while improving a few and settling there themselves, as in the case of *Metellinum*.

These two statements show that Rome was willing and able to deal with power-structures other than those constructed around a *polis* and on occasions would prefer to do so if it was thought that this would hold some advantage (here that of avoiding sieges of hilltop sites). In turn this may suggest that when Roman-style urbanization did occur, it was for the benefit of Roman settlers, who would expect urban amenities, rather than that of the local population. This is not to say that some urbanizing tendencies would not be adopted by the natives, but to note that we have yet to find evidence that this process was intended by Rome. (Fear 2002: 21)

The remainder of the Iberian Peninsula that once formed *Hispania Citerior* was referred to often as *Hispania Tarraconensis* after the Augustan re-organisation and had its capital at *Tarraco* (Fear 2000: 31), which has, by contrast, a medium-sized theatre, the comparative limitation of whose seating capacity may best be explained by inter-regional differences in the Peninsula. '*Tarraco may have been the capital of a province, but it was not a large city, perhaps ca. 60 ha, the same as Narbo. It was larger than Emporiae or Barcino, but smaller than Corduba at 70 ha or Carthago Nova at 80 ha and certainly smaller than the Gallic capital of Lugdunum at 140 ha.*' (Mierse 1999: 233) Consisting of seven *conventus* centres at *Tarraco*, *Carthago Nova*, *Caesar Augusta*, *Clunia*, *Asturica Augusta* (modern Astorga), *Bracara Augusta* (modern Braga), and *Lucus Augusti* (modern Lugo), the nucleus of whose administration was *Tarraco* where the 300 municipalities of the province meet once a year (Arce 1976), *Hispania Tarraconensis* was one of the largest, if not the largest, among the provinces of the Roman Empire (Alföldy 1988: 20). The creation of the military, political, economic, and administrative infrastructure immediately after the establishment of control over this region through the creation of such as *Asturica Augusta*, *Bracara Augusta*, and *Lucus Augusti* is generally attributed to Agrippa, who would have been involved very directly also in the administrative re-organisation of the Peninsula in general after Octavian fell ill during the Cantabrian campaign (Jiménez Salvador 1992: 17; Vincent and Stradling 1995: 35), with the help of his famous *Orbis pictus* depicting the geographical characteristics of the Peninsula for a better assessment of possible sites for future colonies along important communication roads (Bendala Galán 1990: 38-9). These juridical capitals were not created before Claudius (Palol 1978: 19). Remains from ancient theatres have revealed in the former four of these latter *conventus* capitals, which are all among the large theatres of the Peninsula except the one at *Tarraco*, suggesting a reconsideration of the data pertaining to the size of the edifice especially in the light of the city's eminent role as the centre of the provincial Imperial Cult, which was, according to Keay (1988: 120), '*intended as a dramatic political statement about the strength and unity of the communities of Hispania Tarraconensis within the framework of the Roman Empire.*' The other two provincial

capitals, *Corduba* and *Emerita Augusta*, also featured similar centres (Keay 1988: 158-9), the former of which dated from the Flavian period (Richardson 1998: 142).

As to the remainder of the *conventus* capitals in the *Tarraconensis*, the examples of *Carthago Nova* (fig. A.13), *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12), and *Clunia* (fig. A.15) may render it likely that large theatres would have existed in them and a Theatre or Amphitheatre was indeed reported at *Bracara Augusta* (modern Braga) in the eighteenth century (Curchin 1991: 116-7). However, *Asturica Augusta*, *Bracara Augusta* and *Lucus Augusti* were all located in 'the least Romanised part of Hispania during the early empire' (Keay 1988: 62) that was characterised by an almost total lack of public buildings and certainly nothing as advanced as a theatre, temple or circus, especially in Galicia (Curchin 1991: 183). 'The stone huts of circular or oval plan from this region continue from pre-Roman times into the early Middle Ages (as occurs also in Celtic Gaul), and prehistorians have even used modern derivatives of these huts to reconstruct their ancestors.' (Curchin 1991: 183) Here, the establishment of Roman *coloniae* at these apparently pre-existing native sites was to deprive the local tribes of their potential mountain strongholds and make them more vulnerable to Roman policing rather than 'civilising' or 'Romanising' them (Fear 2002: 24). In this way, as in Asia Minor where Pompey the Great created eleven new cities, 'a town-based system, not requiring Roman supervision, nor giving a base for rebellion, was created. Few of the new centres of administration were new creations; rather they were pre-existent towns given new administrative functions.' (Fear 2002: 25) Fear (2002: 104) additionally observes that the new Roman names of *Tarraco* and *Caesar Augusta* replaced the pre-Roman *Kese* and *Salduba* whereas in *Baetica*, pre-existent names were usually preserved, possibly due to 'the more advanced nature and stronger staying power of Iberian civilization in the south of Spain' that showed no evidence of the extensive acculturation found in the colonies of Anatolia. In the case of *Tarraco*, the replacement would accord well with Keay's (1997: 204) characterisation of the Early Imperial physical transformation of the settlement by a break with past social traditions.

Fernández Ochoa (1992: 20) lists *Uxama*, *Toletum*, *Segobriga*, and *Clunia* (fig. A.15) among the many towns in the Meseta that preserved their indigenous names among the places where ancient theatres have been reported. Marked by a strong Celtic heritage, the *Tarraconensis* was divided into large confederations such as the *Cantabri* or *Vaccaeii* who inhabited scattered hilltop settlements (*castros*) wherein they were subdivided into clans containing individual families, which formed the basic unit of the society (Keay 1988: 75). 'In the *conventus Asturicensis* and *Cluniensis* the clan system persisted under the Latin name *gentilitates*. [...] In the *conventus Bracaraugustanus* and *Lucensis* a similar clan system existed, although it was known here as the *centuria*.' (Keay 1988: 75) Curchin (1991: 181) interprets this survival of the pre-Roman clan and tribal structures throughout the Roman period

especially in the northern and north-western areas of the Peninsula as a form of 'cultural resistance' to 'Romanisation'. Nevertheless, '*By virtue of this system the indigenous communities of the area did take part in periodic display of loyalty to the emperor and state; but the persistence of pre-Roman social traditions meant that the conventus cult never really took root.*' (Keay 1988: 158)

Except those at *Saguntum* and *Italica*, Tiberian theatres of the Peninsula are located in the north, which is the second area in the Iberian Peninsula where there is an apparent concentration of the ancient theatre remains so far discovered, although without the density observed in *Baetica* where the concentration of Late Republican and Augustan theatres seem to support Mierse's (1999: 48) observation that:

The process of Romanization was certainly faster in the south, where a strong Roman presence must have become established early in the lower Baetis (Guadalquivir) Valley. [...] The progress was slower moving up the Ebro Valley—with the first major Roman center, not established until the mid-first century, at Celsa. Nonetheless, the finds of Campanian ware throughout the region provide evidence of commercial penetration, and the entire area was militarily pacified during the Celtiberian Wars of the mid-second century. (Mierse 1999: 48)

What followed would have been the creation of cities in this area, which would serve as the military, political, economic, and administrative backbone of the region in a totalising organisation of the territory along a city-based structure through the establishment of Roman colonies to serve as centres along the road network in the service of the administration of an *Hispania* politically unified for the first time (Bendala Galán 1990: 37-8). A recent survey in the middle Ebro Valley has revealed a notable change in the distribution of towns in this region after the destructions brought mainly by Pompey during the Sertorian Wars, after which the number of towns reduced and there emerged towns planned on a new layout, giving rise to a more hierarchical control of the territory than in the previous period (Mozota 1991: 42). Contrary to the traditional model of settlement derived from the written sources outlining a movement from the mountains down into the plain as part of Roman pacification, the newly-emerged towns were real strongholds prominently situated on the summits and sides of isolated peaks that '*imply the need for major terracing operations as well as the sacrifice of the population's material comfort to defensive needs, which were reinforced with a wall-circuit and square turrets.*' (Mozota 1991: 42)

Mierse (1999: 173) highlights their lack of pre-Roman monumental architecture and urban development that marked the southern ones from the seventh century BC onwards as an important distinction of the northern regions of the Iberian Peninsula from the southern ones. The Celtic and Celtiberian populations of the former area architecturally shared the *oppidum* style of urbanisation in common with central European Celts. Even in the religious sphere, Jupiter is known to have been the great Indo-European god that was honoured in the Celtic areas of the Iberian Peninsula in replacement of older local high gods, through the adaptation of classical forms to suit the needs of the Celtic religion that

lacked a tradition of religious architecture (Mierse 1999: 197). Therefore, with the exception of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12), the Tiberian Theatres located in this latter area return us back to the issue of Hellenistic influences with their urban layout and the architectural characteristics observed of their theatre buildings. Relevant in this regard would be a series of similarities in the urban design scheme applied in the Temple-Forum-Theatre complex at *Bilbilis* (fig. A.11) at the Iberian Peninsula and the urban layout at *Pergamon* in Asia Minor, as described by William E. Mierse under the title of 'New Choices under Tiberius' in his *Temples and Towns in Roman Iberia* (1999), which has been evaluated by Bertrand Goffaux (2000) among the many strengths of the book.

Mierse (1999: 149) starts his analysis by noting the location of *Bilbilis* at the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula where the local Celtiberian population had resisted Roman rule during the second century BC, which led to the famous siege of *Numantia*. As a result, Roman presence could be established by M. Aemilius Lepidus at *Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida* along the Ebro during his first or second proconsulship respectively in 48/47 BC or 44/42 BC, which later became *Colonia Victrix Iulia Celsa* (modern Gelsa located 4 km to the north-west of the ancient remains) possibly in 36/35 BC between the periods of Caesar and Augustus (García y Bellido 1959: 472-4), while the establishment of Roman control over older Celtiberian settlements such as *Termes* further to the north had to wait until the reign of Augustus (Mierse 1999: 150). These two are among the places where ancient theatre remains have been reported around the Ebro valley, however without any suggestion concerning their chronology (fig. A.2). These latter sites would have allowed for another line of development for the town-planning characteristics of the majority of settlements in the area of the Ebro Valley. Miguel Beltrán Lloris (1990: 180) describes the pre-dominant Roman centres of the area, including *Lepida*, as having been founded among strategically-established indigenous towns at high locations dominating over roads, watercourses or agricultural lands, which would have conserved for a long time their initial characteristics proper to *opidda*, especially in the form of their city walls and in their adaptation to the terrain and other circumstances through terracing and an urban layout centring on a single main street, without the possibility of developing cities proper to Rome. Characterised by an absence of public spaces, and especially those adorned with constructions serving civil-administrative or religious functions, and by the irregularity of their urban implantations, these settlements were dotted by considerable variations in the accesses, forms of defenses and grouping of dwellings (Beltrán Lloris 1990: 180). Keay (2001: 132) similarly mentions northwest *Tarraconensis* among the parts of the Iberian Peninsula 'where the Graeco-Roman concept of town was completely alien to the indigenous settlement tradition and where some municipalities without urban centres were created by Rome.'

When taken together, the urban development and theatre architecture in the Roman provinces of *Hispaniae* seem to confirm to Mierse's (1999: 1) observation that:

there was little attempt to force or even encourage a particular type of Romanization, at least one that can be recognized in the archaeological record. As long as the local communities remained passive, they were free to continue in their traditional manner and build as they saw fit. The result of this indifference was the fostering of several local architectural experiments in which the new political reality is reflected in new architectural forms. (Mierse 1999: 1)

Perhaps the best examples of this latter phenomenon would be the Flavian period theatre constructions at *Regina*, *Segobriga*, and *Baelo Claudia*.

In the following chapter, an attempt will be made for mapping the 'network' of the ancient theatres in modern Greece where the Greek concept of town and theatre was the indigenous settlement tradition before Roman rule, to compare the Roman period theatre construction activity in this region of the Mediterranean with that in the Iberian Peninsula as a conclusion of the present study.

CHAPTER 5

THE NETWORK OF ANCIENT THEATRES IN MODERN GREECE

This chapter will be devoted to 'mapping' the geographical distribution of the ancient theatres in modern Greece by their 'size', their construction 'period' and the 'construction technique applied in their *cavea*', for an interpretation of the regularities that would reveal in their cross-examination in the light of the various processes of cultural change in the Mediterranean basin, including those referred to as 'Romanisation'. The chapter will begin by a review of alternative interpretations of the architectural characteristics of 'very small' ancient performance buildings in Greece to conclude that they provide evidence *for* a 'synchronic' use of a variety of configurations and *against* the idea of a unilinear evolution in ancient theatre architecture through the abandonment of 'primitive' types, such as rectilinear stone steps, and materials, such as timber benches. Coming to the geographical distribution patterns of those formal and constructional possibilities, a correlation will be suggested with settlement hierarchies that would have undergone transformations after the establishment of Roman rule over Greece. Such a suggestion has been based on the argument that the crucial impact of Rome in the Greek East was the creation of a 'network of cities' out of a settlement pattern dotted by cities and city-states at the expense of all other types of administrative system such as kingdoms, temple-states, or tribes, integrating them with the new villages and the countryside through the establishment of new colonies and reallocation of agricultural land (Woolf 1997:1; Alcock 1993; Rizakis 1997).

The second and third sections of the chapter will attempt to follow, in theatre constructions, this transformation from a landscape of autonomous city-states into a 'network of cities' under Roman rule that is argued to have created Greece out of those pre-existing urban units that would appear as the essential elements of Roman provincial administration (Alcock 1993: 18, 129). The focus of the second section of the chapter on the 'very large' theatres within the study area will reveal their location in the strongest pre-Roman city-states (Athens, Argos) whose imperialistic tendencies seem to have resulted in the formation of leagues against them; in the headquarters of those leagues (*Megalopolis*, *Corinthos*,

Sicyon), some of which also displayed resistance against Roman control (*Corinthos, Dodone*); in cities that seem to have established an especially close relation with the newly-emerging Imperial Roman rule (Sparta, Athens); and in the regional centres rising under that rule, thanks to their advantageous geographical location along the Roman communications networks (*Corinthos, Nicopolis, Lyttus*). The pre-Roman centres will also be observed to owe the great size of their theatre to their hosting of Panhellenic games, which may be taken as another indication of their power in the period before the establishment of Roman control over Greece.

Coming to the period after the establishment of Roman control, the third section of the chapter will suggest a correspondence between the architectural characteristics of ancient theatres constructed in the Roman Greece (fig. B.5) and the 'hierarchies' intrinsic in the 'urban network' that emerged under Roman rule in the Mediterranean basin, for a classification of the extant ancient theatre remains in such a way as to enable their interpretation in reference to the various processes of 'Romanisation'. In this way, the 'urban network' that would have emerged out of the 'socio-economic and administrative structure' established under Roman control will be argued as the 'structure' from which would have emanated the regularities discerned in Roman period theatre construction activity in Greece. The colonies that were crucial tools for the establishment of this 'structure' through the transformation of the pre-Roman settlement patterns of autonomous city-states were conceived by Caesar and his lieutenants and further developed by Augustus (fig. 5.4) (Rizakis 1997: 15). Established at strategic sites along the land and sea routes connecting Italy to the East, these marginal centres formed, together with the allied city-states and leagues scattered throughout the countryside, the 'nodes' in the administrative 'network' (fig. 5.5) (Rizakis 1997: 15). The correspondence between the hierarchies intrinsic in that 'network' and the 'size' of the theatres located in its 'nodes' will be observed to support part of the starting hypothesis of this study suggesting a possible correlation between the seating capacities of ancient theatres and the size of the settlements or the religious importance of the sanctuaries in which they were located. However, the examples in Greece will seem to refute the second part of the hypothesis about a possible correlation between the 'size' of ancient theatres and the 'material and technique applied in the construction of their *cavea*', as they will reveal a 'rhizomatic' distribution of the various formal and constructional possibilities, which cannot be represented by adopting a classificatory model based on the Greek-Roman binarism. In this way, the 'mapping' exercise undertaken in this chapter will be concluded by highlighting a small portion of the connections and similarities that would reveal in a cross-examination, from a 'geo-historical' point of view, of the maps representing the geographical distribution of the extant ancient theatre remains in Greece by their 'size', their construction 'period' and the 'construction technique applied in their *cavea*'.

5.1 Very Small Theatres

The first map in the series demonstrates a classification by 'size' of the ancient performance building remains in Greece whose spectator capacity is known or has been estimated (fig. B.3). On the basis of the method proposed by Paola Ciancio Rossetto and Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio (1994/95/96: 80) in their catalogue of Greek and Roman theatres, the classification of 'large', 'medium-sized' and 'small' buildings has been made according to the largest diameter/radius measured of the *koilon*, grouping those with $d > 80\text{m}$ as 'large', those with $80\text{m} > d > 60\text{m}$ as 'medium' and those with $60\text{m} > d$ as 'small' buildings. The measures of less than a 1,000 spectator capacity for 'very small' and a capacity of more than 15,000 spectators and/or $d > 120\text{m}$ for 'very large' buildings have been added to this triple grouping in order to narrow down the vast range of buildings grouped together as 'small' and 'large' structures. With this latter additions, the suggested grouping by 'size' has given the promising result that, when sub-grouped by function, the edifices that have a seating capacity of less than 1,000 people would fall unanimously into one of following three categories: rectilinear steps located in the courtyards of Bronze Age palaces in Crete, rectilinear and/or curvilinear steps without a facing stage building, and Roman period Odeum structures (fig. B.4).

Such regular diversity, in terms of the construction 'period', the 'construction technique applied in the *caveas*' and the attained 'function' within one of the groups that emerged out of a classification of ancient performance building remains by the variable of 'size' is reminiscent of the following comment by J.F. Cherry (1994), who criticises the use of 'size' as the primary tool, in the absence of better ones, for discriminating site types for plotting them onto period-distribution maps of the regional surveys conducted in Greece: *'But it takes only a little reflection to make it obvious that this risks lumping together such things as local shrines, cemeteries, grave groups, small farms, seasonal shelters, and other functionally disparate entities whose surface expression may be of similar extent.'* (Cherry 1994: 103) Indeed, especially two of the subgroups emerging out of a classification of the rectilinear and/or curvilinear steps without a facing stage building of less than a seating capacity of 1,000 people by their architectural and constructional characteristics, locations and the functions they served provide support for two alternative explanations offered for the transformation of ancient theatre architecture in 'place' and 'time', respectively from what may be identified as 'formalist' and 'functionalist' points of view. Mostly dating to eighth-seventh centuries BC, rectilinear steps located in the Agora or its vicinity have once provided the primary point of departure in the attempt to trace a linear evolution for ancient theatre architecture from the Bronze Age palaces in Crete to seating arrangements in Archaic period Agora structures and from the Agora of Athens to the Theatre of Dionysus to leap from there to Rome. One noteworthy example in favour of this argument would be the **Theatre of Lindos on the island of Rhodes** (fig. B.8). The site is renowned for its cult of Athena Lindia, whose original site would have lied near a

great cave under the eastern edge of the Acropolis hill dominated in later periods by the Temple dedicated to the goddess. Tentatively dated to the fourth century BC, the Theatre is located on the southwest slope of the Acropolis hill and cut into it right below the Temple of Athena Lindia, as in Pergamum and Athens, with a platform cut out in the rock above in alignment with the main axes of the Theatre perhaps to accommodate a divine statue (Nielsen 2002: 140) appears to be reminiscent of the *sacellum in summa cavea* characteristically attributed to Roman type of theatres following the model set by the Theatre of Pompey in Rome at the feet of the Temple of Venus Victrix. There are remains of a four-sided building in the extension of the *skene* of the Theatre, which has columns, at the inside, on all four sides that would have supported a pitched roof around an open-air courtyard that had its entrance from the northwest through a colonnaded porch carrying an architrave. Providing space for some 1500-1700 spectators, this *tetrastoon* and the adjoining Theatre have been linked to the *agones* celebrated at the festival of Dionysus Smintheus and known to us as the Sminthia (Nielsen 2002: 140).

The **Cavea in the Sanctuary of the Syriac Goddess in Delos** (fig. B.8), on the other hand, features another component characteristically attributed to Roman type of theatres after the Theatre of Pompey in Rome—namely, a *porticus in summa gradiatone*. The structure dates from the last quarter of the second century BC when the mythical birthplace of Apollo and Artemis had already been transformed from being the chief Greek Sanctuary overshadowed only by Delphi on the oracular level (Schoder 1974: 53) into a tax-exempt international harbour by the Romans to undermine the position of Rhodes as the chief international exchange centre for Aegean commerce. In 166 BC the Delians were expelled by Romans to *Achaia* and Athenians were allowed to occupy the island, which would lead to its economic prosperity, thanks to the concentration of trade activity it took over from Rhodes and as the main slave market of Greece (Perseus). There came an influx of foreigners from Rome, Alexandria, *Berytus* (modern Beirut), Tyre and *Corinthos* after its sack in 146 BC, who had major offices in Delos and became a significant element in the island's population (Schoder 1974: 53), installing Sanctuaries to foreign deities on the island. The one dedicated to Atargatis/Syria Thea and Hadad was founded from the main Sanctuary in Hierapolis/Bambyce over a 120m-long terrace on the slope of Mt. Cynthus and beside a Sarapeium, and was later enlarged and made official by the Athenians at the end of the second century BC (Nielsen 2002: 250-53). Resting on a natural slope except in its constructed western side, the *cavea* dates from this enlargement carried out between 113 and 104 BC as a donation of some one hundred *therapeutai* (worshippers) headed by Nicostratos, the eponymous priest of 108/7 BC, and 'may thus constitute the result of a general "Hellenization" of the sanctuary.' (Nielsen 2002: 250) 'Higher up it was surrounded by a porticus triplex of a similar type to those of the great sanctuaries of Latium. [...] The cavea was used for worship and there was never a stage building. In its place, there was a terrace with an altar at the centre and a cistern at the side.' (Isler 1994/95/96f: 195)

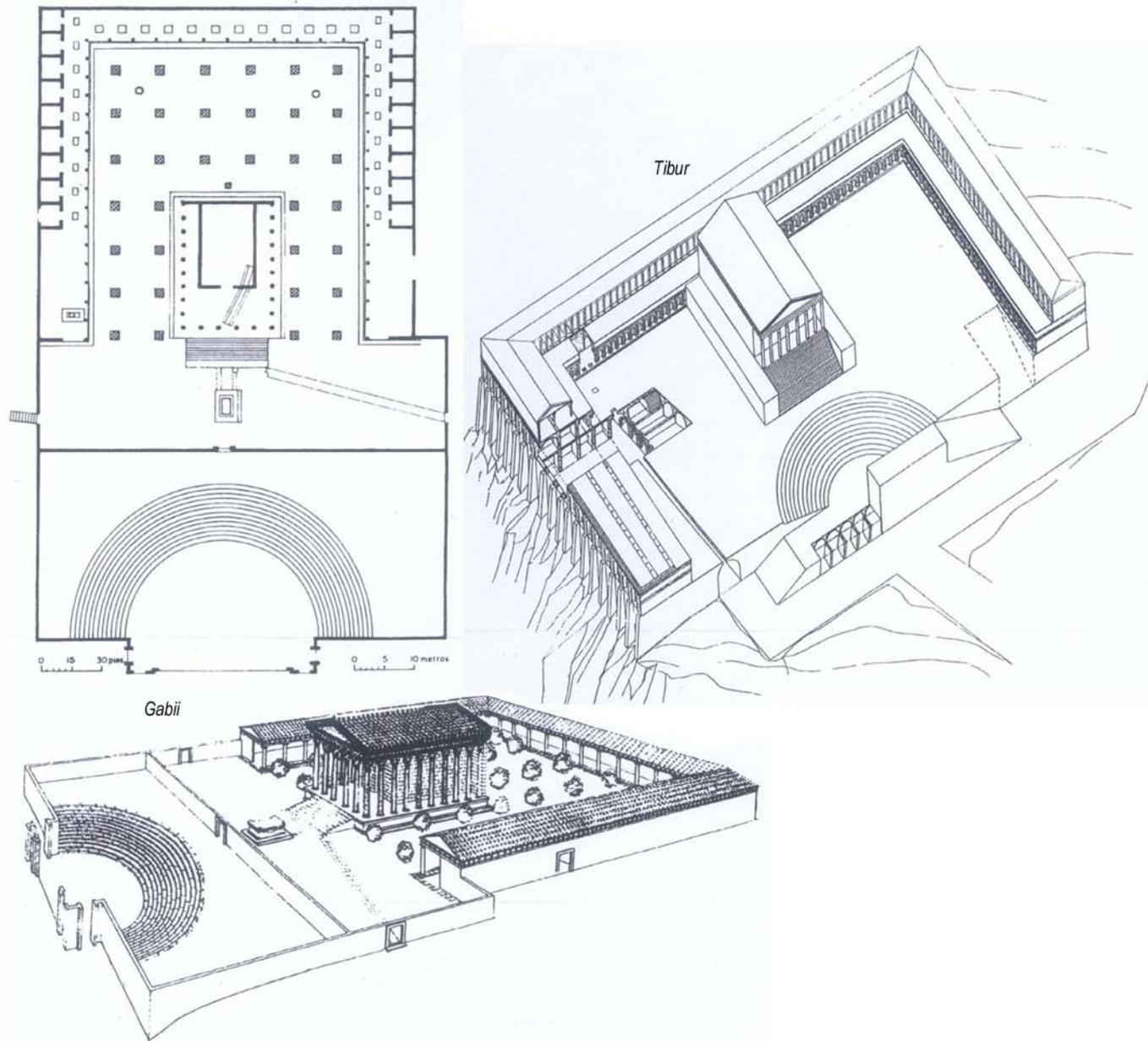


Figure 5.1 Reconstruction drawings of the Theatre-Temple complexes of the Sanctuaries at *Gabii* and *Tibur* in *Latium*, central Italy (Nielsen 2002: 181, 184)

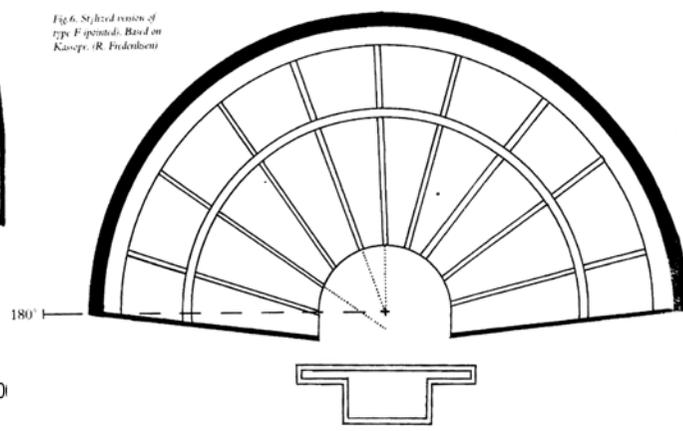
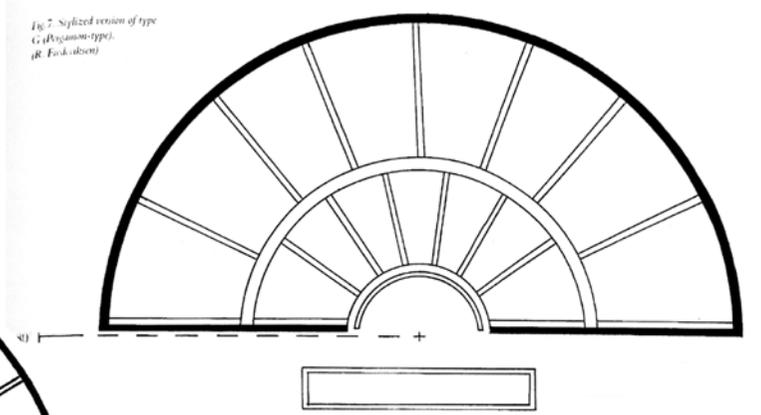
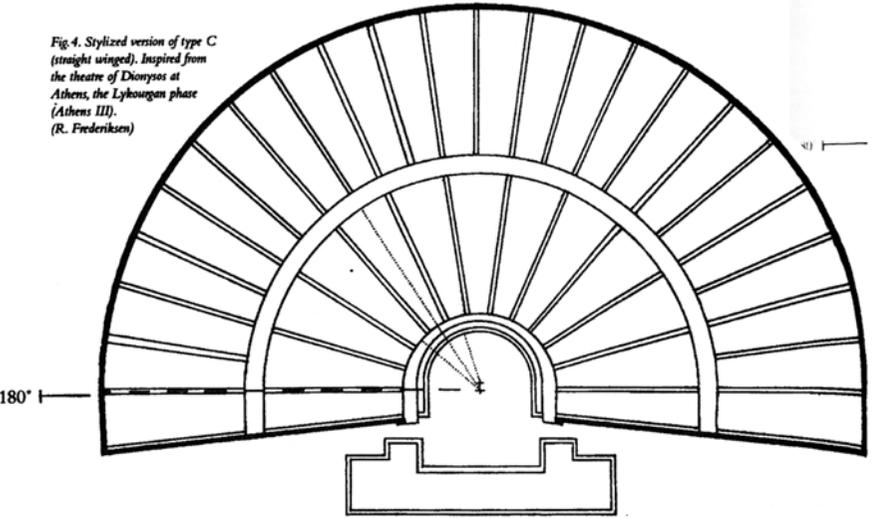
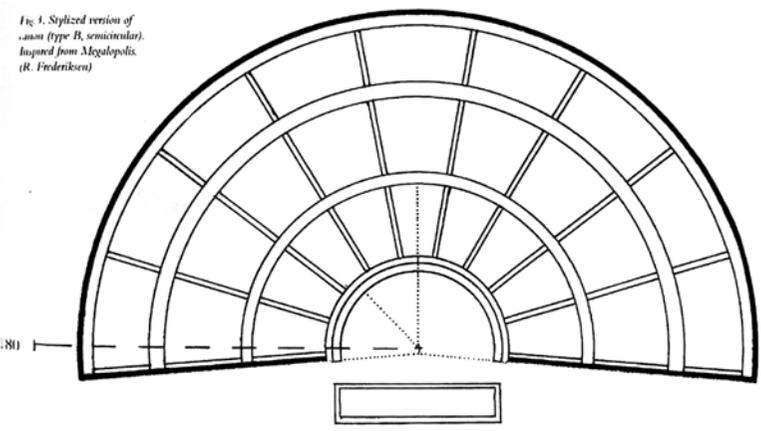
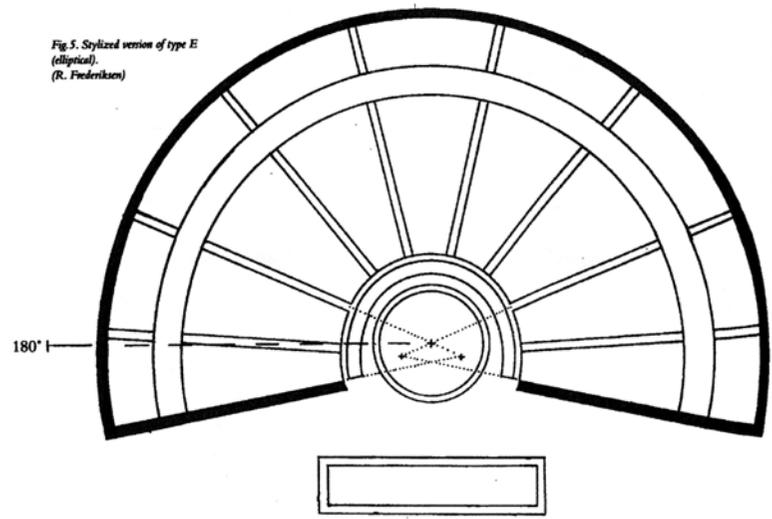
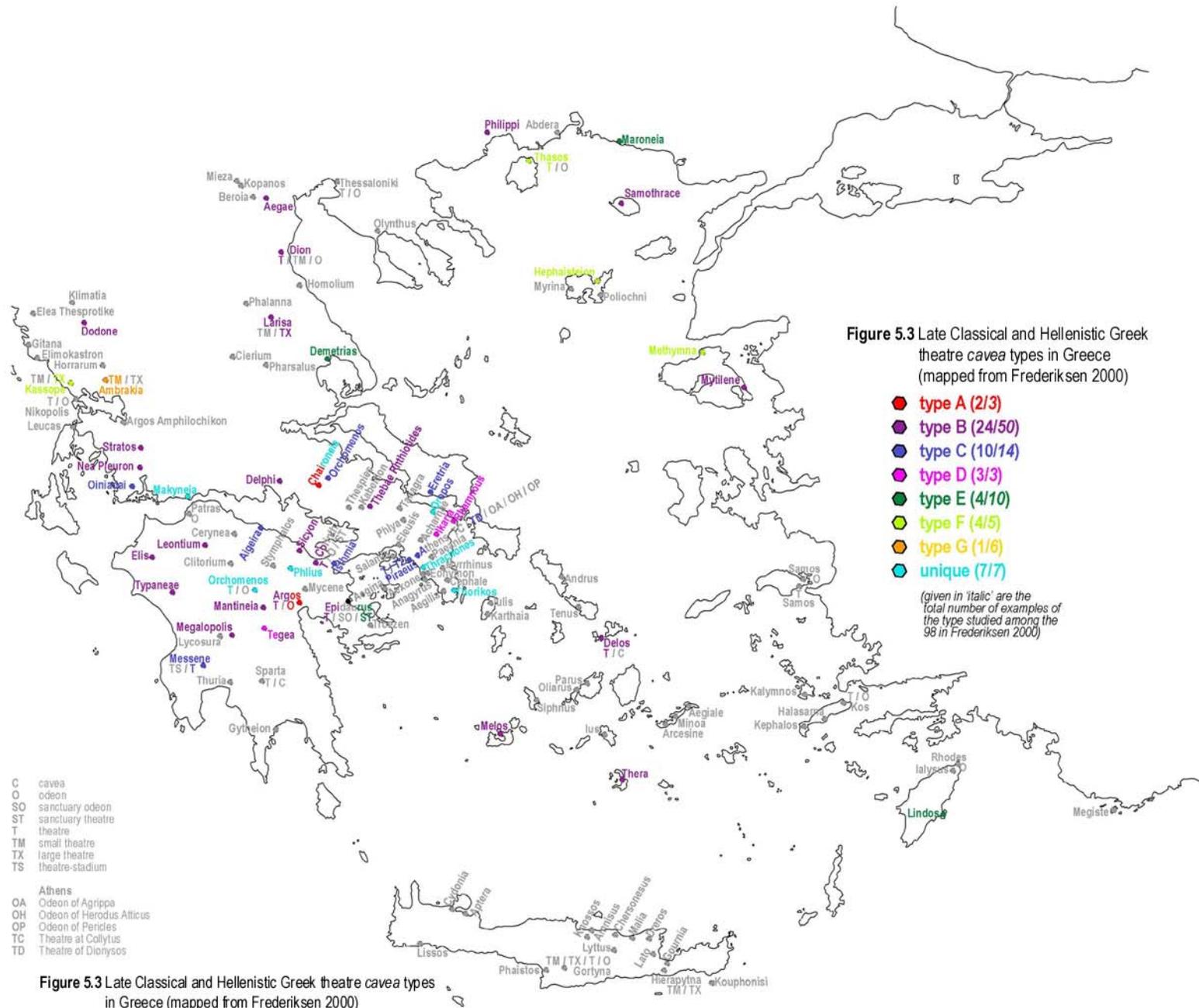


Figure 5.2 Late Classical and Hellenistic Greek theatre cavea types B, C, E, F and G (Frederiksen 2001: 140 (F) [right from top to bottom].)



Inge Nielsen (2002: 253-4) alludes to the much-discussed role of this *cavea* configuration in the development of ancient theatre architecture, mentioning Coarelli's (1983a)¹ theory that it would have constituted the model for the theatre-temple sanctuaries of Latium such as those at *Gabii*, *Tibur*, or *Praeneste* (fig. 5.1). The portico behind the top of the *cavea* indeed resembles the characteristic U-shaped porticoes of these sanctuaries, with the important difference that, unlike the examples from Italy, the Delian one surrounds, not the Temple but, only the Theatre, which is not axially aligned with the Temple that consists of a *naos* of Syrian type in its own *temenos* at the southern end of the terrace and is later than the earliest sanctuaries of this kind in Latium.

As outlined in the second chapter on the historiography of typological studies of ancient theatre architecture, this line of argument characteristically outlines a development from a rectilinear and later polygonal layout to a semicircular one, displaying a strong tendency towards formalism. As such, it appears to find support in the typology consisting of seven different geometric structure groups proposed by Rune Frederiksen (2000) after studying the seating rows of 98 Late Classical and Hellenistic period theatres, 54 of which are located in Greece (figs. 5.2 and 5.3). Named in alphabetical order, **Type A** consists of fifth century BC structures that are confined to straight rows of seats carved into the living rock without a facing stage building (Argos, *Chaironeia I*) (Frederiksen 2000: 139). **Type B** is characterised by its regular more-than-semicircular design laid out from the same centre as the *orchestra* and comprises of 50 of the 98 examples included in the typology and 23 of the 54 from Greece (Frederiksen 2000: 149). **Type C** is exemplified in the third phase of the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens where the semicircular central part of the *koilon*, usually drawn from the same centre as the *orchestra*, expands at both ends with straight wings (Frederiksen 2000: 151). Presented as tokens of a new type that emerged in the fourth century BC, the structures consisted in **Type D** are also without a stage building facing their single straight row of stone *proedria* and supporting walls for their *orchestra*, which was probably square (*Ikaria*, *Rhamnous*, *Tegea*) (Frederiksen 2000: 139). **Type E** is best represented by the theatre in the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus where the curve of the *orchestra* and the innermost part of the *koilon* are determined from the same circle while two other centres are used for the outermost two or four *kerkides* extending out from the semicircle to result in an elliptical geometry (Frederiksen 2000: 153). **Type F** is characterised by a pointed shape resulting from the extension only of the innermost part of the *koilon* with straight wings from a semicircle (Frederiksen 2000: 154). **Type G** also named as the 'Pergamum type' has the shape of a semicircle drawn from a single centre (Frederiksen 2000: 154). All these types have been examined in detail and represented by a plan scheme (fig. 5.2) except the types A and D, which consist of straight or curvilinear seating rows without a facing stage building, and the **Unique** structures among which are also examples without a stage building. These latter are confined to straight (*Thrachones*) or partly

¹ Coarelli, F. 1983. 'Architettura sacra e architettura privata nella tarda Repubblica', pp. 191-217 in *Architecture et Société. De la*

straight and partly curvilinear (*Orchomenos* [Arcadia], *Thorikos*) rows of seats (Frederiksen 2000: 173). Except those that stayed in use after the conversion of their initially straight seating rows into a curvilinear plan (*Chaironeia*, *Oropos*), these mostly early structures are believed to have fallen out of use in an early period in such a way as to imply that these types would have given way to curvilinear variations that emerged in later periods, in a general trend of change from 'linear' and 'unique' design to or towards the semicircular canon, with some chronological interrelation between different types, although not necessarily through a diachronic development from a simpler to a more complex design, abandoning the earlier schemes (Frederiksen 2000: 150, 156). As an example, 'the G theatres are concentrated in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC rather than late in the Hellenistic period, when they would have been a natural prelude to the Roman period, when this type took over completely.' (Frederiksen 2000: 156) Explaining the canonisation of the semicircular plan for seating rows as a development parallel to the growing number of spectators for allowing as many people as possible to see and hear as well as possible, Frederiksen (2000: 141) also stresses the fact that 'all the theatres that can be described as having an irregular, or at least unique shape, are to be found in the category of small theatres. [...] So size definitely plays a role in the development towards the semicircular canon.'

An example in support of the thesis arguing the gradual canonisation of the semicircular plan may be found in the Roman period renovation at the **Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia near Sparta** (fig. B.8) where, despite its small size, a *cavea* featuring vaulted radial chambers was constructed in the first century BC. Schoder (1974: 201) argues for the present of a tenth century BC cult site at the Limenaion near Sparta, over which an Archaic Temple of Artemis Orthia was built, with its Altar dated to the ninth century BC. Nielsen, on the other hand, mentions the deity Artemis Orthia among those derived from the Phoenician Astarte through *interpretatio Graeca* during the so-called Orientalizing period when Greek areas resumed contact with the East (i.e. Egypt, the Near East and Phoenicia) in the late eighth – seventh century BC following the Dark Age, with Phoenician influence 'mediated both through the Greek colonies and trading-stations situated in these areas, and through the primary Phoenician trading-stations founded in Greece.' (Nielsen 2002: 75) The Sanctuary would have been founded in the eighth century BC when the area between the Temple and Altar was floored with river pebbles, before the ground level was raised about one meter in the sixth century BC to which period date the second Temple and the third Altar. In this possibly circular area (Nielsen 2002: 91), which Nielsen argues to have been used for ritual drama perhaps since the foundation of the Sanctuary probably in the eighth century BC, some 3,000 fragments of clay masks dating from sixth and fifth centuries BC were unearthed above the pebbled floor, above and beneath the thick layer of sand that covered it as a result of the flooding of the Eurotas river while some other 300 were below the pebbled floor and hence

contemporary with it (Nielsen 2002: 300). Nigel Martin Kennell (1985: 1-5) notes a revival of interest in the cult of Artemis Orthia that would have resulted in the rebuilding of the Temple in the Sanctuary by the end of the third century BC, when reformers including Agis, Cleomenes, and Nabis were claiming a return to the teachings of Lycurgus that had made Sparta great, putting the blame of the loss of Messenia, the widening gap between the rich and the poor, and the loss of the leading role of the city not only in Greece but also in the Peloponnesus on the collapse of the traditional way of life at Sparta. In a later Hellenistic phase a first century BC *theatron* may have been built in this area, as could be judged from two *proedria* seats preserved in the later Roman construction that appears to be the most monumental (Nielsen 2002: 89). It consists of a circular *cavea* supported by vaulted radial chambers around the façade of the Hellenistic temple of Artemis that serves as a backdrop, with the Temple Altar occupying its original spot in an off-centre position in the *orchestra* (Isler 1994/95/96m: 301; Nielsen 2002: 89). This elaborate Roman construction phase is explained by the ongoing popularity alternatively of devotion to Orthia and of the *diamastigosis* down to and during Roman times (Catling 1998: 23).

From a functionalist point of view, however, H.W. Catling (1998: 23) finds the parallel of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in the **Kabeirion at Thebes** (fig. B.29), which was one of the most important cities of ancient Greece. Habitation remains at the site go back to early Helladic times, as attested in a large stone structure identified under the later Mycenaean palace at a hilltop that is traditionally attributed to Cadmus, who is attested by tradition to have come from Phoenicia in search for his abducted sister Europa and 'settled at Thebes on the advice of Delphi. He was credited with introducing writing to Greece and many aspects of Eastern and Egyptian civilization.' (Schoder 1974: 220) Among these Eastern aspects may have been the cult of the Kabeiroi or the Great Gods, whose name appears to have come from the Semitic root *kbr* meaning 'mighty' (Schoder 1974: 103). Honoured as patrons of fertility and of sailing, four of these gods have so far been named (Axierus, Axiocersa, Axiocersus, and Cadmilus) and thought to have assimilated to various aspects of Demeter, Hermes, Hephaestus, and Dionysus (sometimes renamed Cabirus) (Schoder 1974: 103). Samothrace was among the chief centres of the cult in Greece, together with the Kabeirion near Thebes and that on Lemnos, with the nearby island of Thasos having been an old Phoenician colony remarkably with an important Sanctuary of Heracles, alongside the road leading to which have been unearthed rows of steps measuring 12m in length for spectators to stand during religious processions (Nielsen 2002: 306-7).

These Sanctuaries would provide support for an argument for the 'synchronic' use of a variety of configurations in ancient theatres during the Roman period instead of a unilinear evolution progressing through the abandonment of more 'primitive' building types, in the interpretation of the rectilinear and/or curvilinear steps in some extra-urban sanctuaries that were initially constructed in a broad period

expanding from the eighth century BC to the Roman era and mostly stayed in use for a long time after Roman period restorations that *did not involve* the construction of a stage building even when the rectilinear seating arrangements were transformed into a curvilinear form.

A noteworthy example in this regard is the Hadrianic **Theatron at Eleusis** (fig. B.8), which is thought to have taken its name from Demeter's 'arrival' (*eleusis*) in search of her daughter Kore (Persephone) who had been carried off to Hades to be Pluto's queen—an event celebrated from Mycenaean times on by a sacred ritual commemorating the carrying off and return of Kore each autumn and spring in the dark Telesterion hall that is known to date from around 750 BC in its earliest phase and have been enlarged during the reign of Peisistratus and his sons, before its destruction during the Persian War and rebuilding during the Periclean Age by Iktinos, architect of the Parthenon (Schoder 1974: 63-4). Surrounded by a massive fortification wall for the preservation of the secrecy of the Eleusinian Mysteries that would have become a Panhellenic cult around 600 BC, with another cross-wall dividing the priests' dwellings and administration buildings from the sacred inner peribolos, buildings at the Sanctuary of the Great Goddesses have a complex stratigraphy owing to changes and additions from Mycenaean to Roman times when the Sanctuary and the city of *Eleusis* were favoured by Roman emperors. One noteworthy example is the initiation of Hadrian into the Mysteries in 125 BC from which period would have dated a *theatron* in the southern court of the Sanctuary that is suggested by Travlos (1988)² to have been used for the celebration of the Antinoeia games held in honour of Hadrian's favourite, Antinoos (Nielsen 2002: 127). However, Nielsen (2002: 127) finds it more reasonable to suppose these contests to have taken place in the Stadium outside the southern *temenos* of the Sanctuary, while the *theatron* would have been used during the main festival of Demeter, 'the *Thesmophoria*, an agrarian feast celebrated exclusively by women and taking place in autumn.' (Nielsen 2002: 127) This second interpretation would find support in the situation of the rock-cut *theatron* for some 600 people in straight rows, on and behind a platform raised 2.30 m above the court level and accessible through flanking staircases that led at the same time to a terrace above the Telesterion (Nielsen 2002: 127; Stanley 1970: 85).

The example of *Eleusis* provides support for Inge Nielsen's (2002: 196) argument, alternative to the thesis of an evolution towards the semicircular plan through the abandonment of earlier plan types that are characterised by the common absence of a facing stage building that, the examples in Roman period rural sanctuaries in *Gallia*, where the Temple substitutes the stage building by fronting directly onto the *cavea*, should be accepted as a variation of the type of structures in rural Greek sanctuaries

² Travlos, J. 1988. Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika. Tübingen, p. 96.

that are characterised by their lack of a stage building rather than of Roman period urban theatres proper, which implies the continuity of the type:

These Gallic sanctuaries should rather, in fact, be regarded as a systematized-version of the Greek-style theatre-temple model, in which the temple forms the “backdrop” for what went on in the all-important orchestra, as seen at Sparta, Thebes, and Samothrace. Typical of these Gallic theatres, however, is the presence of a large platform, serving as a stage, which could take up a large part of the orchestra. Since these theatres often belonged to the sanctuaries of local gods, albeit interpreted as Apollo, Jupiter, and the imperial cult, for example, the temples were often of the Gallic type, and the layout may have been due to local preferences rather than to Greek models. (Nielsen 2002: 196)

Frézouls (1992: 15) interprets the characteristic timber seating rows and the corresponding polygonal plan of these theatre buildings, especially on the basis of the examples in *Argentomagus*, Neung-Sur-Beuvron, Aubigné and Antigny, as an indication of the fact that, rather than being a last option adopted only when there was no other alternative, the use of timber ranked as an architectural solution on its own, which was adopted not only in *Gallia* and other provinces but also in Italy and Rome. Therefore, demountable timber constructions were not categorically opposed to permanent theatres and nor were they replaced by them either in or outside the city of Rome where the use of timber at least in part of the *cavea* seem to have continued for a long period of time (Frézouls 1982: 356). In this way, we find ourselves closer to the timber structures of the Roman Republican period rather than the ‘classical’ Augustan theatre building of the province of *Gallia Narbonensis*.

An example illustrating the validity of the same theory of a ‘synchronic’ use of a variety of configurations in ancient theatres of Roman Greece comes from *Larissa*. Located outside the city walls and at the bottom of the southwest slope of the Pefkakia hill where the Acropolis was located, the so-called **Theatre B of Larissa** (fig. B.22) would have similarly served a religious function as venue for the musical contests held in honour of Zeus Eleutherios. Although its *cavea* dates to the second half of the first century BC, with a later stage building and *orchestra*, it is described as ‘of Greek type’ (CNRS 1996 [505] 400), apparently due to its plan featuring thirteen *cunei* in its two front rows of marble seats while the rest of the *cavea* probably had wooden benches (AT). In this way, the example of *Larissa* would attest continuity, in the Roman period, of use and construction of the type of seating arrangements included in Frederiksen’s **Type D**, which are confined to seating over a plain natural slope or timber benches over a partially levelled natural slope beyond a rectilinear or circular *proedria* step, as in the Theatre of *Vergina* where Phillip II was assassinated. Attested, in this way, in constructional terms is the parallel of the wide range of formal possibilities in very small performance buildings constructed in the Roman period, as exemplified in the extreme cases of the Roman renovation of the *cavea* in the Sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia in Sparta and the Roman period Odeum buildings in *Messene* and in the Sanctuary of Asclepius in *Epidaurus* (fig. B.18).

Remarkably enough, all the examples mentioned up to here except the one in *Larissa* have been rectilinear and/or curvilinear steps located in Sanctuaries without a facing stage building, which formed one of the three categories into which the edifices that have a seating capacity of less than 1,000 people would unanimously fall, with the other two being rectilinear steps located in the courtyards of Bronze Age palaces in Crete, and Roman period Odeum structures (fig. B.4). When evaluated together with that of the other known *ex novo* Roman period performance building constructions (fig. B.5), the geographic distribution of these Odeum buildings mostly dating to the Early Imperial Roman period would appear to highlight a correlation between the choices made among these formal and constructional possibilities and the position of the related settlement or sanctuary in the hierarchies of the socio-economic and administrative structure established in Greece under Roman control.

5.2 Very Large Theatres

In her *Graecia Capta – The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Susan E. Alcock (1993: 8-9, 36; also 1997a: 288) uses the term 'Early Imperial' to indicate the period roughly between 200 BC – AD 200 or, in terms of specific historic events, between the Second Macedonian War (200-197 BC) and Caracalla's declaration of universal citizenship in AD 212, in such a way as to cover part of the Late Hellenistic period, spanning from late third century through first century BC, and often to 31 BC, and part of the Early Roman period, spanning from the first to third century AD, in standard chronologies. The author explains her preference for such delineation within the context of Roman Greece by the fact that, instead of the formal creation of the province of *Achaia* possibly around 27 BC, the starting point for a history of Roman Greece would rather be found in the beginning of Roman interest and presence in the region at least in the early second century BC and the Second Macedonian War, which would have involved Greek states on both sides and resulted in Rome's replacement of Macedon as the principal influence in the Balkans. In this way, Alcock (1993: 217) adopts a chronological framework that '*is determined by social and economic factors lying deep in society, working at what proponents of the Annales school would recognize as the level of conjuncture.*' This 'alternative' chronology would render irrelevant the 'event-based' divisions between the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman epochs, which are typically been in the Battle of Chaironeia or the death of Alexander and in the Battle of Actium respectively. In structural terms, Classical and Early Hellenistic periods down to the third-second century BC would belong together as would do the Later Hellenistic and Early Roman epochs while the Late Roman era would appear to have had a totally different structure of social and economic factors (Alcock 1993: 218). The first one of these periods would be characterised by an overabundance of independent and self-sufficient cities or *poleis* up to a change brought to socio-political conditions of the

Hellenistic age through pressures exerted by neighbouring monarchs. This would have led to the emergence of federal league structures as military organisations responsible for diplomacy and foreign policy, with the *poleis* retaining to be 'the primary political and economic entities with which the Roman conquerors had to contend and come to terms.' (Alcock 1993: 131) Coming to the Roman presence in Greece, the intervention of Hellenistic monarchs (such as the Antigonid dynasty of Macedon, the Ptolemaic of Egypt, or the Seleucid of Asia, with whom Greek interaction as allies, enemies, or recipients of royal munificence is well-attested) would have

fostered many of the same trends as did the action of Roman authorities: the bolstering of oligarchic regimes, accumulation of landed property, territorial realignments, the growth of league institutions. [...] In one sense, Hellenistic monarchs and the Roman state represented the same thing to the cities and leagues of Greece: they were territorially extensive, unified, and more powerful entities working their will on a vulnerable collection of smaller individual political units. Responsibility for initiating the changes visible between Classical/Early Hellenistic and early imperial period should be assigned to a range of external influences, with Rome as the dominant element, and, of course, the ultimate victor. (Alcock 1993: 218)

The nine very large among the theatres so far attested in Greece—namely, Argos, Athens, *Corinthos*, *Dodone*, *Lyttus*, *Megalopolis*, *Nicopolis*, *Sicyon*, and Sparta, five of which are remarkably located in the Peloponnesus (fig. B.3)—seem to provide support for this statement by introducing to us the main actors of the process that would lead to the ultimate victory of Rome and its following rewards and punishments respectively for its allies and enemies.

Imperialistic tendencies over the Greek soil may be dated back in the written record to the works of the Classical playwrights wherein Argos, the mythical birthplace of Perseus and Heracles, appears as one of the oldest cities of native origin in ancient Greece that would have been invaded by the children of Danaos in Greek mythology who would have been succeeded by the Achaeans possibly at the beginning of the second millennium, with the city playing a major role in the two campaigns of the Achaeans against *Thebes*, partly due to its geographic location at the junction of the road leading to the more important cities of the Peloponnesus (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 7). Tradition attests the early King Adrastus of Argos as leading the seven Argos chiefs immortalised by Euripides in his *The Seven against Thebes* while the long-lasting rivalry with Sparta is dated back to the sixth-century BC hero of *Orestes*. The city would have flourished under the tyrant Pheidon, who is mentioned by Herodotus (VI, 127) as organising personally the Olympic Games after having expelled the agonothes of *Elis* while his history has also kept alive the memory of the rivalry between Argos and the neighbouring *Sicyon* from where the Kleisthenes of *Sicyon* had discharged the hero Adrastus, seemingly because of his being Argive (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 38).

Spartan attempts at conquering Arcadian and Argive territories dated back to as early as the turn of the eighth century BC and continued throughout the Classical period without Argos gaining control in the south up to the end of the Archaic Period (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 40). The earliest known alliance

of the Peloponnesian League appears to have been between Sparta and Tegea around 550 BC, through which Sparta sought to keep Tegea *'away from Argos; to use Tegean influence and manpower in southwest Arkadia to contain the ever potentially rebellious Messenian Helots; and to ensure that the obvious overland approach to her home territory was in safe and friendly hands.'* (Cartledge 2002: 225). At that period, Sparta was not only regarding itself as the major Dorian power but also claiming to be heir to the 'Achaean' hegemony of Agamemnon (Ste Croix 2002: 219) as the hometown of the legendary King Menelaus and his wife 'Helen of Troy', whose descendents would have been overthrown by Dorian invaders from the north under the leadership of descendants of Heracles, who would gradually assert control over Laconia, before turning their attention to Messenia (Whitby 2002: 7). Within twenty years Sparta would be allied to *Corinthos*, in control of the Isthmos land-route and a navy, and to *Megara* on the far eastern side of the Isthmos, both of which saw in Sparta support against other hostile neighbours such as Argos and Athens (Cartledge 2002: 226). After this date, Sparta appears to have used alliances rather than outright rule to project its power in the central and northern Peloponnesus while, at the same time, showing *'an interest in the affairs of central Greece, in Boeotia and at Athens, as well as in the wider world through alliance with Croesus of Lydia and involvement in the affairs of Samos'* (Whitby 2002: 9-10). These attempts would have made Sparta the most powerful Greek state by the sixth century BC and the natural leader for the Greek world against the threat of Persian invasion due its nexus of alliances that is now called the Peloponnesian League, helping oppose Xerxes' invasion of 480 BC (Schoder 1974: 201). *'For the remainder of the fifth century Sparta was confronted by the rapid rise of Athens, a democratic, naval expansionist state which appeared to represent the antithesis of the Spartan ideal.'* (Whitby 2002: 10) Finally, a violent earthquake in 464/3 BC that killed many Spartans in their sleep, would lead to the alliance of Athenians, Thessalians and Argives against Sparta to the famous Battle of *Tanagra* in 458 BC after which the victorious Sparta would sign a thirty-year peace pact in 451 BC (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 42).

This period of peace would see a building boom in Argos between 460 and 440 BC with numerous public, administrative, and religious edifices, including the Theatre with rectilinear steps (fig. B.9) hewn from the living rock, which seems to have never had a constructed stage building (Isler 1994/95/96a: 123) up to its conversion into a Roman Odeon (fig. B.10) with semicircular steps in the second century AD. Probably constructed in the fifth century BC, with the retaining wall of its *orchestra* dating to the middle of the fifth century BC (Nielsen 2002: 106), remains from this first Theatre of Argos (Moretti 1993a: 30) are located on the lower east slope of the Larissa hill some 45m to the south of the main Theatre and close to the Agora not far from the south limit of the modern village (Ginouvés 1972: 6). The most clearly distinguished rectilinear steps are those situated to the west of the area occupied by the Odeon, that are deviated from the north by an angle of 46° while the latter Odeon deviates only

35°, which is another indication of the independence of the two establishments (Ginouvé 1972: 17). Ginouvé and most of later scholars believe the edifice with rectilinear steps to have been constructed for assemblies of the *ecclesia* of the *deme*, called the *Heliaia* or *Haliaia* (Argos et les Français, 1993), attributing its construction to the introduction of democracy into Argos in 460 BC. Inge Nielsen (2002), on the other hand, associates it with the Sanctuary of Aphrodite situated on a terrace just 20m to its south and at the same general level, which might explain Pausanias' ignoring its successor (i.e. the Roman Odeum)

during his intriguing tour of Argos, though he must have passed right by it when he visited the theatre and the Aphrodision; it may thus perhaps be identified with the cult-house of Adonis (*oikema*) "where the Argive women bewail Adonis", mentioned by Pausanias at that point, for Adonis was closely related to Aphrodite not only in the Near East, but also in Greece. [...] This connection becomes even more convincing given that a processional ramp led directly from the Aphrodision to the orchestra of the cultic theatre. (Nielsen 2002: 103, 105)

Nevertheless, Nielsen (2002: 106) underlines the fact that the function of the rectilinear steps as a cultic theatre would not prevent their use either as an *ekklesiasterion* or for performances of literary drama at least up to the construction of the Great Theatre. The succeeding Roman Odeon, on the other hand, would have been used, instead, for musical performances especially during the *Nemea* and the contests held in honour of the Argive Hera (Moretti 1993a: 26), although it may have continued its use as a cultic theatre, where ritual dramas based on the myth of Adonis were performed, as hinted by Pausanias. As an alternative view, Patrick Marchetti and Yvonne Rizakis (1995: 443) have suggested the area to the east of the Odeon and the early Theatre up to the Hypostyle Hall to have corresponded originally to the west part of the Agora and known as the *kritérion* where the Argive assemblies would have been notably held. Also dating from the same period (i.e. between the end of the fifth and the middle of the third century BC) would have been a semicircular *orchestra* in the Agora area which includes the basis of an older altar, perhaps from the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeus, whose function is still debated (HMC).

In his evaluation of the *koilon* of the examples in Argos with regards to the evolution of theatre architecture in Greece, Moretti (1993a: 40) has noted that in the fifth century BC the *koilon* would have consisted of a flight of rectilinear or slightly curvilinear steps flanked by aisles at right or slightly obtuse angles, whose best conserved example in Attica is the Theatre of *Thorikos*. In certain examples, the seating arrangement has been confined to a natural slope behind a rectilinear stone *proedra*. *Koilon* with rectilinear tiers are also attested in the fourth century BC and the Hellenistic period, especially in sanctuary *theatron*, as in the Sanctuary of Apollo in Argos. As noted by Nielsen:

From at least c. 600 BC this important city ruled over the entire Argive plain, including the sanctuary of Hera at Tiryns, where ritual masks have been found, and the pan-Argive Heraion, which is characterized by monumental staircases belonging to both to the first phase (perhaps from the 7th century BC), and to the classical phase, the latter being 160m wide! The function of these "staircases" was surely not merely to

connect different levels, for which purpose they are far too wide; rather, they were used by pilgrims to view events going forward along the Sacred Way. (Nielsen 2002: 101-2)

Moretti (1993: 40) believes the *koilon* with tiers exceeding the semicircle, as in the Agora *theatron* and the Great Theatre in Argos, to have become more frequent starting from the second half of the fourth century BC. The exterior boundary of these examples would have depended largely on the nature of the terrain with the plan built on an arc of the circle seeming to be the most common although *koilon* with rectilinear lateral flanks, as in the Theatre of Argos, was not a rarity. Presence of several *diazomata* was not a rule, and the number of the stairs and *diazomata* was not proportional to the size of the *koilon* in all the cases although access to it was always provided from its ends. In certain cities, the number of *kerkides* in the *koilon* reflected the tribal structure of the society. Moretti (1993: 40) notes that even under the Roman Empire the Greeks stayed attached to the tradition of *koilon* resting on a natural slope in general, complementing them with rows over vaults, as in the case of the Odeon of Argos, which also exemplified the fact that the *koilon* were not always constructed in semicircular shape in Roman theatres. Inherited from the Hellenistic tradition, the plan exceeding a semicircle was conserved in the Theatres of *Dium* and *Stobi*. Some buildings such as the Theatre and Odeon of Argos were equipped with a tribune, in the latter over the *parodos* vault (Moretti 1993: 41), to host the representative of the imperial power or the organiser of the games.

5.2.1 Athens

Dating from about the same time with the Argive Theatre with rectilinear steps is the Odeum of Pericles (446-42 BC), whose construction was followed by the Periclean phase of the **Theatre of Dionysus** (fig. B.11) in Athens within the sacred precinct of Dionysus Eleuthereus over the southeast slopes of the Acropolis hill. The oldest remains at the site of the monument are believed to date from the tyranny of Peisistratus and his successors (561-10 BC), immediately after the initiation of the Festival and Games of the Great Panathenaia in 566 BC and consist of a few stones indicating an *orchestra* terrace overlooking a Temple of Dionysus, with no remains attributable to a permanent seating arrangement. Additionally, the earliest performance of Attic tragedy in Athens is traditionally thought to have been given by Thespis of Ikaria in 534 BC, in an *orchestra* with spectators sitting on wooden bleachers (*ikria*) in what is commonly known as the Classical Agora that stayed in use through Hellenistic and Roman times (Schoder 1974: 31). Ch. Schnurr (1995)³, on the other hand, has argued that the Archaic Agora, which was located to the northeast of the Acropolis and connected to the Sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis through the Tripod Street, must have been

the venue for these early performances, including the celebrated City Dionysia and the Lenaea Festivals of Athens. In both identifications, a historical record pertaining to the collapse of *ikria* in the 70th Olympiad (499-496 BC or in 498 BC) is associated with these structures and the construction of a stone theatrical edifice at the Sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus is interpreted as a consequence of this recorded collapse. The idea of the Agora of Athens as the earliest venue for dramatic performances in the city finds support in the thesis of the political and social function of drama that would have found expression in its physical setting, as argued authoritatively by Roland Martin (1951) and later by F. Kolb (1979)⁴: '*just as we find drama performed in assembly-areas in other centres, so early performances should be placed in the Agora at Athens.*' (Kolb 1979 reviewed in Green 1989: 21)

The alternative interpretation that the City Dionysia would have been held at the Sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus from the start and, so, the collapsing *ikria* story should be associated directly with the earliest seating arrangement of the Theatre of Dionysus is based on a dating of the remains from the oldest Temple to 560-550 BC and of the oldest remains from the Theatre of Dionysus to 534 BC, i.e. that of Thespis' first performance of Attic tragedy in Athens. As one of the opponents of this interpretation, Stanley (1970: 150) argues further that the Temple may have been built with the Festival in mind, which also sustains Pickard-Cambridge's suggestion of a Peisistratean date during the second half of the sixth century BC for the older Temple on the basis of Peisistratus' use of the cult of Dionysus for political promotion (Stanley 1970: 145). Equally important is the dating of the two layers of earth-fill introduced to increase the natural inclination of the south slope of the Acropolis, which revealed in Dörpfeld's excavations in the middle of the *koilon*. The first one of these contained potsherds no later than 500 BC, which opened the possibility for a dating to 499-496 BC or 500-467 BC, allowing for the infill's having been introduced to stabilize the seating rows after their recorded collapse in the 70th Olympiad (Stanley 1970: 161). A public path cut out of the base rock of the Acropolis slope appears to have crossed the northern part of the Sanctuary from very early times on (Stanley 1970: 151).

As to the scope of the Periclean remodelling of the Theatre of Dionysus, one theory suggests the whole *orchestra* to have been moved further north, to a terrace on a level higher than that of the earliest *orchestra*, through the construction of a straight breccia (i.e. dark conglomerate rock) wall, to a position which may or may not have been identical with the current one dating from the Lycurgian period (Stanley 1970: 149-56). Also built up of breccia are remains from foundations and the later supporting walls of the long Hall below the terrace wall and the so-called T-foundation corresponding to the stage

³ Schnurr, Ch. 1995. 'Zur Topographie der Theaterstätten und der Tripodenstrasse in Athen', *ZPE* 105: 139-53. Annotated by J.-C. Moretti under the subheading 'Architecture des spectacles' of CNRS 1998: 384 and also in J.R. Green, 1998: 49.

⁴ Kolb, F. 1979. 'Polis und Theater', pp. 504-45 in *Das Griechische Drama*, edited by G.A. Seeck. Darmstadt; 1981. *Agora und Theater. Volks- und Festversammlung*. Archäologische Forschungen 9. Berlin.

area as well as the southwest, west and east supporting walls for the seating, all dated separately to different periods in the fifth century BC, with the southwest supporting wall having two consecutive construction phases in itself. These walls that also define the *parodos* entrances are, hence, not contemporaneous, nor even in length and nor symmetrical in relation to the north-south axis of the later auditorium, partly due to the building of the Odeon of Pericles (fig. B.11) on the east side of the Theatre. Therefore, according to one theory, the Periclean building phase at the Theatre of Dionysus occurred after 443 BC when the adjacent Odeon of Pericles is believed to have been constructed as encroaching onto the seating area of the Theatre (Stanley 1970: 154). Whether or not this area consisted of permanent stone seating appears to have been another topic of dispute among scholars in the absence of *in situ* remains. Heinrich Bulle (1928: 71)⁵ argues, on the basis of a mason's mark on the inner western supporting wall that would enable a dating of the second lot of earth-fill later than 450 BC, for two collapses of the *ikria*, the second one of which would have led to the construction of a stone auditorium soon after 458 BC (Stanley 1970: 150). This auditorium may have been possibly curvilinear in shape in accordance to a new design concept archaeologically documented for 415 BC in the Theatre of *Corinthos* (Stanley 1970: 341). According to another interpretation still adopted by P.G. Kalligas (1994)⁶ and H.R. Goette (1995)⁷, the remodelling under Pericles would have stretched over a period of fifty to hundred years, during which the public path that was originally cut out of the base rock of the Acropolis slope crossing the northern part of the Sanctuary from very early times on was elevated over the earth-fill that increased the slope of the seating area and was supported from the south, east and west by breccia walls to provide a stable bank for seating that was probably still wooden 'as they are called *ikria* by Aristophanes in 411 BC.' (Stanley 1970: 153) Goette, therefore, restitutes a *koilon* composed of three wings in accordance with the obtuse angles construed out of remnants of rectilinear *proedria* seats and water drains in addition to the probable alignment of the eastern part of the *koilon* with the Odeon of Pericles and of its middle section with an ancient *peripatos* following a straight direction.

The Periclean 'Golden Age', which is usually dated to the period 510 BC – 404 BC, produced Aeschylus (525-456 BC), Sophocles (496-406 BC) and Euripides (480-406 BC), Socrates (468-399 BC) and Plato (427-347 BC), as well as Phidias (500-432 BC) and Thucydides (460-400 BC) due to the

⁵ Bulle, Heinrich 1928. *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*. Vol.33 of the *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologische-historische Klasse*. R. Oldenbourg, Munich.

⁶ Kalligas, P.G. 1994. 'E perioche tou ierou kai tou theatrou Dionysou sten Athena', pp. 25-30 in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy. Proceedings of an International Conference Celebrating 2500 Years Since the Birth of Democracy in Greece...*, Athens, 1992, edited by W.D.E. Coulson, O. Palagia, T.L. Shear, H.A. Shapiro and F.J. Frost. Oxbow Monograph 37, Oxford. Annotated in Green 1998: 49 and in CNRS 1996: 367.

⁷ Goette, H.R. 1995. 'Griechischer Theaterbau der Klassik, Forschungsstand und Fragestellungen', pp. 9-48 in *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike*, edited by E. Pöhlman. Studien zur klassischen Philologie 94. Frankfurt, Berlin, Bern. Annotated in CNRS 1998: 383.

exhaustion brought to Athens and its people by the Peloponnesian Wars. After the destruction of the Athenian city walls by the Lacedaimonians in 404 BC and their rebuilding by Konon in 394 BC, Athens would re-establish its leadership in the island states through the annihilation of the Spartan fleet of Cnidos. After the appearance of the Macedonians on the Greek soil and their defeat in the Battle of *Chaironeia* in 338 BC that would cost them the leadership of the Greek world, the Athenians would see a similar period of temporary revival of influence during the administration of the orator Lycurgus, from whose period dates, among many monuments, the first Stadium of Athens with temporary wooden seats over stone foundations in the hollow between the hills by the Ilissos river, at the foot of the Ardettos hill on whose summit the ancient Heliasts took their annual oath (Schoder 1974: 38) and a comprehensive remodelling of the Theatre of Dionysus, with the Monument of Thrasyllus (321-20 BC) at the highest point in the Acropolis rock behind it. Lycurgus was an official in charge of the Treasury in Athens in 338-326 BC when he had copies made of the cleanest copies of the original texts of fourth-century plays, about a century after the original productions, from which the eleventh and twelfth-century Byzantine copies that we have now had been made. The Lycurgian remodelling of the Theatre of Dionysus consisted of the first stone stage building with the side *paraskenia* and the basis of the stone seating constructed after the displacement of the *orchestra* further to the north (Webster 1956 cited in Stanley 1970: 143-44) and possibly over the second lot of earth-fill. In this way, the public path originally cut out of the base rock of the Acropolis slope would have been elevated up at a height of eight meters above its original level, adopting its curvature to that of the seating 'so that it eventually became one of the two *diazoma* in the later plan of the Lycurgian seating.' (Stanley 1970: 151)

5.2.2 Megalopolis

Going back to the 'Golden Age' of Pericles, the thirty-year peace pact signed between Sparta and Argos in 451 BC would come to an end at a period when a similar fifty-year pact known as the Peace of Nicias was signed between Athens and Sparta in 421 BC when the two cities seem to have divided the Greek world between them, with the fear that a third group under the control of the Argives, who claimed to be the leaders of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus as well as those in Crete, might emerge in Greece. This, however, only made the need for a third grouping more desperate and Argos emerged as the leader. The Corinthians, who had been loyal to Sparta since the sixth century BC, were the first to urge Argive authorities to invite other Greek cities for an alliance against Sparta. *Mantineia* in Arcadia was the first to join with its allies that probably consisted of the greater part of Arcadia except its great rival, *Tegea* that would keep open Sparta's routes to the north. After *Elis*, Athens soon joined the alliance led by Argos against Sparta. This was followed by an uneasy celebration of the Olympic Games under the responsibility of *Elis* that would be marked by the expulsion of the Spartans on the grounds

that they had broken the truce observed by all Greek states during their celebration. In the year 419 BC, Argos attacked the neighbouring *Epidauros*, partly to gain favour with *Corinthos* and partly to open the direct route to the Saronic Gulf and Athens, but was defeated in the final campaign carried out by Sparta with allied Arcadians and Epidaurians joined by the Boeotians, Megarans, and Sicyonians. The following peace treaty was broken when the Argos-*Mantineia-Elis* alliance attacked the pro-Spartan city of *Orchomenos* in Arcadia to be followed by another on *Tegea*, which was prevented by the Spartan and allied forces gathered at *Mantineia* in 418 BC, leading to the suspension of the Argive democracy by the Spartans the following year. The alliance of Athens, Thebes, *Corinthos* and Argos would be defeated again in 405 BC by the river of *Nemea* by Spartan troops supported this time by the Arcadian cities *Tegea* and *Mantineia* that had by that time changed sides, carrying with them the whole of Arcadia. This marked one more victory in a period between 431 BC and 404 BC when Sparta was victorious in a series of naval engagements that eventually terminated the Peloponnesian War (Whitby 2002: 10). The coalition formed against Sparta in 395 BC and joined soon by Argos and *Corinthos* would fight another battle at *Nemea* in 394 BC and at *Corona* the next year. The latter would be known as the Battle of Corinth and result in the establishment of the Spartans at *Sicyon* 'as a base from which they inflicted considerable damage on the surrounding countryside of Corinth.' (Tomlinson 1972: 130-1) Perhaps as a tactic to keep *Corinthos* in the coalition, an Argive garrison occupied *Corinthos* in 392 BC, granting Corinthians with Argive citizenship and Argos with the co-presidency of the Isthmian Games in 390 BC. Yet, the two cities seem to have maintained their separate identities in subsequent years as attested in their separate representation at diplomatic negotiations. Finally in 386 BC, the battle ended with the pact of Antalcidas (also known as the King's Peace) that sanctioned the hegemony of Sparta, urging Argos to give up *Corinthos* and to dismantle the once anti-Spartan Arcadian city of *Mantineia*, whose inhabitants were scattered into five separate village communities. (Tomlinson 1972: 117-39).

In 371 BC, *Thebes* defeated Sparta at Leuctra. This defeat had important consequences especially in both of the great cities of Arcadia—namely, *Mantineia* and *Tegea*—where it was taken as a signal for a fierce democratic reaction against Lacedaemonian influence. Mantineans reunited and re-fortified their city while in *Tegea* the Pan-Arcadian Confederacy was formulated as a new political creation and *Megalopolis* was founded as its centre and the meeting place of the Ten Thousand, and also as a chain in the system of fortresses extending from *Messene* to Argos to shut in Sparta on the land side (Woodhouse 1892: 1). *Megalopolis* was built within four years inside a circuit of about 9 km long strong walls and was populated by forced migrations from some forty villages and towns of the Arcadia region whose territory was taken over by the new city (Lloyd *et al.* 1985: 218). 'The command to surrender their autonomy and to coalesce into a real political aggregate met, it is true, with great opposition from some of the village communities, but the Confederate forces secured obedience from all, with one

notable exception, the Trapezountii, who preferred to seek a new home by the shores of the Black Sea rather than submit.' (Woodhouse 1892: 1-2) This relatively late synoecism is one of the best attested in classical Greece, partly thanks to the writings of Polybius, himself a leading citizen of *Megalopolis* (Roy *et al.* 1989: 146) and a friend of the Scipios during Rome's great struggle against Carthage (Schoder 1974: 138-39). Dissentions would soon break out with disputes over the *Theban* connection and would end up with Arcadians fighting on opposite sides in the Battle of *Mantineia* between Athens and Sparta for control over *Megalopolis* after the weakening of Theban power (Woodhouse 1892: 2-3).

As to the layout of the Great City, J.B. Bury (1898: 18) believes it to have been a 'double city' (*dipolis*) wherein the *Helisson* river divided the federal city from the federal capital, protecting the latter from the hostility of the former. Accordingly, to the north of the *Helisson* was the city of *Megalopolis*, which was exempt from federal interference and, therefore, had its own Agora and Bouleuterion, and defended by the Megalopolitan citizens. To its south was the Federal capital of Arcadia, wherein stood all the federal buildings and offices, including 'the great Hall of Council or Assembly, called the *Thersilion*, in front of the theatre, which might itself be used for holding meetings of the Ten Thousand' (Bury 1898: 18), which would explain its huge size capable of seating 20,000 people (Bury 1898: 20). For the purpose of the meetings, Arcadians gathering from all parts of the land were lodged in permanent dwelling places or in temporary tents and mixed together in debates of business or in the festivities and amusements which would accompany the national meetings. After the dissolution of the Arcadian League thirty years later, the Megalopolitans had the 'undivided and undisputed possession of the great theatre and the adjoining stadion. The front seats could now be reserved for the magnates of *Megalopolis*, being no longer required for the magnates of *Arcadia*; and the wedges could be appropriated to the tribes of the city.' (Bury 1898: 20-21)

Named after its donor, the **Thersilion of *Megalopolis*** (fig. B.24) was a rectangular theatre roofed over sixty-seven Doric columns that 'were ingeniously arranged in rows radiating from the speaker's platform south of the centre to provide a maximum unimpeded view. The floor seems to have sloped like a theatre's to improve both seeing and hearing the speaker. A porch on the south side, with 16 Doric pillars, faced the theatre.' (Schoder 1974: 142) Restored by Schultz (1892: 23) as having fourteen Doric columns, with entablature and pediment, this portico would have filled the space usually occupied by the stage building in Greek theatres. Traces below the existing remains with three openings have suggested 'that the portico was originally connected with the hall by a series of five openings divided by four columns which were opposite to those adjoining in the hall' (Schultz 1892: 24) In a footnote, Schultz (1892: 27) notes the possibility that the portico did not necessarily have any direct functional connection with the Theatre when used for dramatic representations, on which occasion a temporary stage or scenery could have been erected in front of it.

The more than semicircular *cavea* of the **Theatre of Megalopolis** (fig. B.24) is divided into nine *cunei* and is built into the hollow of a hill opposite the north bank of the *Helisson*, partly by carving into it and partly over artificial embankment (Gardner *et al.* 1890: 294) in such a way as to offer the spectators a view of the major monuments of the city as well as the magnificent view of the Arcadian mountainscape (Papanikolaou 1986: 107). Remarkable indeed is the structural connection between the Theatre and the Thersilion that have appeared to some scholars as parts of a single design, possibly also with the adjoining Stadion (Bury 1898: 20). O. Dilke (1950: 48) has dated the construction of the *cavea* of the Theatre to the period between 365 and 355 BC while, according to another view, the Theatre of *Megalopolis* would have been initially constructed in 370 BC together with the Thersilion and used for dance-choruses during festivals as well as for dramatic performances, with the adjacent portico of the Thersilion serving as the backdrop to its movable timber stage, which was replaced by a stone *proskenion* after the destruction of the Thersilion in 222 BC.

According to a more detailed chronology suggested by Petronotis (1973: 230-32) possibly following arguments of Wilhelm Dörpfeld. On the basis of evidence coming from some lower steps added to its portico, Dörpfeld held the conviction that:

the Thersilion was erected before the existing stone theatre; that there was originally a circular orchestra in front of the portico at the level of the foot of the earlier steps, and that when the present stone theatre was constructed the orchestra was lowered and the additional steps were added. It was probably also at this time that the back wall containing three doorways was erected to take the place of the openings separated by columns which originally connected the portico with the hall. If it can be shown that the stone structure of the Theatre was built after the Thersilion—and I admit that Dr. Dörpfeld has good grounds for this hypothesis—then the argument in favour of the drop in front of the portico falls to the ground. (Schultz 1892: 27)

Accordingly, the Thersilion would have predated the construction of the first permanent stone Theatre at the site. The first phase in the sequence (370/60 BC – 338 BC) would have corresponded to the period when the Theatre was confined to a natural sitting arrangement on the slope overlooking the south portico of the Thersilion that opened onto an *orchestra*. In the following phase (338 BC – end of 4th c. BC), the great stone Theatre would have been constructed in such a way as to have two *parodoi* and no *skenotheke*. The *orchestra* level of this new construction would have stood about a meter lower than the earlier *orchestra*. Not much later than the construction of the stone Theatre (end of 4th c. BC – ca. 260 BC), Antiochus would have had stone thrones and a gutter constructed around the *orchestra*, which naturally resulted in an *orchestra* of diminished size. *The skenotheke would have been constructed into the west parodos of the Theatre during the next phase (ca. 260 BC – 223 BC) and probably during the tyranny of Aristodamos (around 260 BC). In this way the monument would have acquired a moveable skene in front of the portico of the Thersilion.* The condition of the Theatre and the Thersilion after the catastrophe of 223 BC is not very well known. Nevertheless, the monument is known to have acquired

a timber *proskenion* type of stage after this date, which would have been partially constructed over the former *orchestra* that was no longer required to be so large in size. There has been dispute over whether the building had a lower *podium* or a higher *proskenion* in this phase (223 BC – 2nd c. BC). It is not known for sure when the building finally acquired a permanent stone *proskenion*, with expert opinion being diverted in a range from third to the end of the first century BC. One view in support of an earlier timber construction suggests an early second century BC dating for the stone *proskenion*, and more specifically the period of Philipomenos (ca. 189 BC) or the reign of king Antiochus (ca. 175 BC), which would have corresponded to a period of high economic activity. The final construction stage in the Theatre would have corresponded to the Roman *logeion*. *By the time of Pausanias (after AD 170), the Theatre was still in use although only the foundations remained of the Thersilion. According to Pausanias, the architect of the Theatre of Megalopolis was the Argolid sculptor Polycleitus, but not the great Polycleitus of the fifth century BC, since Megalopolis had not existed at that time.* Hence, he should be another Polycleitus who would have been a student of the former around 350 BC (Papanikolaou 1986: 107).

One outstanding characteristic of the Theatre of *Megalopolis* is its retaining walls, remains of which are to be found on the east and west sides of the *cavea*. They would have reached at least to the height of the main *diazoma*, with exterior and interior buttressing up to this height at several points, suggesting ‘*an approach to the main diazoma from behind, up the end of the embankment, as at Mantinea.*’ (Schultz 1892: 44) Unlike *Mantinea*, however, there did not exist a curved boundary (or retaining) wall at the back of the *cavea* at *Megalopolis* (Gardner 1892: 72). Another noteworthy feature of the building is the considerable difference between its east and west halves, which may have stemmed partly from the ‘nature of the site’, necessitating mostly embankment in the east and carving in the west half of the *cavea*, and partly from ‘*the unusual treatment of the space generally occupied by the scene-buildings in a theatre, which in this case is taken up by the portico, necessitating the placing of the storage and retiring rooms on one side in front of the west retaining walls.*’ (Schultz 1892: 43) For this reason, these latter are much thicker than the eastern ones (Schultz 1892: 44-5, Gardner 1892: 71).

Apart from one *parados* entrance (there were two until the *skenotheke* was constructed in the west *parados*), Gardner [1892: 73] claimed to have discovered traces of an upper entrance, through gaps in the *parados* walls and by means of steps or slopes, communicating with the upper part of the *cavea*. It is at this point that he places the lower *diazoma*, which has otherwise left no trace of its course. Possibly these two upper entrances were made after the erection of the *skenotheke* had obscured one of the *paradoi*. (Dilke 1950: 47)

According to the alternative view suggested by Schultz (1892: 45), however, the *skenotheke* must have been ‘*contemporary with the building of the theatre, as the whole scheme of planning of the west retaining walls seems to be based on the necessity for providing such a space, and it would have been almost impossible to have satisfactorily arranged it afterwards in its present form.*’ Similarly Gardner

(1892: 71) stresses on the impossibility of placing the *skenotheke* and retaining walls at a later date due to the contrast of their structure with the all undoubtedly late work in the Theatre. As to the function of the *skenotheke*, noting the impossibility of erecting a permanent *skene* between the seating rows and the portico of the Thersilion, Bieber (1961: 122) has suggested a large wooden scene building with a *proskenion* to have been constructed in the third century, which would have run on wheels and stored in the *skenotheke* to the west—an hypothesis supported by the tracks traced in that side of the edifice. Accordingly, rather than the simple moveable painted screens, named *scaenae ductilis*, which used to be put up one behind the other in such a way that when the front one was pulled away, the one immediately behind appeared, the whole timber stage building seems to have been rolled out and in on wheels in the case of Megalopolis (Bieber 1961: 75)—an argument attested, according to Caroline Buckler (1986: 431), also in the presence of a sill running the length of the building, which is absent in other similar cases the author would, therefore, identify with *scaenae ductilis*.

5.2.3 Sicyon

In the immediate aftermath of the defeat of the Spartans by Thebans at Leuctra in 371 BC, at which date *Megalopolis* was founded and its Theatre was possibly constructed, Argos allied with *Thebes* and *Elis* to occupy part of former Spartan territory in 369 BC. During the following decade of Theban hegemony, Argos took part in various operations around *Sicyon* in 369 BC, *Corinthos* and *Epidaurus* in 368 BC, Arcadia in 367 BC and *Achaia* in 366 BC, before their participation in the pirate celebrations of the 364 BC Olympic Games and in the battle of *Mantineia* in 362 BC again on the side of *Thebes*, after which Sparta definitely had to give up *Messenia*, in whose reconstruction Argos would play an important part. (Tomlinson 1972: 143)

The hegemonic intentions of Argos in quest for the glory of the days past seem to re-surface soon, in the preliminary negotiations for an Hellenic coalition under the command of Phillip of Macedon against Xerxes (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 60). Also *Megalopolis* favoured Macedonia politically throughout the fourth century and suffered three Spartan attacks, in 353, 331, and 234 BC, which it managed to repulse (Perseus). In the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC, the coalition of Greek cities, including *Corinthos*, which had regrouped around *Thebes* and Athens against Macedonia were defeated and Phillip II proceeded into Spartan territory with the help of *Elis*, uniting the Greeks, including the Argives, Arcadians, and Messenians, in a League in *Corinthos*, whose presidency he held himself, which invited territorial conflict among the cities (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 61). Never accepting Macedonian supremacy, the King Agis of Sparta soon led a serious but finally suppressed upheaval during the period when Alexander was fighting in the heart of the Persian Empire. This was followed by another after the death of Alexander in 323 BC, this time by Argos, *Sicyon*, *Elis*, *Messenia*, *Troizen*, and *Epidaurus*

under Athenian leadership (Tomlinson 1972: 148, 271), which would put an end to the freedom granted to Greece by Phillip II through the establishment of oligarchic governments by Antipater. '*The Lamian War in 322 BC brought new disaster to Athens since its unexpected result was a change of regime, installation of a Macedonian garrison, and the destruction of the commercial fleet.*' (PECS) This marked the beginning of a period of struggle between several Macedonian generals and their successors for control over Greece, which would last until 311 BC. After this date, Greece continued to be controlled by no less than three separate Macedonian military groups that were soon joined by Ptolemy, who arrived in Greece in 308 BC, occupied *Corinthos* and *Sicyon* and, failing to win over the other Greek cities, returned to Egypt, leaving garrisons in these two cities (Tomlinson 1972: 149-50). In 307 BC, Antigonos of Macedon '*sent his son Demetrius with a full force and including the siege engines that were to earn him the name of 'the besieger' [i.e. Poliorketes], for the purpose of freeing all the cities of Greece, and in particular Athens.*' (Tomlinson 1972: 151) Demetrius was deified by the Athenians the same year for his liberating their city from aristocratic regime and, around 304-3 BC, he '*declared and materialized his wish to become so-tenant of goddess Athena in the Parthenon in an effort to further enhance his divine standing.*' (Hurwit 1999: 261⁸ cited in Yalouri 2001: 32) After an interlude that came with a campaign in Cyprus against Ptolemy, Demetrius continued the liberation of the Greek cities with Argos, *Sicyon*, and *Corinthos*, freeing the Achaean cities and capturing Orchomenos, having failed to capture Rhodes in 303 BC, which was one of the few actually free Greek cities (Tomlinson 1972: 151). The casting in bronze between 304 and 292 BC of the Colossus of Rhodes was financed by '*the sale of the siege machinery left behind by Demetrius Poliorketes in admiration of the city's valiant resistance to his attack.*' (Schoder 1974: 181) To this period would have dated the Argive colonies in Rhodes and *Cilicia*, the latter of which included *Aspendos* and *Soloi*, whose inhabitants were given Argive citizenship (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 64). Then Demetrius was called to the East by his father to fight in the Battle of Ipsos, in which '*Antigonos was defeated and killed and Demetrius became a king almost without a kingdom, retaining a few cities (in Greece he held Corinth but not Athens) and his magnificent fleet.*' (Tomlinson 1972: 151) Demetrius was proclaimed King of the Macedonians at Larissa in 294 BC and remained so until 287 BC (Pandermalis 2002: 101).

Among the ambitious deeds of Demetrius in urban scale was his transfer of the city of *Sicyon* to a higher site named *Demetrias* after its founder, which he would later fortify at the eastern foot of the ancient Acropolis and away from the sea, probably for the reason that the population had become so reduced in numbers as to be inadequate for the defence of the previous city walls (McMurtry and Earle 1889: 268). *Sicyon* was, in fact, a very ancient city some ten miles west of *Corinthos* along the

⁸ Hurwit, J.M. 1999. *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*. Cambridge

Corinthian Gulf, which is believed to be originally Ionian and known as *Aigialeia*, but taken over by Dorians around 1100 BC. The eponymous king Sicyon has been noted, at least in some accounts, as of Attic origin and, more specifically, as the son or grandson of Erechtheus (Griffin 1982: 56-57). Under the Dorian control, the Ionian inhabitants seem to have been integrated into the Dorian tribal structure in the form of a fourth tribe—namely, that of the Aegialeis—beside the three tribes of the Dorians, i.e. *Hylleis*, *Dymanes*, and *Pamphyloi* (McMurtry and Earle 1889: 268). The political, social, and economic conditions prevailing in the seventh century would lead to the emergence of great and wealthy tyrant dynasties from this tribe such as the Orthagorides family of Cleisthenes who would have led *'the revolt against the oppressive Dorians, asserted the freedom of the state from Argive influence and brought the city of Sicyon into prominence in Greek history for a period of 100 years.'* (Skalet 1928: 52) Additionally, his only daughter, Agariste would marry Megacles the Alcmaeonid, and become the mother of the Athenian reformer Cleisthenes (Skalet 1928: 54-5).

The reason for Cleisthenes' hostility against Argos seems to have been the support it provided for the Dorian aristocracy due to ties of kinship. For this reason his reforms were partly religious and partly political in nature, including the expulsion of the cult of the mythical king Adrastus, whose name was loaded with the memory of the ancient alliance-in-arms against *Thebes* and the suppression of the Homeric recitals wherein Argos and the Argives were so constantly the theme of song (Skalet 1928: 57, 59).

To Kleisthenes' war against Argos may belong ... the boundary dispute between Sikyon and Kleonai which forms the background to Plutarch's account of the oracle concerning the rise of the Orthagorides. The foundation of the Nemean Games, which were administered by Kleonai with Argive support, and were closely associated with Adrastos and the Seven Against Thebes, cannot have been pleasing to Kleisthenes, and it has been suggested that they were instituted to celebrate an Argive-Kleonaian victory over Sikyon. The first Nemean Games took place in 573, so the victory in question may have occurred not long before that. (Griffin 1982: 51)

Sicyon had sided with Athens in the Sacred War for the control of Delphi, but after the overthrow of the Orthagorides by the Spartans in the late 550s, the city gravitated towards Sparta, as the most powerful state in the Peloponnesus, and became allied to the Peloponnesian Confederacy, which entailed new obligations (Skalet 1928: 63). By that time, Athens had reached the peak of its power, expanding its continental and maritime dominion and holding a strong bulwark against the Peloponnesus by subjecting *Boeotia* and *Megara* and by taking *Phocis* and *Locris* under its hegemony in addition to the willing adhesion of *Megara*, the conquest of *Aegina*, the capture of *Troezen*, and the alliance with Argos (Skalet 1928: 65). Siding with Sparta at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and also later in the Corinthian and Nemean Wars, Sicyonian alliance with Sparta would last up to the Theban invasion of

the Peloponnesus when the harbour-city surrendered and remained faithful to *Thebes* even after their withdrawal (Griffin 1982: 68). For this reason, a body of mercenary Celtic and Iberian troops had to be sent to *Sicyon* by Dionysius of Syracuse, who was at that time ally of Sparta, to regain the city for Sparta (Skalet 1928: 73). However, *Sicyon* fought on the Theban side Mantinea in 362 BC and joined the Thebans and other allies to help *Megalopolis* resist a Spartan attack in 352 (Griffin 1982: 75). 'During the second half of the fourth century, *Sikyon* and *Korinth* frequently appear as a pair; apparently both were considered important for the control of the Isthmus, and they tended to form a unit independent of the rest of the Peloponnese.' (Griffin 1982: 75)

The inhabitants seem to have already abandoned coastal parts of the city due to an earthquake that may have taken immediately before or after Demetrius Poliorcetes' capture of the region from Ptolemy in 303 BC, gathering around the Acropolis where *Demetrias* would soon be founded in 302 BC (Fossum 1905: 272) in which he synoikisized a great part of Magnesia (Jones 1987: 105). This is also the site where we find the remains from the **Theatre of *Sicyon*** (fig. B.27), to the east of the Acropolis and close to the Agora, at a level between the two, separating them from one another (A7). It had a small Temple of Dionysus in front of its elaborate stage structure and a 'stadium can be traced in a ravine west of the theatre, with polygonal walls at its ends.' (Schoder 1974: 198) All the ruins in the vicinity of the Theatre except the Theatre itself seem to follow a regular rectilinear plan extending in cardinal directions (Faraklas 1971: figs. 34-9), which has led Fossum (1905: 272) to the conclusion that it must have stood at its site before the foundation of *Demetrias*. The author finds further evidence for this theory in similarities he has observed in the architectural characteristics of the Theatres of *Epidauros* and *Sicyon*, the former of whose first construction period is generally dated to the second half of the fourth century BC although there still seem to exist a dispute over the construction stages of the edifice (Fossum 1905: 273), dating the latter to an earlier period by judging from the skill displayed by the architect in the execution of construction details in the former,

which might suggest that the architect of the theatre at *Sikyon* was experimenting with features which were carried out more successfully at *Epidauros*. However, these features may just as well be regarded as imitating those at *Epidauros*, and in one important respect – the raised stage – *Sikyon* appears definitely later, since at *Epidauros* this was not part of the original design, but the result of a later alteration. It seems more probable, therefore, that the theatre was built as part of Demetrius' new city. If any earlier theatre existed at *Sikyon* (as is likely, since dramatic performances are known to have taken place there), no trace of it has been found. (Griffin 1982: 10)

An attempt to fix a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the Theatre of *Sicyon* in the face of such diversity of opinion would bring us back to the history of the city in the period when the Achaean League became powerful under the leadership of Aratos, who was born in *Sicyon* in 270 BC and freed his native city from tyranny under Macedonian protection (McMurtry and Earle 1889: 269). This seems

to have happened in 251 BC, as can be deduced from Plutarch's notice that the Theatre 'was filled by a concourse of people on the morning after Aratus' night surprise on Sicyon in 251 BC' (Skalet 1928: 11). Hence the League had good relations with the Macedonian court during this period when the future king Philip V of Macedon stayed in the Peloponnesos for the cultivation of Achaean friendship (Griffin 1982: 83). Ironically enough, Aratos would soon be poisoned in 214/3 BC by Philip, who could not tolerate his existence as his own tendency towards tyranny and cruelty increased in time, and '... the Achaeans wanted to bury him at Aigion, the headquarters of the League; however, the Sikyonians succeeded in asserting their claim to have him buried in his native city, where he became the object of a hero-cult.' (Griffin 1982: 84) Moreover, the city remained a meeting-place and, when occasion demanded it, the military headquarters of the Achaean League, as exemplified in an ancient reference to the Theatre of Sicyon by Polybius as an assembly-place for a meeting of the League in 168 BC (Skalet 1928: 11; Schoder 1974: 198). During this historical meeting, Roman ambassadors were able to detach the League from Philip, with Sicyon becoming the obvious site for the League headquarters in the ensuing war against him since Philip had a major base at *Corinthos* (Griffin 1982: 86). Such use as the meeting-place of the Achaean League would explain the great size of the Theatre of Sicyon, in addition to Pausanias' reference to the Panhellenic games that used to be held at *Isthmia* as having continued under the direction of Sicyon and probably at Sicyon during the century when Corinth lay deserted after its sack by Mummius in 146 BC (McMurtry and Earle 1889: 269; Gebhard 1973: 141). For this purpose, the Sicyonians would have acquired a large part of Corinthian territory as a help to defray the expenses of the games (Skalet 1928: 90), as we will be seeing in the following pages.

As to the architectural features of the Theatre of Sicyon, especially those of the *cavea*, which is divided vertically into two by a *diazoma* and horizontally into fifteen *cunei* by sixteen radiating stairways, seem to have been greatly shaped by the 'nature of the site' and 'size of the project', as suggested by Vitruvius. Elizabeth R. Gebhard (1973: 2) lists the Theatre at Sicyon among examples analogous to the one at *Isthmia* in that, its *cavea* is located over a slope whose natural incline was less than that required for the rows of seats, due to which it had to be increased by cutting several rows of seats further down, forming an artificial depression at the foot of the hill, the bottom of which was levelled for the *orchestra* floor. This had left the stage building below the natural level of the earth, as in the Theatres of *Isthmia* (fig. B.20), *Eretria* (fig. B.23), *Oropos* (fig. B.8), and *Corinthos* (fig. B.15), necessitating some kind of porch in front of the *skene* to meet functional requirements (Gebhard 1973: 2). As noted by Dilke (1950: 53), the living rock is exposed not only in the stage part of the edifice but also above the *diazoma* of its *cavea* wherein a few rows are carved into it, although it would be hardly correct to speak of the Theatre as 'rock-cut', for the wings 'consist of a mass of backfill and include radial corridors providing access to the middle passageway.' (Isler 1994/95/96k: 291) The arches or

vaults over these corridors are 'important as instances of true Greek arches. That the vaults belong to the purely Hellenistic portion of the theatre seems clear from their structure.' (McMurtry and Earle 1889: 278) The blocks forming them have the same dimensions and are laid in the same manner as those in the Hellenistic stage foundation wall, implying that they were built at the same time (McMurtry and Earle 1889: 278-79). Located at both ends of the *diazoma* that cut through the artificial embankments supporting the *cavea*, entrances provide access to the upper *cavea* through vaulted passages beneath the seats, while there also exist gates at the *parodoi* that are similar to those of the Theatre of the Asklepieion at *Epidaurus* (Dilke 1950: 53). Dilke (1950: 54) describes the two *parodoi* walls as converging considerably towards the exterior, where there are posts for gateways, and the two arched passages as 'unique of their kind'. Fiechter has called these passages 'vomitoria, but this word is confusing, as it makes one think of the arched exits in the Roman theatre, which were an architectural necessity due to its totally different method of construction.' (Dilke 1950: 53) Nevertheless, after the approach we find from behind to the main *diazoma* of the Theatre of *Megalopolis*, we seem to have been already introduced with a feature commonly characterised as a Roman contribution in the possibly late-fourth century BC Theatre of *Sicyon* in Greece. However, the arched passages may as well have been an addition at a time when the *epitheatron* was created, which is another possibly suggested by Dilke (1950: 55).

5.2.4 Argos

The **Theatre of Argos** (fig. B.10) that once had the largest *cavea* in Greece with a seating capacity of some 20,000 people, also seems to have owed its great size to its double function during political and religious assemblies, the latter during the *Nemea* festival, which is one of the four **Panhellenic Games** originally held in *Delphi*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea*, and *Olympia* (Moretti 1993: 21). The games seem to have centred on the Stadium when held in these Sactuary sites, as could be attested in the total absence of Theatre buildings from *Nemea* and *Olympia*. *Nemea* is located in a pretty valley between *Sicyon* and *Argos*. At the origin of the *Nemea* celebration appears to have been the legendary slain of the lion of *Nemea* by Hercules. They were then taken over and reorganized by Argos in 573 BC, replacing the claim of their institution by Hercules with the story of Adrastus, king of Argos and leader of the Seven against Thebes, as establishing them in honour of Opheltes, child of *Nemea*'s king Lycurgus, who was slain by a dragon that Adrastus subsequently killed (Schoder 1974: 151). They would have taken place at the Stadium that stands in a hollow some 450m to the southeast of the Sanctuary of Zeus at *Nemea*, with service buildings including a *palaestra* with baths for athletic use and accommodation for special guests during the games (Schoder 1974: 151, 154). Remains from a poorly-preserved Theatre have also been reported to exist at the site (Schoder 1974: 154), which later turned out to be an error

apparently originated and propagated by Ernest Curtius in his *Peloponnesos* II (1852) that would explain Roux's reference to an unexcavated Theatre near the Stadium⁹. Stephen G. Miller (2001: 8) concludes, from Curtius' location of the Adrasteia Spring between the Stadium and the road to *Corinthos*, that he must have 'confused the Stadium with the ravine on the eastern slopes of the valley, near the head of which is the spring ... Hence, his "Theater" is actually the southern end of the Stadium. Vischer¹⁰ continued the confusion of referring to both Theater and Stadium, although he seems to have been less certain of their location and nature.'

In fact, there do exist ancient sources mentioning a Theatre in connection with the Nemean Games, but they definitely refer to a Theatre not at *Nemea*, and date from the times when the Games started to be celebrated in Argos, with musical competitions and dramatic recitations, which would have required a Theatre frequently attested as part of the Nemean Games during the Roman times when the Games were already established in Argos (Miller 2001: 7-9). As explained by Miller in a footnote, the earliest reference to a Theatre in association with the Nemean Games comes from Plutarch who describes Philopoimen as entering the building just as the *kitharodoi* were competing in the Festival in 207 BC, which is also the earliest evidence for musical competitions in the Nemean Games that seem to have followed the non-musical program from the Archaic until the Hellenistic period, at least to judge from the silence of our sources concerning musical competitions or victors in such competitions. Plutarch (*Philop.* 17.4-5) also

relates how Kleomenes took advantage of the crowds at the Nemean Games at Argos to infiltrate into the city with his troops and occupy the Aspis Hill. Although Plutarch does not state explicitly that the theatre was being used for the Nemean Games, he mentions it in the same breath as the Games and as the crowd-frightening stratagem of Kleomenes. Plutarch may, therefore, be taken to imply that the theatre at Argos was an integral part of the Festival. (Miller 2001: 8)

The building referred to by Miller must have been the great **Theatre of Argos** located on the southeast approaches of the Larissa hill, with its *cavea* resting on the slope of the Acropolis to the northwest of the Agora and to the north of the *Theatron* with rectilinear steps. The site of the Theatre is believed to have been originally dedicated to the cult of Dioskouri and Heracles, and occupied by a series of Sanctuaries before the construction of the Theatre, as has been attested by many discoveries, including figurines, miniature vases and several moulds that revealed in a hole dug very early during the second half of the second century. With the most important being the Artemision, these Sanctuaries appear to have been respected during the considerable terracing work required for the construction of the Theatre that would have anyway disturbed the pre-existing layout of the site, causing the transfer of some while others were conserved *in situ*, with their material integrated occasionally into the

⁹ Roux, G. 1958. *Pausanias en Corinthie*. Paris, p. 177.

¹⁰ Vischer, W. 1875. *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*. Basel, p. 285.

construction of the Theatre. Moretti (1998: 243-4) believes that all this trouble was taken because of the advantages offered both for the builders and the users of the Theatre by this site that is little distant from the Agora, overlooking the rest of the city, whose good quality rocky slope is very suitable for carving the tiers and extracting building stone. For this reason it had been preferred earlier for the construction of the *theatron* with rectilinear steps. After the construction of a Heraion in the city in the third century BC to honour the Argive Hera, the great Theatre of Argos began to serve also during the music and drama contests of the Heraia, whose parallels were the Great Dionysia of Athens, Soteria of Delphi, and Naia of *Dodone* (Moretti 1993: 23). According to Marcel Piérart and Gilles Touchais (1996: 73), the Isthmian Games would also have been transferred to Argos rather than to *Sicyon*, as noted above, after the destruction of *Corinthos* by the Roman consul L. Mummius in 146 BC. It is noteworthy that all these sites feature Theatres that have been classified as very large within the scope of this study, except the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi where we curiously find a small theatre that has a seating capacity of 5,000 people and an overall cavea diameter of 52.5 m (see table B in Appendix B).

Moretti (1993: 13) dates the great Theatre of Argos to the first quarter of the third century BC, i.e. to a period a little later than the Theatre in the Sanctuary of Asklepieion in *Epidaurus*, on the basis of his contention that the building would have dated precisely from the period when the Nemean Games were transferred to Argos from *Nemea* where they had been organised since the fourth century BC. The building was definitely a prestige building used for the *Ecclesiae* of the Demos. However, Moretti (1998: 244) finds in the size of the edifice the firmest evidence attesting the fact that the Theatre was constructed specifically for the Nemean Games since its seating capacity of 20,000 is too big only for the purpose of local assemblies, competing only with the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, which was constructed for the celebrations of Great Dionysia, and that of *Megalopolis*, which served during the federal assembly and communal celebrations of the Arcadians. This seems to have resulted in the unique characteristics of the *cavea* of the edifice, which is carved into the living rock in its central part and consists of stone seating rows over an embankment in its wings. The *cavea* of the Theatre of Argos '*goes beyond the semicircle at the level of the first steps, while the entire upper part with its somewhat irregular shape covers less than a quarter of a circle.*' (Isler 1994/95/96a: 125) It was divided into two by a *diazoma* in the Hellenistic, and into four by three *diazomata* in the Roman period, while five principal steps starting from the level of the *orchestra* divided it vertically into four *kerkides*, probably signaling the division of the population of the city into four tribes (Moretti 1993: 9-10). The initial scenic complex had an Ionic colonnade at the front that is reminiscent of and little earlier than that of the Theatre of the Asklepieion at *Epidaurus* which, according to Piérart and Touchais (1996: 66), should not be explained only in architectural terms, considering the historic rivalry between the two cities.

However, there exist other views concerning the date when Argos took over the presidency of the Nemean Games. As an example, Piérart and Touchais (1996: 62-63) argue that the date of Athenian control over the neighbouring small city of *Cleonai* would provide insight into the question. An Athenian decree dating to 323/2 BC refers to a citizen of *Cleonai* personally known by the head of the Athenian delegation to the Nemean Games, implying the independence of the city by that time. Argos must have obtained control little after that date; for, archaeological excavations have revealed relics of intense building activity at *Nemea* in the period following the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC, which would attest the existence of a renewed interest in the Sanctuary as one of the seats of the council of the Panhellenic League. Hence, Piérart and Touchais (1996: 66) suggest the beginning of the third century BC as the date for the transfer to Argos of the *Nemea* as well as the *Hekatomboia* games held in honour of Hera, the latter of which were assimilated into the former but never mixed with those, gaining in this way an international prestige. Therefore, the two scholars date the construction of the Theatre also to the early third century BC and characterise it as a major enterprise of the Hellenistic period when musical contests were introduced into the program of the Nemea (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 67).

By that time, Demetrius had already been deposed as the king of Macedon and, by the late 270s, the ambitious king of Epirus, Pyrrhus (whose sister had been one of Demetrius' wives), had set out to create a new Greek empire in the West with the support of Ptolemy of Egypt. Finding supporters both at Argos and at Sparta but, failing to capture Sparta, he was defeated and killed in the battle with the army of Antigonos, the king of Macedon, at Argos. The Macedonian garrison at *Corinthos*, which was the chief interest and place of residence of Antigonos, retained for him its control over Argos until the time when Alexander, a member of Antigonos' family whom he had left in command at *Corinthos*, tempted to declare independence, causing *Corinthos* to fall first to the League of Aratus who then marched against Argos and repeatedly attacked the city. Then by diplomatic means 'he was able to detach *Kleonai* from Argos, and bring it into the Achaean league. This gave Aratus control of *Nemea*, and he was able to celebrate under his own auspices the Nemean games which had been under Argive control and which were by this time normally celebrated at Argos.' (Tomlinson 1972: 157) In the meanwhile, as the prestige of the Achaean League grew and Macedonian support weakened, Greek cities made their terms with Aratus one by one: first *Megalopolis*, followed by Argos and *Phleious*. Suspicious of Achaean ambition, Kleomenes III of Sparta first invaded the territory of *Megalopolis*, attacking *Megalopolis* itself and then Argos, both of which were, however, driven into the Achaean League in 229 BC (Tomlinson 1972: 153-61) When Kleomenes finally took and destroyed *Megalopolis*, most of its citizens fled to *Messenia* and returned two years later after another Spartan reverse. The town was rebuilt in 194 BC and enjoyed some prosperity although it never regained political power and existed in Roman times.

Kleomenes' hopes were brought to an end by Antigonos at the battle of Sellasia, after which Sparta was given back its ancestral constitution, just like *Tegea*, with power restored into the hands of the few wealthy landowners (Tomlinson 1972: 161). Having attended the Nemean Games celebrated in Argos once more after a postponement because of the war, Antigonos returned to Macedon to die there shortly after of tuberculosis, leaving the kingdom to his young nephew, Philip the son of Demetrius known as Philip V, who inherited the Greece created by Antigonos and Aratos wherein '*the major power in the Peloponnese would be the Achaean league, allied and supported by the Macedonian kingdom, but without direct Macedonian control—a new version of the “freedom of Greece”.*' (Tomlinson 1972: 161) This alliance was soon challenged especially by other leagues such as the Aitolian that had successfully maintained its independence from Macedonia and by Sparta, against both of whom Phillip marched and ended the war with Aitolia at the peace of 217 BC (Tomlinson 1972: 161-3). By that time:

Hannibal had invaded Italy and it appeared that the Roman confederacy, which had already intervened on the eastern side of the Adriatic in areas adjacent to Macedonia, was about to disintegrate. Philip wished to gain what he could by an alliance with Hannibal, and this fatal miscalculation at last involved the Romans in the affairs of Greece. During the first Macedonian war that followed, Rome's chief concern was to neutralize Philip's alliance with Hannibal. This she achieved by stirring up trouble in Greece, and her natural ally in this was the Aitolian league, for the peace of 217 BC had not reduced it to submission to Philip. Argos and the Achaean league stood outside this. Aratos had not approved of the Roman adventure, but had died before the Romans intervened directly. (Tomlinson 1972: 164)

A treaty was made between Rome and the Aitolians the following year and an invitation was made first to cities outside the Achaean League (i.e. probably *Elis*, Sparta, and *Messenia*) and then to the Achaean League itself. Philip sought to encourage the Achaeans in person by attending the Nemean Games held that year in Argos (i.e. in 209 BC, according to Piérart and Touchais 1996: 71), where he was made the president of the Games. Argive relations with the Macedonian royal house appear to have been established on such a basis as to reflect the royal ancestry of the Argives, as attested in a magnificent tripod unearthed in the royal palace at *Vergina* that was gained in the games in honour of Hera in which the Macedonian royal family had the right to participate (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 60). '*None of this changed the essential situation in Greece, though Rome's sale of the island of Aigina to another of her allies, king Attalos of Pergamon, brought another power on to the Greek scene, in a region not too far distant from Argos. But Argos and the Achaean league remained faithful to Philip...*' (Tomlinson 1972: 165) In 201 BC, the ambassadors of Rhodes and Pergamon applied to the Roman Senate for an action to be taken against the hostilities of Philip and in 200 BC, the Senate, after a long period of hesitation, declared war on him. Occupied by their war with Nabis of Sparta, the Achaeans preferred neutrality up to the appointment in 198 BC of a new young consul by Rome, T.Q. Flamininius, who brought about a new politics, namely that of Roman Philhellenism. Towards the end of the summer that year, the Achaeans reunited in *Sicyon* had to make a choice between Philip and Rome and they

chose the latter camp, except *Megalopolis*, *Dyme* and *Argos*, whose delegates left the assembly meeting, bringing the Confederation to the point of breaking up. As the Romans and their allies started the siege of *Corinthos*, *Argos* opened its gates to a Macedonian garrison. Although Philip had many friends in *Argos* who participated in the military operations, he consecrated *Argos* to *Nabis* in order to approach him and *Nabis*, accepting *Argos*, preferred to pass to the Roman camp. *Nabis* attempted at a restoration of the past grandeur of *Argos* through a social reform, which included clearance of debts and redistribution of land. (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 71-2)

Defeated in July 197 BC at *Cynoscephales*, Philip settled for peace and a ten-member senatorial commission to assist the Roman magistrate. In the spring of 196 BC and in front of an enthusiastic crowd at the *Isthmian Games*, T.Q. Flamininius announced the grant of liberty to the Greek cities that were under the rule of Philip, and then declared war on the Spartan tyrant *Nabis*, making his way towards *Sparta* by land and sea, at the head of a huge allied invasion force (Kennell 1999: 190). After the fall of *Gythium*, *Laconia*'s most important seaport, to the Romans with the aid of king *Eumenes* of *Pergamum* and a *Rhodian* fleet, *Nabis* sued for peace and was dictated, among other terms, to withdraw from *Argos*, return the ships confiscated from the maritime cities, stay out of *Crete*, and evacuate all garrisons from all the cities which he himself had restored (Kennell 1999: 191). According to one interpretation, the maritime cities would have been placed under the guardianship of the *Achaean League* by *Titus Flamininus* at about this date while according to another a *Lacedaemonian League* would have been formed with the settlement of *Flamininus* in 195 BC, which would be transformed into the *Eleutherolaconian League* under *Augustus* (Kennell 1999: 193). Both confederations appear as tokens of a very common type in Greece under Roman domination that may be labelled as a religious league such as the *Boeotian*, which was chiefly concerned with the upkeep of sanctuaries and the celebration of festivals (Kennell 1999: 201). *Sparta* was not a member of either confederation, although they would have had sacral ties due to pan-*Laconian* cults, and in the later period would be the only *Laconian* city with the privilege of being a *civitas libera* (Kennell 1999: 192, 194). *Flamininus* presided, towards the end of its autonomy, the *Nemean Games* on the occasion of which he was giving exceptional honours such as the games established under his name (*Titeia*) and were still celebrated a century later (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 72).

Sparta was brought into the *Achaean League* by the *Achaean* general *Philopoemen*, a native of *Megalopolis* (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 81) who revoked the entire *Spartan* constitution and replaced it with one of the *Achaian* type in 188 BC (Kennell 1985: 12). Nigel Martin Kennell (1985: 10-11, 16) refers to two occasions involving conflict between *Sparta* and the *Achaean League* in the course of which both sides appealed to the Roman Senate that finally announced its decision on the

matter by ordering for the leave not only Sparta but also *Corinthos*, *Argos*, *Orchomenos* in Arcadia, and *Herakleia* near Thermopylai (Kennell 1985: 16). This came to mean a partial dissolution of the Achaean League and siding with Sparta on the matter of dispute, possibly due to the Roman belief in their descent from the Spartans and the perceived similarity between the Roman and Spartan traditional constitutions (Kennell 1985: 16-18). This decision of Rome was followed by the Achaean declaration of war on Sparta and, in consequence, on Rome, leading to the Greeks' defeat near Thermopyles and at *Corinthos*, which was sacked by the Roman consul L. Mummius in 146 BC. After that date, when status of Sparta was also established as a *civitas libera* (Kennell 1985: 23), Greece was reduced to a Roman province under the control of the proconsul of Macedonia, which marked the beginning of important changes, including the transfer of the Isthmian and Nemean Games to Argos after the destruction of *Corinthos* at the will of the Romans who preferred Argos to *Sicyon*. This would hint at the Roman policy of installing strong politico-administrative bodies in some cities while dealing with the rest in Confederations such as the Achaean one, which were weakened and then maintained after the period following 146 BC. Argos was also given the right to have a seat in the Delphian Amphictyony (which the city had to share with *Corinthos*, *Sicyon* and Megara, according to Pausanias), which enabled an Argive to be the *agonothete* of the Pythian Games (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 83). Additionally, the towns in the province of *Achaia* were allowed to constitute themselves as a collective union under Roman administration and meet annually as a national assembly in Argos (Mommsen 1974: 264), most probably in the Theatre. About two millennia later, the same edifice would become venue for the first session of the Greek National Assembly after the 1821 revolution, which was followed by the fourth session in 1829 and its prolongation in 1832 (Keller).

5.2.5 Dodone

Another example illustrating the variety of the ways in which the Roman dealt with the pre-Roman Leagues comes with *Dodone* where we find one of the two 'very large' theatres so far located in *Epirus* (fig. B.17). With its origins dating back to the pre-Greek history of the site, *Dodone* was the site of the most ancient oracle in Greece that also retained to be the chief oracle site before its replacement by *Delphi* in the fifth century BC, although it continued to be consulted in later Greek times and was still known in the Roman era (Schoder 1974: 61). The Sanctuary at Dodone originally consisted of a sacred oak tree, possibly enclosed by a ring of bronze tripods, with the first evidences of offerings from southern Greece dating from the end of the eighth century BC (Perseus). New building activity is attested in the late fifth or early fourth century BC when the first stone Temple of Zeus was constructed and the sacred oak was enclosed in a stone peribolos wall. During the fourth century BC the Sanctuary developed into a Temenos that included several temples (including probably those to Aphrodite, Dione,

and Themis). *Dodone* had been promoted as a Panhellenic Sanctuary by King Pyrrhos who ruled in the period 297-272 BC. This would have resulted in a monumental development at the site, with the enlargement of the Temenos and the construction of the Theatre, the Temple of Herakles, and Stoas. In 232 BC *Dodone* became the centre of the newly formed Epirote League, whose delegates held council in the Bouleuterion (Perseus) that appears to be located on one side of the Theatre (Schoder 1974: 60) from which the original circular *orchestra* and the two-storey *skene* with Doric *stoa*, and the square *paraskenia* survive. Therefore, instead of this assembly function, the huge spectator capacity of the Theatre of *Dodone* would rather be explained by the quadrennial Naia Celebrations consisting of athletic and drama contests held in honour of Zeus. The Theatre constructed by Pyrrhos replaced an early hillside Theatre with one still blending in with the landscape of the ancient Sanctuary of Zeus, despite the impressive size and tower-like buttresses of the lateral retaining walls of its *cavea* that is divided into three by two *diazomata*, with *ima* and *media cavea* consisting of nine *cunei* and the *summa* twice this number. 'Higher up there is a spacious passageway that can be reached from outside. External flights of steps also lead to the passageway separating the second *maenium* from the third.' (Isler 1994/95/96h: 201) An original feature in the retaining walls of the Theatre is the use of towers as buttresses, with two of the six towers supporting the south wall of the *cavea* containing staircases leading to the lower *diazoma* (Hammond 1967: 171, 583). Entry of spectators into the upper *diazomata* was facilitated by two large staircases on the outside of the *cavea* while departure was through a large exit above the central *cuneus* that would have been closed by a movable grill. After the Aetolian destructions, an elaborate *propylon* with delicately carved Ionic half-columns was created on the east and west *parodos*. The terrace and the staircase leading to the upper seats were constructed in the same period in front of the retaining walls of the *cavea* (Daux 1959: 749). In this way, after the retaining walls reaching at least to the height of the main *diazoma* of the Theatre of *Megalopolis*, with exterior and interior buttressing suggesting an approach to the main *diazoma* from behind, and the wings of the Theatre of *Sicyon* that consist of a mass of backfill and include radial vaulted corridors providing access at its both ends to the middle *diazoma* cutting through the artificial embankments supporting the *cavea*, we seem to encounter in this Greek site that is symbolically highly-loaded, both as the most ancient and quite important oracle and as the centre of the newly formed Epirote League, an attempt for the resolution, through the introduction of external staircases, of the spectator circulation problem, which apparently stemmed from the huge spectator capacity of the edifice that was, in its turn, related with the importance and function of the site as a Panhellenic Sanctuary.

The attempt dates from the period when the Sanctuary passed the peak of its prosperity in the third century BC, through the destruction of the town on the hill north of the Sanctuary and adjacent sacred buildings by the Aetolians in 219 BC in their war against the Achaean League. During the following

period of reconstruction in the reign of Philip V, a Stadium appears to have been built next to the Theatre (Schoder 1974: 60), the latter which was restored 'out of the spoils taken from Thermon, the capital of Aetolia' (Hood 1960: 14). From this period also date the addition to the *skene* of a stone *proskenion* with eighteen Ionic semi-columns that replaced a timber one (Daux 1959: 747) and communicated laterally with the two small *paraskenia*. After the construction of a vast wall surrounding the Sanctuary and the Theatre (Daux 1959: 749), both would stay in use up to the destruction by the Roman invaders in 167 BC from which they would never fully recover, partly due to a second wave of destructions in 88 BC, this time by Mithridates and the Thracians. The Sanctuary was in a ruinous state already in the first century BC, although the Naia Celebrations and the activities of the oracle would continue well into the third century AD. Hadrian is known to have visited the site, as an archaeologist according to Mommsen (1974: 297), to be named there *Zeus Dodonaios*. A small modification had already been made in the Theatre before time of Augustus by closing the intercolumniation of the *proskenion* and the stage by walls on which scenes were possibly painted (Daux 1959: 749). Probably towards the end of the reign of Augustus or possibly later, the Theatre as converted into an Arena with an oval pit (*conisterium*) through the abolishment of the two or five front rows of seats, as well as part of the Hellenistic *proskenion* and the *parascaenia*, and the construction of a wall to protect the spectators (Daux 1959: 750; Vanderpool 1960: 270).

In the absence of similar conversions in existing theatres or Roman amphitheatre-building activity in Greece in such an early period, the implementation at the Theatre of *Dodone* would appear as a symbolic punishment act for the stubborn opposition displayed to Roman aggression by the Epeioric League that had its centre in the city and also a measure taken against likelihood of potential future resistance through a reduction of the symbolic religious function of the site to its tourist appeal. A similar example may be found in the above-described Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Perseus) that is famous for the whipping contests (*diamastigosis*) held there to test the endurance of Spartan ephebes (Schoder 1974: 201) at least since the first century BC, from which period date the earliest reference to this offensive practice in a Roman source (Catling 1998: 23). Also at Delos, the originally annually-held Delia festival to celebrate the birth of Apollo became essentially an international trade fair in the first century BC by when the religious aspects of the island had given way to commercial interests, with as many as 10,000 slaves changing hands in a single day (Perseus). Part of a similar policy of punishment may be attributed the transfer to Rome part of the sacred images from the renown Sanctuary of Athena Alea in *Tegea*, Peloponnesus, which would reveal another sphere in the existing structure intervened by Rome (Alcock 1993: 176). Influential in the decision appears to have been *Tegea's* position as a power in the Peloponnesus, as occasionally mentioned above and arguably attested in the size of its Theatre that features among the thirteen 'large' theatres so far unearthed in Greece. This high rank was

partly due to *Tegea's* being a major node in the region's communication network and partly due to the cult of Athena Alea itself that would have drawn people's loyalty to *Tegea* as a religious centre (Alcock 1993: 177).

5.2.6 Nicopolis

The conversion of the Theatre of *Dodone* into an Arena appears to have been part of a larger re-organisation in *Epirus* following the Battle of Actium between Octavian and Marc Antony, the latter of whom was supported by the forces of Cleopatra, at the mouth of the Ambracia Gulf, at the spot where the Ottomans would later defeat of Andrea Doria on 27th September 1538, in the Preveza sea battle which established their supremacy in the Mediterranean until the 1571 Lepanto defeat in the equally strategic and commercially crucial waters, off Patrae and Naupactus at the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf (Purcell 1987: 73). The Gulf extends inland by lagoons and navigable rivers whose valleys give access to the wildest parts of continental Greece that formed a vast catchment-area with fisheries and agricultural land whose focus would have been the sanctuary of Actian Apollo (Purcell 1987: 73) who gave his name to the famous battle (fig. B.26). A site located in a suburban area far from all other public or private constructions and definitely visible from afar in their solidarity at some 158 m above the sea level had for some time been erroneously taken as that of this Temple, before its identification of the **Victory Monument of Augustus** (Gagé 1936: 52-3), which may have been the most important structure built by Octavian outside of Italy (Murray and Petsas 1989: 5-6). Originating in the Hellenistic and Italian tradition, as exemplified in the Asklepieion of Cos or the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at *Praeneste* (Doukellis 1990: 405), the Monument has been restituted as having a podium displaying the bronze beaks of Antonius' ships that sunk in the battle and later dedicated by Octavian in 29 BC to Ares (Mars), Poseidon (Neptune) and Apollo of Actium (Purcell 1987: 77). The rest of the trophies from the Battle were housed in a Stoa above the podium together with sculpture, at the site where Octavian had camped on the Mikhalitsi hill to the north that now stood on a 40m-long terrace formed on its south slope to serve as the basis of a Π-shaped portico originally surrounding Octavian's open-air campsite (Murray and Petsas 1989: 154). The terrace is sustained by a wall that has cavities in it for the display of the beaks, to which are thought to have belonged also the inscribed blocks with dedications to Neptune and Mars recovered at the site (Doukellis 1990: 405). Also reported by Suetonius (*Aug.* 96.2) and Plutarch (*Ant.* 65.3) to have stood at the precinct are the bronze statues of a man and his ass whom Octavian met while leaving his tent in day of the Battle to visit his ships and, speaking to the man, learned their names to be Eutychos (Lucky) and Nikon (Victor) respectively (Murray and Petsas 1989: 10). These 'were probably removed to Constantinople, since we learn from Zonaras that in his day (the mid-twelfth century) the pair stood in the city's hippodrome.' (Murray and Petsas 1989: 153)

Here “under the open sky” on a wide terrace supported by a Roman rostra of grandiose proportions was a portico which focused the visitor’s attention on two images. The first was near at hand: the simple consecrated place where Octavian’s tent had stood. The second was in the distance, where one could see on the horizon the site of the glorious Battle of Actium; and in the middle ground hummed the living city which celebrated the great victory. (Murray and Petsas 1989: 86)

Clearly visible are the two harbours where the Battle of Actium was fought from the vantage point of the Monument that formed an ensemble with a great Stadium, a nearby Gymnasium, and a Theatre that was carved into the lower slopes of the hill to its southeast, presumably sometime after Strabo published his *Geography* as could be deduced from the absence of its mention in his account of the region (Murray and Petsas 1989: 12; Purcell 1987: 78). Occupying a large depression to the west that is referred to by the natives as *Karavi* (ship), the **Stadium** is rounded at both ends, which is a rare feature in Greece but common enough in Asia Minor (Schoder 1974: 154). The **Theatre of Nicopolis** (fig. B.26) is, according to Moretti (1992: 79), where the *pulpitum* type of stage first appeared in Greece. Schoder (1974: 156) describes the edifice as a ‘huge’ Roman construction ‘*cut into the hillside in Greek fashion but built of bricks and mortar*’, with a *cavea* that is contradictorily described in the official website of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (HMC) as supported by three semi-circular stoas or subterranean corridors that also provided access to it. The outer *cavea* wall is supported by external pillars that feature arched windows between them and outside the *cavea* is a base for a flight of steps or for a temple *in summa cavea* (Isler 1994/95/96: 294). For this reason Frézouls (1969: 149; also Nielsen 2002: 203) lists the edifice, after Hanson (1959), among the examples wherein the *cavea* is still a monumental staircase providing access to the Temple above, as in the Theatre of Pompey in Rome at the feet of the Temple of Venus Victrix. This interpretation would find support in a reference by Suetonius suggesting that both the ancient precinct of Apollo and the camp of Octavian may have been located in the suburban site where the new Theatre and Stadium housed the revived penteteric Actian Games (Purcell 1987: 78). Before their transfer to this site, these Games had originally been hosted by the people of the Anaktoron across the Ambracian Gulf, at the Sanctuary of Apollo Actius. Later, a sort of naval museum was built here, across the straits of Cape Actium near the ancient grove and newly refurbished temple of Apollo Actius, as the other war memorial planned and executed by Octavian in the environs of the battlefield (Murray and Petsas 1989: 5-6). After the Battle of Actium, the *Actiaca* were re-established as a quadrennial celebration that were probably held on the anniversary of the Battle to commemorate the birth of the emerging Augustan Age, moved to Octavian’s campsite, and placed on a par with the four traditional Panhellenic festivals (Murray and Petsas 1989: 5) celebrated originally at *Delphi*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea* and *Olympia*, with athletic, musical and racing contests.

Probably more commemorative than these monuments and events, however, as the city of *Nicopolis* itself, which was founded as a ‘living’ victory monument by Octavian, at the feet of the hillside where he

camped (Murray and Petsas 1989: 6). Athanase D. Rizakis (2001: 529) suggests that *Nicopolis* was planned to take over a Panhellenic role and become the centre of Hellenism *civitas libera et immunis* that would act also as a federal centre heir to the Akarnanian and Aetolian Leagues while having, at the same time, a privileged place on the new Amphictyonic Council (Purcell 1987: 82). Several scholars including Nicholas Purcell (1987: 76) have interpreted this '**victory city**' as a token of a type of which the first example had been Alexander's foundation of a *Nicopolis* in the Anatolian Cilicia to celebrate the Battle of Issus, '*which gave him mastery of much of the Persian Empire. As Alexander himself emulated Achilles and envied him for his good fortune in having a Homer to immortalize his deeds, so other conquerors or would-be conquerors made a cult-figure of Alexander in his turn, and modelled the style of their regimes upon his.*' (Jones 1987: 106) A.H.M. Jones (1971: 244-5, 452)¹¹ links the foundation of this city, which would have stood at the site of the modern town of Islahiye, Gaziantep that is popularly known by the local population as 'Niğbolu' meaning 'victory city' in Turkish (Umar 1993: 603), to Seleucus rather than Alexander. Appian, on the other hand, credits Seleucus I Nikator with the foundation of another *Nicopolis* in Armenia, which must be the the city noted by Dio as synoecized much later by the Roman general Pompey, in the locality in which he defeated Mithridates VI of Pontus near *Dasteira* in 66 BC (Jones 1987: 106) that may have corresponded to a citadel by the Euphrates around modern Erzincan in Pontic Cappadocia (Umar 1993: 207). Bilge Umar (1993: 603) locates Pompey's *Nicopolis* at the site of the Eskihisar (previously Pürk) village near the modern town of Suşehri, Sivas. Purcell (1987: 76) portrays Pompey as founding his *Nicopolis* on or near the site of the battle and giving it to those soldiers who were wounded or past the age of military service, who joined the native inhabitants of the site to create a mixed community of wounded and time-expired soldiers from Pompey's army and of people from the region, that was '*perhaps the only case of a part-veteran community among his Asian foundations, and oddly enough the very kind of mixed community which Pliny's referece to our Nicopolis in Epirus might suggest had been the case here.*' (Jones 1987: 106)

This city, despite its Roman veterans, was not called a *colonia*. Moreover it combined Romans and locals, and was the product of synoecism. The foundation shows clearly how these acts were not simply war memorials but were designed to alter for the better the social geography of the area where the victory had been won, partly for military purposes and partly for the glory of the conqueror. Philippi, founded by Antony to celebrate the defeat of the liberators, is another recent precedent; here the city was founded as *colonia Victrix Philippi*, but little is known of its relations with the surrounding area. The other victor city whose foundation helps us understand *Nicopolis* in Epirus is Augustus' other and less well-known (and less successful) city of that name, Egyptian *Nicopolis*. (Purcell 1987: 76)

In a later article, Rizakis (1997: 33) cites *Philippi* as an example where '*beside a small urban center, there was a subdivision of colonial territory into villages (called vici) some of which were inhabited by natives,*

¹¹ Jones, A.H.M. 1971. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*. Oxford.

though more often by a mixed population', marking a territorial structure and organisation that is characteristic of the western provinces, with Philippi being the only colony in eastern Macedonia where this structure is observed in the Hellenic provinces of Achaia, Epirus, and Macedonia. 'This organization is closer to the Roman model, whereby the territorium is, above all, hierarchical; it includes an urban center administering the territory and its villages, to which Latin sources gives names such as vicus, castellum, oppidum, etc.. This hierarchy implies neither legal nor administrative independence.' (Rizakis 1997: 33)

The Egyptian *Nicopolis*, on the other hand, was the site of an earlier victory won by Octavian against Antony and Cleopatra after his visit to Alexander's Tomb in Alexandria which he reportedly had opened to 'gaze on the remains of another world-beater, his model in some respects; when the offer was made to open the tombs of the Ptolemies also, his curt reply was that he had wanted to see a king, not a series of corpses.' (Suetonius Aug. 18.1 and Dio Cassius 51.16.5 cited in Jones 1987: 107) Founded on the site of Octavian's headquarters where the permanent fortress of the Roman legionary garrison of Alexandria would be located until the time of Caracalla, the *Nicopolis* of Egypt soon became a township also known as *Lulio polis* on the fringe of Alexandria where Octavian decreed the celebration of the penteteric Actiaca Games 'to commemorate the victories which had ended the split in the Roman empire and reunited it under single rule.' (Jones 1987: 107) Taking place in the newly-constructed Amphitheatre and Stadium, these celebrations (whose inauguration date is yet to be ascertained) are reported by Strabo to have had a very adverse effect on the traditional cults of Alexandria, which may have been intentional and possibly involved some physical removal of religious material (Purcell 1987: 76-7). Purcell (1987: 76-7) associates the prominence of such festivals and of the related spectacle architecture with the practice of loyalty religion and emperor worship throughout the Empire wherein the Romans in *Ephesus* and *Nicaea* were to worship 'the hero Julius' and Rome while the non-Roman population of *Asia* and *Bithynia* was permitted to found cults to him at *Pergamum* and *Nicomedia*, as noted by Dio (51, 20, 6-7 cited in note 26 of Purcell 1987), which would make the Alexandrian *Nicopolis* an important case in the history of Augustus' urban policy. Other emperors would follow the model set by Augustus in *imitatio Alexandri*, such as Trajan who is reported to have founded two victory cities, i.e. *Nicopolis peri Neston* in Thrace and *Nicopolis ad Haemum* or *ad Istrum* in Moesia, the latter to celebrate his victory over the Dacian king in the first Dacian war. Still later examples include one in the Palestine, at the site of an Hellenistic period garrison called *Ammaeus* which served as a legionary camp for a while when Vespasian was involved in the Jewish War but 'was renamed *Nicopolis* not to celebrate the capture of Jerusalem, as one author indicates, but much later on, sometime in the early 3rd century AD. And again there was a *Nicopolis* on the Danube, said to have been founded by the Emperor Heraclius for a victory gained in 629 AD.' (Jones 1987: 108)

Going back to the Epirote example, its sole purpose does not appear to be that of commemoration. The first *princeps'* first foundation at Epirus appears to have been populated through the forced re-settlement of the population of the neighbouring cities of *Calydon*, *Epirus*, *Leucas*, and *Acarmania* in the 900-hectare new town together with veterans from the war. The *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* makes no specific mention of the foundation of *Nicopolis*, and also of the *Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossos* in Crete, which was a colony of resettled civilians, whereas those mentioned in the *Res Gestae* were the colonies of veteran soldiers (Jones 1987: 102). According to John Ellis Jones (1987: 102, 108), what distinguishes *Nicopolis* in Epirus from these other Augustan foundations in Greece (such as *Patras*, *Dium*, *Dyrrachium*, and *Pella*) would have been its 'Greek character', which has been asserted also by Schoder (1974: 154) who notes that, despite its being 'essentially a Roman city, *Nicopolis* was in some respects accommodated to Greek traditions.'

Octavian had indeed founded colonies of formal Roman type here in Greece and one in Crete, some composed of veteran soldiers, others of displaced civilians. But at *Nicopolis*, near where he had faced the massed forces of the East in his guise as champion of Roman *virtus* and Roman *mores* he set out to create a city of Greek character, which was given an influential role to play in Panhellenic affairs through its weight in the Amphictyonic Councils. In creating this important, favored and privileged city, he was presenting himself as appreciative of Greek political and civic traditions, a patron of Greek religion and ideas in the Greek world as much as he was of Roman ideals elsewhere. The free and federate city of *Nicopolis* was a symbol of reconciled ideals. (Jones 1987: 108)

Asking the question whether the *Nicopolis* of Epirus was a Roman *colonia* or a Greek *polis*, Theodore Saricakis (1970) supports the latter view, while Glen Bowersock (1965: 94) denies that there may have been anything Roman about the foundation of *Nicopolis*, since that 'Romanization' was apparently far from Augustus' mind when he decided to establish the city (also reported in Purcell 1987: 71). Other authors such as W.M. Murray and P.M. Petsas (1989: 4-5) have, likewise, pictured *Nicopolis* as holding the rights of a 'free city' like Athens and Sparta, due to its being a purely Greek foundation inhabited by surrounding communities that were encouraged to migrate there by an officially-sponsored **synoecism**, which was another Greek tradition resembling the traditional behaviour of Hellenistic kings and dynasts who came to dominate politics in Greece and throughout the Greek world from the mid-fourth century BC onwards (Jones 1987: 104).

Saricakis (1970: 96) and Mommsen (1974: 295-6) describe synoecism as a Hellenistic policy practiced by Cassandros in the foundation of *Cassandra* and *Thessalonica*, by Lysimachos in *Lysimacheia*, and by Demetrius Poliorkete in *Demetrias*. Other instances involving the use of *synoikismos* by a victorious general consciously to consolidate and commemorate a victory would include *Mantineia*, *Megalopolis*, and *Messene*, which were founded after the battle of Leuctra (371 BC) as symbols and sureties for the continuity of a new balance of power planned for the Peloponnese (Jones 1987: 104). Such

foundations involved the *synoikistic* resettlement of local populations, the introduction of loyal supporters of the conquering regime, and naming of cities after the royal founder or a member of the royal family, as in the *Alexandrias* dotting the map of Alexander the Great's newly-won empire that would be followed by the *Antigoneias*, *Antiochs*, *Seleucias*, *Berenices*, *Thessalonikes*, or *Nicomedeias* of his successors (Jones 1987: 104-5). Jones (1987: 105) points to the parallelism between the foundation of *Nicopolis* and that of *Demetrias* through milking the population of a large area into a new city located in an area where city-life would be a new growth, stimulated frequently by a body of Macedonian or Greek troops who represented the conquering regime in such a way as to change old social and economic patterns to satisfy the royal founder's pride and political will, as in some Roman *coloniae* in the West. The same method is known to have been adopted by Pompey the Great after his victories over the pirates and over Mithridates VI of Pontus in *Asia Minor* where he '*revived cities ravaged by war and depopulation, gathering together the local population, or created entirely new cities. He also followed the local dynastic patterns in giving his own name to a few of these cities—and so we have a Magnopolis and a Pompeiopolis. Later examples of Roman use of this Hellenistic practice are not lacking—we have also instances of Traianopolis and Hadrianopolis.*' (Jones 1987: 105) However, this seems not to be the model adopted by Octavian at his *Nicopolis* of Epirus where, instead of giving the city his own name, he seem to have left it to others to honour their own creations by dedicating them to the new master of the Roman world, such as Herod of Judaea who, '*having honoured his previous protector, Antony, by naming a new fortress Antonia after him, he proceeded to honour his new protector by naming two of his reorganized Graeco-Roman cities Caesarea and Sebaste.*' (Jones 1987: 106) Remarkably enough, Purcell (1987: 87) reports most of the public buildings of *Nicopolis* to have been provided by Herod of Judaea.

Rather than interpreting *Nicopolis* of Epirus as another instance of a practice already established in the Hellenistic era in Greece, Nicholas Purcell (1987: 71) adopts an alternative view and reminds us of the fact that '*in the reign of the first princeps we stand at the turning-point in Rome's creation of a provincial empire of some institutional homogeneity out of what had been little more than machinery for the pragmatic maintenance of Roman supremacy.*' According to the author, this would necessitate a consideration of Roman imperialism in its evolution and its capacities to adapt to the '*ever-changing relation between Roman practice and Hellenic precedent ... To ask was Nicopolis a Greek city or a Roman colonia is to misunderstand the most important characteristic of the age, the fusion and mutual influence which blended the Italian experience of Rome with the traditions of the Hellenistic kingdoms.*' (Purcell quoted in Doukellis 1990: 400) Similarly, to ask whether the Theatre of *Nicopolis* would have been constructed in the Greek or the Roman fashion would be to misunderstand the most important characteristic of Roman architecture, i.e. the fusion and mutual influence which blended the Italian

experience of Rome with the pre-Roman building traditions of the lands in the Mediterranean basin that were now united under Roman control. Purcell (1987: 71-2) believes in the necessity of seeing *Nicopolis* in the light of a subtle 'analysis of the cross-currents between the background of Italian urban and social history and the theory and practice of the eastern Mediterranean world'; not only as 'a brief flirting of the last dynast of the fallen Republic with the monarchic ways of the heirs of Alexander' but also as 'a characteristically tentative application of a complex experience in the management of the politics of settlement to the newly-won world of the nascent provincial empire'. At this point, the author reminds us of the great contribution of Fernand Braudel in Mediterranean history by teaching us the indispensability of understanding together the plains and mountains and the extended 'maritime hinterlands' of a group of islands or a string of ports:

Nicopolis therefore, the heir of Corinthian Ambracia and the ancestor of Ventian Vonitsa, Turkish Salaora or Arta must be studied in the context of its neighbours to north and south along the coast of Epirus, the next ports of call in both directions for coastwise voyages. As in so many parts of the Mediterranean world we find along the west coast of the old Roman *provincia Macedonia* a neat sequence of more or less equidistant post in intimate connection with each other but undergoing very different vicissitudes; nothing easier or more dangerous for the historian than to miss their interdependence and treat them in isolation. (Purcell 1987: 72)

While, unfortunately, we are discouraged today from seeing the unity of the coast clearly due to the handicap of modern national politics in the presence of the Albanian frontier, ancient geographers clearly recognised the integrity of this series of ports, as would have done their ancient visitors such as Octavian himself who spent a period of months at *Apollonia* up the coast from Corcyra and later rewarded the Apollonians by granting them *ελευθερία και ατελεία* (Purcell 1987: 73-4). Therefore, according to Purcell (1987: 87-8), *Nicopolis* was not meant to be an isolated, single, self-sufficient πόλις, but was conceived, instead, in a complex and widely ramified Roman and imperial context to be the centre of a vast synoecism in the *provincia Macedonia*; the centre of the revived Akarnanian League of Actium with federal ties that bound to it the whole of an important coastline; the headquarters of the great Actian games that made it one in a series of focal points for the celebration of the new imperial order; a great centre of communications; the chief member of the revived Amphictyonic League that occupied the position, within the network of leagues comprising the Augustan empire, held in the west by cities like *Tarraco* (with its Sanctuary of the Imperial Cult) and *Lugdunum* (with its Federal Sanctuary), namely that of a 'holy city'; a free ally of Rome; and 'a city in the new tradition of city-founding that created centres of regular type where there had been none before, a tradition which had been developing above all in Italy. These cities were intimately tied to Rome and regarded, whether in Italy or elsewhere, as parts of a single set. This process was bringing to an end the ill repute which was associated with Roman *coloniae*.' (Purcell 1987: 88)

While tracing the roots of the new tradition, Purcell (1987: 82) reminds us that Italy too was part of the Hellenistic world, as attested in the basic settlement pattern in most parts of the country that consisted of very numerous village settlements, some of which came to acquire city-state institutions and self-awareness while others grew greatly in size, wealth and monumentality, with the degree of differentiation between settlements gradually becoming more marked and the hierarchy of status having more levels in time, with the contribution of the regular and consistent Roman practice of establishing Latin and Roman *coloniae* (Purcell 1987: 83). New Roman foundations were basically synoecistic, involving not only a core *coloni* of Romans in the urban nucleus but also the complete reorganization of the whole territory and the redistribution of large groups over distances of hundreds of miles, with the planned lowland town replacing the fortified strongholds on the heights (Purcell 1987: 83). The network of urban nuclei and territories formed in this way enforced complete control over the whole landscape, with roads marking the huge areas of centuriated plain or rolling countryside, and penetrating into the less tractable regions to join city with city, for controlling institutions and populations even in the far-flung provinces of the Empire in the first century AD and later although the basic patterns were evolved during the establishment of Rome's control over Italy and developed under the influence of the Greek tradition highly prized by Augustus in his city foundations everywhere (Purcell 1987: 83-6). An example is *Nicopolis* of *Epirus*, which would become a city of some 90,000 inhabitants that provided a reasonable occasion for centuriation without resulting, however, in total the abandonment of the former settlements in the hinterland (Isager 2001: 12-5; Wiseman 2001: 48-9). The survey undertaken in the region by Karatzeni from the Ephoria of Ioannina has revealed that the mountainous areas were abandoned and the settlements, for the most part small unwallied villages, were gathered at the coast and in the plains, at the river basins and at the main roads, with a small number of urban settlements among which only *Ambracia* seems to have survived from the period before Roman domination (Isager 2001: 12), however with much reduced importance. This would reveal the overwhelmingly rural character of Epirote society that became famous for herding operations during the Principate after the massive depopulation of the central upland basins following the second century BC Roman control and subsequent Roman activities in the region, including the foundation of *Nicopolis* whose dominance as an urban centre had a persistent delaying effect upon the development of other urban centres, particularly in present day southern Epeiros (Wozniak 1987: 263). As a consequence, Strabo would describe the province as especially noteworthy by its lack of cities, with villages and ruins dominating the Epirote countryside and herding tending to retard extensive urban development, fixing a rural character upon the province, which would be captured in the antiquarian treatise of Stephanus of Byzantium by his references to fewer than a dozen cities in Epirus (Wozniak 1987: 263).

The loss in importance, with the foundation of *Nicopolis* and its population through synoecism, of *Cassope*, whose Theatre is among the thirteen large theatres so far unearthed in Greece as a testimony of the relative importance of the new tribal capital among other pre-existent centres in Epirus (fig. B.3), would demonstrate the instrumentality of the latter as part of the imperialistic policy of Rome, in a conquered region characteristically under-urbanised, inefficiently administered, and inadequately exploited (Alcock 1993: 143). In *Epirus*, the pre-existing organisation failed to satisfy administrative and fiscal needs, necessitating the creation of more efficient provincial infrastructures for the stabilisation of the north-western region in the Empire's communication network (Alcock 1989: 90; 1993: 143). Therefore, *Nicopolis* would appear to have been founded in a period when a new political order was being established in Rome and was destined to become a regional administrative centre, given its immense territory in addition to six votes in the Delphian Amphictyony that was reorganised by Augustus (Doukellis 1990: 404). The city was remarkably located in a region representing long-standing antagonism to Rome, encompassing the political and military alliance of the Epeirotic League that offered stubborn opposition to Roman aggression in the period between 234/3 BC and 168 BC when it was severely disrupted by military activity, before the merciless assault of Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC, who is thought to have destroyed seventy cities and taken captive 150,000 people (Alcock 1993: 141). The likelihood of potential future resistance (Alcock 1993: 141) seems to be attested in the re-establishment of the Epeirotic League after 148 BC in which the Cassopeans also participated, with their city flourishing after 140 BC up to the foundation of *Nicopolis* in their territory, when they were forced to leave their homes and resettle in the new city (Gravani 2001: 117-8; Isager 2001: 11). The Cassopaeans seem to have brought to *Nicopolis* their statues of heroes and honourable citizens, and the Temple of the city's goddess Aphrodite with them, as attested in the total absence of any statue fragments in the Agora of *Kassopaea* (Isager 2001: 11). In likewise manner, the cities of the Ambracian Gulf (including *Ambracia*, *Argos Amphilochikon*, *Echinus* the port of *Thyrreum*, and *Anactorium*) and the ports of the coast southwards (*Palaerus*, *Leucas*, *Alyzia*, *Oeniadae*, and *Stratus* the river-port of *Achelous*) seem to have passed on to *Nicopolis* their cults and observances (Purcell 1987: 82).

5.2.7 Sparta

The importance of the Epeirotic and Illyrian coast would have come from its identification as a plate swinging between the East and the West, forming an ethnic and cultural barrier between the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea, in a period when the final defeat of the Hellenistic kingdoms of the East had created a new equilibrium in the Mediterranean (Doukellis 1990: 401-2). '*Developing a "special relationship" between the two coasts of the Adriatic appears a particular objective; Augustan propaganda promoted a legendary connection between western Greece and Italy.*' (Alcock 1993: 143) Additionally, the Epirus

coast appears to have been, in the Late Republican period, one of the first overseas areas in which financially successful Romans, including Atticus as well as Roman senators to whom the area was as accessible and familiar as the more Hellenic parts of Southern Italy, had a great interest in buying estates on routes leading north-east to the *Via Egnaiia* or south-east to the Gulf of Corinth. This brought with it the danger that the region might be involved in the great schemes for the resettlement of Italians in a period when Rome's experiments with urban foundations beyond the Italian peninsula had been limited (Purcell 1987: 74). 'The Ionian coast shared with the sites of the first overseas colonies of the late second century BC the advantage of a short, straightforward sea-journey to Italy and existing close contacts, fostered especially through the communities of Italian negotiatores.' (Purcell 1987: 74-5) The pioneering scheme was Pompey's settlement, in the late 60s BC, of pirates at Achaean *Dyme*, who made use of the opportunities offered by the hinterland of their new city to take to piracy again in the troubled times of 44 BC, partly due to the imposition of more veterans by Caesar.

Although the Spartans had sided with Pompey the Great during his struggle with Caesar on Greek territory in 49 BC, in the period following the assassination of Caesar, two thousand Spartans lost their lives fighting for Octavian at the Battle of Philippi (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 95-6). The warm relationship between Octavian and Sparta gained further momentum in 38 BC by the former's marriage to Livia, whose first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero was a member of the patrician *Claudii* who were the patrons of Sparta, with Livia, her first husband, and child taking refuge, during the Perusine War, at Sparta, which was part of the Claudian *clientele* where Tiberius was 'entrusted to the public care' and symbolically enrolled in the Spartan *agoge* (Kennell 1985: 33-4). However, the family would soon take a hurried leave of Sparta, with Octavian's men in pursuit (Kennell 1985: 34). Later, at *Actium* in 31 BC, Sparta would be the only city in Greece, along with its old Arcadian ally, *Mantineia*, to actively back Octavian while the rest of Greece had fallen to Antony's sphere (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 96). The most remarkable Spartan figure providing support for Octavian definitely was **Gaius Julius Eurycles** who, according to G.W. Bowersock (1961: 112), is the most notable personality in the history of Augustan Greece that involved in 'the unexpected establishment at Sparta of a Roman client-dynasty' (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 93). Later, during the reign of Hadrian, Julius Eurycles Herculaneus of the same family would serve as legate, possibly of Hadrian's friend Flavius Arrianus (the historian Arrian) appointed as proconsul in *Baetica*, presumably in an attempt of the emperor to give his home province a touch of Hellenic culture (Birley 1998: 240). Coming from a family of pirates whose base may have been on the island of Cythera, Eurycles committed himself to Octavian's side, bringing a fleet to his aid at the Battle of Actium, possibly in revenge of the execution of his father Lachares for piracy following the orders of Antony when governing Greece (Kennell 1985: 34). 'In gratitude, Octavian gave the city [of Sparta] the presidency of the new Actian games at Nicopolis and handsomely rewarded

Eurycles, granting him Roman citizenship, installing him in power at Sparta and extending his control to encompass the whole of Laconia.' (Kennell 1999: 202) Subsequently, Augustus honoured the Spartans further by presenting them with Cythera, Thuria, and Cardamyle, possibly due, at least in part, to a desire to compensate for his liberation of the Laconian League from Spartan control (Bowersock 1961: 112-3).

Patrick Marchetti (2001: 137) interprets the abandonment to the Spartans of the direction of the Actian Games as a clear indication of the emergence of a new kind of power between the end of the Civil Wars and the final reintegration of the Greek province under the authority of Rome. As dynast of Sparta and friend of Augustus, Eurycles made a journey to the East, for obscure reasons but possibly in return for hospitality Herod of Judaea received at Sparta during the two journeys he made to Rome (Bowersock 1961: 115-6). His later fall from favour in the last decades of the first century BC, and possibly sometime between 7 and 2 BC (Bowersock 1961: 116), led to the liberation of the Laconian cities. Augustus exiled Eurycles, deciding *'to separate the perioikic towns from Sparta once again and to reconstitute the old Lacedaemonian League as the League of the Eleutherolaconians, a name which emphasized their independence from Sparta in a way the old one did not.'* (Kennell 1985: 44) In return, he received the same title as Flamininus, 'Liberating Saviour' (*Soter Eleutherios*), and was honoured by the city of *Gythium* for restoring the city's 'ancient freedom'. However, the unique, dynastic position held by Eurycles in Sparta would pass, after him, onto his son Gaius Julius Lacon (Bowersock 1961: 112), who would hold a position similar to his father's under Tiberius (Kennell 1985: 45) and like his father, would be exiled in the early 30s together with his son and later with his daughter-in-law due to the family's connections with Germanicus, residing at *Corinthos* during this exile before enjoying imperial favour again, as attested by coins he issued at Sparta under Claudius, *'which means that he must have been restored either by Gaius or by Claudius himself.'* (Kennell 1985: 46) Known to have held the office of *procurator* under Claudius, Lacon must have died late in the reign of Claudius or early in Nero's and succeeded by his son Spartiatikos who held the same post under Nero and Agrippina, and that of the first lifelong high priest of the emperors in *Achaia*, keeping alive the family connections with other cities and notably with Athens, *Corinthos* and *Epidaurus* (Kennell 1985: 46-7). Such close relations between the Eurycles family of Sparta and the imperial family in Rome must have played a part in the international prestige of the Eurykleia games established in AD 136/7 by a descendant of Eurycles, the senator Herculanius, in the period of Hadrian (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 185), with prizes equal to those in the richest areas of the Empire. *'Later, the Eurykleia attained the rank of 'sacred' games, which meant they were considered to be of Pan-Hellenic importance.'* (Kennell 1985: 65)

Although Spartan citizens were competing in both athletic and dramatic contests in the last three centuries BC, foreigners *'do not seem to have competed at Sparta on a regular basis before the Augustan*

age. To this period, almost certainly, belongs the foundation of Sparta's Caesarean games.' (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 184) Eurycles is suggested as the founder of the Games, which seem to have been contemporary with the construction of the *naoi* of Caesar and Augustus and the establishment of a Spartan cult in honour of the ruling family (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 184-5). Only athletic contests are definitely known to have been attested for the new festival. The costly refurbishment of the Theatre with donation of Eurycles has been taken to suggest the institution for the first time of regular dramatic contests in Sparta where they are not attested for the Hellenistic period. Yet, the initial construction of the Theatre, which included a stone *proscenium*, was traditionally dated to the Hellenistic period, with the accompanying seating arrangements having left no trace probably due to their being temporary (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 133-4, 185). As early as the 1923-5 excavation campaign, the existing *cavea* remains were dated to the Roman period, on the basis of the masons' marks on its retaining walls that support a clay embankment, in which is a terrace wall apparently of Roman construction, with the inscriptions on the marble blocks facing the east *analemma* dating to AD 100-150 or early Flavian period (Woodward 1923-5: 153). Suggesting a Hellenistic initial construction date for the *cavea* of the Theatre of Sparta, Dilke lists the following arguments in support of and against Woodward's dating of it to the Roman period:

Woodward, Bulle and Arias all date the *cavea* to the first century AD. The reasons for this theory are as follows: (a) the *cavea* is considered to be of the same period as the *parodos* wall and *skenotheke*; (b) a Roman embankment wall was found near the top of the *cavea*, supporting a clay embankment; (c) very few pre-Roman coins were discovered; (d) a series of square holes for awning is a Roman feature. The absence of Hellenistic coins is certainly an argument for a late date, since a fair number have been found on other sites in Sparta; but the remainder of the data proves only that the theatre was often reconstructed in Roman times. There are many points, on the other hand, suggesting an earlier date. (1) The angle at which the SE water-channel runs out may indicate that the original seating on the wings was cut back when the present retaining walls were built. (2) The two lateral *kerkides* are narrower than the rest. (3) The lateral stairways were wider than the rest, and almost parallel with the stairways next to them. (4) The end *prohedria* benches have been chopped off. (5) It seems that the orientation of part of the lower seating near the east *parodos* has been altered. (6) The seats, apart from the unusual concave fronts, mentioned above, in the first six rows, appear to be of Greek rather than Roman type; e.g., the footrest is at a different level from the seat in front of it. (7) The *prohedria* is very similar to those at Megalopolis, Epidauros and Sikyon.

There may then have been extensive changes during the Roman period, by which the *cavea* was not demolished but remodelled and perhaps enlarged. Originally the *parodos* walls must have formed a more obtuse angle, and the lateral *kerkides* and benches must have extended to their full width. If we assume that the Hellenistic *proscenium* ... extended to 15-20m, it is difficult to see how the west lateral *prohedria* and seating can originally have lain as far south as their present position. It is, however, possible that the *prohedria* and the lower rows of the *cavea* are of Hellenistic date but were shifted and re-oriented in about the first century AD. (Dilke 1950: 49-51)

The British Archaeological School at Athens excavations in the period 1992-5 confirmed a late first century BC initial construction date for the **Theatre of Sparta** (fig. B.28), with the additional conclusion that 'whether the earlier theatre at Sparta, recorded since 465 BC, was on this site is still not known.' (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 98) This earlier edifice would have been used mainly for political assemblies, pan-

Lacedaemonian festivals, and sporting events rather than dramatic contests (Georama). In this way, recent investigations at the Theatre of Sparta have attested the earliest construction phase attested in the existing remains from the Theatre of Sparta to have been around 30-20 BC, immediately after the Battle of Actium when Gaius Julius Eurycles was ruler of Sparta (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 100) and probably the donor for the construction of the Theatre (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 185).

The existing remains from the Theatre of Sparta are located on the southwest slopes of the city's Acropolis that is characterised by a considerable slope from west to east across the site of the Theater, which seems to have resulted, and is attested, in the asymmetries such as level differences in the monument (Woodward 1926-27: 15). Above the Theatre are the remains from the Temple of Athena Chalkioikos, whose site appears to have been levelled when the Theatre was built (Catling 1998: 22). There exist remains from shops very close to the Theatre, to serve people attending the activities in the Theatre. Opposite to the Theatre was an honorific monument near the memorials of the two legendary kings of Sparta, Leonidas and Pausanias, the Spartan heroes of the Thermopylae and Platea wars against the Persians. The walls of the east and west *parodos* of the Theatre and the covering slabs of the drain that circled its *orchestra* feature a third of over 170 lists of the Roman magistrates of the city, in confirmation of Gros' observation that by the time of Augustus, *'the theatre had become a place around which were disposed the essential – and, we may stress in the Greek context, historic – elements of the urban landscape. As it developed, the theatre reflected in its architectural form, and in the surviving evidence for its use, the changing political features of Roman Sparta.'* (Walker and Waywell 2001: 292)

Split into nine *cunei* in the lower and probably into sixteen in the upper *maenium* (Isler 1994/95/96m: 299), and faced with a fine local bluish-white Taygetos marble (Waywell and Wilkes 1995: 440), the *cavea* of the edifice sits on the natural slope, while its wings are constructed out of multiple layers of red-brown mud-brick over *'rubble concrete foundations for two radial walls that supported the limestone ashlar of the back wall of the cavea and the marble columns of a curving Doric colonnade set 4.8m in front of it.'* (Waywell 2002: 248) The retaining walls are faced with marble on their south sides, and an open stairway rises to the end of the *diazoma* from the east *parodos*, which served as the main approach to the Theatre for most spectators from the direction of the Agora (Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 440). That the staircase reaching to the *diazoma* from the east *parodos* was included in the initial layout of the *cavea* is attested in the fact that the main wall behind the steps has no marble facing blocks (Woodward 1925-26: 186).

Such external stairways leading up to the *diazoma* are far from common. At Mantinea, where the whole of the *cavea* is supported on an artificial embankment, in addition to the external stairs at two points on the arc of the curve, there is an exterior flight alongside the NE retaining wall, not unlike ours at Sparta, whereas on the SE there is one which leads up likewise to the *diazoma* but starts from the end nearest the Orchestra, on the outside of the retaining-wall. I purposely leave out of account the examples of stairways in Roman

theatres carried up over the Parodos-arch, and roofed over (e.g. those at Aspendos and Patara), and the rock-cut ramp at Syracuse. (Woodward 1923-5: 132-3)

The west *parodos*, on the other hand, appears to have been a 'non-public' working area of the Theatre that seems to have been occupied originally by a scenery-store (*skanotheke*) whose features are obscured by later construction (Waywell and Wilkes 1995: 440). Its west wall partially survives in the massive retaining wall at the end of the lower part of the west *parodos* (Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 453), suggesting that the construction of the *skanotheke* would have preceded that of the *cavea*, which would explain the large amount of bricks reused in a Nymphaeum constructed later in the west *parodos*, leaving voids on the west wall. 'The use of such high-quality fired brick in late Hellenistic Eurykleian Sparta is noteworthy, implying a need for fire-proofing and damp-proofing, which further suggests the movable stage contained within was largely of timber construction.' (Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 453-4) Attributed to this earliest building phase are the remains from a Doric colonnaded structure that would later be deliberately smashed into small pieces and incorporated within the foundations and fabric of the walls of the three rooms forming the latter stage building (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 100-101), possibly in late first century AD (Waywell and Wilkes 1995: 444). Similarly Woodward (1930: 152), in his final report of the 1924-8 excavations, has restituted a typical Hellenistic *proskenion*, of indeterminable length, as the earliest stage building of the Theatre of Sparta, which he believed to have consisted of a Doric colonnade, presumably with eleven openings in comparison with the example at *Oropos*. 'The stage platform of these two early phases remains unknown but was perhaps a timber construction resting on uprights.' (Waywell and Wilkes 1995: 444)

Another theory concerning this earliest stage of the Theatre of Sparta was suggested by the German scholar Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who inspected the remains in 1927. Dörpfeld believed that the channelled blocks, which were being interpreted by Woodward, the British excavator of the monument, as rainwater channels moved to their present position upon the front line at the west end of the stage area for later re-use, represent evidence for a 'rolling stage' or *scaena ductilis* as referred to by Servius, the late Roman commentator of Vergil. One year later, Heinrich Bulle published his hypothesis that the early stages of the Theatres of Sparta and *Megalopolis* would have rested on iron-clad rollers, on which they could be moved sideways between the orchestra and the *skanotheke* in the adjacent *parodos*¹² (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 104). As noted by Caroline Buckler (1986: 431), his reconstructions provoked virtually no criticism or controversy, except Oscar Brooner's rejection of Bulle's proposal for the Spartan wheeled skene in a 1935 review of his *Untersuchungen an den griechischen Theatern*, on the

¹² Bulle, Heinrich 1928. *Untersuchungen an den griechischen Theatern*. Vol.33 of the *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologische-historische Klasse*. R. Oldenbourg, Munich, pp. 108ff.

basis of Woodward's suggestion that the cuttings in certain blocks appeared to be nothing more than water channels¹³. In 1935, Bulle carried out limited soundings in the west *parodos* of the Theatre of Sparta and in his following 1937 publication on the monument he substantially expanded his theory for movable stage buildings¹⁴.

In addition to the blocks excavated and recorded by Woodward, Bulle located and recorded more than three dozen channelled blocks of conglomerate stone, most of which were re-used in the rear wall of the Flavian stage building. A sounding by Bulle at the east side of the later Roman *nymphaeum* revealed a channelled block that was apparently *in situ* on the line of the front row of blocks ..., but unfortunately the line of the rear row ... lay beyond the limit of Woodward's excavation of the *nymphaeum* and could not be investigated by Bulle. At an intermediate point Bulle located another channelled block, which he judged to be *in situ* and from which he inferred that there had been a third row of channelled blocks on a middle line ..., although no trace of such a third line has yet been recognised in the excavated area of the stage. (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 104-5)

Bulle described the wheels that would have rolled along these tracks as '*large drums of wood, whose width equalled that of the grooved blocks. An iron band encircling each drum projected into the groove, thus preventing the skene from sliding off its tracks.*' (Buckler 1986: 435) However, noting the differences in the heights of the three 'tracks' to be significant enough to have prevented the movement of the wheeled building and the great amount of money and manpower that would be required to build and move such a construction, Buckler (1986: 433) finds more reasonable the idea that the *skanotheka* would have been used to store the components of a wooden skene that could have been easily assembled and dissembled and offered greater versatility in set design possibilities. '*Grooved blocks similar to those found in Sparta area noted in the theatres in Gytheion, Boeotian Orchomenos, Isthmia, and Tyndaris, and it is suggested that in all these theatres, including that at Sparta, these blocks may have been used for the storage of wooden frames or flat scenery.*' (Buckler 1986: 431) This latter has been the initial view of the British scholars who conducted the latest phase of excavations at the monument in the period 1992-8 (e.g. Waywell and Wilkes 1995: 444).

The 1995 excavations have established, however, that these easternmost blocks in fact belong to a later mortared rebuild and are not *in situ*, whereas a single block at the east which is *in situ* is at the same level as the two western blocks (as indicated above). The evidence on the ground, as recently re-examined, tends therefore to support the hypothesis of Bulle rather than its refutation by Buckler. (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 106)

The latest re-examination of the existing remains has revealed the existence of '*a form of primitive railway, a close parallel for which is found in the diolkos (trackway) used for dragging ships across the Isthmus of Corinth*' (Waywell 2002: 250). It would have consisted of three parallel and horizontal tracks

¹³ Brooner, Oscar 1935. Review of Bulle (1928) in *AJA* 39: 415.

¹⁴ Bulle, Heinrich 1937. 'Das Theater zu Sparta', *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-Hist. Abt.* (1937) Heft 5, pp. 1ff, pls. i-vii.

running across the area of the stage building for some 68 m, continuing below the Late Roman Wall up to the west end of the west *parodos* (Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 449). This would suggest a timber construction of some 34 m in length and at least 6.5 m in width, with a possible maximum of nearly 9 m that is the width of the *skanotheke* (Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 451-2). This may have been possibly fronted by a permanent Doric marble colonnade (Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 454-5). The existence of a rolling stage platform would have necessitated the Doric colonnade to have stood beyond it to the north, separating it distinctly from the *orchestra*, in keeping with Hellenistic Greek theatre design (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 103). '*The second phase, and the subsequent ones, were apparently fronted by a stage-façade (scaenae frons) in the Corinthian Order.*' (Waywell and Wilkes 1995: 444) At about the same time, the area of the west *parodos* was built over with thick walls of mud brick faced with white mortar and set on foundations of small boulders bounded in clay. '*It seems that the north and south walls of the scenery store were not dismantled in this phase and that the new structures would have formed subdivisions in the reuse of the existing structure.*' (Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 445)

The third phase, which may be as late as the early 3rd century, seems to have involved a move forward into the orchestra of the whole stage-complex. A massive rear wall was erected across the front of the three rooms but behind the three piers of the second phase as defined above, while a new stage platform was projected further into the orchestra. These reconstructions, along with later work attested by inscriptions, may have been needed after collapses following earthquakes, from which ancient Sparta suffered on several occasions. (Waywell and Wilkes 1995: 444)

An inscribed epistyle assigned by Woodward (1930: 202) to a colonnade beside the Theatre or a portal across the east *parodos* (of which no trace was then or is now visible on the ground) describes the gift of an unspecified structure to the city by Emperor Vespasian in AD 78. The structure gifted by Vespasian to Sparta has been suggested as a new stage building after the new period of investigations, which revealed several blocks of similar scale to the Vespasianic epistyle in front of and beside the western end of the stage building, one of which '*joins the left end of the inscribed epistyle, demonstrating that the latter belongs to a projecting part of the lower order of the stage building, most likely spanning the columns that flanked the central doorway*' (Walker and Waywell 2001: 294). This would accord well, according to Susan E.C. Walker and Geoffrey B. Waywell (2001: 294), with the link, established through recent work on Roman theatres in the western provinces, '*between the construction of theatres in the Roman style and the development of Roman civic institutions*'. Accordingly, the collapse of the Euryclyd dynasty under Nero, and the consequent political transformation of Sparta from a kind of independent fiefdom within the Roman Empire to a more normal Roman provincial town, albeit with peculiar magistracies and customs redolent of Sparta's extraordinary past (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 108-9), would have '*offered an opportunity for the conversion of Sparta's theatre, essentially Greek in form, into a theatre of Roman type*' (Walker and Waywell 2001:

294). Through the transformation of the stage building, Sparta would have received from the Emperor 'a Roman type of stage in place of the Hellenistic building' (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 108).

In fact, it has been noted, in the very first report on the edifice, that the building displays certain characteristics such as its larger-than-semicircular *orchestra* attributed to Greek and certain others such as alignment of the *analemmata* in a straight line to Roman theatres (Dickins 1905/06: 402-3). While the angle between the two *analemmata* had initially been measured by Woodward (1923-5: 131) as 179°, the recent digital survey of the edifice has revealed the angle between the two outermost stairs of the *cavea* as 174.7°, attesting the fact 'that the *orchestra* and the *cavea* do not include a complete semicircle in the Roman tradition' (Waywell and Wilkes 1995: 449). This would show the continuing use of the same binary terms of classification in the reports of the recent excavations, wherein two aspects of the building's architecture are highlighted to reveal the importance of Sparta's theatre for a better understanding of 'the transition from Greek to Roman building practice in Greece' (Walker and Waywell 2001: 288; Waywell *et al.* 1998: 100). These are 'the unusual mixed building technique employed, which involves the combination of layered mud-brick and rubble-concrete as foundations for a theatre of traditional stone and marble construction', which has been interpreted by G.B. Waywell and J.J. Wilkes (1995: 440) as approximating 'to the Greek style advocated in the early Augustan period by Vitruvius (v.7), combining traditions of stone construction inherited from late Classical theatres such as Epidauros with innovative use of concrete and mud-brick for key foundations'. Similarly, 'the Doric appearance of the theatre in its original late Hellenistic phase', as expressed in the Doric order of the original stage-building and in the Doric upper colonnade of the *cavea* has led the authors to the cautious supposition that an upper colonnade that is often thought to be a Roman feature would have, in fact, been a phenomenon of the Late Hellenistic Greek theatre, from which it was borrowed for Roman theatre design (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 100):

If the Doric colonnade is to be associated with the *cavea*, then it is very conservative in elevation, which, as we have seen, bears comparison with early and mid-hellenistic repertoire. In short, there is nothing Roman about it, and we must conclude that the patron of the Augustan theatre, whom we suppose on circumstantial evidence to be the local ruler Eurycles, developed a massive public building of traditional Greek appearance. (Walker and Waywell 2001: 294)

Additionally, the division of the lower *maenianum* into nine and the upper into sixteen *cunei* has been interpreted as conforming 'roughly to that of the Greek theatre as defined by Vitruvius (V, 7), writing ca. 30 BC.' (Walker and Waywell 2001: 288) The detached stage building, which extended across the full width of the *orchestra*, was separated from the *cavea* by open *parodoi* (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 99); and Woodward (1923-5: 140) has noted the absence of staircases leading from the *orchestra* to the stage.

From all this the conclusion is that the theatre at Sparta is basically of late Greek rather than Roman type, and that it represents a grandiose recreation of the fine Classical Greek theatre design, utilising up-to-date features of construction techniques, and stressing in its appearance the Doric heritage of Sparta under Eurykles. In addition its stage arrangements may have originally incorporated state of the art machinery of the kind developed in the prestigious temporary theatres of metropolitan Rome in the first century BC. (Waywell *et al.* 1998: 103)

In this way, the initial phase of the Theatre of Sparta is presented as featuring a Late Hellenistic Greek design that *'may indeed have been a conscious evocation of the Classical type of Greek theatre, drawing many aspects of its layout from the fourth-century BC theatre at Megalopolis, but at the same time it employed the latest technology and machinery (as manifest in the moving stage), and placed deliberate emphasis on the Dorian heritage of Sparta under the regime of its native dynast C. Julius Eurykles.'* (Waywell and Wilkes 1999: 455) The use of marble in the *cavea* of the building is interpreted by Waywell (2002: 247) as *'a noteworthy advance not only on what had gone before at Sparta, but on what had been done with most earlier Peloponnesian theatres which were generally of limestone or conglomerate'*. In terms of its scale and plan, the building is described as *'following on from the traditions of the Late Classical theatres at Megalopolis and Epidauros'* (Waywell 2002: 247) that are similar in scale, with many details of the design having based on the Theatre of Megalopolis, such as *'the external auditorium around a potentially fully circular orchestra ..., a lower walkway behind the front row of seats of honour, a detached stage building with open parodoi bounded by towering retaining walls, and a skenotheke ... of extensive dimensions in the west parodos.'* (Waywell 2002: 247)

Noteworthy, indeed, would be the contrast formed by such attribution of 'Greekness' to the initial construction phase of the Theatre of Sparta sponsored by Gaius Julius Eurycles in the aftermath of the Battle of Actium wherein he had been an active participant on the side of Octavian, in return for which Sparta was granted the presidency of the new Actian Games to be held every five years at *Nicopolis*, right below the Augustan victory monument. The degree of dependence of such attributions on the intention of the scholars investigating and interpreting the existing remains is highlighted by the exemplary part played by the architectural characteristics of the Theatre of Sparta in Paul Cartledge and Antony Spawforth's (1989: 135) remark on the apparent openness of the Spartan society to material and cultural 'Romanisation'. The authors have attested the adoption of Roman methods of construction in Sparta as early as the reign of Augustus when fired-brick makes its first appearance in the *skanotheke* of the Theatre, although *'Romanization extended beyond such technical matters ... to the adoption of types of amenity characteristic of the Roman and Italian, rather than the Hellenistic Greek, way of life'* (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 135), as attested in the appearance of thermal installations, whose accompanying hydrotherapeutic practices would have heralded transformation in Greek social customs. *'This embracing of urban living à la romaine, in which respect Sparta does not*

seem to have differed significantly from other parts of the Greek world, underlines the artificiality of the marked archaism ... in the public life of the Roman city ...' (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 135-6) It would be difficult to decide, without further investigation, whether the 'Greekness' attributed to the initial construction phase of the Theatre of Sparta is part of such a marked tendency towards archaism; or one of the equally-valid multiple interpretations that would possibly be made of the extant data on the Theatre of Sparta and encouraged by it (Eco 1994: 45); or an 'overinterpretation' on the part of the modern scholars investigating the extant remains, in the sense of the term as coined by Umberto Eco (*et al.* 1998; 1994: 60) to mean that the internal coherence of the extant data suggesting openness, on the part of the Spartan society in general and on that of the Eurycles dynasty in particular, to material and cultural 'Romanisation' may not have been taken as a parameter in its interpretation as a markedly 'Greek' building. As Violi comments in a footnote:

Eco's reflection on interpretation is traversed by the Popperian notion that the text, even if it can allow a plurality of interpretations, is nonetheless also the space where some interpretations can be proven invalid. There are cases when, even if we cannot decide between various possible interpretations, we can still eliminate wrongful ones. I believe that this same line of reasoning can be extended by default to encompass the concept of the encyclopaedia and of an encyclopaedic competence. (Violi 1998: 37)

A similar case is offered by the Theatre of *Corinthos*.

5.2.8 Corinth

Remains from the ancient city of *Corinthos* lie along the coastal road west of modern *Corinthos*, on a high plateau beneath Acrocorinth and in command '*of the plain which forms the bridge between the Peloponnesos and the mainland of Greece, and with it the isthmus which links the Gulf of Corinth with the Gulf of Saronikos.*' (Stanley 1970: 127) The city had two harbours: the *Lechnion* opening to the west and the *Kenchreai* on the shore of the Saronic Gulf. Additionally, '*[a] stone-paved portage road [diolkos], built across the narrowest part of the Isthmus in the 6th c. B.C., made it possible to transport whole ships (with their cargos?) between the Gulf of Corinth and the Saronic Gulf.*' (PECS) However, as could be expected of its singular geographic location dominating the two principal roads from central Greece to the Peloponnesos (namely, those leading to Argos and *Arcadia* from the south of Acrocorinth and to *Sicyon*, *Achaia*, and the coastal terrain of the Peloponnesus from its north) and also the maritime traffic between the Aegean Sea and the western Mediterranean which passed mostly through the Isthmus (Robinson 1965: 4), the settlement appears to have owed its prosperity to the advance of maritime trade in the Mediterranean, with pottery and bronzes manufactured in Archaic *Corinthos* having been traded as far as Spain, Egypt and the Black Sea. By the end of the eighth century, *Corinthos* had seized the Peraion (modern Perachora) Peninsula with its Sanctuaries of Hera

(Roebuck 1972: 107), and colonised Syracuse in Sicily, Corcyra on Corfu as a port on call on the route to Italy, and Ithaca as a trading post in a commanding position to control entrance to the Gulf of Corinth (Roebuck 1972: 112-3). These were achievements under an oligarchy administered by the powerful family of the Bacchidae or Bacchiadae (Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 13) that presumably descended from the Heraclids. Carl Roebuck (1972: 104) suggests the overpopulation of the hill country as well as terraces and coastal plain of *Corinthos* by large-scale holdings of great families and the smaller holdings of the peasants living in the villages as an explanation both for the establishment of these colonies and for the higher rate of urbanization through an increase in craft production for the Corinthian community and for export. After renewed contacts with the Near East and by the penetration of the Black Sea, *Corinthos* would become the chief exporter of pottery in the Greek world and remain so until around 575 BC when, within a generation, the foreign markets were largely lost to Athenian wares (Roebuck 1972: 117). The increased commercial power of Athens robbed *Corinthos* of her foreign market, reducing the city to a second rank during the sixth and fifth centuries BC, while the difficulties of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) and the Corinthian War (395-387 BC) may well have caused a decline in the city's wealth and population.

The major extramural shrine of the Corinthians and their most important religious foundation outside the city was the **Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth** (fig. B.20) that was one of the four sanctuaries where Greeks from all parts of the Mediterranean came to compete in Panhellenic Games (UCEI). Elizabeth R. Gebhard (1993) points to the possibility that the Corinthians may have been the first to establish international contests modelled on the famous games at Olympia in the year 582 BC, which corresponded to the second year of the 49th Olympiad, with the Amphictionic League holding the first pan-Hellenic Pythian Games in honour of Apollo at Delphi within a few months and the cycle to be completed in 573 BC when the little city of *Cleonai*, backed by Argos, established international games to Nemean Zeus. The first Temple of Poseidon dates about a century earlier than the establishment of the Games, probably in the time of the Bacchiads early in the seventh century, with the nearby Archaic Stadium featuring as the next oldest building in the site. It was replaced by the so-called Earlier Stadium before end of the fifth century BC and the Theatre was constructed initially at the turn of the century on a slope about 80 m northwest of the Temple, parallel to the important role played by drama and musical events in the Isthmian games (Brooner 1973: 2, 4; Gebhard 1973: 1). The natural incline of the slope was not enough for that required by the initial *cavea* that presumably had a polygonal plan, as suggested by Gebhard also for the early phase of the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens. So the ground level had to be altered extensively (Brooner 1973: 2) by cutting several rows of seats further down to form an artificial depression at the foot of the hill, the bottom of which was levelled for the *orchestra* floor, like in the examples at *Eretria*, *Sicyon*, *Oropos*, and *Corinthos* (Gebhard 1973:

2), with entrance roads or *parodoi* cut from the hill leading down into the *orchestra* on both sides (Gebhard 1973: 83). Cult caves wherein worshippers of Poseidon, Palaimon, or Dionysus would have gathered for ceremonial feasting have been located above the *cavea* of the Theatre (OSUEI).

In addition to the cultic use of the site, however, Philip II is known to have called representatives from the Greek cities defeated at Chaironeia in the winter of 338 BC to assemble at the Isthmian Games in the following spring, to hear the common peace settlement and again, shortly afterwards, to gain their support for his intended campaign against Persia (Gebhard 1993). Following Philip's assassination, Alexander called two meetings at Isthmia in the next two years (Gebhard 1993), during which he would be designated avenger of Greece on Persia and launched on his amazing career during the Games of 336 BC (Schoder 1974: 97). Gebhard (1993) suggests that such use of the sacred festivals for Panhellenic assemblies seems to have generated building activity such as the restoration of the Temple of Poseidon, extensive remodelling of the Theatre, or the construction of a new and larger Stadium approximately 250m to the southeast of the Earlier Stadium. During this modification of the Theatre, a complete re-cutting appears to have been required to obtain the desired curvilinear plan for a *cavea* of six *cunei* for some 1,550 spectators, the lower limit of which now extended about 2.50 m farther into the *orchestra* (Gebhard 1973: 29-30).

Perhaps the most famous of all such assemblies held at *Isthmia* was the one at the Stadium following the Games of 196 BC when the Roman general Titus Quinctius Flamininus, whose earlier campaigns brought Greece under Roman authority, proclaimed Greek liberty, after having fought and defeated at Cynoscephalae the Philip V of Macedon by a combined Roman and Greek army. These events hint at the extent to which the Isthmian Sanctuary served as a meeting place for inter-state gatherings in the Stadium, whose importance finds further emphasis in the limited area of the Temenos enclosing the Temple and in the apparent absence of elaborate monuments such as are found at Olympia and Delphi (Gebhard 1993). The Sanctuary was abandoned after the sack and destruction of *Corinthos* in 146 BC when the city lost its autonomy and control of the Isthmian Games that appear to have been held by the neighbouring *Sicyon*, possibly up to the celebration of the Games in 40 BC by when control over the Sanctuary at *Isthmia* may have been restored to the Roman colony newly-established at *Corinthos* in 44 BC. An inscription from *Corinthos* records a list of victors, in the Isthmian Caesarian Games for AD 3, in the contests for trumpeters, heralds, poets, encomiographers, flute-players, lyre-players, and those who sang to the lyre in a Theater either at *Isthmia*, which may have been provided with temporary new wooden furnishing, or in *Corinthos* where the stone *skene* was in better condition (Gebhard 1973: 142). The Isthmian Games were restored to *Isthmia* in 6 BC or 2 BC by L. Castricius Regulus, from which period dates, however, no trace of building activity in the Theatre (Gebhard 1973:

142). The *cavea* of the Theatre of *Isthmia* appears to have been enlarged on the occasion of a visit by the emperor Nero during his tour of Greece to grant the Greek states political and economic freedom. During this trip Nero is known to have participated in all of the major festivals and delivered his speech of liberation to the Greeks at a special celebration of the Isthmian festival on 28th November AD 66 or 67, apparently to recreate and surpass the glory of Flaminius' decree of liberation delivered in the Stadium during the Isthmian Games of 196 BC. Additionally, he appears to have won the prize in the contest of singing to the harp and that of the heralds, in addition to that in a contest in tragedy that may have been instituted by him on this occasion, since competitions in tragedy and comedy were not customarily part of the Isthmian program (Gebhard 1973: 86). Nero must have visited *Isthmia* also during the inauguration of his project for cutting a channel through the Isthmus of *Corinthos*, when he is reported to have sung a hymn to and Amphitrite and a short song to Melikertes and Leucothea, his mother, to bless the project (Gebhard 1973: 86-87; 1993a). According to Donald Engels (1990: 20), these and other favours by the Emperor Nero '*were also a way to strengthen the imperial basis of support in Greece against old-line Republican aristocrats, and were no doubt responsible for Nero's popularity in Achaea and Asia even after his death, as the enthusiastic reception of the false-Neros indicates.*' Later Vespasian would withdraw the gift of freedom after which *Achaea* would be made into a senatorial province.

'With the exception of the speech of the liberation that Suetonius specifically notes was e medio stadio, the other performances of Nero probably took place in the theater where he would have had the best acoustical and decorative surroundings for his appearance.' (Gebhard 1973: 86-87) Numismatic and ceramic evidence suggests a thorough refurbishing at the Theatre about this time, when the lower section of the seats would have been refashioned one more time to increase the slope of the *cavea*, possibly on the impetus provided by the example at *Corinthos* completed a few decades earlier (Gebhard 1973: 70). Gebhard (1973: 63, 70) describes the *cavea* of this period as one providing seats for some 868-940 people in eight permanent rows, which would have been very limited, considering the crowds that must have attended the Isthmian games, for whom temporary wooden seats must have been erected on the upper slope where an extension of the *cavea* had been projected through the construction of new *analemmata*.

In the second Roman remodelling of the edifice during the reign of Marcus Aurelius or little later before Pausanias' visit to the site sometime between AD 155 and 170 (Gebhard 1973: 133, 143), the work in the upper extension would be renewed by the construction of foundations for some twenty-eight piers in a semicircle at the top of the Theater slope as the beginning of a series of barrel vaults to support the seats. On all the foundations *in situ*, the surface is horizontal and follows the contour of the hill, implying some type of wooden seating that was not uncommon in provincial theatres especially in Belgium, West

Germany and the southwest of England, (Gebhard 1973: 89, 91). The stage building also appears to have been timber from its initial construction phase with a *proskenion* when it would have masked the level difference resulting from the lowering of the *orchestra* to obtain a more reasonable slope for the seats, providing access from there to the *logeion* above, through the Neronian remodelling of the edifice when long wings were added to the stage building, which itself must have been built anew, up to the middle of the second century AD remodelling when its central portion was completely rebuilt and the wings reinforced through the use of masonry and concrete (Gebhard 1973: 11-16, 63, 89).

Noteworthy within this framework would be the absence of a monumental *scaenae frons*, especially in the light of the following comment made by Richard Stillwell while suggesting a Hadrianic date for the later *scaenae frons* of the Theatre of *Corinthos* featuring three semicircular *exedrae*, as in 'Western Roman' examples, which, according to the author, marks out the import of this type of stage plan into Greece: '*The introduction of the semi-circular exedra for the regia is to be directly connected with the self-identification of Nero as the incarnation of the sun-god, his passion for appearing in the theatre in person, and his likening himself to Apollo as a musician.*' (Stillwell 1952: 138) Looking for the origins of this type of stage façade, Stillwell (1952: 137-38) finds one in the latest *scaenae frons* of the Theatre of Pompeii, which is dated by A. Maiuri¹⁵ to sometime after the earthquake of AD 63 and before AD 79 by noting '*the departure from the rectilinear rhythm of the Augustan period toward a more "baroque" style of the Neronian and early Flavian times and the close connection between the new type and the theatre-derived decorations of the Pompeian fourth style.*' Another parallel example appears to be the Theatre of *Sabratha* in Africa. The niches over the portico of the *regia* at the Theatres of *Aurasio* (Orange, France), Palmyra, and Antioch may have had a similar relation with kingly or divine persons, hinting at a trend that would have produced, according to Alföldi, Nero's Golden House with its cosmic dome (Stillwell 1952: 139). Stillwell (1952: 139-40) describes this 'Western type' of *scaenae frons*, as he names it as the most prevalent in Italy, Provence, Upper Dalmatia (Trieste) and North Africa, although it apparently extended also to Syria (i.e. Antioch, Palmyra, Bosra and other places) and Asia Minor (e.g. *Aizani*, *Termessos* and *Sagalassos*). After noting its absence in the Neronian reconstruction of the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, which would have been contemporary with the Hadrianic *scaenae frons* at *Corinthos*, Stillwell (1952: 139-40) explains the appearance of this 'new theatre fashion' for the first and only time in Greece at *Corinthos* by the close relations of the city with Rome as the principal city of Greece during the second century that, '*located on an important shipping and trade centre, and having a population increasingly cosmopolitan, naturally derived her architectural ideas both from east and west. [...] The "western" type of scaenae*

¹⁵ Maiuri, A. 1942. *L'Ultima Fase Edilizia di Pompeii*, (Istituto di Studi Romani, Sezione Campana), XX: 77-80.

frons, whose ideology comes originally from the east, is not surprising...' (Stillwell 1952: 139-40) In this way, we finally come to the great **Theatre of Corinthos** (fig. B.15).

Stillwell (1952: 22) describes its earliest remains that consist of individual, roughly rectangular blocks provided with a raised lip at the front so as to keep seats from slipping forward, as being '*nothing more than a stone version of the old wooden ἰκρία*' probably facing a timber stage building and dates them to the last quarter of the fifth century BC on basis of their formal simplicity that appears to have been stemming from '*a straightforward translation in stone of wooden timbers from earlier tradition, although no earlier theatre remains were found on the site*' (Stanley 1970: 129 citing Stillwell 1952: 131). The author finds other evidence for such an early dating in the shallowness of the slope in the upper part of the *koilon* (presenting a ratio of 1 to 3.06 as compared to the ratio of 1 to 2.19 in the lower thirds of the *koilon* at Epidauros) that would find its closest parallel featuring a slight nosing at *Eretria*, with later examples of this special category attested also at *Megalopolis*, Argos, and the Stadium at Olympia (Stillwell 1952: 26), and in the absence of sherds that need be dated later than the last quarter of the fifth century BC in the hard packed fill of levelling below the blocks (Stillwell 1952: 24). On the basis of Dinsmoor's dating of the so-called Periclean Theatre of Dionysus in Athens to late fifth century BC, and most probably in the intermission during the Peloponnesian wars that lasted from 425 BC to 413 BC, and taking into consideration the historic rivalry between the two cities, Stillwell (1952: 131) has dated the Corinthian Theatre, whose *cavea* appears to have been divided into twelve as different from the thirteen *cunei* of the Athenian example (Shear 1929: 518), also to the same period and, more precisely to 415 BC when there was a peaceful interlude in the Peloponnesian War (Stanley 1970: 127). '*The remains from this period include stone seating and aisles, a few blocks indicating the parodoi, and two series of holes for some form of scene building, the skene.*' (Stanley 1970: 127) The new period of excavations in the *cavea* of the Theatre ascertained that there was no exterior wall delimiting it up to its Hellenistic extension beyond the 45th row of seats (Williams and Zervos 1989: 25-26) when a new *orchestra*, *skene* and *proskenion* were also built probably during the Antigonid rule between 338 BC and about 250 BC, which seems to have been marked by a great deal of building activity at *Corinthos* (Stillwell 1952: 131-2). The work at the Theatre was possibly begun soon after the revival of the Corinthian League in 302 BC (Stillwell 1952: 131-2). Plutarch's reference to the capture of Acrocorinth by Antigonos Gonatas 247 BC on the occasion of a celebration at the Theatre for Queen Nikaia suggests a date not later than the second half of the third century BC (Stillwell 1952: 132) when the estimated capacity of the edifice was 18,000 spectators.

By that time, Greek cities including *Corinthos*, which had regrouped around *Thebes* and Athens against Macedonia, had been defeated the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC and Phillip II had proceeded into

Spartan territory (Piérart and Touchais 1996: 61), placing a Macedonian garrison at *Corinthos* that had now become the meeting place for the Macedonian-controlled Hellenic League (Perseus). 'After Philip was murdered, in 336 BC, the League, in session at Corinth, chose Alexander as its leader and appointed him general.' (Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 15) In the period following Alexander's death, Demetrius occupied the city in 303-302 BC after which the city passed to his son Antigonus Gonatas and remained in control of the Antigonids until it was set free in 243 BC by Aratus and joined the renewed Achaean League. In 223-22 BC came the control by Antigonus Doson and the Antigonids

until, after Romans had defeated Philip V of Macedon at the Battle of Cynoscephalae, Corinth, together with the other Greek states, was liberated by a formal decree read with much solemnity by T. Quinctius Flaminus at the Isthmian Games in 196 BC. Unfortunately the ambitions of the Achaean League, of which Corinth was the most important member, conflicted with the policies of Rome, Roman envoys were on two occasions gravely insulted, and finally, in 146 BC, the Roman consul L. Mummius took and sacked the city. (Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 15)

Possibly for political and commercial reasons, Mummius slain the men, sold the women and children into slavery, burned and razed the city to the ground, dismantling its walls and giving part of its territory to the neighbouring city of *Sicyon* while declaring the remaining part public domain (AC 1954: 13-4). The site appears to have remained uninhabited for a hundred years (AC 1954: 13-14) although literary testimonies point to the possibility of continuity in occupation for farming and grazing activities (Romano 1993: 13). The prosperity of *Sicyon*, on the other hand, lasted until 87 BC when the Roman general Sulla destroyed the city. Also to *Sicyon*'s disadvantage was the resettlement at *Corinthos* with the establishment there of the *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* after the suggestion of Caesar, vote of the Roman Senate, and support of Octavian upon Caesar's death (Williams 1993: 31). 'Appian (Pun. 136) reports that the first colonists were on their way to Corinth at the moment when Caesar died. It has been suggested that the actual establishment and settling of the colony may not have been completed until after Caesar's death.' (Romano 1993: 12) Antony's wife Fulvia is known to have died at *Sicyon* in 40 BC but, after this, 'distinguished Romans are more likely to be found visiting Korinth. There is little evidence of public work at this period and few references to native Sikyonians who distinguished themselves...' (Griffin 1982: 90-91)

Some scholars, including E.T. Salmon (1970)¹⁶, argue that *Corinthiensis* was the most celebrated of all Caesarian colonies founded for economic or social reasons. 'Its coloni were freedmen for the most part many of them presumably Greek-speaking; and this taken in conjunction with its siting, shows that the colony could not have been agrarian. It was manifestly intended to revive the mercantile glories of the city that Mummius had destroyed in 146.' (Salmon 1970: 153, quoted in Romano 1993: 9-10)

¹⁶ Salmon, E.T. 1970. *Roman Colonization under the Republic*. Ithaca.

Certainly since the days of Marc Antony's grandfather the Romans had recognised the advantage of being able to transport its navy over the Isthmus. Having the *diolkos* in Roman hands and in working condition had already aided earlier Marcus Antonius in getting his fleet into the Aegean in 102 BC to combat the pirates; in 30 BC Octavian himself reaped rewards by being able to use the *diolkos* in his campaign against Antony. Even before Augustus, Caesar had seen the value of the Isthmus and had entertained the idea of cutting through it with a canal. Rome also must have been cognizant of pressures that could be caused by an unstructured urban population at the Isthmus and the need to control it. (Williams 1993: 31)

The strategic position of *Corinthos* would have been fully appreciated by Marc Antony when he was given general authority of the eastern provinces in 42 BC, in his operations against Octavian in the course of which Antony and Cleopatra's huge joined forces that had occupied, in September 32 BC, a line from Corcyra to Methone in Messenia would have received provisions from Egypt through the Aegean and over the Isthmus of *Corinthos* rather than around the dangerously windy coasts Peloponnesus (Engels 1990: 19). 'The capture of Corinth and other Peloponnesian cities by Agrippa early in 31 was a severe setback for Antony, whose huge force, now blockaded in the Gulf of Ambracia was slowly being starved.' (Engels 1990: 19)

Corinthos appears to have experienced a veritable re-foundation during the reign of Augustus, when it probably became the capital of the new province of *Achaea*, whose provincial status would have changed several times during the Early Empire. The province was administered by the governor of Macedonia, Metellus Macedonicus (Habicht 1997: 10), in the period 146-27 BC as part of Southern Greece. It then became a new senatorial province in 27 BC, which was converted, together with Macedonia, into imperial provinces attached to *Moesia* in 15 AD after complaints about high taxation, to be returned to senatorial control by Claudius in AD 44 (Engels 1990: 19). These would have resulted in considerable building activity in *Corinthos* to serve the administrative needs of the colony itself and of the provincial governor and his considerable staff. Additionally, quadrennial Caesarean Games of ecumenical stature had been instituted in *Corinthos* during the reign of Augustus, and possibly in 30 BC, with additional games for his successors first celebrated under Tiberius and the Imperial Cult incorporated into a major civic festival for a traditional deity, the Panathenaia under Claudius (Spawforth 1997: 192).

Romano (1993: 30) classifies the new Roman colony at *Corinthos* according to its physical features as an 'Hippodamean' type of city designed by an experienced Roman city planner working fully within the tradition of Roman city and colonial planning, who seems to have been inspired by, if not actually carried out, the plan executed at the Caesarian colony of *Colonia Iulia Concordia Carthago* at Carthage, the colony that compares most closely with *Corinthos* in many aspects. Founded also in 44 BC after the destruction of a Punic city by the Roman consul Scipio Aemilianus in 146 BC, Romano believes Carthage to be the work of either Caesar or one of his best planners. 'Another possibility might be that both colonial designs came from a single book of colonial design patterns, although there is no

evidence that such a book ever existed.' (Romano 1993: 30) The colony appears to have been planned at once but probably from centre towards the outside. At the topographical centre of the colony with the *rostra* (i.e. speakers' platform) as the central feature was the Forum area, which seems to have been reserved by the earliest planning, as is common in Roman colonies, borrowing an equal amount of space from each of the four centuries intersecting at right angles. The Theatre formed a major public area to the northwest of the Forum, featuring an irregularly-shaped court created behind the stage building during the Roman remodelling of the edifice and finished inside with a colonnaded walk on all four sides (Gebhard 1973: 115; Romano 1993: 19; Stillwell 1952: 64). There existed a second square to the east of the stage building, which may have been paved by the *aedile* (i.e. commissioner of streets and public buildings) Erastus at his own expense, as attested in an inscription at the site, who was probably identical with the Erastus mentioned by St. Paul in the Epistles to the Romans, XVI, 23, where he is called Chamberlain or Steward of the city and was a friend of St. Paul (AC 1954: 74). 'From this square a paved street led past the east entrance of the Theater and ascended the hill toward Glauke.' (AC 1954: 74)

Renown as the place where Aratos announced *Corinthos'* accession to the Achaean Confederacy (AC 1954: 73), the Theatre of *Corinthos* lies to the northwest of and below the famous sixth-century BC Archaic Temple of Apollo, with its *cavea* on the northwest slope Temple Hill and seating facing directly north towards the Corinthian Gulf. 'The site takes the advantage of the natural slope of the terrain where it forms a step between the upper level on which the Agora is situated, and the lower terrace which extends almost on an even grade to the Asklepieion at the northern edge of the city, hard by the other wall.' (Stillwell 1952: 5) In this latter area there apparently were many houses in Greek times (Stillwell 1952: 5), which reportedly had an orientation that was different from that of the Roman layers (Williams and Zervos 1984: 85). Pausanias' location of many monuments in *Corinthos* in reference to the Theatre may be taken as an indication of the centrality of the monument for the topography of the city (Babbitt 1897:481), which is still hinted in the names and descriptions of various contemporary publications. This centrality of location seems to have had priority over the suitability of the natural slope. For, the initial *orchestra* had to be sunken down about two meters into the native rock in order to obtain greater depth and later in Roman times the inclination of the *cavea* had to be increased by artificial earth fill and over manmade subconstruction. This would have resulted in *parodos* entrances' sloping down toward the *orchestra* and an unparalleled drainage system that would have also facilitated the conversion of the *orchestra* area for a pool for aquatic performances.

After lying in ruins for a little more than a century, the Theatre is believed to have been put back into use during the period of Roman colonisation, after some repair work and the introduction of new *parodoi* in addition to a timber stage for *phlyakes* over the ruins of the earlier *skene* (Stillwell 1952: 80).

A *scaenae frons* was constructed and the *cavea* was remodelled under Augustus by establishing the *parodoi* with proper reference to the *cavea* centre except an inward extension of the west *aditus* due to the asymmetry of the previous timber stage (Stillwell 1952: 80). Williams and Zervos (1988: 111) argue this new design to have been 'a direct result of the growth and the early commercial success of the new colony'. Neither the *analemmata* nor the *parodoi* resulting from these modifications were symmetrical. This later Roman *cavea* was radically increased over rib foundations along the lines of the earlier *kerkides* of the Hellenistic period *cavea* and extended beyond it in such a way as to make access possible from the *vomitoria* to the second *diazoma* through a vaulted passage below the upper seats (Williams and Zervos 1989: 29, 33). It was limited from the south by a stepped street that runs in a general north-south direction at right angles to the *parodos* of the Theatre that opened onto it, about six meters above the floor of the *orchestra*, skirting the outer *cavea* wall and enlarging to form a plaza to the south (Shear 1928: 484). 'It is interesting to note that in the upper part of the foundation walls of the [second] *diazoma* there was a tendency to build the sections along straight tangents, each as long as the space between the stairs, although in the lower section of the same walls the line followed the curve of the Greek seats.' (Stillwell 1952: 47) Access steps outside the perimeter wall of the *cavea* would have reached a landing at the top, giving access to the corridor running around the perimeter of the *cavea* (Williams and Zervos 1988: 110), with no indication of any stair from the *parodos* entrances to the lower *diazoma* (Stillwell 1929: 89).

The wall surrounding the irregularly-shaped court behind the stage building is believed to have been contemporaneous with the Augustan *scaenae frons* that would have had a straight façade of Asia Minorian type (Stillwell 1952: 64; Sturgeon 1977: 130). A new stage equipped with stage machinery is thought to have been constructed at the turn of the era BC-AD, with repairs and alterations following an earthquake during the reign of Vespasian. This may have taken place possibly in AD 77, when the damaged buildings in the city were more than repaired in marble replacing limestone, thanks to the clemency of the Emperor, as 'a testimony to Corinth's importance as a focus of imperial patronage and to its economic revival during the first century.' (Engels 1990: 20) After some additional limited work by Trajan, the Theatre of *Corinthos* was endowed, ironically during the Hadrianic period attested in the Hellenising decorative style of the extant remains, with a new *scaenae frons* featuring three Theatre Friezes representing a Gigantomachy, an Amazonomachy, and the deeds of Herakles, and the plan with semicircular *exedra* described above as the 'Western Roman type' identified at *Pompeii* by Maiuri with the 'baroque' style of the Neronian and early Flavian times. In this way, we are introduced one more time into the shortcomings of dual classificatory terms based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition for a better understanding of the architectural, urban, and cultural characteristics of a well-studied case such as the ancient city of *Corinthos* and its Theatre.

In addition to a number of Greek structures located within the Forum area, the Greek city walls and a number of Greek city gates on the east, south and west were reused from the beginning in the building of the *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*, resulting in some irregularities in the Roman plan that was surveyed and set out according to a different orientation, although some aspects of the pre-existing Greek orientations were evidently employed (Romano 1993: 21). In the establishment of the colony, Roman cultural influence in the sphere of urban architecture appears to have taken the form of a clever building policy of achieving the maximum effect with minimum cost, which explains the construction of essentially Roman edifices along pre-existing building lines, even in the Temple of Apollo (Williams 1987: 31). Another example is the three alignments observed in the Forum area, all of which are different from that of the orthogonal layout of the larger urban pattern, with the major one following the orientation of the Hellenistic Stoa to the south, giving the central area of the city its peculiarity. The Forum was delimited on the east side by what is now called the Julian Basilica on the basis of the Augustus-Gaius-Lucius statue group it housed, which was reflected onto the west side in a series of Temples appropriate to the Roman colony (including one to Hermes; one to Venus, the mother of the Roman race and the Julian *gens*; and one to Apollo, the god favoured by Augustus) and later extended further west with the so-called Temple of Octavia that most probably housed the Imperial Cult (Williams 1987: 29; 1993: 33). C.K. Williams (1987: 29-30) suggests a Tiberian dating for the initial construction of this edifice and relates it to the establishment of the Caesarea contests that were added to the Isthmian Games and soon joined by the Imperial Games, the Sebasteia. In this way, the site appears to have been converted from the Olympian gods to the Roman Imperial Cult and gods, which Engels (1990: 102) suggests to have taken the form of an obsession in the Corinthian aristocracy who have even linked the initially Panhellenic Isthmian Games to the Imperial Cult through the Caesarean Games and Imperial Contests. In this way, in both authors' portrayals features a domination of 'Roman attitudes' in the early foundation years of the *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*, as different from the prevalent Greek culture of the cities especially in the Roman Asia Minor, which appears to be symptomatic of the status of the settlement 'as a Roman colony rather than a Greek city', colouring the thinking of the inhabitants. Part of that thinking would have been the Corinthian taste for arena games that are thought to be most characteristically 'Roman' of all games and would persist in the city through the fourth century when bear- and panther-hunts partly funded through appropriation of tax money from Argos are reported by Julian (Engels 1990: 48). 'Although gladiatorial contests and wild-beast hunts were popular in some cities of Roman Greece, the Corinthian taste for these spectacles was considered excessive by many of their compatriots, and many reflect the Italian cultural influences of Corinth's first settlers.' (Engels 1990: 48) The games were first held in a ravine outside the city and then in the converted Theatre and Odeum (Engels 1990: 48).

The **Odeum of Corinthos** (fig. B.15) lies to the immediate south of the Theatre and is connected to it through a court that is irregular in shape and was finished inside with a colonnaded walk on three sides (Gebhard 1973: 115; Bieber 1961: 222). '*The entire region south of the Odeum in the direction of Glauce served in Greek and early Roman times as a stone quarry. [...] The Odeum is built on the north slope of this ledge of rock, where the stone is softer and hence could not be utilized as building material.*' (Brooner 1928: 447-8) A great part of its *cavea* is cut from the native rock, except in the south side where the rock was quarried away, which necessitated a foundation of concrete for the seats supported by a series of radial concrete vaults, with the underlying rooms used as storerooms (Brooner 1928: 448; AC 1954: 68), and an external semi-annular portico with pillars (Isler 1994/95/96c: 157). Each of the three aisles dividing the auditorium into four terminated in a *vomitorium* at the floor level of the second storey, which opened from an upper gallery over a vaulted semicircular corridor cut out of the native rock wherever possible (AC 1954: 68; Brooner 1928: 448). Brooner (1928: 453) believes that the function of this corridor was not limited to the structural on the basis of the observation that it is cut through the solid rock at both ends, with no traces of stairways except near the two *parodoi* that permit spectator entrance and circulation from the south. The upper gallery would have had a direct entrance from the higher ground level on the south side, in addition to being accessible through partly excavated and partly constructed stairways at its two extremities (AC 1954: 68).

The Odeum of *Corinthos* was built by Agrippa towards the end of the first century and appears to have survived, without any damage, the Vespasian earthquake. The city reached the apogee of its size and prosperity in the second century AD (Engels 1990: 20) when Hadrian constructed public Baths, an Aqueduct, and a new *scaenae frons* for the Theatre, while **Herodes Atticus** extended his generous architectural patronage from Athens to *Corinthos*, meeting the expenses of the court of the Fountain of Peirene and the remodelling of the Odeum around 175 BC when the interior of the edifice was thoroughly remodelled through extensive use of marble. This interest of Herodes Atticus in the restoration of the Odeum of *Corinthos* is partly explained by Spawforth's (2002: 103) argument that his mother '*Vibullia Alcia Agrippina, came from a colonial Corinthian family of Vibullii, whose ancestor was probably a military veteran, perhaps an officer.*' She seems to have been the daughter of a certain Vibullius Rufus whose marriage with a sister of Atticus the father is indicated by epigraphic evidence, in which case he would have married his own niece whose *cognomen* 'Agrippina' would suit origins in *Corinthos*, where colonial *Agrippae* are well-attested, as would her wealth, said to rival her husband's. Herodes Atticus is also known to have possessed a villa in or near *Corinthos*, probably north of the suburb of Kraneion (PECS). '*If Atticus married into a rich Italian settler family (to which he was probably already related), his senatorial aspirations seem less surprising.*' (Spawforth 2002: 104)

Only about fifty years after its Herodean remodelling, however, the interior of the Odeum of *Corinthos* was totally destroyed by a fire that turned the thin revetment of marble into lime, which may have facilitated the removal of its stage and further enlargement of its *orchestra* by cutting away some of the seats for the conversion of the building into an *arena* around AD 225 (AC 1954: 70). By that time, and possibly in AD 211-17, the Theatre would have also been converted hastily into a hunting theatre through the removal of the first ten rows of seats, presumably on the occasion of a visit expected of the Emperor Caracalla during his campaign against the Dacians when is known to have proceeded via Thrace and Troad to Pergamon and from there to Syria where he spent the greater part of his time until his murder in AD 217 (Stillwell 1952: 96). After the lower ten rows of the Greek *cavea* were cut for the construction of a large *arena*, three refuges with 1 m wide entrances were cut into the rock and the centre one was provided with a steep flight of steps to allow access to the *cavea* (Stillwell 1929: 96). The Theatre appears to have been converted either back to its original function, as argued by Dinsmoor, or into an arena equipped with a water tank for mock sea battles and water ballet performances, as argued by Stillwell (1952: 97), probably immediately after the death of Caracalla. This would agree with Dio's remark that many of the buildings erected to please the emperor were town down without his ever having seen them. Dinsmoor's argument has been rooted in the idea that the building of an Amphitheatre in the late third century would have once again released the Theatre to its proper use (Stillwell 1952: 140). Located one kilometre northeast of the Archaic Temple, the Corinthian Amphitheatre is one of the few of its kind in Roman Greece, whose elliptical arena has been measured to be larger than that of the Coliseum in Rome (Engels 1990: 48). Coming to the construction technique applied in the building, the lower seats are notably cut into the native rock while the higher rest on masonry supports, with fourteen aisles making the divisions of the auditorium and a masonry-lined entrance passing under the seats on the main axis at the south balanced by a great passage tunnelled under the cliff at the north and leading out to the lower level of a second plateau for the entrance of the processions into the arena without being seen by the audience (AC 1954: 88).

Williams explains by this high degree of 'Romanisation' attested in the popularity of the arena games, which forms an exception to Bieber's (1961: 211) portrayal of the local population in mainland Greece as keeping to their classical forms of performances, the absence of a Corinthian cult of Rome up to the Hadrianic period when the cult of Roma and Venus was established in Rome and the concept of the cult changed to that of Roma as the personification of the Romanised world order. Comparing *Corinthos* with Athens, the author explains the institution of the cult of Roma on the Athenian Acropolis by an attempt on the part of the Athenians to ingratiate themselves with Rome after Actium, having upset Octavian through their hospitality to Mark Antony:

This cult of Roma was a totally political device whereby a non-Roman population could celebrate and flatter the Roman people. Corinth, where support of Mark Antony was at least as strong as in Athens, apparently did not adopt this sycophantic posture. Failure to do so would not have been illogical, because the Corinthians were already citizens of Rome, or wished to be. Since they felt themselves to be Roman, it would have been meaningless for them to establish the cult; at this stage it might well have appeared as though they were establishing a cult to themselves, i.e. the *populus Romanus*. (Williams 1987: 31)

Engels (1990: 102) interprets the special attention paid to the Imperial Cult in the capital of the province of *Achaëa* as an indication of the fact that '*it was through such capitals and their governors that the divine emperors came most closely in contact with the governed.*' The author evaluates this devotion as something likely to occur in a colony descending from original settlers sent by Julius Caesar, who thus owed their high social position to the imperial house, as did many of the *duovirs* and other magistrates, or their families (Engels 1990: 102). '*As did many colonial elites, the [Latin-speaking] Corinthian aristocracy wished to retain the heritage and religious traditions of their homeland and to distinguish themselves from the Greek majority by worshipping gods of the Roman state.*' (Engels 1990: 102) A relative decline in the importance of the Imperial Cult and specifically Roman gods is evidenced in the corpus of Corinthian inscriptions dating from the first three centuries AD, partly as a consequence of the changing ethnic composition of the city's people: '*After several generations, the ranks of the old Italian families had probably grown thin, and they were replaced by Greek immigrants who migrated to the city in vast numbers. The diminishing importance of Roman cults is paralleled by the diminishing influence of Roman culture seen in other spheres at Corinth.*' (Engels 1990: 106) Williams (1987: 35) describes Greek influences and pressures to have culminated in *Corinthos* as elsewhere during the Hadrianic wave of Panhellenism, at about the time Dio Chrysostom observes that the Corinthians and their city to had thoroughly Hellenized, and Favorinus wrote that *Corinthos*, '*though Roman, has become thoroughly Hellenized*' (Engels 1990: 71). The evidence for the process is attested basically '*in the change from Latin to Greek in Corinth's dated inscriptions, indicating that the audience for the inscriptions, and perhaps the authors, changed from Latin speakers to Greek speakers*' (Engels 1990: 71), in tombstones, and names of the makers of Corinthian *terra sigillata* ware. Notably enough, both the conversion of the existing Odeum and Theatre, and the construction of an Amphitheatre in *Corinthos* for the arena games date from this period. Additionally, the elite of the city appear to have wished to emphasize their Italian identities and their status as full Roman citizens by abandoning Greek cognomens as these cognomens were often a degrading sign of freedman status, and freedmen parents would frequently abandon them in naming their children, as attested in the declining proportion with Greek cognomens among those Corinthians recorded to have held high positions or to have made important benefactions to their city (Engels 1990: 72). This would highlight the difficulty of attesting the 'degree' of 'Romanisation' in any settlement through an overview of various indices revealing in the ethnic,

linguistic, prosopographic, or religious profile of any community that may occasionally be contradictory with one another, as in the case of *Corinthos*, which may be taken as a warning against the tendency to take a taste for arena games or the response of the local elite alone as a reliable measure of 'Romanisation'.

This observation would fit well into Engels' portrayal of Roman *Corinthos*, which was noted by Plutarch (*Mor.* 831a) especially for its business representatives, or brokers (πραγματευτής), as a 'service' city that survived largely on rents and fees rather than on agriculture, on trade consisting of import, rural exchange, and the east-west trade through the city's ports rather than on export, with middlemen buying merchandise at the port and repacking and subdividing it into containers for overland travel. In review of Engels, D.P. Thompkins suggests that Roman *Corinthos* might more appropriately be considered a "merchant city", in particular the *entrepôt*, comparable in Weber's eyes to modern financial capitals like London or Paris.' (Thompkins 1990: 28 quoted in Williams 1993: 31, 33) Suitably for the aristocratic families in the Roman Senate who founded by their votes *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthensis* to serve the new East-West trade route but were themselves prevented by law to make business along it, *Corinthos* was initially populated mainly by ex-slaves serving as freedmen-agents to ensure Roman control of the markets at this point and to secure positions for interested Roman families who foresaw the colony as a potentially strong commercial centre (Williams 1993: 33). *Corinthos*' rapid development into probably the finest and most modern city of Greece and one of the most flourishing commercial centres of *Achaea* would have attracted novel inhabitants and among them many Jews 'which may explain the early introduction of Christianity, St. Paul's visit [in 51/52 AD during the reign of Claudius], and his Epistles to the Corinthians.' (AC 1954: 14) Schoder (1974: 124) explains St Paul's choice for *Corinthos* as the centre of his apostolate to the pagans by its being full of merchants from all over the Mediterranean world, including Anatolia and Phoenicia. By that time, the Agora had become ill-suited to these extensive marketing activities due to the stepped nature of all of the three main approaches to the area, necessitating the construction of new commercial centres outside the Agora proper, as in Athens, as exemplified in the large market building constructed just north of the Archaic Temple of Apollo and another close to it on the east, with its façade opening onto Lechaion Road (Robinson 1965: 29).

5.3 Chapter Conclusion: The 'Network' of Roman Theatres and 'Romanisation' in Greece

This portrayal of the Roman *Corinthos* would facilitate its visualisation, as a major commercial and administrative centre located in an exceptional geographic location, among the top-ranking cities of the 'urban network' established in the Mediterranean basin under Roman control through the imposition of a stronger organisational framework in the Caesarian and Augustan period, through the introduction of new foundations and colonies wherever necessary (fig. 5.4). Fergus Millar (1990: xiii) describes the

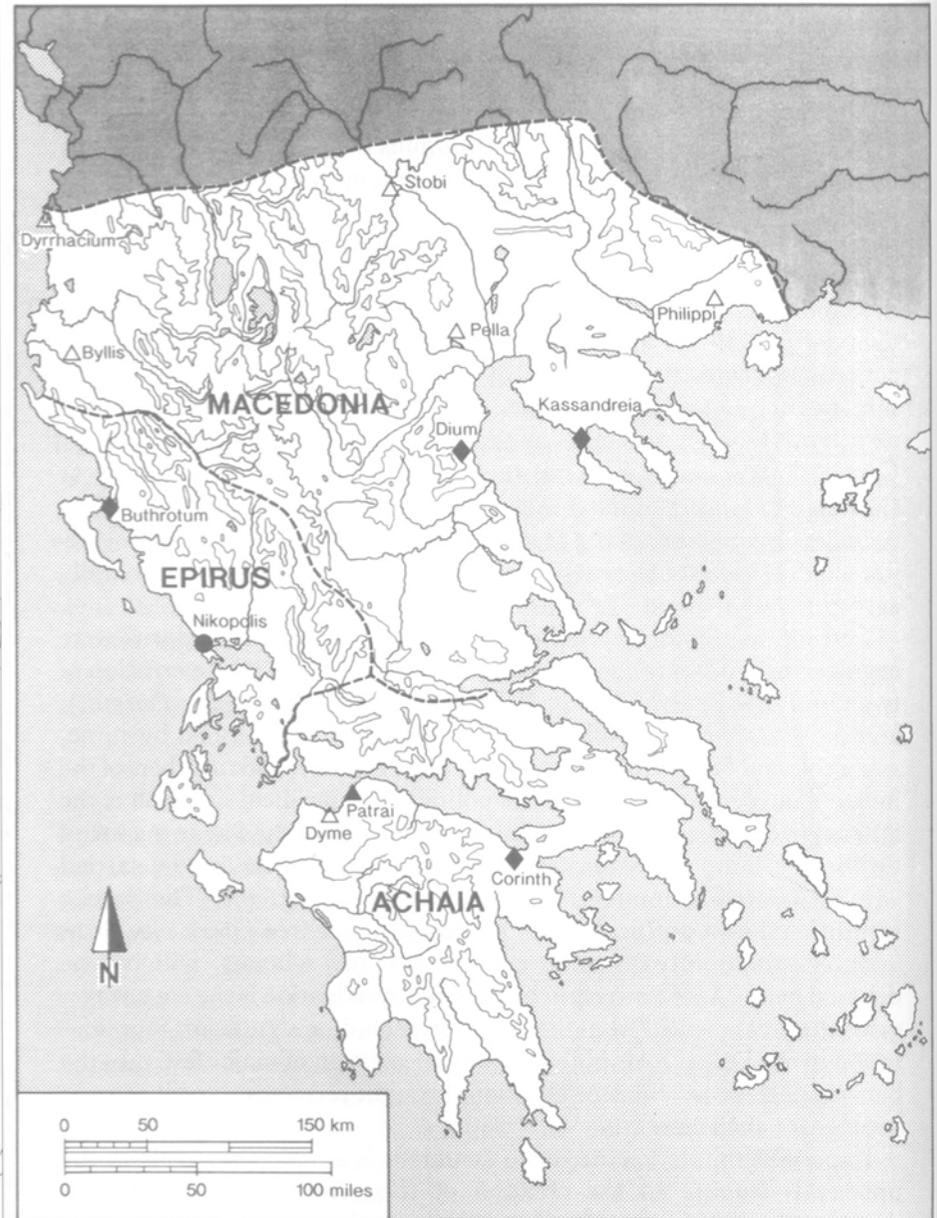


Figure 5.4 Caesarian and Augustan colonies in Greece (left from Rizakis 1997: 16 [fig. 1]; right from Alcock 1993: 134 [fig. 46])

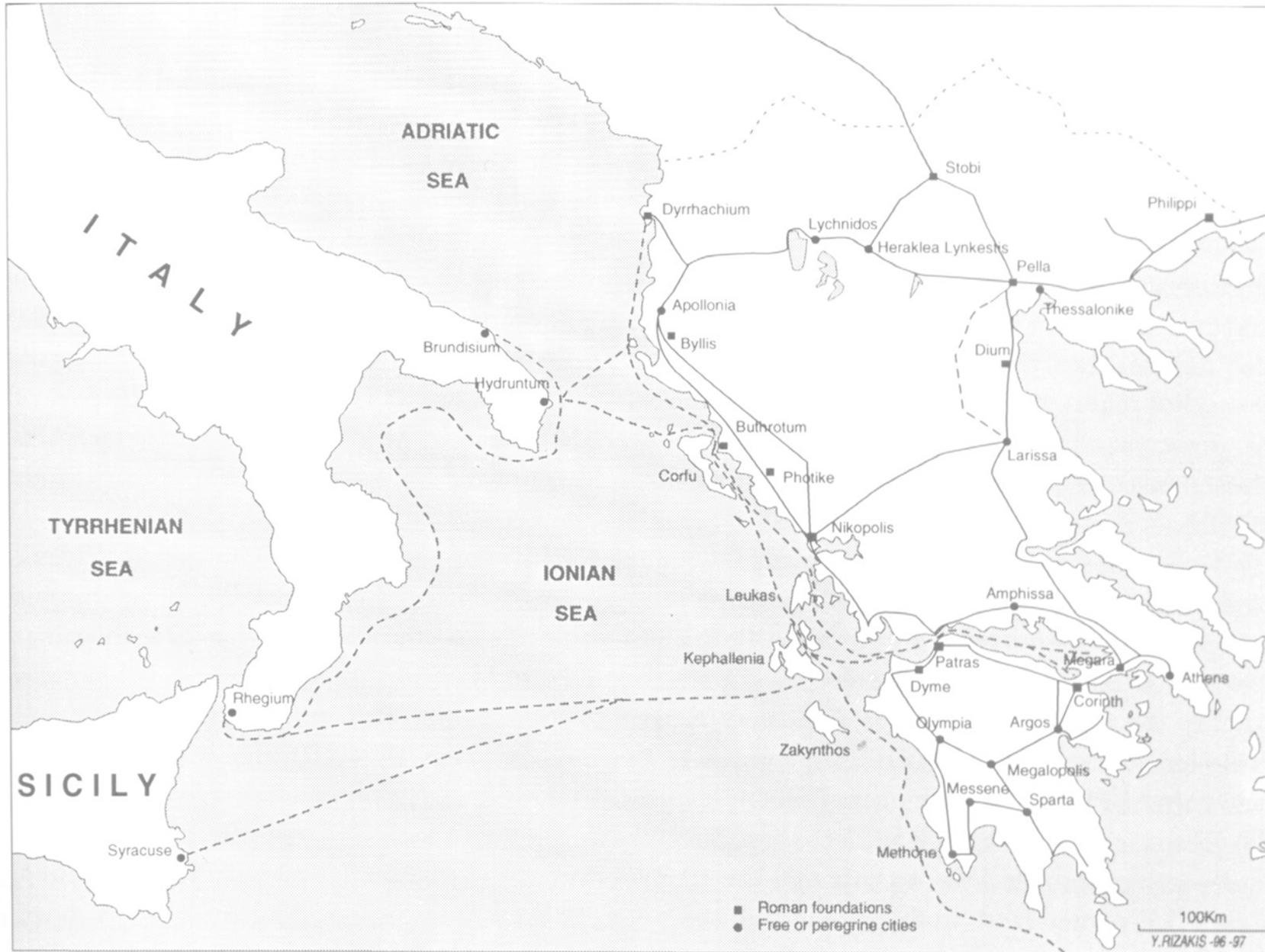


Figure 5.5 Major land and sea routes in the Imperial Roman period in Greece (from Rizakis 1997: 17 [fig. 2])

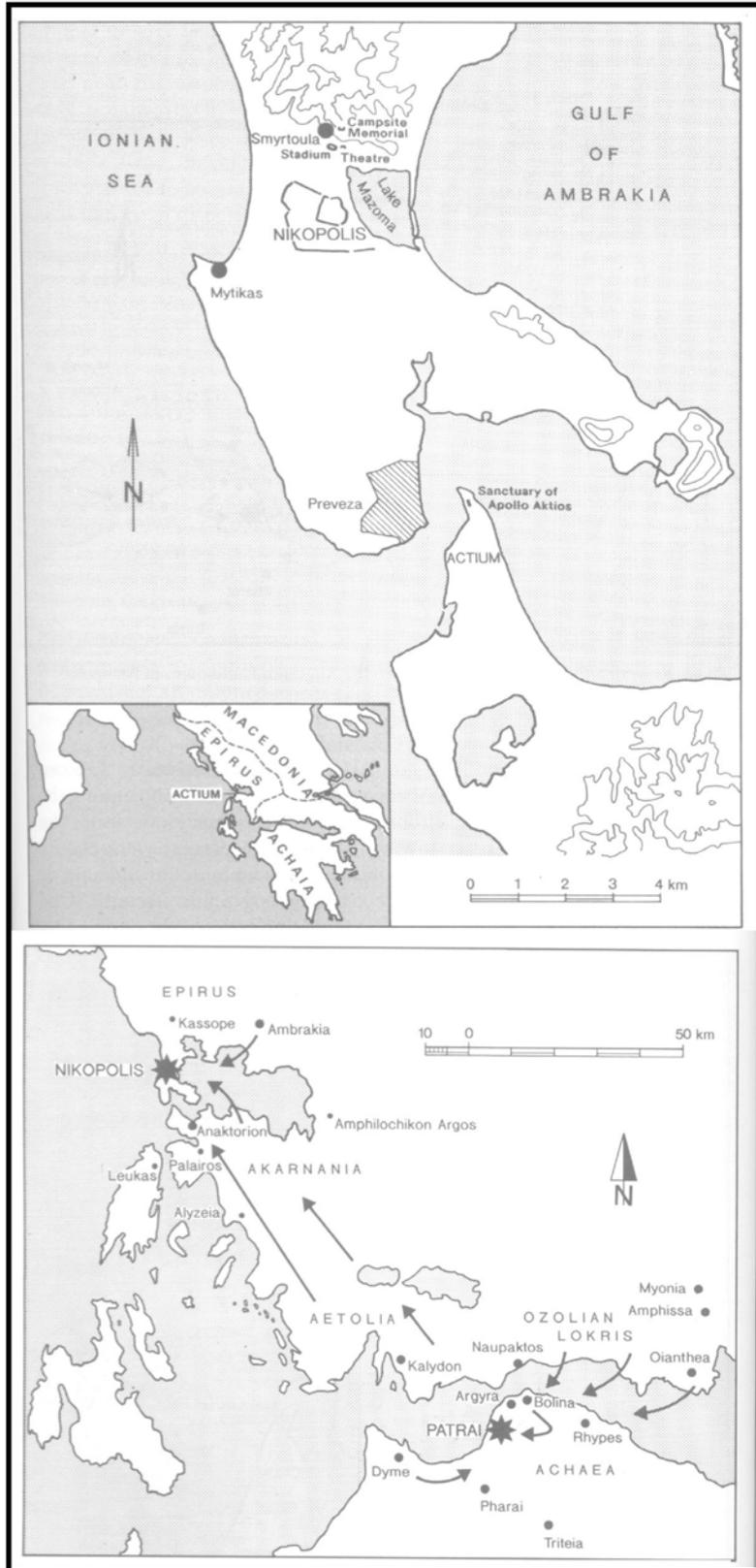


Figure 5.6 The foundation of Nicopolis and Patras (Alcock 1993: 135-6 [fig. 47-8])

foundation of Roman *coloniae* as a process largely confined to a single period: ‘*the age of Julius Caesar and Augustus. Thereafter genuinely new foundations, involving actual construction, were very rare.*’ As in the Iberian Peninsula, both military and economic concerns seem to have figured in this assessment, as in the Caesarian *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* founded in 44 BC to become the capital of the new senatorial province of *Achaia* consisting of the territory divided off the province of Macedonia in 27 BC. The province appears to have been integrated within the Empire’s communication system from an early stage. Later in AD 15, *Achaia* would be transferred, together with the province of *Macedonia*, to the imperial province of *Moesia*, probably to allow a more efficient administration, but would be returned to its former state by Claudius in AD 44 (Alcock 1993: 16). Later in AD 67, Nero would grant freedom to the province of *Achaia* at the Isthmian Games, in apparent emulation of Flamininus’ action over 200 years before, but with Nero’s death and after two years of freedom, *Achaia* would be returned to the provincial flock (Alcock 1993: 16).

In addition to *Dyme* at the western entrance of the Corinthian Bay, where Pompey had settled pirates in the late 60s BC, the Macedonian city of *Philippe*, named after Phillip II, and *Pella*, which was the birthplace of his son Alexander, were also re-founded as Caesarian colonies. Noteworthy about these settlements is the location of the latter two along the overland route along the Macedonian and Thracian coast, and that of *Dyme* and *Corinthos* along the sea route through the Corinthian Gulf and Isthmus to the East. Starting from his ‘victory city’ founded at the interface between the eastern and western Mediterranean, which would later become the capital of the province of Epirus after its separation from *Achaia* in the first century AD (Alcock 1993: 145) and possibly in the period of Trajan (Mommsen 1974: 295), the ‘network’ would be completed through Augustan foundations along the same routes that reveal the importance of *Epirus* and the *Via Egnatia* in the communications network of the Empire, demanding stabilisation of the northwest region (fig. 5.5). For this purpose, a chain of urban centres were created between Caesarian and Augustan colonies along the western coast of the Balkan Peninsula facing Italy (*Dyrrhachium*, *Byllis*, *Buthrotum*, *Photike*, and *Nicopolis*); along the northern coast of the Peloponnesus on the Corinthian Gulf (*Dyme*, *Patras*, *Corinthos*, and *Megara*; with the overland route along the northern coast of the Gulf passing through the free city of *Amphissa* and that through the Peloponnesus passing through the free city of Sparta to reach the harbour city of *Gytheion* in the south); and along the Aegean coast of Thessalia, Macedonia, and Thrace (*Dium*, *Pella*, *Cassandra*, and *Philippi*, with the free cities of *Thessalonike* between them and *Larissa* providing connection with the Epeirot coast through *Nicopolis*)¹⁷.

¹⁷ Noteworthy is the difference between the colonies attributed respectively to Caesar and Augustus in the two maps presented by Alcock (1993: 134 [fig. 46]) and by Rizakis (1997: 16 [fig. 1]) (fig. 5.4). The former maps as Caesarian, and the latter as Augustan, the colonies of Byllis, Dyrrhachium, and Patras, whereas the latter maps as Caesarian, and the former as Augustan, the colonies

Noteworthy is the cardinal importance of the two provincial capitals, *Corinthos* and *Nicopolis*, at the two major junctions of this 'network', with the latter also acting as the key feature in the re-organisation of the region through the synoecism of the masses that had resisted Roman rule in the region. As noted above, forced to settle in the city were the populations of *Akarnania*, *Aetolia*, *Epirus* and Leucas, whose resistance, as part of the *Aetolian* and Achaean forces, to Roman control would have resulted in the devastation of the area by Roman military activity. When added onto the particular regional history, this would have turned the area into a rather under-urbanized, inefficiently administered and inadequately exploited marginal zone that posed a potential threat to Rome, especially due to its key position in the Empire's military road to the East (Alcock 1993: 141-43). Passing to the Peloponnese, despite having supported Antony against Octavian, the population of *Patras* was not punished by a similar forced resettlement in a new area but, instead, a new colony was established there through the transfer of land on both sides of the Corinthian Gulf and the administration of the Caesarian colony of *Dyme* which had declined shortly after its foundation (Rizakis 1997: 28). This would hint at the importance of the Roman control over the entrance into the Corinthian Gulf (fig. 5.6).

Remarkably enough, all of the *ex novo* Roman period theatre constructions in mainland Greece, except the one in *Beroia*, are located along these routes; at *Apollonia* and *Nicopolis* along the Adriatic coast; at *Larissa*, Thessalonike, and the colony of *Dium* along Thessalian and Macedonian coast of the Aegean; and at Sparta and *Gytheion* in the Peloponnese (fig. B.5). These, including *Beroia*, consist half of the sixteen *ex novo* Roman period theatre constructions so far discovered in modern Greece. In the light of this coincidence, Roman period theatre constructions may be expected to reveal in the Caesarian colony of *Pella* and the Augustan colony of *Megara*, although they remain inevidenced in the archaeological record for the moment. *Dyme* might have been added onto the list if we had not known about its decline shortly after its establishment as a Caesarian colony and the transfer of its administration to *Patras* under Augustus.

5.3.1 Crete

The remaining eight *ex novo* Roman period theatres are located in **Crete**, where pre-Roman performance buildings are confined to two types classified above among very small buildings (fig.

of *Buthrotum*, *Dium*, *Corinth*, and *Cassandrea*. This confusion does not appear to be of major concern within the scope of the present dissertation for there has been no record so far of *ex novo* theatre constructions pre-dating the Augustan period, which might have enabled a comparison of their architectural characteristics with later examples, as has been attempted for the examples in Spain. Therefore, it is more tempting for the purposes of this present study to take these establishments as parts of a project initiated by Caesar and completed by Augustus, which would find support in the observation of John Ellis Jones (1987: 102) that, in addition to several new foundations, Augustan foundations included 'colonies which he found already established or part-established and refounded under his own name, such as Caesar's at *Buthrotum*, or Antony's at *Philippi*, which from being

B.3)—namely, rectilinear steps in Bronze Age palaces at *Gournia*, *Knossos*, *Malia*, and *Phaistos* (fig. B.21), and Archaic Agoras at *Dreros* and *Lato*—except the probably Late Hellenistic Theatre at *Aptera* that is unique in Crete in being of pre-Roman date, with Roman period alterations attested in remains from brick walls (Sanders 1982: 167; PECS). This gap in the archaeological record of performance buildings in the island may be explained at least partially by the Persian control and influence over the island and the surrounding sea through the Classical Age (Bradford 2004: 88). This may explain the concentration of Roman period performance building construction activity on the island that when compared to that in mainland Greece, the latter of which is characterised by an abundance of pre-Roman theatre buildings that appear to have stayed in use often with modifications under Roman control (fig. B.5). Additionally, the abundance of Roman period performance buildings on Crete may be taken as an indication of the growing importance, within the communication network of the Roman Empire, of the sea route leading from the Aegean through southern Crete to Alexandria in Egypt and from Egypt to Rome for corn fleets (Sanders 1982: 132), which is described by Ernie Bradford (2004: 24, 58) as the most suitable thanks to a constant summer breeze.

As in mainland Greece where Susan E. Alcock (1993: 8-9, 36) delineates as 'Early Imperial' the period roughly between 200 BC – AD 200, starting from the beginning of Roman interest and presence in the region, Rome's first intervention in Cretan affairs similarly dates to 195 BC '*when amongst the peace terms offered to Nabis of Sparta was the divestment of his Cretan interests.*' (Sanders 1982: 3) In the following hundred years, Romans attempted to mediate in the interminable wars between Cretan city-states by sending embassies and finally succeeded in doing so when Lucullus' visit in 85 BC settled Cretan affairs to Rome's (and Sulla's) satisfaction (Sanders 1982: 3). However, Cretans were soon to be accused of involvement in the Mithridatic Wars and in 71 BC *praetor* M. Antonius was sent to deal but was defeated, with war restarting in 69 BC after the refusal of the Senate's terms by the Cretan envoy sent to Rome (Sanders 1982: 3). The island was captured by Q. Caecilius Metellus in 69-7 BC with the help of Gortynians and Polyrrhenians, in which period a Cretan envoy was sent to Pompey to surrender on agreeable terms and Pompey's legate Octavian was sent to Crete to oppose Metellus possibly after the fall of *Knossos*. But Metellus had already organised affairs on the island, making *Gortyna* the capital of the praetorian province of *Creta et Cyrene* created through joining Crete with the province of *Cyrenaica* founded in 74 BC, possibly in return for either its actual aid or neutrality while Metellus was crushing the rival cities of *Knossos*, *Cydonia*, and *Hierapytna* (Sanders 1982: 3, 132). '*Uniquely, in Cretan history there is no evidence of any later rebellion against Roman rule, which is probably to be explained by the normal Roman method of utilising the pre-existing city-state system and only adding a*

Colonia Antonia Victrix became Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensium, or again Colonia Hortensia Cassandrea which became

governor to superintend their behaviour.' (Sanders 1982: 4) Additionally, a large number of veterans are known to have been settled on the island, and a large number of Roman citizens granted Gortynian citizenship in the first century BC, in addition to the possible existence of Italian traders before Roman control, for whom Gortyna would have been an automatic choice to settle (Sanders 1982: 5).

Coming to the administrative system established in Crete under Roman control, described in the *Iliad* of Homer as the land of a hundred cities, a pattern of major settlements seems to have been established on the island already in the Minoan Age, long before Roman control during which definite changes would have occurred in minor sites with varying types of settlement patterns (Sanders 1982: 16). The Cretan settlement pattern would have been dominated by urban sites in the Hellenistic period to a greater extent than in the Roman period, with Doric customs based on city life surviving until Roman control when many, if not most, of the social customs would have dwindled away (Sanders 1982: 30, 132). The survival of over a hundred Cretan place-names is noted by I.F. Sanders (1982: 11) who attests the presence of some 35-40 city-states in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods 'of which most survived up to the early 2nd c. BC as is shown by the treaty signed by Eumenes II with 30 individual Cretan states in 183 BC, and there are at least four or five further states known at this date which were not in the alliance for various reasons.' Some of the larger states including *Cydonia*, *Hierapytna*, *Knossos*, and *Gortyna* appear to have taken over minor ones during the Cretan Wars of the second century BC. The Roman control and further warfare would have reduced the number to twenty, seventeen of which epigraphically evidence the presence of magistrates and councils between the first century BC and fourth century AD, although there has revealed 'no definite evidence for any real assembly in any of the cities and outside Gortyna the *Demos* is mentioned only in a poetic context at *Aptera*.' (Sanders 1982: 13) Only two Cretan cities appear to have been free cities—namely, *Cydonia* and *Lappa*, which were freed by Augustus for their service in the Civil Wars (Sanders 1982: 13). In fact, Cretan cities appear not to have been involved in the Civil Wars between Pompey and Caesar, although matters would become more complicated with the assassination of Caesar, after which one of the moves to get Brutus and Cassius out of Rome was their curious joint appointment as governors of the then small and unimportant province of *Creta et Cyrene*, with Brutus in charge of Crete (Sanders 1982: 5). In the meanwhile, Antony was becoming involved in Cretan affairs, apparently 'inventing' among Caesar's papers a decree freeing Crete after Brutus' governorship in order that it would fall into his control to freely grant part of it to Cleopatra in 37-36 BC after his joint victory with Octavian over Brutus and Cassius at *Philippi* (Sanders 1982: 5). Octavian is also known to have granted land from *Knossos* to Capua in 36 BC, which is traditionally linked to his foundation of the

Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossos that appears to be the sole Roman colony in Crete. However, while also limiting Antony's grant to Cleopatra to the city of *Itanos* where there had already been a Ptolemaic garrison, Sanders (1982: 5) re-dates the foundation of the Augustan colony at *Knossos* to after 27 BC when Crete as a whole, except the free cities of *Cydonia* and *Lappa*, rejoined with *Cyrene* in the senatorial province of *Creta et Cyrene*, with *Gortyna* in southern Crete as its capital and largest city.

The most interesting structure at the site of **Gortyna** (fig. B.19) appears to be the Odeum dating from about AD 100 in the reign of Trajan, which was constructed over an Archaic Tholos that carried on its circular wall the so-called Gortyn Law Code that was carefully incorporated into the Roman building (Schoder 1974: 83). Dated to the fifth century BC, this large inscription written in Doric dialect with letters proceeding alternately from left to right and vice versa in successive lines (in the *boustrophedon* or 'plow-turn' technique of Archaic times) attests the prosperity of the city in that period, which continued until the second century BC when '*Hannibal may have taken refuge in the town in 189 BC.*' (Schoder 1974: 81, 83) Separated from the Odeum by the Mitropolianos River to its west is a large Roman-period Theatre located at the foot of the Acropolis, with its semicircular *cavea* resting on the natural slope and its wings over manmade construction in *opus caementicium* faced with bricks and in *opus quadratum* with blocks of local limestone (Isler 1994/95/96d: 167). *Gortyna* has two other theatres in the plain to the southeast of the Acropolis. Built on flat land in *opus latericium* and *opus quadratum* in local limestone, one of these is located close, and probably belonged, to the Archaic Temple and Altar of the Pythian Apollo that had been built over an early Minoan structure and modified in Hellenistic and Roman times (Isler 1994/95/96d: 169). '*The ima cavea rests on twenty vaulted chambers, while the summa cavea rests on two superimposed semiannular corridors.*' (Isler 1994/95/96d: 169) The other larger one is located further to the southeast and has a *cavea* resting at least partially on substructures, with a *porticus in summa gradiatone* (Isler 1994/95/96d: 170). In addition to these four performance buildings, remains have been discovered of a Stadium, a Circus, and an Amphitheatre in *Gortyna*, with the latter hinting at a topic relevant to the main concern of this study.

5.3.2 Amphitheatres

For many years the only securely identified Amphitheatre in the province of *Achaia* has been the one in the capital *Corinthos*, which has been interpreted by some scholars as an indication of the lesser degree of 'Romanisation' in the province. The Corinthian exception is traditionally explained by its being the '*least Greek town of Hellas*' (Mommsen 1974: 280), in light of the rather negative value attributed to amphitheatre games as a symbol of '*Romanitas*' (Alcock 1997: 1-2), and the most open to Western influences due to its ranking at the top of the urban hierarchy (Alcock 1993: 168). Moretti (1992: 10) implies a similar explanation for the Theatre of *Corinthos* being the only one in Greece with a Hadrianic

period 'Western Roman' *scaenae frons* composed of three semicircular niches. The presence of Amphitheatres in *Gortyna*, the capital of the province of *Creta et Cyrene*; in its former rivals *Hierapytna*¹⁸ and the later Augustan *Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossos* where civilians were resettled in Crete¹⁹, as well as in *Chersonesus* (Falkner 1854: 15-6) and *Kissamos* (Sanders 1982: 57) seem to provide support for this interpretation, apparently revealing the higher degree of 'Romanisation' in the province of *Creta et Cyrene* when compared to that of *Achaia*. According to Welch (1999: 137), the Corinthian Amphitheatre would have been built, or at least planned, during the establishment of the Caesarian colonia in 44 BC, as 'In colonies established by Julius Caesar, gladiatorial combat seems actually to have been mandated by law, as the charter of the colony of Urso in Spain testifies.' A similar inscription attesting the expenditure of an amount ascribed in the colonial charter for games has been unearthed in the Julian colony of *Knossus* in Crete (Welch 1999: 144). Therefore, amphitheatre games should perhaps be taken as an indication, not of 'Romanisation', but of the settlement of a veteran colony.

However, archaeological record attests the introduction of gladiatorial games into the Greek world first by Seleucid Antiochis IV at Antioch in 166 BC and at Delos during the second century under Roman sponsorship while their spread had to wait for the introduction of the Imperial Cult under the Early Empire when they began to be sponsored regularly and energetically by Greek citizens, as part of the Imperial Cult festival celebrations held in the pre-existing theatre buildings that were modified for the purpose (Welch 1999: 126-7). Athens appears to have been the first Greek city to convert the *orchestra* of its Theatre of *Dionysus* sometime around the mid-first century AD into a mini-arena for Roman games, possibly as part of a general renovation of the building involving also an entirely new Roman *scaenae frons* (Welch 1999: 128, 138). Moretti (1992a: 180) describes three solutions as having been applied for securing the *koilon* in this type of conversions: encircling of the *orchestra* with a rail fixed to the seats, which is the most economical but also the most risky solution adopted at *Eretria* and *Argos*; construction of a fixed stone parapet that was occasionally built over with rails as at *Delphi* and Athens; and elimination of the front seats to obtain considerable level difference between the arena and a podium thus created and occasionally further railed, as at *Dodone*, *Thasos*, and *Philippi*.

Later excavations have revealed remains from other Amphitheatres such as those in *Vergina* (Eleftheri Ora 27.12.1984) and *Patras* (Welch 1999: 138), which would bring us back to the theories attributing a

¹⁸ Sanders (1982: 139) describes the second century AD Amphitheatre in *Hierapytna*, featuring six buttresses at each end, as located between two low hills in the western part of the town and near the Large Theatre; with the Small Theatre located on the eastern part of the site, near the modern Church of Timios Stavros.

¹⁹ Sanders (1982: 152) has interpreted the concrete remains traditionally attributed to an Amphitheatre as belonging to a Theatre located about 100 m to the northwest of the city centre, whose destruction by the modern road has prevented a detailed commentary 'apart from the fact that there is no evidence that it was an amphitheatre as it is normally called. The only evidence for such a building at Knossos is an inscription mentioning *Ludi*.'

symbolic value, to amphitheatre games, of the degree of infusion into Greek culture of what has been regarded 'the most Roman' of all types of entertainment. Such an interpretation would appear to find support in the '*least Greek town of Hellas*' featuring an Amphitheatre, as does, perhaps not surprisingly, the Roman colony of *Patras* which had been founded through synoecism. *Vergina* and *Cnossos* have been kept out of the detailed case studies carried out for this study, due to the absence in these cities of remains attributed to a Theatre beyond doubt, except the theatrical steps in the courtyards of Bronze Age palace in the latter. Therefore, the present state of research on individual examples within the framework of this study would seem to support the view that, Roman provincial capitals such as *Gortyna* or *Corinthos*, or Roman colonies such as *Cnossos* or *Patras* would have been 'more Romanised' than the neighbouring cities, as attested in their featuring Amphitheatres for 'the most Roman' of all types of entertainment, as do the capitals of the Roman provinces of the Iberian Peninsula, bringing the two on a par with each other. However, exceptions are not absent also from Greece. The absence of an Amphitheatre from the third provincial capital *Nicopolis* within the study area would be noteworthy within this framework, especially in the light of the fact that the *orchestra* of the neighbouring Sanctuary Theatre at *Dodone* is known to have been converted into an arena as early as the Augustan period, arguably as a form of punishment against the resistance of the local population against Roman control and as one of the many forms their 'forced Romanisation' may have taken to prevent future revolts. Its commanding military, economic, and administrative function in the newly-established system, which would reveal its 'Romanising' function beyond doubt, appears to have remained unattested in an Amphitheatre construction in *Nicopolis*, casting doubt over the indexicality of Amphitheatre constructions for a high degree of 'Romanisation'. As noted by Katherine Welch (1998: 131), '*while there is plentiful evidence for gladiatorial spectacles and animal combats on mainland Greece in the Imperial period, the architecture of spectator buildings there remained largely traditional*', with only five Theatres in Greece and at least twenty in Asia Minor altered for gladiatorial games.

Coming to the *ex novo* Roman period theatre constructions, their geographic distribution does seem to reflect the administrative hierarchies of the 'network of cities' newly-established under Roman control, with the provincial capitals of *Corinth (Achaia)*, *Nicopolis (Epirus)*, and *Gortyna (Creta et Cyrene)*, which are also very important 'nodes' along the overland and sea routes of the Roman Empire, as well as the island of Crete as a whole, positioned in the highest-ranking range with large *ex novo* Roman period theatre constructions (figs. B.5. and 5.5). While the former two cities feature 'very large' theatres whose size is on a par only with those in the main actors of the transition period into the imperial system in the Mediterranean basin and before. One of these was located in the Sanctuary of *Dodone*, which was the site of the most ancient and chief oracle in Greece before its replacement by *Delphi* in the fifth century BC and an important centre for the resistance against Roman control in *Epirus*. Other

two were in the cities of Sparta and Athens rivalling for control over the Aegean in the Classical period; in the city of *Argos* that appears to have been the unique city to challenge that rivalry and managed to get hold of the control of the Panhellenic Nemean Games for which purpose would have been constructed its great theatre that had the largest capacity among the ancient theatres in Greece. Another 'large' Theatre was located in the city of *Megalopolis*, which was founded as the centre and meeting place of the Pan-Arcadian Confederacy against Spartan hegemony in the Peloponnesus, and another was constructed possibly for the Isthmian Games in the city of *Sicyon* through which Sparta controlled the Corinthian isthmus for a long period. Coming to the third provincial capital, *Gortyna*, the Lacedaemonian colony of *Lyttus* on Crete appears to have the largest *cavea* so far discovered not only in the island but also in mainland Greece with its possibly mid-first century AD *cavea* measuring 167 meters in diameter according to Sanders (1982: 147 also cited in Isler 1994/05/96d: 187). However, *Gortyna* features not only two 'large' and a 'medium-size' Theatre, but also an Odeum, a Stadium, a Circus, and an Amphitheatre, and, as such, is rivalled only by Athens in terms of the abundance of performance buildings, although of different types.

5.3.3 Athens

Remarkably enough, three of these latter buildings are Roman period constructions: the Odeum of Agrippa, that of Herodes Atticus, the wealthy and famous sophist of the second century AD who also had a Stadium built in the city (fig. B.12). Alcock (1997: 3) would explain this by the strong attraction Athens had always exerted for foreigners, including Romans, who are evidenced in the city as tourists, students, and residents as early as the second century BC. This importance in the Roman eyes would have saved Athens from the type of destruction experienced at *Corinthos* after its fall to Rome in 146 BC, when it fell to the forces of the Roman dictator L. Cornelius Sulla in 87/6 BC, after a long period of siege followed by a restricted amount of pillaging (Hoff 1997: 33). According to Michael C. Hoff (1997: 37) '*Sulla demonstrated no desire to destroy Athens because of the disloyalty of its citizens. Much later, Sulla is credited with saying that among the most fortunate events in his life was that he spared Athens from destruction.*' Nevertheless, the Theatre of Dionysus as well as the Odeum of Pericles among the monuments on the south slope of the Acropolis were heavily damaged during the siege, the latter by a small band deeply committed to the cause of Mithridates who had taken refuge for a short time on the Acropolis so that Sulla could not make use of its timbers for the construction of siege machines (Hoff 1997: 37, 41; Thompson 1990: 4). The Odeum would be restored in 52 BC (Bieber 1961: 221). Additionally, Sulla is known to have transported building material from Athens to Rome, such as the columns or only capitals of the by then unfinished Olympieion possibly during a visit in 84 BC, to be reused in temples on the Capitoline (Hoff 1997: 43). Ironically, Sulla seems to have been the first

Roman to be honoured by divine honours more than a century after Flamininus, through the institution in his honour of 'a festival called *Sylleia*, which did not last long and may in fact have been celebrated only once.' (Habicht 1997: 12) The ancestors of Herodes Atticus seem to have had their share in the following rebuilding of the city.

Like the *Babii* family of *Gades*, the family of Herodes Atticus, which had not been prominent in the sources before the mid-first century BC, seem to have risen to prominence in Rome during the lifetime of Caesar, when a man named Herodes, who was probably the one serving as archon in 60/59 BC, would have approached Cicero with his composition about Cicero's consulship and, a decade later, Caesar himself to obtain a gift of 50 talents for the city of Athens (Geagan 1997: 20). Daniel J. Geagan (1997: 20) reports after Cicero that Pompey the Great was not pleased with this at all, having himself donated 50 talents in 62 BC, at the request of Titus Pomponius Atticus who was a friend of Cicero's (Thompson 1990: 4). Nevertheless, after Caesar's victory at Pharsalos in 48 BC, Herodes' son Eukles would become archon and by Caesar's assassination in 44 BC Herodes had become one of Cicero's correspondents and one of the mentors of Cicero's son at Athens (Geagan 1997: 20). Herodes appear to have remained a loyal supporter to Caesar and his supporters in the years following the Battle of Philippi (Geagan 1997: 21). Ironically,

After Caesar's assassination in 44, the Athenians hailed Brutus and Cassius as the "New Tyrannicides" and went so far as to erect statues to them in the Agora, and later joined them in their disastrous struggle against Antony and Octavian. Yet again the Athenians emerged from the battle at Philippi unscathed and shortly fell in with Antony. After Antony was defeated in 31 at Actium, where the Athenians participated at his side, they fully expected to feel the wrath of the relatively unknown victor Octavian. But again the Athenians were spared. Instead, the new sole ruler of Rome began a campaign of Athenian patronage by choosing the city as the center of his Greek policies. Among the various signs of this new policy towards Athens was the first of his two initiations into the Eleusinian Mysteries, even before he started for Alexandria for his final reckoning with Antony and Cleopatra. Later in his Principate he capped his patronage program with the rebuilding of the Agora and the construction of the new market, planned earlier under Julius Caesar. (Hoff 1997: 44)

Part of the program for the rebuilding of the existing Agora, on the other hand, was the Odeum of Agrippa constructed in the south central part of the square in 15 BC (Walker 1997: 72), in a period when he is known to have visited Athens in 16 BC and 14 BC, not long before his death in 12 BC (Bieber 1961: 221), and the same year as he had the Theatre of *Emerita Augusta* constructed in *Hispania*. 'The Odeion provided the city with an up-to-date concert hall with a seating capacity of about one thousand to supplement Pericles' venerable, but less convenient, building.' (Thompson 1990: 4) The Odeon of Agrippa has what Bieber calls the 'Roman form' whose 'parts of the cavea, which would project beyond the limits of the stage, are cut short so that a solid roof covering both auditorium and stage could be carried by the outer wall. We thus have here a compromise between a rectangular and a curvilinear theatre.' (Bieber 1961: 174) Similarly, Homer A. Thompson (1990: 7) describes the

building as 'an amalgam of typically Greek and Roman elements', with its ground plan resembling Hellenistic council houses (possibly including the Thersilion of *Megalopolis* mentioned above); 'thoroughly Greek' architectural details, capitals, and moulding; an octastyle Corinthian façade that may have been inspired on the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens; and provision of natural light from the rear, through a double row of columns curiously reminiscent of the Erechtheum on the Athenian Acropolis. On the other hand, in addition to the characteristically Roman multi-coloured marble flooring of the *orchestra* and the *scaenae frons*, the 25 m-wide span of the Odeum apparently without interior supports is unparalleled in any known earlier Greek building while more than matched in the 27.6 m-wide Odeum at *Pompeii* (Thompson 1990: 7). More important than all, however, would be the parallel Thompson (1990: 7) finds, in the Temple of the deified Julius Caesar in Rome dedicated by Augustus in 29 BC, of the positioning of the building precisely on the north-south axis of the ancient colonnaded square, with its temple-like central mass rising above the lower surroundings like a typical Roman temple above its podium, building on the concept of a rectangular colonnaded plaza focused on a temple that had already been familiar by that time in Hellenistic Sanctuaries (Thompson 1990: 7). 'Since the building programme of the Forum Augustum began earlier but appears to have overlapped the Augustan activity in the Athenian Agora, there can be little doubt of some impact from the side of Rome on Athens.' (Thompson 1990: 9) The evidence Thompson (1990: 9) finds for close contact between the two cities in the use of the replicas of the Caryatids of the Athenian Erechtheum in the sculptural decoration of the Forum Augustum in Rome is further strengthened by the *adventus* of Gaius Caesar's journey to the East in 2 BC, which 'reflected a continuing presentation of Rome as the successor of Athens in defending against the barbarian' (Geagan 1997: 20), conforming to Alcock's (1997: 3) picture of Athens as possessing a stock of symbolic capital with which to negotiate its position with Rome.

Walker (1997: 73) reports us of Herodes' son Eukles, who may have served as the first *hierous* of the *Sebastos Kaisar*, as having successfully petitioned Augustus for funds to complete the second marketplace now known as the Roman Agora. Eukles was apparently not a Roman citizen (Walker 1997: 77), which may provide an example for Alcock's (1997: 4) remark about the 'slowness on the part of Athenians to honour individual Romans, slowness on the part of Athenians to take on Roman citizenship, slowness on the part of Roman citizens to take on Athenian citizenship, slowness on the part of Roman citizens to become involved in the city's development.' Nevertheless, by the first century BC, a chair had been reserved in the front row of the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens for the priest and high priest of the *Sebastos Kaisar*, apparently before 18 BC (Spawforth 1997: 182-3).

By the turn of the first century AD the Athenians were notoriously fond of the gladiatorial shows staged in this theatre. Given the well-demonstrated link in Greek subject cities between such shows and the Roman ruler cult, it is likely that, at Athens too, they were offered by priests of the imperial cult as part of the

munera of their office. When this practice – a clear mark of *cultural* Romanization – first began at Athens is unknown. (Spawforth 1997: 184)

What Lamberton (1997) called a ‘second Romanisation’ meant ‘a *growing equation of Athens and Rome, culminating in Hadrian’s choice of the city as capital of the Panhellenion*’ (Alcock 1997: 3) and establishment of a penteteric festival of Panhellenia, raising ‘*the Panathenaic festival to the highest status: by the end of his reign Athens, unique in Greece, had a four-year cycle of sacred games.*’ (Boatwright 1997: 121) The contemporary Odeum of Herodes Atticus on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis, which was otherwise dotted by public Sanctuaries that are suitably described by Bieber (1961: 211) as a counterpart to the Theatre of Dionysus, representing the particular moment when ‘*Athens itself was reached by the Roman form of the theatre in the Antonine period*’. Such an honour given to a private citizen could perhaps be explained by his prominence as the leading Sophist and a successful teacher of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, a writer and orator of his time who was connected with the imperial family through friendship and marriage (Thompson 1990: 14).

Herodes Atticus was born at Marathon about AD 100, in a vast estate that is still partly traceable, and became a Senator at Rome and even Consul in 143 AD. He used his great wealth from land-holdings to construct many notable buildings around Greece (Schoder 1974: 138), competing ‘*even with Hadrian in the number and scale of his benefactions in Greece, in Asia, and even in Italy.*’ (Thompson 1990: 15) Maintaining with his home city of Athens what Thompson (1990: 15) describes a ‘curious love-hate relationship’, Herodes Atticus carried out two major construction programmes. The first was the rebuilding in marble of the Panathenaic Stadium, where he would later be buried by the Athenians after his death. The Stadium equalled the Coliseum in Rome with its seating capacity of 50,000 people and was inaugurated with the Panathenaic Games of AD 143 (Welch 1998: 133-6) when Herodes Atticus became consul. The second was an Odeum he built between AD 160-74 in memory of his wife Annia Regilla who died in AD 160 (Schoder 1974: 138). Welch (1998: 135) describes the former building as ‘old-fashioned’ in its self-consciously rejection of the ‘distinguishing Roman features of monumental façade and extensive vaulting’ by featuring as ‘a great marble flight of steps terraced into the contours of a U-shaped ravine’, to the top of which the spectators had to climb from the outside in order to descend to their seats from there, in case they did not wish to enter the Stadium as their ancestors had done in the Classical period, from the ground level via steps next to the track at the *analemmata*. Similarly the Stadium of Delphi was rebuilt ‘*by Herodes Atticus in Hellenistic style with stone seats and a sphenone but lacking vaulted substructures of any kind.*’ (Welch 1998: 131) Welch (1998: 131) highlights the fact that Stadia in mainland Roman Greece were not updated with monumental facades, vaulted substructures, and circulations corridors that are all characteristics traditionally attributed, as with Theatres, to Roman type of Stadia exemplified in the second century AD

examples at Sardis, Perge, and Aspendos in the East, which she attributes partly to the comparative wealth of the cities in Asia Minor that could effort such lavish constructions and partly to Greece's being the location of the original four Crown Games while Asia Minor would surpass the mainland in the number of athletic contests. *'The practice of retaining the old-fashioned appearance of mainland stadia may have been partly an assertion of pride in traditional Greek agonistic culture.'* (Welch 1998: 131)

Welch (1997: 135) highlights the 'Roman style' of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens in comparison to these rather 'old-fashioned' Stadium renovations, finding, in its typically Roman box-like appearance achieved through the connection to the stage building of the *cavea* resting over vaults, a deliberate visual contrast with the adjacent Theatre of Dionysus, *'which has a traditional Greek architectural scheme of open parodoi and auditorium that hugs the terrain. One may suggest that Herodes Atticus' two great buildings, Roman theatre and Greek stadium, were conceived as architectural manifestations of Herodes' two public roles – Roman consul and Greek sophist.'* (Welch 1997: 135-6) However, there is reason to attribute this line of interpretation as stemming from the canonical status of the Greek-Roman binary opposition in the classification of ancient theatre remains, especially in the light of Homer A. Thompson's (1990: 15) description of its setting into the southwest slope of the Acropolis in such a way as to avoid *'the expense of the vast underpinning of masonry usual in the theatres of the Roman period'* while making use of the magnificent sheltered promenade offered by the already-existing Stoa of Eumenes. Indeed, the semicircular *cavea* of the Odeum largely rests over the slope of the Acropolis, with the lowest three steps carved directly into the living rock and the upper ones supported by cement filling except in the wings over manmade subconstruction (Isler 1994/95/96b: 141). With its completion, Athens would possess *'one of the best theatre districts of the ancient world, comprising as it did the huge, open-air Theatre of Dionysus, the roofed concert halls of Pericles and Herodes, and the splendid promenade in the Stoa of Eumenes.'* (Thompson 1990: 15) This conclusion appears to have been drawn by Philostratus' mention Herodes Atticus as giving a roof of cedar wood to an Odeum, which may in fact correspond either to the one he had himself constructed over the slope of the Athenian Acropolis or to the one constructed by Agrippa in the Agora, which was later remodelled through a reduction in size in the second century to become *'a lecture hall for the four great philosophical schools, for which Marcus Aurelius had created two chairs each, the incumbents to the chosen by the teacher of the Emperor, Herodes Atticus.'* (Bieber 1961: 221)

This unique infrastructure of performance buildings in Athens may be taken as an indication of the place of Athens among the highest-ranking cities in the 'urban network' established in the Mediterranean basin under Roman control, highlighting the fact that these were apparently not confined to those that had economic, administrative, or military importance for the Empire at large or for the

organisation of a certain province. Roman period performance building construction activity in Athens would rather be interpreted as a reflection of the special value attributed to its culture within the multicultural formation of the Empire, which appears to have brought Athens on a par with the provincial capitals of *Corinthos* and *Nicopolis* that are also important 'nodes' in the administrative and communicative 'network of cities', each featuring a very large theatre building initially constructed or remodelled under Roman rule; and of *Gortyna*, featuring not only two large and a medium-sized Theatres, but also an Odeum, a Stadium, a Circus, and an Amphitheatre, all dating from the Roman period. Other *ex novo* Roman period theatre constructions also appear to have been located along the land and sea routes, and consisted of the second half of the first century BC Theatre B mentioned above among very small theatres at one of the most crucial junctions in *Larissa*; the small Theatres of *Beroia* and *Dium* in coastal Macedonia; the small Augustan theatre of the important harbour-town of *Gytheion* in southern Peloponnesus; those at *Chersonesus* and *Kouphonisi* and the Small Theatre in *Hierapytna* in Crete. Also located along the overland communications network connecting the western part of the Roman Empire to its eastern part is the Theatre of Thessalonica, whose seating capacity is unfortunately unevicenced in publications reviewed so far.

It may be worth highlighting, at this point, the absence of 'medium-size' *ex novo* Roman period Theatre constructions in the study area, except in *Gortyna* where one is attested alongside two 'large' Theatres, and also the construction of *ex novo* Odeum buildings that form the majority of 'very small' buildings usually in a city that already had a 'large' Theatre. This notable difference in the size of *ex novo* Roman period performance buildings in Greece may possibly be explained by Alcock's (1993: 105, 148, 150) observation for *Achaia* that, although the province remained one of the most highly urbanised regions of the entire empire throughout the period of Roman domination, despite its peripheral location within the larger imperial system:

The extent (and monumentality) of some cities, notably the provincial capital, when juxtaposed with more "normal" *poleis*, proclaims an increasing differentiation in the spectrum of Greek civic wealth and power under the empire: in other words, the gulf between a Corinth and a Panopeus widened significantly, and once this imbalance was established, it became self-perpetuating. (Alcock 1993: 161)

As an example, Bintliff's (1991a: 124; also Alcock 1997a: 290) Boeotia survey (1978-87) has suggested a severe contraction in the rural settlement of this area in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods (c. 200 BC – AD 300) and the disappearance of rural sites in the *deme* of Athens is traditionally thought to reveal a preference for residence in the city centre itself to the advantage of élite families (Alcock 1993: 101, 114) where more needs and services as well as greater division of labour for a wider range of available functions are, thus, generated, as '*the bigger a town became, the bigger it could become.*' (Alcock 1993: 116) *Corinthos* seems to have prospered in this way, to the detriment of

the nearby cities of *Megara* and *Sicyon*, both of which are reported by Pausanias as weakening under the Empire, apparently partly due to the close connection between successful and unsuccessful cities (Alcock 1993: 160) within the newly-established 'urban network'. Among the factors defining success would have been geographical position, imperial promotion and protection, elite participation, and 'city size' since '*smaller cities consistently proved more vulnerable to synoecism, incorporation or desertation.*' (Alcock 1993: 160) Other factors involved the Greek past, myths, legends, cults and deeds of the individual city as in the case of Athens, which was repeatedly 'forgiven' despite repeatedly joining anti-Roman alliances with Caesar's famous sentence '*How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?*' (Alcock 1993: 163) So, patterns of civic survival appear to have been immensely variable and often unpredictable (Alcock 1993: 162).

Similarly, Woolf (1997: 6) characterises the cities of eastern Roman provinces by their higher level of differentiation than before in terms of size and presumably population, with no preponderance of middle-ranking cities and the development, during the Early Roman Empire, of a few very large cities such as *Corinthos*, which, according to the author, would offer the best approach to the shape of the 'urban network' in the Roman East as a whole. The general absence of medium-size theatres in the province as opposed to the abundance of pre-Roman small theatres that stayed in use after Roman period transformations appears to be harmonious with this suggestion that '*individual cities conspicuously rank as small and weak units*' (Alcock 1993: 165) under Roman rule. The observations made up to here appear to suggest a correspondence between the hierarchies of the 'urban system' newly-established in the region under Roman control and the geographic distribution of Theatres by 'size' and with respect to that of other types of performance buildings constructed in Greece under Roman control, although each 'node' or city in the 'network' appears to exemplify a different type of cultural contact that could be covered under the umbrella of 'Romanisation', as exemplified in the diversity displayed by Athens, *Corinthos*, *Gortyna*, and *Nicopolis* and their performance buildings at the highest rank.

A similar diversity would reveal in an attempt to see the correspondence between the 'construction techniques applied in the *cavea*' of the ancient theatre remains in modern Greece (fig. B.6) and their geographic distribution by 'size' (fig. B.3). On the one hand, the early appearance in pre-Roman examples in Greece of modifications in the natural slope of the land to obtain the optimum required for the *cavea* (e.g. Theatre of Dionysus in Athens), of wings constructed over manmade embankment (e.g. Theatres of Argos, *Dodone*, *Megalopolis*, *Sicyon*, and *Sparta*) with interior and/or exterior buttressing (e.g. Theatres of *Dodone* and *Megalopolis*), and of components such as vaulted passages (e.g. Theatre of *Sicyon*) or external stairways leading to a large exit above the central *cuneus* (e.g. Theatres of *Dodone* and *Megalopolis*) or to the *diazoma* (e.g. Theatre of *Sparta*) from where the spectators could

descend to their seats in the upper galleries of the *cavea*, which are traditionally attributed to Roman type of theatres, seems to provide support for the main assumption, in this present study, of a correlation between the 'size' of and the technique and material chosen for the 'construction of the *cavea*' in Roman period theatres. These components appear to have been introduced as a solution for functional requirements, such as structural and circulation problems, stemming from the huge number of spectators to be accommodated in the *cavea* during Panhellenic Games or local assemblies in these cities that have grown remarkably in size during a period of transition into the imperial system under Roman control in the Mediterranean basin. Their recurrence pattern in smaller buildings suggests the idea of local 'borrowings' or 'traditions', as in the moveable stage and its storage in one of the two *parodoi* of the Roman period Theatre of Sparta, which appears to have been inspired partly on the neighbouring Theatre of *Megalopolis* instead of the recently-completed exemplary constructions in the city of Rome.

An illustrative example in this respect is offered by the **Large Theatre at Kassope** (fig. B.17) measuring 81 m in its *cavea* diameter, in a city which is known to have been conquered and devastated by Aemilius Paulus in 168-167 BC due to its strong resistance against Roman control. Although the city appears to have flourished after 140 BC, this would last until the foundation of *Nicopolis* after the Battle of Actium in 31 BC when Kassopaeans would be forced to leave their homes and resettle in the new city (Isager 2001: 11). The importance of the city appears to be attested in its possession of two third century BC Theatres, the smaller one of which has been identified by some scholars as an Odeum and by others as a *bouleuterion*. The larger one is characterised by the presence of two staircases leading up to a wide ambulatory around the top of the epitheatre that provided access to the *cavea* in addition to the *parodoi*, as well as the front retaining walls of the *cavea* that supported two massive tower-like buttresses, as in the Theatre of *Dodone* (AT). Equally suggestive would be a comparison between the neighbouring cities of *Megalopolis* and *Mantineia*, the former of which has been noted above as having a Theatre that features retaining walls on east and west sides of its *cavea* that sits partly over a natural slope and partly over artificial embankment. Reaching up to the level of the main *diazoma* with interior and exterior buttressing, these retaining walls have been interpreted as suggesting an approach to the main *diazoma* from behind, as in the medium-sized **Theatre of *Mantineia*** (fig. B.23) that additionally features a curved boundary (or retaining) wall at the back of its *cavea*, which is invidenced at the very large Megalopolitan example. Such an architectural component appears to have been necessitated by the Theatre of *Mantineia*'s being one of the few but noteworthy examples in Greece that were constructed thoroughly over artificial embankment (fig. B.6).

Very much like *Megalopolis*, *Mantineia* was founded by the incorporation of five adjacent villages but some 130 years before it and politically against, not Sparta, but the neighbouring *Tegea* for the

domination of southern Arcadia and for control of the drain-pits that made the great plain usable (Schoder 1974: 137). Nevertheless, the city is known to have fought against Sparta until the Persian and during the Peloponnesian Wars, with one of the decisive battles of the latter having been fought near *Mantineia* in 418 BC to end in Spartan victory. The eponymous battle that would end Theban power in the Peloponnesus was also fought near *Mantineia* in 362 BC. In 385 BC, the Spartan King Agesipolis managed to conquer the city and raze it to the ground by damming up the river Ophis that flowed through *Mantineia* as would soon do the *Hellison* through *Megalopolis* (Bury 1898: 17). While rebuilding their city after the Theban triumph at Leuctra in 371 BC, in the same months that saw the foundation of *Megalopolis*, the Mantineians kept 'the fatal river outside their walls by digging a second channel for it, so that the stream divided on the east side, and, embracing the city round about, reunited its waters again in the north-west. Then what had been a weakness became a strength.' (Bury 1898: 17) Due to this location of the city of *Mantineia* over a plain overrun by a river and enemy troops, the latter of which would have necessitated an intramural location for the Theatre, it had to be built on absolutely level ground, with its *cavea* dating to the period shortly after 371 BC, as do the Theatre of *Megalopolis*, and rising thoroughly over artificial embankment contained by an almost semicircular retaining wall constructed of massive polygonal masonry (AT). According to Moretti (1998: 243), this freedom from all topographic constraints would have resulted in a functional unity between the Agora and the Theatre occupying its west edge, with its tiers oriented towards the plaza.

The two *parodoi* lead forwards, rather than sideways, towards the agora. A staircase leads into the *cavea* outside the repaired south *parodos* wall; and the north *parodos* also has one at a higher level. In addition, there are two rear staircases, the west one being particularly well preserved up to a height of 3.62m, above which the artificial embankment does not now reach. Fougères ... [1898: 166]²⁰ considers the upper section to have been three times as high, and to have been composed, like the city walls, of brick. He also thinks of the west staircase as turning inwards and piercing through to the *diazoma* by means of an arched passage. But (a) such an arch would have left traces; (b) no arched passages leading to the *centre* of a *cavea* are known in Greek theatres; (c) it is doubtful whether there was a *diazoma* in this small *cavea*. Fourteen steps are still extant in this west staircase, which is built of fine polygonal masonry. (Dilke 1950: 46)

In this way, the *cavea* construction technique preferred for the Theatre of *Mantineia* is explained in terms of the topographical and geopolitical location of the city in which it is situated. Although our current state of knowledge is limited on the architectural characteristics of the late fourth-early third century BC **Smaller Theatre of Ambrakia** (fig. B.23) that has been uncovered almost entirely near the Aghiou Konstantinou Street of the modern town of Arta, the support of its *cavea* thoroughly over sloping man-made embankments may perhaps be explained at least partially by its location similarly in the centre of ancient Ambrakia, at a small distance from the Late Archaic Temple of Apollo (*HMC*). In

²⁰ Fougères, A. 1898. *Mantinee et l'Arcadie orientale*. Paris, pp. 165-74.

likewise manner, the *cavea* construction technique encountered at the **Hellenistic Theatre of *Dium*** (fig. B.16) appears to have been related to the morphology and topography of the Macedonian Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at the foothills of Olympus, the mythical home of the Greek gods, in whose honour used to be held athletic and dramatic contests lasting nine days. *'The plays presented will certainly have included the Archelaos and the Bacchae, written by Euripides during the last years of his life at the Macedonian court. Dio Chrysostom asserts that Philip and Alexander used to celebrate their victories at Dion with impressive sacrifices to Zeus and the Muses, and by holding the Olympic games.'* (Pandermalis 1997: 9) The Theatre in which these plays were staged has been attested by numismatic evidence to have stood below the present Hellenistic building initially dating to the reign of Phillip V (221-179 BC), which was constructed uniquely out of brick over the slope provided by an horseshoe-shaped artificial mound without constructed *analemmata* on an initially plain terrain (Isler 1994/95/96g: 196). This would imply the choice for the site to have been dictated by the pre-existing components of the Sanctuary, to which the Theatre was adjusted (Karadedos 1985: 27, 30). *'The free area between the Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus and the theatre was the most suitable for setting up the royal tent where the symposia were held, with the crowning of the victors and sumptuous banquets.'* (Pandermalis 2002: 103) Diodoros reports Alexander as celebrating the preparations for his Persian campaign by sacrificing to the Olympian Zeus at *Dium*, organising competitions, and holding receptions in this tent, mentioning also Lysippos' bronze masterpiece depicting the twenty-five mounted companions of Alexander who fell at the battle of Granikos, which was erected in *Dium* at Alexander's orders and later taken to Rome by Metellus (Pandermalis 1997: 11).

An example similar to *Dium* may be found in the **Theatre of *Eretria*** (fig. B.23), which initially dates to 440-411 BC (Schoder 1974: 69). The monument is described in the web pages of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture as *'presenting many similarities to the theatre of Dionysos in Athens.'* (HMC) The building is located inside the West Gate of the ancient city of *Eretria* that leads towards Chalcis, in the middle of the plain, between the Acropolis on a low hill and the sea. It does not take the advantage of a natural elevation since its site was evidently determined by the proximate Temple of Dionysus, with the position of its *cavea* probably reflecting that of an older Sanctuary dedicated to Dionysus (Isler 1994/95/96i: 215).

The altar in front of the temple ... is common to both structures; a vaulted corridor connected the orchestra to the *temenos*, which may have been used for surprise entrances. [...] An indication that this theatre was, from the beginning, closely related to the sanctuary of Dionysos is the fact that it was laid out not on the natural slope of the acropolis, where there was a conveniently suitable natural hollow for it, but on an artificial bank of earth; and so it may be supposed that its placement depended solely on that of an already existing sanctuary. (Nielsen 2002: 124-5)

Retaining walls of ashlar blocks maintained the earth fill of the *cavea* that probably had timber banks as seats in its earliest phase (Perseus). They were later replaced by poros seating blocks supported by

dry ashlar masonry, after the replacement of the original *cavea* of an unknown shape by one in horseshoe-plan, which is partly dug into the ground and partly rests on an artificial embankment (Isler 1994/95/96i: 215). The retaining walls of the exterior of the *cavea* were also of poros blocks (Perseus), with 'no evidence of a *diazoma*, or of back entrances as at *Mantineia*; and nothing of the circular *analemma* exists.' (Dilke 1950: 35)

A parallel example that is also believed to have copied the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens in its architectural form and proportions is the medium-sized Hellenistic **Theatre of Zea in Piraeus** near the present Archaeology Museum west of the Zea Harbour, which dates from around 150 BC (AT; Georama; Perseus).

The orchestra is prolonged at each end by straight lines, as at Athens. The *cavea* is divided into thirteen *kerkides* with fourteen stairs, in spite of its smallness. This is obviously a direct imitation of the Theatre of Dionysos, and its application here is rather unbecoming. But it is made worse by the ridiculous expedient of doubling the stairs above the *diazoma*, so that there must have been twenty-seven in the *epitheatron*. (Dilke 1950: 23)

The seating rows in this upper part were supported on radial sub-structures constructed out of hard brownish-grey poros instead of being cut into the hillside, with masons' marks in alphabetical sequence on the lower bank of seats probably serving as guides to assigned locations in the upper rows (Schoder 1974: 176). Although the references reviewed so far fail to mention any archaeological remains that would provide support for such a hypothesis, the example of *Eretria* would raise the possibility that the site selection in this example may well have been similarly determined by a proximate Sanctuary or Temple of Dionysus. On the other hand, rather than the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens or the Theatre of *Eretria*, the Theatre of Zea would find its closest parallel, in constructional terms, in the **Hadrianic Odeum of Thasos**, the lower part of whose more than semicircular *cavea* rests on a natural slope while its upper part was built on a system of vaulted radial chambers (Isler 1994/95/96n: 305). As a radical difference between the two buildings, the *cavea* of the latter was probably incorporated in a rectangular outer wall, with corridors at the sides and flights of steps providing access to the area behind the steps (Isler 1994/95/96n: 305).

As such, the Theatre of Zea in Piraeus would appear as a unique pre-Roman example among the nineteen partly carved and partly constructed buildings in a classification of the ancient theatre remains in Greece by the construction technique applied in their *cavea* (fig. B.6). In addition to seven *ex novo* Roman period constructions (i.e. the Theatres of *Gythium*, *Kouphonisi*, and *Sparta*, in addition to the Large Theatre of *Gortyna*, and the Odeums of Herodes Atticus in Athens, *Corinthos*, and Thasos) and the Theatre of *Chaironeia* in its Roman phase, this category of composite structures consists of the already-presented 'very large' Theatres of Argos, *Dodone*, and *Megalopolis*; the 'large' Theatre of the

Sanctuary of the Asklepieion at *Epidaurus*, the medium-sized Theatre of Zea in Piraeus, the Odeum of Argos, and the *Cavea* in the Sanctuary of the Syriac Goddess in *Delos*, as well as the still not mentioned pre-Roman Theatres of *Gitana*, *Mytilene*, *Philippi*, *Samos*, and *Thorikos*. Recurring in the majority of these examples, both Roman and pre-Roman, are wings constructed over artificial embankment. Exceptions are the already-mentioned Theatres of *Thorikos* and Zea in Piraeus and the Odeum of Thasos, which feature radial chambers in the upper part of the *cavea*, the Theatres in the Sanctuary of the Asklepieion at *Epidaurus* and *Kouphonisi* as well as the *Cavea* in the Sanctuary of the Syriac Goddess in *Delos* and the Odeum of *Corinthos* where respectively only the north-west *cunei*, west wing, the west side, and the south part were constructed; and the Theatre of *Mytilene* (fig. B.25) on which the current state of research failed to produce sufficient information. This would mean that thirteen out of the twenty examples classified in this category, of which only four are Roman period constructions, had both of their wings constructed over manmade embankment. This appears to be a noteworthy ratio for pre-Roman constructions in Greece.

In this way, while the pre-Roman-dating among the 'very large' theatres in Greece exemplify the variety in the 'adjustments' made according to the 'size of the project' through the introduction of an infill increasing the natural slope of the land to obtain the optimum required for the *cavea*, of constructed wings over manmade embankment with interior and/or exterior buttressing, and of components such as vaulted passages or external stairways for the distribution of the spectators to seats in the upper galleries of the *cavea*; construction of the *cavea* thoroughly or partially over manmade embankment, with both or one of its wings, one side, or upper part resting over manmade substructure in these latter pre-Roman examples of various sizes may be taken to exemplify the variety in the 'adjustments' made according to the 'nature of the site', as recommended by Vitruvius.

Coming to the construction techniques applied in the *cavea* of *ex novo* Roman period Theatres in Greece, although Cretan examples would appear as a promising sample group in this respect, the great majority of the remains from them had unfortunately disappeared before their systematic study (fig. B.14). We owe our current state of information on the performance building remains in Crete to a remarkable set of plan drawings made by 'the brilliant antiquarian, botanist and physician Onorio Belli, and brought to light by Edward Falkner in 1854.' (Sanders 1982: xii) Belli's text with the original plans was later published by S. Spanake in the *Acts of the 2nd Cretological Congress* (Athens, 1968; vol. 2, p. 142).

It is very difficult to ascertain how accurate Belli's plans are because, of the nine that survive from his work, only three can be compared with the actual visible or excavated structures and all three are far more ruinous now than they were in the 16c. It would seem unlikely that the buildings were as complete as Belli drew them so a degree of reconstruction is to be expected. However, the general dimensions seem to be correct where they can be checked, at the theatres of Gortyna and Chersonisos. (Sanders 1982: 52)

Falkner (1854: 13) describes the two Theatres of *Hierapytna* as departing further from the directions of Vitruvius than any other theatres he had ever seen, and probably from any that have been seen by others, except in the parts behind the *skene*, including the *hospitalia*, which appear to have been disposed according to the 'usual principle'. Apparently constructed using a mixed technique of carving into the living rock, infill, and manmade subconstruction wherever necessary, as different from the Small Theatre of *Hierapytna* that has been depicted by Belli and Falkner as sitting over a series of radial walls (fig. B.6), some odd buttresses shown only at the ends of the *cavea* in Belli's drawing of the *cavea* of the **Large Theatre of Hierapytna** (fig. B.14) has been interpreted by Falkner as indicating 'stairs leading directly up to the *cavea* from the rear exterior.' (Sanders 1982: 57) Sanders (1982: 59), on the other hand, believes that these were arcades leading into the *fauces* extending the slope of the hill, as in the **Large Theatre of Gortyna** (fig. B.19), mainly on the basis of Belli's claim that the Large Theatre of *Hierapytna* was partially excavated out of a mountain, 'which given the flat coastal plain is hard to understand if the site has been correctly identified.' (Sanders 1982: 59) In *Gortyna*, the *cavea* of the Large Theatre is cut into the slopes of the Acropolis, with additional use of brick-faced concrete over large column drums re-used at the bottom to form a stable base, and it is surrounded by a channel cut into the rock from behind, probably for both winter drainage and spectator circulation to the upper *cavea* through five gaps in the outer wall, within which ran a colonnaded *ambulacrum* (Sanders 1982: 63). 'The two ends of the *cavea* are not cut from the rock but supported on vaulted substructures of concrete which have the normal arcaded exterior.' (Sanders 1982: 63) In addition to the very large *ex novo* Roman period Theatre of *Nicopolis* on the mainland, another example that was similarly carved into the slope of a hill is the very large **Theatre of Lyttus** (fig. B.14), which has been noted earlier as the largest in the study area, with its external *cavea* diameter of 167 m (Sanders 1982: 61). Sanders (1982: 61) interprets the enormous blocks mentioned by Belli as evidencing the theatre structure's being out of stone rather than concrete in the parts where it was not cut out of the hillside; and the cells claimed by him to have been the cells for three rows of bronze sounding vessels, which would fit very neatly with Vitruvius' instructions, as an influence of those instructions in Belli's interpretation of what he saw. Another ambiguity in Belli's drawing of the Theatre of *Lyttus* concerns a narrow passage laying parallel to the *parodoi* at the end of the wings, which may either be interpreted as the final portion of the *cavea* supported by substructures as at *Hierapytna* or as an actual entrance (Sanders 1982: 61).

Rather than that of these large *ex novo* Roman period theatres, Belli and Falkner's depiction of the *cavea* in the small **Theatre of Chersonesus** (fig. B.14) is similar to the one in the **Small Theatre of Hierapytna** (fig. B.14) in its being supported over a series of radial walls (fig. B.6), of which only what appears to be the concrete supporting wall of the *cavea* still survives (Sanders 1982: 59). The *cavea* in the well-preserved **Small Theatre of Gortyna** (fig. B.19) next to the Temple of Pythian Apollo also has

a similar plan over vaulted substructures, featuring *fauces* leading from the *vomitoria* to a central *ambulacrum* above and an arcade around its exterior wall that has a wider entrance at the apex of the *cavea*, which is flanked by a double buttress instead of the single buttresses flanking the other ten archways (Sanders 1982: 61, 63). In addition to the third **Theatre of Gortyna** (fig. B.19) that rested at least partially on substructures and appears to have been furnished with a *porticus in summa gradiatone* (Isler 1994/95/96d: 170), our information on the mainland **Theatre of Beroia** (fig. B.13) is also limited to evidence on the foundations of its *cavea*'s ten radial chambers, four of which are partially exposed (Isler 1994/95/96o: 318), implying the preference for a *cavea* over manmade subconstruction; as in the **Roman Theatre of Dium** (fig. B.16) near the Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus that was captured by the Roman consul M. Philippus in 169 BC and personally protected from his soliders (Pandermalis 1997: 11). A Roman *colonia* was founded at *Dium* under Caesar or Augustus (Jones 1987: 102). Located a few meters to the south of the Sanctuary of the Olympian Zeus outside the city walls and to the southeast of the earlier Hellenistic Theatre (Palaiokrassa 1985: 55), the Roman Theatre of *Dium* lies in a flooded area beneath the shade of tall trees (Pandermalis 1997: 30). In the absence of direct chronological evidence coming from the building, it has been dated to the second century AD on the basis of a comparative study that revealed a similarity between the construction of its *cavea* and those of the the Odea in *Corinthos* and *Patras* that date respectively from the end of the first century BC, with a rebuilding in AD 175, and from the middle of the second century BC; and between the panels of its *proscenium* and those at the Theatre of *Philippi* (Palaiokrassa 1985: 57). Constructed largely out of *opus caementicium* consisting of pebbles and bricks, with corners in *opus quadratum* out of limestone blocks, its *cavea* rests on fourteen radial vaulted chambers with a semi-annular corridor on the outside providing access to them. Marble used for the decoration of the *proscenium* and the five-door *scaenae frons* (Isler 1994/95/96g: 197) would find its closest parallel also in the nearby Theatre of *Philippi*. Palaiokrassa's (1985: 57) remark on the survival of an Hellenistic tradition in this Roman period building is perhaps due to the absence of a physical unity between the stage building and *cavea*, to the more than semicircular shape of the latter that is split up into four *cunei*, and to the plan of its *orchestra* that does not resemble the semicircular Roman plan (Palaiokrassa 1985: 57), which has led Isler (1994/95/96g: 197) to describe the building as 'Roman' in elevation and 'Greek' in plan.

These theatres consist six of the fourteen examples, all initially dating to the Roman period, wherein the *cavea* is supported thoroughly over manmade subconstruction consisting of radial chambers. Of the remaining eight examples in this category, one is the Roman period remodelling of the *cavea* in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia near Sparta, and the other seven are *ex novo* Roman period odeum constructions that form one of the three categories into which 'very small' edifices in Greece would unanimously fall (fig. B.4). Considering the fact that four of the six theatres as well as four of the seven

odeums featuring this construction technique, in addition to the Spartan *cavea*, are all small edifices, and that of the remaining three odeums, two are very small, with a seating capacity for less than a thousand people, construction of the *cavea* thoroughly over manmade subconstruction consisting of radial chambers reveals as a technique reserved for small *ex novo* Roman period performance building constructions in Greece. This would disprove the starting hypothesis of this study that has been derived from the functionalist idea, implied by Gros (1994: 61), that the technique of constructing the *cavea* over manmade subconstruction in ancient theatres would have been a solution developed to cope with the problems posed by the necessity of accommodating huge numbers of spectators in the theatres of provincial capitals or regional or *conventus* centres that occupied the highest rank in the 'network of cities' established under Roman control over the Mediterranean. The case of Greece clearly attests the opposite conclusion that this technique was reserved for the smallest performance buildings, at least in this geography, with the exception of the two theatres, one medium-sized and one large, in the provincial capital *Gortyna*.

In all, diversity is observed in the construction techniques applied in large *ex novo* Roman period theatres, though predominance is observed in thorough (e.g. the 'very large' Theatres of *Lyttus* and *Nicopolis*) or partial (e.g. the 'very large' Theatre of Sparta and the 'large' Theatre of *Gortyna*) carving into a natural slope, in the later case with constructed wings. The Odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens should perhaps also be mentioned within this framework, due to its huge size. The technique of partial carving and partial construction is also encountered in two of the remaining *ex novo* Roman period small Odeum constructions so far attested in Greece—namely, those in *Corinthos* and *Thasos* where it is constructed over manmade subconstruction respectively the southern part of the *cavea* due to the unevenness of the ground and of the upper *cavea* due to the insufficiency here of the existing slope. The technique of carving the central part of the *cavea* into the living rock and constructing the wings was also applied in the small Theatres of *Hierapytna* and *Kouphonisi* in Crete, and of *Gythium* in the Peloponnesus. Only in the very small Odeum of Rhodes is the *cavea* thoroughly carved into the living rock. Adding to these the Theatre B of *Larissa*, wherein seating appears to have been provided over timber benches over a natural slope behind its two front rows of marble seats, and the Large Theatre of *Hierapytna* where the techniques of carving, infill, and construction were applied together, the carving the *cavea* into the living rock in the slope of a hill turns out to be a construction technique that fails to distinguish pre-Roman theatres from *ex novo* Roman ones in Greece, since the majority of the examples in the latter group also involve the same technique, possibly due to conservatism or economic reasons, as suggested by Moretti (1992a: 9) who has also observing a continuity in the use of natural slopes in *ex novo* Roman period theatre constructions.

Therefore, contrary to the definitions brought by the typology founded on the Greek-Roman binary opposition, construction of seating rows by making use of a natural slope has been a technique that apparently remained in use for long periods of time in Greece and is, therefore, not determinant of any stylistic difference. As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, this conclusion is supported also by the examples from Spain where all Roman period theatres except those in the provincial capital *Corduba*, the *conventus* capital *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12), and Trajan's hometown of *Italica* (fig. A.19) were constructed thoroughly or partially over natural slopes. Differences between the Greek and Roman periods or Greek and Spanish geographies would, therefore, be rather difficult to attest in the 'material structure' of an 'architectural code', as suggested by Preziosi (1979: 76) who emphasises that *"the "boundaries" of routines of material usage will not necessarily be coterminous with the temporal or geographical "boundaries" of a corpus'*.

Constraints upon the choice of materials are inevitably found to be a result of cosmological, political, economic, technological, and other factors—factors which, along with architectonic and linguistic ones, comprise in large part of the cognitive "map" a society has of itself. In other words, such constraints arise out of an equilibrated network of cognitive relationships, with each factor in some way a reflection of some or all of the others. (Preziosi 1979: 77)

An example in this respect would come with the **Theatre of Gythium** (fig. B.13), which is located on the Acropolis of this second largest city in *Laconia* after Sparta and the port through which most of the products of the Eurotas valley were exported (Kennell 1999: 202). *Gythium* was among the Laconian towns separated from Sparta and liberated after the exile of Eurycles and the foundation of the League of the Eleutherolaconians by Augustus sometime between 7 and 2 BC (Bowersock 1961: 116; Kennell 1985: 44). In return, he was honoured by the city of *Gythium* probably through the establishment of Kaiseraia Games involving also an epigraphically-evidenced procession *'bearing images of the rulers and moving from the Asclepeion, through the Kaisareion and agora, to the theatre'* (Gebhard 1999: 121), which resembled the one described in the decree of Gaius Vibius Salutaris inscribed in AD 104 originally on the southern *parodos* wall of the Theatre of Ephesus in *Asia Minor* and later removed to the British Museum in London in 1866 (Aktüre 1995: 569-612). So the city would have already possessed by that time a Sanctuary dedicated to the divine Augusti and a Kaisereion. Six days of performances are specified in the *Gythiate* decree, five of which were dedicated to the imperial family, beginning with the deified Augustus as 'saviour and liberator', followed by the Emperor Tiberius as 'Father of his country', and then respectively by Julia Augusta as 'Fortune of our people and our city', by the Victory of Germanicus Caesar, by the Aphrodite of Drusus Caesar, and by Titus Quinctius Flamininus (Gebhard 1999: 118). The establishment, in AD 15, of a two-day festival of *thymelikoï agōnes* following those of the gods and rulers is mentioned later in the decree, which was probably an

addition to or revision of an existing Kaiseraia and dedicated to the memory respectively of Gaius Julius Eurycles, 'benefactor in many ways of our people and our city', and of his son, Gaius Julius Lacon, 'guardian of the protection and safety of our people and our city', ending up with a programme that has been interpreted by Elizabeth Gebhard (1999: 118) as having '*united the reality of Roman rule with Greek and precisely Spartan concerns and history*' with the inclusion of the last three figures. '*The fact that two Spartans, one of them living, were honoured in an imperial festival made a strong link between the Gythiates and Rome.*' (Gebhard 1999: 118)

The Theatre of *Gythium* must date to the same period since the procession described in the decree involved a sacrifice in the form of incense-burning over a table there for the safety of the rulers, after the arrival from the Agora and setting up in the Theatre of three painted *eikones* representing Divus Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia (Gebhard 1999: 118). Gebhard (1999: 119) underlines the specificity of the decree about the order in which these were to be set up—Divus Augustus in the centre, with Livia on the right and Tiberius on the left, apparently facing the audience behind the table with incense-burner, with no mention of bases or other supports. Split up into four *cunei*, the *cavea* for the spectators rests on the natural slope except in its wings (Isler 1994/95/96j: 218), and is described by Gebhard (1999: 119) as characteristic of the Roman theatre with its stairway on the central axis and *parodoi* parallel to the stage building, implying an Augustan date, although it also retained some Greek elements including a continuous *prohedria* and possibly a high and shallow colonnaded *proskenion* type of stage that would have been later modified into its present state.

In the time of Tiberius the festival procession would have entered the orchestra through one of the open *parodoi*, and the three imperial portraits could have then been set up in the central opening of the portico, along the front of the stage. After the rituals were performed and the table with incense-burner removed, the panels would have remained in place during the performances, in full view of the audience and giving the impression that the imperial figures were themselves watching the events produced in their honour. (Gebhard 1999: 120)

In this way, Gebhard suggests, for the sacrifice and performances taking place in the Theatre of *Gythium*, a practice that is in a sense similar but also different from that described in the Salutaris decree of Ephesus where images were not set up in front of the people to receive homage as part of a festival for the Imperial Cult but were placed, instead, in the *cavea* for them to become part of the audience (Gebhard 1999: 121). Gebhard (1999: 120) explains, with this arrangement she suggests for the case of *Gythium*, the even number of doors for the mimes on either side of the three images in the openings of the *proscenium* that usually had three operative doors—a wider central opening closed by a double door and two side doors—while the other intercolumniations would have been closed by temporary panels and later by masonry. '*At Gytheion, the image of Augustus, perhaps larger than the others, could have occupied the wider central opening, flanked by his wife and son at either side.*'

(Gebhard 1999: 120) The research carried so far within the scope of this dissertation has failed to produce similar documents from other theatres in Greece suggesting the impact of similar Roman practices in ancient theatres in architectural terms, except for an inscription to Livia Augusta built into the *scaenae frons* of the Large Theatre of *Gortyna*, which has been interpreted by Belli as re-used there (Sanders 1982: 63). This has rendered impossible to 'map' this type of a connection between ancient theatres in Greece (fig. B.7).

The complementary projections presented in this study would consist of only a small portion of such relations selected on the basis of a correspondence observed between the seating capacities of ancient theatres and the size of the settlements or the religious importance of the sanctuaries in which they were located, among the whole range of possibilities, as do the '*plateaux*' of Deleuze and Guattari (1993). The resulting 'map' is reminiscent of Umberto Eco's (1984: 74-8) representation of language as a rhizomatic multidimensional network of metonymies that would enable the invention of a metaphor such as the pun of 'meandertale' in James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* and its comprehension by starting from one of the component words of the pun to deduce the others through multiple and continuous ways within Joyce's linguistic universe entered through the gateway of the material 'form' of the pun (fig. 1.2). In the 'rhizomatic map' of the interpretation offered in this chapter on the architectural characteristics of ancient theatres in Greece with regards to the transformation brought through the establishment of Roman imperial rule over the Mediterranean, some of the intermediary connections 'mapped' between ancient theatre remains would coincide with those between the 'nodes' in the Roman administrative and communications 'network of cities', and some regularities would reveal especially in constructional characteristics of certain ancient theatre remains in cities or sanctuaries that appear on the same level in the settlement hierarchy of that 'network', as suggested by the idea that seating capacity would have been a major determinant in the choice for the denoted function of 'structure' in architectural terms. An attempt to interpret the diversity of the patterns of those regularities in Greece from those in Spain would lead us back to the 'organic' and 'mechanical' interpretations of structure in the Humanities, as presented in the opening part of the previous chapter, and to the Braudelian paradigm for change in the Mediterranean that is characterised by its three historic time planes that would be presented in the following chapter as a working model for defining the course of future research in this field.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: A COMPARATIVE EVALUATION OF THE 'NETWORK' OF ROMAN THEATRES AND 'ROMANISATION' IN SPAIN AND GREECE ALONG FERNAND BRAUDEL'S THREE PLANES OF HISTORICAL TIME

This study has started by an observation concerning the limitations of the common typology based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition for an interpretation of the variety observed in the architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains as an indication of cultural diversity and change in the Mediterranean basin especially under the *pax romana*. An inquiry into the consequences of the on-going popularity of the typology has revealed that theatres constructed under Roman control in any region within the Mediterranean basin are, at least in principle, generally expected to reflect the architectural characteristics attributed to the Roman type of theatre exemplified in the archetypal Theatre of Pompey in Rome, which would provide justification for the attempts at their restitution in reference to the Vitruvian geometrical layout for the Latin theatre. On the other hand, comparative studies, which could be possible thanks to the increasing number of systematically excavated, documented and published ancient theatre remains in the Mediterranean basin, have shown that the geometric layout suggested by Vitruvius for Latin theatres cannot be traced even in the buildings constructed in his own period, which has urged some scholars (e.g. Hammond 1965; Small 1983; Sear 1990; Lara Ortega 1992; and Moranta Jaume 2000) to search for design geometries with greater explanatory power through the introduction of the variables of 'size', 'time', and 'place'.

Support for the relevance of these variables has come from a systematic analysis of the ancient theatre remains in modern Spain where the majority of the examples have a *cavea* 'built against the hillside, and therefore has no outside façade' (Bieber 1961: 189), as in the idea of a 'Greek Theatre', while the idea of a 'Roman Theatre' would commonly involve one that is 'mostly built on high subconstructions from level ground with a rich façade, a colonnaded gallery, and sometimes shrines on top' (Bieber 1961: 189). Only the largest theatres in the most prominent provincial and *conventus* capitals appear to have a *cavea* resting on high subconstructions from level ground, as did those in the city of Rome itself.

These observations have led to a starting hypothesis that there may have existed a correlation between the 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*' of a Roman theatre and its 'size', the latter of which would in its turn be correlated with the rank of the settlement in which it is located within the Roman administrative network, as a function of the strategic importance of its location in economic, administrative, or military terms, which could not be understood without features such as fertile river plains or land and sea routes.

6.1 The Plane of 'Geo-History'

Already implied in the starting hypothesis of this study was, therefore, the impact, over the variety observed in the architectural characteristics of extant ancient theatre remains, of Fernand Braudel's concept of 'geo-history', which was first introduced in his *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1995). Braudel's 'geo-history' is an imperceptibly passing history in which all change is slow; a history of constant repetition and ever-recurring cycles. This view is offered as an explanation for '*the way the sites of cities endure, the persistence of routes and trade, and all the amazing fixity of the geographical setting of civilizations.*' (Braudel 1980: 31) Braudel underlines that a '*cultural area owes much more to geography than the anthropologists would generally allow*' (Braudel 1980a: 202). The contextual interpretation offered in this study of the geographical distribution of the extant ancient theatre remains in modern Spain and Greece by their 'size', their 'construction period', and the 'construction technique applied in their *cavea*' would seem to support this view.

First of all, the formation of seating rows over a natural slope in ancient theatres, and usually by carving into it, would appear to be part of the almost 'timeless' history of the relation of man with the environment, and *not* a specificity of Greek theatres. Going back to the idea of 'isochrestism' introduced into the debate on 'style' in archaeology by James R. Sackett (1990, see Chapter 1: Introduction), the investigation carried out so far on the ancient theatres in modern Spain and Greece has revealed this construction technique to have become, by the time of the Early Roman Empire, one choice among various functionally equivalent alternatives constrained by the correlation between the 'nature of the site' and the 'size of the project' in a specific context, as noted by Vitruvius on the degree of application of the rules of symmetry he describes in individual cases. As an example, in a remarkable majority of the odea among the 'very small' Roman period constructions in modern Greece (fig. B.30), the *cavea* rises thoroughly (Athens Agripa, *Dium*, *Gortyna*, *Kos*, *Nicopolis*, *Thessaloniki*) or partially (*Patras*, *Thasos*) over manmade subconstruction, instead of resting over a natural slope, possibly due to their being located in already built-up areas and/or due to their small size. This observation has been one of the major finds of the research on the remains from ancient performance buildings in modern Greece

against the starting hypothesis of this dissertation that was based on the likelihood of a preference for manmade subconstruction rather in the largest of the extant examples to meet functional requirements such as spectator circulation. Perhaps the best examples in favour of this idea would be the Hellenistic period structures in Greece that housed more than ten thousand people, which appears to have necessitated the introduction of several manmade subconstruction components that are generally attributed 'stylistically' to Roman period structures, such as the uncovered stairways that provide access from the outside to the upper seating rows in *Dodone*, *Kassope*, and *Sparta* or the vaulted passages carved under the seating rows at *Sicyon*. Therefore, as in these Hellenistic examples, the choice made in the Roman Theatres of *Nicopolis* and *Lyttus* of carving the *cavea* largely into a natural slope would rather be thought of as a 'technological style' informed by settlement characteristics, as that of supporting it over manmade subconstruction on terraced land around fertile river plains in the equally-large Theatres of *Caesar Augusta* (fig. A.12) and *Corduba* in Spain. The same reasoning appears to be valid also for the choice made, in each and every individual case, for any of the other construction techniques applied in the *cavea*.

Within this framework, an important shortcoming of the base map used in the 'mapping' of the examples in Greece would reveal to be its 'flatness' in terms of a total lack of reference to topographical features such as mountains or plateaux, whose representation in the base map used for the examples from Spain has contributed greatly to their interpretation. Nevertheless, the map showing the distribution of the ancient theatres evidenced in architectural or epigraphic remains in modern Greece highlights a concentration of the pre-Roman examples in Boiotia and Attica while a more even distribution is observed in the Peloponnesus and along the North Aegean coast (fig. B.5). In all, these regions and coastal Epirus is where remains from ancient theatres have so far been attested in Greece instead of the Epeirotic, Macedonian, and Thracian highlands. Coming to the Roman period constructions, their geographical positioning seems to provide support for Alcock's (1993: 162) observation that what constituted a desirable location was somewhat transformed in the Roman period, resulting in a westward orientation in imperial foundations that were located with an eye to exchange and communication, with coastal cities performing consistently better than inland location where internal road networks played a role in galvanising some cities and not others.

Thanks to the representation of the geographical features, on the other hand, the maps showing the geographical distribution of the examples in Spain by 'size' and by the 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*' (figs. A.4 and A.3), when evaluated together, reveal the impact of the major rivers crossing the Peninsula—namely, the Guadalquivir, Guadiana, Tajo/Tejo, and Duero/Douro—on 'the way the sites of cities endure' and on the architectural characteristics of their theatre buildings. 'Two of

the three Roman provincial capitals were situated on these major rivers: Corduba (Córdoba) on the Guadalquivir, Emerita Augusta (Mérida) on the Guadiana. Other important fluvial ports included Hispalis (Seville) on the Guadalquivir and Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) on the Ebro.' (Curchin 1991: 12) Corduba featured a 'very large' and Caesar Augusta (fig. A.12) a 'large' intramural theatre whose cavea rises over high constructions from level ground, as in the common idea of a 'Roman Theatre', apparently because both settlements extended over terraces along a moderate slope. Outside these fertile plains in the lowlands, theatres have a cavea built against a hillside in the mountains of the highlands, and often carved into it entirely, as in the idea of a 'Greek Theatre'. So, when taken as a whole, the Roman theatres in Spain fail provide evidence for theatres adhering to any standard type of Roman theatre cavea, due to the impact of geo-historical factors. Here again, the construction technique applied in the cavea appears to have been a choice among various functionally equivalent alternatives constrained by the correlation between the 'nature of the site' and the 'size of the project' in a specific context.

In parallel line of thought, Simon Keay (1998: 60) highlights, in his outline of the development of towns in Early Roman *Baetica*, the absence of '*evidence for towns adhering to any standard Roman topographical template, if such a concept ever existed*' and stresses on the determinant role of geo-history by noting the establishment of major Roman administrative centres such as *Hispalis*, *Astigi*, and *Corduba* in low-lying positions in the Genil and Guadalquivir rivers, which would have enabled them to develop rapidly into key commercial hubs during the first two centuries AD. Similarly, the author explains the exceptional location of *Gades* on two offshore islands by the commercial context of its origin in the early first millennium BC. By contrast, many towns, such as *Carmo* and *Urso* on the high plateaux in the rolling *campiñas* or upland towns like *Acinipo* among the examples where remains from ancient theatres are reported, were located in elevated positions in the Guadalquivir valley due to their foundation before the establishment of Roman control in the Iberian Peninsula, in a '*period when intervisibility between sites and dominance in the landscape were key concerns for the dominant archaic city-states.*' (Keay 1998: 60) '*These towns dominated smaller, non-rural and rural settlements located on rocky prominences in the lowlands and along the Guadalquivir. Some, like ... Singilia Barba, had distinctive locations around the bases of large rocky hills at key points in the landscape.*' (Keay 1998: 60) While comprehensive urban planning and monumentalisation is evidenced in these settlements during the Early Imperial Roman rule, urban development in other native towns between the mid-first century BC and mid-first century AD '*consisted of the incorporation of individual Roman-style buildings or group of buildings into a predominantly native milieu*' (Keay 1998: 73), occasionally with no regular scheme of urban planning. Therefore, there prevailed substantial variation in the size, distribution, and density of towns across the province of *Baetica* where yet a significant number of long-lived native settlements were abandoned towards the end of the first century BC (Keay 1998: 81-2). In

this way, Keay (1998: 83) maintains the 'plain-mountain' or 'lowlands-highlands' binary opposition of Braudel's Mediterranean 'geo-history' in his classification of the towns in Early Roman *Baetica* and suggests the Iron Age settlements systems as helping to condition the pattern of urban settlement that emerged in the course of the Republic and early Empire when provincial communities were drawn into an increasingly tight political, economic, and social relation to Rome starting from the late first century BC. The whole process was characterised by a strong settlement continuity within which '*what the Romans did was to move a basically native system in directions that were most suitable for Roman political, economic and military needs.*' (Dyson 1991: 28) The network of Roman roads followed the course of the major rivers, '*allowing the Romans to break up major tribal confederations.*' (Keay 1988: 49)

Also in the Peninsular scale, Curchin (1991: 10-1) highlights the profound impact, over the social and economic development of the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, of its geographical diversity, presenting the extensive inland plateau known as the Meseta both as an obstacle to political and cultural unity and as an impediment to penetration from the exterior. A common feature of the northern Meseta are the Celtic *castros* (hill-forts) distinguished by the Celtic suffix *-briga* meaning 'hill-fort' (Curchin 1991: 16-7) that was often preserved in the Roman period, as in *Arcobriga* and *Segobriga* among the places where remains from Roman period theatres have been attested. The Flavian date of the Theatre of *Segobriga* would support the Braudelian theory that the impact of Rome would have been felt late in these mountainous zones of the Iberian Meseta (fig. A.6). This type of fortified Iron Age villages were a common feature also of the Galician littoral and of the north-western Iberian Peninsula as well (Naveiro López and Pérez Losada 1992: 91) where remains from ancient theatres are so far not evidenced. Celtic settlements of round houses known as *castros* were to persist in this area until the fourth century AD (Fear 2000: 32), as a form of 'cultural resistance' to 'Romanisation' (Curchin 1991: 181). Architecture, therefore, would reflect local needs: '*in the already urbanised areas of southern and eastern Spain, Roman construction techniques were often adopted, whereas in Galicia and Cantabria, which lacked real cities, there was little requirement for monumental buildings.*' (Curchin 1991: 191) This would explain the total absence of remains from ancient theatres in these areas. Therefore:

It seems a mistake to look for a readily identifiable Iberian style of architecture during the Roman period. The peninsula was not a culturally homogeneous region at the time the Romans first arrived. Nor did the process of Romanization spread at an equal rate over all the peninsula. The bulk of cities always remained in *Baetica* and the east coastal areas of *Tarraconensis*. There were probably three distinct regions: a coastal band moving from east to south and incorporating all of *Baetica*; a central zone, the old Celtiberian area; and a north coast section. The east and south coasts had lost most traces of their pre-Roman identity by the end of the first century B.C. The old Celtiberian area never totally abandoned its past, and in fact may have been part of the Celtic revival of the third century A.D. The north coast was never Romanized. Arguing for a stylistic unity here is like looking for one in Roman Anatolia. Both these regions had too much pre-Roman diversity and too much variation in the process of Romanization, both of which had impacts on the forms that Roman architecture took there. (Mierse 1999: 300)

All these appear to reveal the impact of 'geo-historical' factors over the chronology of the establishment and degree of Roman control as well as the intensity of Roman cultural influence, suggesting a decrease as we move from the 'lowlands' towards the 'highlands' and from south to north. The greater concentration of the architectural and epigraphic remains evidencing the existence of Roman theatres in the Guadalquivir valley (fig. A.2) would provide support for Fear's (2002: 30, 224-5, 256) remark about the smaller concentration of towns in the 'highlands' of the province of *Baetica*, which were isolated from the Roman settlers in the 'lowlands' and were, therefore, under much stronger influences than the rest of the province of the Celtic civilisation. The location of *all* Late Republican and Augustan period theatre remains in the southern coasts and southern river valleys of Spain (fig. A.6) would similarly conform to Mierse's above remarks about the south coast and to Braudel's (1995: 34) argument that Rome was more successful in the lowlands and along the rivers of *Baetica* than on its plateaux, and penetrated in the mountains of northwest Spain much later and with little success due to the added difficulty of distance. '*In the south, the high degree of cultural sophistication, the long-standing urban tradition, and the existence of a native elite—probably landed—who had already adopted a Roman lifestyle during the Republic helped to influence the direction that Romanization under the Emperor assumed in the region.*' (Mierse 1999: 121) More specifically, the location of the three examples so far dated to the Late Republican period would fit into Curchin's (1991: 55) description of the eastern and southern coastal strips of the Iberian Peninsula as the most thoroughly 'assimilated' due to their early incorporation into the Roman world during the Roman Civil Wars, previous exposure to Phoenician and Greek civilisation that would have helped bridge the transition to Roman culture, and the willingness of Roman incomers for the lucrative economic potential and amenable climate of these areas. '*The regions bordering on these coasts – the Ebro valley, the southern Meseta and Portugal south of the Tejo – had less claim to these three catalysts of romanisation, and as we move further west and north, the level of assimilation declines accordingly.*' (Curchin 1991: 55) '*In short, romanisation was not a homogeneous or consistent process, but varied greatly from region to region.*' (Curchin 1991: 192; also stressed by Jiménez Salvador 1992: 4)

Studies of native settlement patterns in the Ebro River system, the area around Jaén, and the Guadalquivir Basin through the Romanization of the Republican period reveal a system of primary, secondary, and even tertiary sites. These were arranged in a hierarchical format. Primary sites developed because of their strategic and geographical locations, which permitted them to effectively command the nearby territory. Secondary and tertiary sites developed in some type of association with the primary sites and were both visually under the watch of the primary site and near enough for easy physical communication. The control may also have been in some ways political and economic. (Mierse 1999: 51)

As a consequence, the settlements of Roman *Hispaniae* appear to have been connected to one another through a strictly-hierarchised road network according to which those located at the 'nodes' of communication attained a potential in service of an all-encompassing administrative reform initiated by Augustus, which would result in a deep structural change in the urbanism and territorial organisation of

the Peninsula (Fernández Ochoa 1992: 22). This local network was linked to the imperial network through the *Via Herculea*, one of the longest roads in the Roman Empire, which generally followed the coast eastward from *Gades* to join the *Via Augusta* coming east from *Corduba* somewhere north of *Carthago Nova* and continued north-eastward through *Gallia* to Rome some 2700 kilometres away (Baird 2000; Keay 1988: 49).

6.2 The Plane of 'Structures'

With these observations, we pass to Braudel's plane of the gradually-changing history of economic, social and political 'structures', which he argues to be unintelligible without 'geo-history'. In the previous chapter, the idea of a hierarchically-organised 'network of cities' that emerged under Roman control over the region has been proposed as largely conditioning the 'size' and 'geographic distribution' of Roman theatres in modern Greece, on the basis of a correlation observed in their geographical distribution with that of the new Caesarean and/or Augustan colonies (fig. 5.4) that were established to transform the pre-Roman settlement pattern through the integration of the pre-existing cities and city-states with the new villages and the countryside, as the crucial impact of Rome in the East (Woolf 1997:1). Established at strategic sites along the land and sea routes connecting Italy to the East (fig. 5.5), these marginal centres formed, together with the allied city-states and leagues scattered throughout the countryside, the nodes in the administrative network (Rizakis 1997: 15). At the highest rank in the newly-established 'urban network' were the provincial capitals of *Corinthos*, *Nicopolis* and *Gortyna*, and this appears to have been reflected in the 'size' of their theatres (fig. B.3).

The Roman theatres in *Corinthos* and *Nicopolis* are equally large or larger than those in the leading cities of Athens, Sparta, and Argos, which had started to exhibit imperialistic tendencies in the period immediately before the establishment of Roman control over the region. This tendency had already started to transform the pre-Roman settlement pattern through the formation of leagues (*koina*) as early as the Hellenistic period by the many relatively small and insignificant city-states to resist the pressure and invasion threats of their strong neighbours (Alcock 1993: 165). 'Very large' theatres also exist in the centres of the major among these leagues (i.e. *Megalopolis*, *Corinthos*, *Sicyon*, and *Dodone*). *Corinthos* and *Dodone* would be punished later by the Romans due to the resistance exhibited respectively by the *Achaean* and *Achammanian* Leagues against Roman control. Although the Achaean League appears to have first found acceptance from the Romans, the site of *Corinthos* would stay deserted throughout a whole century, after having been razed to the ground by the Roman consul L. Mummius in 146 BC. The *Achammanian* League, on the other hand, was disunited immediately and the population of the member city-states were forced to resettle in the Roman colonies of *Patras* and

Nicopolis in order to prevent any future attempt to revolt against Rome (Rizakis 1997: 21), with the Theatre of *Dodone* in the most ancient and once chief oracle site in Greece having been modified for arena games as part of the punishment. The support provided under the Empire to the small among these leagues of provincial character, such as the Delphic League which was reorganised under Augustus (Mommsen 1974: 254), may be taken as a testimony of their lower-ranking status in the hierarchies of the 'urban network', below the lower-ranking Roman colonies along the land and sea routes connecting Italy to the East, and the highest ranking provincial centres to each other and to others in other provinces.

All three Roman provincial centres of the Greek East seem to owe their prominence to the importance of their geographical location at the most crucial nodes along Roman trade routes leading to the East. *Corinthos* was re-founded in 44 BC as the *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* at the stone-paved portage road (*diolkos*) that enabled naval transport from the Adriatic to the Aegean through the Corinthian Bay. Octavian's 'victory city' at Actium, on the other hand, was the key feature in the re-organisation of the *Epirus* region, which had been devastated by Roman military activity during its control after strong resistance, which turned it into a rather under-urbanized, inefficiently administered and inadequately exploited marginal zone that posed a potential threat to Rome, especially due to its key position in the Empire's military road (*Via Egnatia*) to the East (Alcock 1993: 141-3). The colonies of *Dium*, *Pella*, *Cassandrea*, and *Philippe* were established for securing the vital province of *Epirus* and the *Via Egnatia* with the co-operation of the allied autonomous city-states of *Larissa* and *Thessaloniki*, the latter of which was the most important port-city of the region. The overland routes leading south from *Larissa* and east from *Nicopolis* along the Corinthian Bay reached the other provincial capital, *Corinthos*, through the Roman colony of *Megara*. Unlike *Epirus*, there seems not to have been great changes, except in the incorporation of the newly-founded *Dyme* and *Patras*, in the overland road network at the Peloponnesus, wherein the prominent pre-Roman city-states maintained their status in the newly-established 'urban network'.

Passing to the sea routes with the third provincial capital, *Gortyna*, the one leading to Alexandria from the Aegean through southern Crete gradually grew in importance in the communication networks of the Early Roman Empire as it was used to carry corn from Egypt to *Rome* (Sanders 1982: 132; Bradford 2004: 24, 58). Roman domination over Crete was established by Q. Caecilius Metellus who crushed, in 69-7 BC, the resistance of *Knossos*, *Cydonia*, and *Hierapytna*, which had become rivals after having dominated over smaller settlements in the second century BC (Sanders 1982: 3, 132). The city of *Gortyna* became the capital of the praetorian province of *Creta et Cyrene* created through joining Crete with the province of *Cyrenaica* founded in 74 BC, possibly in return for either its actual aid or neutrality,

and received large groups of Italian traders as did other settlements in southern Crete (Sanders 1982: 3, 132). However, the *Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossos* in the north appears to have been the only city re-founded as a Roman colony in Crete where the pre-existing network of city-states appears to have been preserved under Roman control, as was the case in the Peloponnesus (Sanders 1982: 4).

An evaluation of the distribution of *ex novo* Roman period performance buildings under the light of this analysis would reveal noticeable concentration in Crete. With three theatres, two of which are 'large', in addition to an odeon, an amphitheatre, a stadium, and a circus building, the capital of the province of *Creta et Cyrene*, *Gortyna*, comes to the fore as the only city within the study area that could rival Athens in the number of its performance buildings. In addition to eight *ex novo* Roman period theatres and an odeon, five (*Gortyna*, *Hierapytna*, *Cnossos*, *Chersonesus* and *Kissamos*) of the eight amphitheatres documented in architectural and/or epigraphic record in the study area happen to be located in Crete, which may be interpreted as an indication of the island's high level of 'Romanisation' (Falkner 1854: 15-6; Sanders 1982: 57). Also meaningful in this respect is the location of the other amphitheatre remains in *Corinthos*, the capital of the province of *Achaia*, in the Roman colony of *Patras* at the entrance of the Corinthian Bay, and in the city of *Aegae* (*Vergina*) along the overland road leading from *Larissa* to *Pella* (Eleftheri Ora 27.12.1984; Welch 1999: 138).

Another noteworthy feature of Crete is its housing one of the three 'very large' *ex novo* Roman period theatres (*Lyttus*) and three of the five 'large' ones (two in *Gortyna*, one in *Hierapytna*). Location of another one of the 'very large' theatres in *Nicopolis*, the capital of the province of *Epirus*, and of one of the largest theatres within the study area in the other provincial capital *Corinthos*, as re-constructed in the Roman period over pre-existing remains, would seem to imply that the distribution of theatres by size would reflect the hierarchies within the urban network newly-established in the region. Support for such an observation would come from the location of another one of the 'large' theatres in the autonomous city-state of *Larissa* at the most important junction along the overland route connecting the two provincial capitals of *Nicopolis* and *Corinthos*. Despite certain gaps such as *Pella* and *Megara*, the distribution of the *ex novo* Roman period theatre constructions, except that in *Sparta*, seems to mark the new nodes along the overland (*Dium*, *Beroia*, *Thessaloniki*) and sea (*Gytheion*, *Chersonesus*, *Kouphonisi*) road network established under the Early Roman Empire. Therefore, parallel to the conclusions drawn for the examples in Spain and as an example for the fertility of adopting the Braudelian model in this study for the deduction of certain positions that are testable on the basis of factual data, the correlation between Roman colony-foundation and theatre construction activities in the region now corresponding to the modern Greece would encourage an attempt to locate the possible

sites for ancient theatre remains dating to the Roman period or earlier in the Roman colonies of *Pella* and *Megara*, which may or may not have been actually built.

The fact that this last group of theatres (except that in *Thessaloniki* whose seating capacity is not known) are all 'small' buildings would accord well with Alcock's (1993: 105, 148, 150, 161) observation for *Achaia* that, although the province remained one of the most highly urbanised regions of the entire Empire throughout the period of Roman domination, despite its peripheral location within the larger imperial system, the gulf between the provincial capital *Corinthos* and 'ordinary' *poleis* widened significantly, and once this imbalance was established, it became self-perpetuating. Woolf (1997: 6) similarly characterises the cities of eastern Roman provinces during the Early Roman Empire by their higher level of differentiation in terms of size and presumably population, with no preponderance of middle-ranking cities and the development of a few 'very large' cities such as *Corinthos*. The general absence of medium-size Roman period theatre remains (except the one in *Gortyna*) appears to accord with this picture, and also with the argument that rank-size distribution of towns was 'essentially 'primate' and characterized by a few very large towns (provincial capitals, *coloniae*, and *municipia*) which were essentially products of the Imperial system, virtually none of medium size, and a majority of smaller centres.' (Keay 1998: 61) The odea that form the majority of 'very small' Roman period constructions in are situated generally in a city that already has a large theatre building (fig. B.30). On the basis of these observations, the distribution of theatres by size and with respect to other types of performance buildings may be argued to overlap largely with the hierarchies intrinsic in the 'urban network' newly-established under Roman control in the region corresponding to modern Greece.

The fact that *Hispania Ulterior Baetica* is noted as one of the most urbanised provinces of the Roman West (e.g. Keay 1998: 55) encourages its comparison with *Achaia* in terms of the models of urbanisation and the accompanying theatre-building activity brought by establishment of Roman control. Additionally, both are among the areas described by Millett (1997: 201) as having a long pre-Roman history of centralised and urbanised communities to produce different patterns of settlement and society under Roman rule from those zones where urbanism was essentially a Roman phenomenon. One of the major regional differences that would reveal immediately in such a comparison is the fact that an analysis of towns in *Baetica* would not exactly conform to the above-quoted argument on the rank-size distribution of towns:

Firstly, while it is true that the three largest towns, Obulco, Urso, and Gades, were privileged centres (one *colonia* and two *municipia*), they had also played key regional rôles in the pre-Roman period. Secondly, the provincial capital Corduba was not amongst the largest centres. Thirdly, by comparison with other provinces, middle-ranking towns in the size-range 20-25 ha are quite common. Moreover, these comprise both Roman privileged towns and native centres continuing into the early Empire. It seems, therefore, that

Baetica was unusual in the degree to which major native centres continued to play an influential rôle in the organization of the landscape in the Early Imperial period. (Keay 1998: 61)

Passing to the correlation of this distribution with that of the architectural characteristics of ancient theatres, among the privileged centres mentioned by Keay, *Gades* does have a theatre that is among the largest two in the Peninsula, with the other being located suitably in the provincial centre of *Corduba*, which was the highest-ranking of the province in the Roman the 'system of socio-economic and administrative structures' although not among the largest centres. Therefore, *Corduba* and similar examples should, in fact, cast a doubt on the applicability, in each and every example, of the method of calculating settlement sizes from the seating capacity of ancient theatres, on which has been founded one of the major assumptions, in this present study, of a correlation between settlement size and seating capacity of ancient theatres. The example of *Corduba* would be reminiscent of the criticism made by Moretti (1998: 244, see Chapter 3: Structural Binarism in Ancient Theatre Studies) against the use of this method in cases like the Theatre of *Argos* in Greece, where the seating capacity of 20,000, which was too big only for the purpose of local assemblies, had apparently been determined by its designated use as venue for the *Nemea* among the four great Panhellenic games. Theatres located in provincial centres such as *Corduba* would have similarly served during provincial assemblies attended by representatives of a population much larger than that of the inhabitants of the town itself. In any case, both of these counter-examples affirm to a correlation between the 'denoted' utility, or function, of ancient theatres in their spatio-temporal context and their 'size'.

Going back to the 'privileged centres' of *Baetica*, in an appendix provided by Keay (1998: 84) of the approximate known areas of towns in the province, *Obulco Pontificiensis* (Porcuna, Jaén) and *Urso* (Osuna, Sevilla) appear at the top of the list, with an area respectively of 130 and 115.5 hectares, and are followed by *Gades* (Cádiz) and *Corduba* (Córdoba), which respectively had an area of 81 and 56 hectares. No remains have been reported so far of a theatre in *Obulco* while the overall diameter of the very poorly preserved Theatre of *Urso* (fig. A.31) has been reported by Thouvenot (1940: 427), after Demetrios de los Rios, to measure 32.50 m. If we may take the examples of *Gades* and *Corduba* as confirming to a correlation between settlement rank-size and seating capacity of ancient theatres in the context of Roman *Baetica*, it may be possible to hypothesise the existence in *Obulco* of an ancient theatre as sizeable at least as the 'very large' Theatres of *Gades* and *Corduba* that respectively have an overall diameter of 120 and 125 meters, while the figure given by Thouvenot for *Urso* should similarly be taken as misguided by the excessively deteriorated state of the edifice, which should have measured at least 120 m in overall diameter according to this reasoning. The inclusion of these two examples may have apparently made a difference in the map showing the distribution by size of ancient theatre remains so far attested in the Iberian Peninsula (fig. A.4). In its current state, the map

attests an uneven distribution of ancient theatres in the Iberian Peninsula. While the greatest concentration is in and around the Guadalquivir (ancient *Baetis*) valley and Costa del Sol at the southern tip of the Peninsula, the second densest area in and around the Ebro and the mountain pass connecting it to the Duero is characterised by the high ratio of 'large' theatres in this area that is currently unmatched in *Baetica*. In *Baetica*, our current state of information reveals the existence of two 'very large' theatres at *Gades* and *Corduba*, no 'large' theatres, three medium-sized theatres at *Baelo Claudia*, *Italica*, and *Malaca*, and three 'small' theatres at *Acinipo*, *Carteia*, and *Singilia Barba*, without taking into consideration the Theatre of *Urso*, which is currently listed among 'small' theatres according to its reported overall diameter of 32.50 m (fig. A.4). This distribution is highly different from that in the province of *Achaia* even when taking into consideration in the latter the pre-Roman examples that concentrate in *Boiotia* and *Attica* while a more even distribution is observed in the Peloponnesus and along the North Aegean coast (fig. B.3).

All these differences between the Roman Spain and Greece seem to highlight the fact that conclusions drawn from an interpretation of the geographical distribution of Roman period theatres by 'size', by 'period', and by the 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*' as a product of the processes of 'Romanisation' outlined for one province should not be generalised to another province or to the Roman Empire as a whole. This observation would accord well with the rather recent model that pictures Roman provinces as developing in diverse paths and speeds, in such disparate relations conceptualised as centre-periphery relations in Champion (1995: 17) with the ruling power that could no longer be expressed in terms of the East-West binary opposition (Millett 1997). As to intra-provincial comparisons, the definition of the 'construction technique applied in the *cavea*' as a choice among various functionally equivalent alternatives rather than a 'typological characteristic' that would enable a classification of ancient theatres into distinct categories, as in the typology based on the Greek-Roman binary opposition, has enabled the conception of different lines and rates of development and transformation, in 'time' and 'place', of this aspect of ancient theatre architecture. An example is the argument of Nielsen (2000: 126-27; 2002) for the development of seating arrangements in cultic sites as 'synchronic' with but different from that of theatre buildings in urban centres wherein construction technique would have played no decisive part. According to the author, this development has given way in Italy to the emergence of the 'theatre-temple' in the Hellenistic period, which coexisted with great canonical city theatres and often as detached from the sanctuary (Nielsen 2000: 19). '*Both types were based on the Greek theatre, but that structure itself ... was far from being unambiguous, since both canonic polis theatres, the type normally connected with a "Greek theatre", and primitive theatra sited in sanctuaries existed side by side there, both influenced the theatrical structures in Italy.*' (Nielsen 2000: 171) Other examples of the same phenomenon may be found in the recently-coined 'Greco-Roman'

and 'Gallo-Roman' regional types that co-exist, respectively in the Roman provinces of *Asia* and *Gallia*, with examples that more strictly display the architectural characteristics generally attributed to the Roman type of theatre exemplified in the archetypal Theatre of Pompey in Rome (Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994/95/96: 134, 140). The resulting classification would take the form of a 'rhizomatic structure' within which change may follow the 'organic' and 'mechanical' models alike.

As to the attempts at finding a possible order in the geographical distribution of these various types of Roman theatres, Géza Alföldy (1990: 403-4) outlines a hierarchy from provincial capitals towards small towns in the monumentalisation of the urban scene in the Iberian Peninsula under Roman control, which would have been initiated, according to the author, by close and very direct relations with the city of Rome in the former case, with provincial centres enabling the immediate transfer of novelties developed by the artists of the *Urbs* to lesser settlements but with considerable variations due to the differences in the economic and artistic possibilities of different cities within the same province, to result in a 'diachronic' panorama that was largely shaped by geo-historical factors. An illuminating investigation in this vein may have been the pre-Roman examples in modern Greece that stayed in use with Roman period modifications, which had to be left out of the scope of the present study due to the fact that very few cities and theatres in Greece '*have been dug extensively enough, or with enough attention paid to their Roman levels, to allow much analysis in this vein ...*' (Alcock 1993: 93). An attempt by Jean-Charles Moretti (1992a) has revealed the potential contribution of an investigation on the architectural structure and geographic distribution of Roman period stage buildings and monumental *scaenae frons* to an investigation of the degree of Roman cultural influence on pre-existing structures and patterns in the region that now corresponds to modern Greece. Within the province of *Baetica*, on the other hand, separate areas

differed radically in the degree of Roman culture that they adopted. There would have a sharp contrast between the towns of the upland areas of the north and north-west of the province and Bastetania, and those of the Baetis valley. In the former areas towns would have been fewer in number and more widely dispersed, and many of those that did exist here would not have conformed in many ways to the criteria normally accepted as defining a classical town. All would have lacked the decoration commonly found in such towns, or have rendered it in a native way. [...] On the Mediterranean coast of the province another set of distinctive towns was to be found. These would have been more familiar in appearance to a visitor from Rome, but might well have still retained a 'feel' of otherness in the way they were laid out. [...] The Baetis valley would have seemed the most familiar area of the province, with many towns having Roman-style public buildings and some being laid out on grid patterns. [...] Nevertheless the towns of the area would still have had some noticeable anomalies. Their size was generally small and many, when they were not by the river itself, would have still been hilltop sites. It is likely that the impression of a high degree of absorption of Roman culture would have disappeared in the countryside and may well have been weaker in the lower-class areas of towns themselves. (Fear 2002: 267-8)

As an example, comparing the 'Romanisation' of the urban scene in the native towns of *Munigua*, *Singilia Barba*, and *Gades* through their endowment of the standard complement of public buildings,

Keay (1998: 82) highlights their strong difference in terms of their size, topography, and in the inspiration of their public buildings, to suggest that

in towns such as these Roman building types and styles were deployed in the context of pre-existing tastes and preferences. While the layout and architectural schemes current at *coloniae* elsewhere in the Roman west were emblematic symbols of Roman *urbanitas*, their emulation by native communities has to be understood in terms of regional traditions, perceptions, and strategies. The exception to this is Italica, where imperial patronage ensured the establishment of an urban centre whose inspiration was entirely alien to the province. (Keay 1998: 82)

6.3 The Plane of 'Events'

With the exception of *Italica*, we pass to Braudel's plane of the fast-moving history of 'events'. As could be expected of a city commonly identified with the patronage of Hadrian that produced 'an urban centre whose inspiration was entirely alien to the province', the *cavea* of the Theatre of *Italica* is, remarkably, one of the two examples encountered in so far in modern Spain as resting entirely over manmade subconstruction, as in the common idea of a 'Roman theatre', with the other example being located meaningfully in the provincial capital *Corduba* (fig. A.3). Yet, two important characteristics mark the difference of the construction technique adopted at *Italica* from the Corduban example: its being a medium-sized theatre, which would render unconvincing any functionalist explanation based on the idea of facilitating spectator circulation by the choice for the construction system, and the cutting away of a natural slope and buttressing the scrap with a dentate wall in *opus africanum* (Keay 1997a: 40-1) for the construction of the *cavea*. It would appear more tempting, therefore, to explain these coincidences by the town's higher degree of 'Romanisation' as the only city in the whole *Hispania* with an exclusively Roman name (Caballos Rufino *et al.* 1999: 22) and the earliest to receive wounded Roman soldiers as settlers after 206 BC, among whom would have been the ancestors of the *Ulpii* family that would give Rome its first Emperor of provincial origin, *Marcus Ulpius Trajanus* (98-117) and the Oscan *Aelii* family of his cousin, pupil, and successor *Publius Aelius Hadrianus* (117-38). *Italica* initially had no formal legal status as *colonia* or *municipium* (Richardson 1998: 38-9) and archaeological evidence suggests it to have been a small settlement which was not central to Roman interests (Keay 1997a: 26). It appears to have been transformed into a beacon of Roman Imperial culture following the grant of municipal status (*municipium iuris latini*) some time in the second half of the 1st century BC when it started to develop its public image in line with the programmes of Imperial propaganda, which were being developed in contemporary Rome. *Italica* seems to have restated its special 'historical' link with Rome in this period through the issue of very special commemorative bronze coins featuring wolf and twins, which were the symbols of Augustan political propaganda and are unique of their kind in the *Hispaniae* (Keay 1997a: 37-8). Part of the same programme of

monumental remodelling that involved the development of a Forum area at the heart of the *Vetus Vrbs* was the construction of the Theatre of *Italica* possibly by Tiberius, who was one of the patrons of the city before his adoption by Augustus (García y Bellido 1960: 38; Keay 1997a: 38; Collins 1998: 150), which would suggest an Augustan dating for the Theatre. Therefore, the Theatre of *Italica* would conform to Collins' (1998: 15-6) inclusion of theatres among examples that have recently revealed evidence

that most of the larger and the medium-sized settlements owe almost all their architectural finery to imperial patronage. The periods at which this was principally expressed vary from town to town, but almost all tend to fall within a range extending from the reign of Augustus (27 BC – AD 14) up to that of Hadrian (117-38). [...] As with Lepcis Magna in Libya, whose Severan founder was a native of the town, an imperial birthplace could be a special beneficiary of an emperor's munificence. Itálica was thus enormously extended and enhanced by Hadrian ... but the programme faltered after his death and a substantial part of his new development had to be abandoned by the end of the 2nd cent., probably due to problems of subsidence. (Collins 1998: 15-6)

As such, *Italica* exemplifies Braudel's argument that the history of 'events' is unintelligible without the history of 'structures', as the imperial patronage appears to have endowed its Theatre with a vocabulary shared also by the Theatres of *Carthago Nova* and *Emerita Augusta* especially in architectural decoration of the *scaenae frons*, since they were also built with the direct involvement from the Imperial family. A similar vocabulary may be expected, therefore, in the theatre of Augustus' 'victory city' at *Actium* in Greece. Similarly, the performance buildings of Athens as a whole, including two new (Agrippa and Herodes Atticus) and a renovated (Pericles) odeon buildings, a stadium rebuilt in marble by Herodes Atticus, and the Theatre of Dionysus, which stayed in use under Roman control with modifications, would appear as an outcome of very specific circumstances and a reflection of the special value attributed to the Greek culture within the multicultural formation of the Roman Empire. As other examples in the same vein, Fear (2002: 270) names as 'specific events', in Braudelian line of thought, 'the development of *Gades* by the *Balbi*, with an eye on their political careers at Rome, the growth of *Belo*, stimulated by *Claudius'* campaigns in *Mauretania*, and most notably the general upsurge in building which took place after *Vespasian's* grant of *Latinitas* to the province' of *Baetica*.

Indeed, the accomplishments of the *Balbii* in *Gades* would have anticipated the Italic example by two centuries, apparently in imitation of the enterprise of other grand families in Rome who would later be promoted by Augustus among his most direct collaborators and the example set by Augustus would be followed by other emperors in a policy of winning the people by offering grand edifices of gathering and entertainment (Corzo Sánchez 1989: 197). *Lucius Cornelius Balbus* (i.e. Balbus the Elder) was Caesar's banker in Rome who had received Roman citizenship from Pompey the Great in 72 BC and later managed to preserve it thanks to the defence prepared by Cicero in 56 BC, although double citizenship in the sense of the *isopoliteia* of the Greeks that allowed them to be citizens of distinct localities was not possible during the Republican Roman period (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 105-15; 1980:

46-7, 55; Blázquez 1976). Balbus the Elder would later become consul in Rome in 40 BC, which makes him the first consul in Rome from the provinces, in a period when he was already involved in a comprehensive reconstruction of his natal city, which would be continued by his niece, Balbus the Younger, who became the questor of Asinon Polion in 44 BC and was later elected as *quattuorvir* of *Gades* (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 267). Abusing his former privileged position, Balbus is reported to have seated, unconventionally, an excessive number of knights/horsemen and the comic actor *Herennius Gallus* in one of the reserved seats in the Theatre during the comic presentations in last day of the municipal elections possibly in 44 BC (Rodríguez Neila 1980: 53; Corzo Sánchez 1989: 198). The next year, the premier was made, presumably in the Theatre of *Gades* that was probably constructed also by him around 46-43 BC, of the tragedy titled *Iter* (meaning 'mission'), which was composed in Latin by Balbus the Younger partly by narrating certain deeds in his eventful life (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 282-3; 1980: 42). Corzo Sánchez (1993: 135) argues that, decades before the comprehensive building programme carried out by Augustus in Rome for remodelling the city as the new imperial capital, the ideas shaping that programme had been put into practice by Balbus in *Gades* where the Theatre stood as a symbol of the new imperial mentality and organisation, with its twenty different types of marble coming not only from local quarries but also from such distant places as Carrara (Italy), Syria, and Anatolia (Esteban González *et al.* 1993: 155). After this accomplishment in his native city, Balbus would support the Augustan programme in Rome through the construction of the Theatre of Balbus and the annexed *Crypta Balbi* shown in the *Forma Urbis* and noted by Suetonius and Pliny for its four onyx columns (Rodríguez Neila 1973: 273; Corzo Sánchez 1993: 135; Bieber 1961: 184). This was an honour accorded to him after his triumph over the Garamantes in North Africa in March 19 BC (Blázquez 1976), which was '*a unique distinction for one not born a Roman citizen and an exceptional honour in that thereafter traditional military triumphs were not granted to those outside the imperial family.*' (Beacham 1999: 119) According to David S. Potter (1999: 9), the example set by the *Balbii* of *Gades* would illustrate '*the openness of the upper class to provincials that enables Rome, alone of the preindustrial empires in this region, to avoid the construction of local dynasties through the regular circulation of governors and to create a competitive atmosphere between cities and within cities, for which the governor was the referee.*' (Potter 1999: 9)

Another contemporary example in support of this view would come from Sparta where the third one of the 'very large' Roman theatres in modern Greece is located. Having been the only Greek city supporting the cause of Octavian at *Actium*, Sparta was awarded with the presidency of the (*Actiaca*) games dedicated to *Apollo Actius*, who had given his name to the battle, after their re-establishment at *Nicopolis* following the victory, while the Spartan *Gaius Julius Eurycles*, having brought a fleet to help Octavian in the battle, was granted Roman citizenship by Octavian and installed in power at Sparta,

with his control extended to encompass the whole of Laconia (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 96; Kennell 1999: 202). When evaluated together with the example of the Gaditan *Balbi*, this may be taken as an indication of the emergence of a new kind of power between the end of the civil wars and the final reintegration of the Greek province under the authority of Rome (Marchetti 2001: 137). Eurycles himself would have undertaken the costly refurbishment of the Theatre of Sparta, to be used as venue for the dramatic contests held for the first time in the history of the city, within the scope of the *Caeserae* games instituted by himself, possibly after the completion of the *naoi* of Caesar and Augustus and the establishment of a Spartan cult in honour of the ruling family (Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 133-4, 184-5). Worthy of mention in this respect would be an inscription panel from the Augustan period Theatre in Sparta's harbour city of *Gytheion* that attests games dedicated to the memory of Gaius Julius Eurycles and his son Gaius Julius Lacon, in addition to those dedicated to the Imperial Cult, which has been interpreted by Elizabeth Gebhard (1999: 118) as having '*united the reality of Roman rule with Greek and precisely Spartan concerns and history*'.

The Spartan example finds its closest parallel in modern Greece in the odeon built as the fifth one of 'large' Roman period constructions at the southwest slope of the Athenian Acropolis, by *Herodes Atticus* in memory of his wife *Annia Regilla* after her death in AD 160 (Thompson 1990: 14). *Herodes Atticus* was, after all, an extraordinary member of one among the aristocratic families that supported the system newly-established by Rome in the region with their devotion and economic support as they united in time through intermarriage and other close social bonds while remaining mobile in space (Alcock 1993: 154-55), like the *Balbi* of *Gades* or the *Eurycles* of Sparta. As in his ambitious building program, which included, in addition to the Herodeion, the Stadium in Athens, the renovation of the Odeon constructed by Agrippa in Corinth and many other commissions such as the monumental fountain-house in Olympia (Alcock 1993: 125), *Herodus Atticus* was an exceptional personality also with regards to land ownership, with estates in eight different part of three provinces including Epirus, Italy and Egypt (Alcock 1993: 74-5, 78).

The effect of these individuals and their activities over the 'structures', and of the edifices they had constructed over the development of ancient theatre architecture, may be worth further investigation, in the light of the question '*whether some events at least might not modify structures, rather than simply reflect them*', which was raised by Burke (1990: 91) against Braudel's firm conviction that 'events' resulting from human action were simply mirrors reflecting the history of 'structures', i.e. reactions or responses to 'structural change'. A comparison between the Theatres of *Gades* and of *Balbus*, *Pompey*, and *Marcellus* in Rome would appear compelling in this respect if the remains from the former two were better preserved and more systematically studied.

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APPENDIX A

ANCIENT THEATRES IN SPAIN ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

This Appendix is a summary of a research project realised in the year 2001 during a three-month stay in Spain, with a summer grant offered by Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional and distributed by the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Turkish Ministry of Education. Compiled mainly in the Humanities library of the University of Complutense in Madrid, the initial research data was later complemented by site visits in the period 2001-4 (fig. A.1). Later added were the epigraphically-evidenced examples (fig. A.2) cited in the census prepared by Paola Ciancio Rossetto and Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio (1994/95/96), which could only be reviewed in 2003 during a similar study period in Athens, Greece (see Appendix B). Then, the information collected on each one of the 45 buildings has been catalogued under the following headings:

- *physical properties of the monument*
 - *overall diameter*
 - *diameter of the orchestra*
 - *capacity*
 - *state of conservation*
- *urban history at the site*
 - *modern research and excavations*
- *construction stages and architectural characteristics of the individual monument*
 - *location of the theatre in the city*
 - *stratigraphy and construction stages*
 - *architectural characteristics*
- *conservation history of the monument*
- *references*

The accompanying maps show the current state of the investigation in reference to the sites that could be visited during the research project and the state of conservation of the remains to serve as a measure for the reliability of the conclusions drawn for individual cases. The appended summary chart presents the entries in alphabetical order of ancient settlement names. It is possible to list the same

data according to modern location or building sizes or types, as required by the destined use, which has been the basic reason for the preparation of the summary.

Especially on numerical data, such as seating capacity or dimensions, and on chronological data, such as those referring to distinct construction phases or historiography, the summary chart has been prepared so as to give an idea about inconveniencies between various references. While consecutive and not contradictory information has been listed as separated by a “ / ” (e.g. Augustan planning and Tiberian (AD 20-37) initial construction / Flavian (AD 60-70) marble orchestra pavement), global figures have been given as separated by a “ – ” without space (e.g. dates to 4th-7th c. AD Late Antique settlement or 1,500-2,000 people) while different estimations or chronological attributions have been distinguished by spacing before and after “ – ” (e.g. early 1st century Claudian – AD 60-70 Neronian or Vespasianian initial construction or 1,600-2,000-2,242 – 8,000 people). The same denotation logic has been applied whenever necessary to other, non-numeric data (e.g. the *cavea* has been carved into the living rock – constructed over manmade substructure).

In all, several characteristics of the catalogued forty-five examples made them ideal for such an inquiry as the one intended in this dissertation. In the first place, the majority of the better conserved twenty-two examples were systematically studied only after the 1970s and published mainly in Spanish. This partly explains the relative absence of references to examples from Roman *Hispania* in major comparative surveys like Margarete Bieber's (1961) wherein only the Theatres at Mérida and Sagunto were included among the overall seventy-six cited examples; or Edmond Frézouls' (1982) wherein the Iberian examples are cited only four times in reference to euergetism in the cases of *Olisippo* (Lisbon), *Emerita Augusta* (Mérida), *Hispalis* (Seville), and *Castulo* (Jáen) (393), and to the total number of twenty-one ancient theatre remains in the Iberian provinces (420). In addition to early and modern excavation reports, two symposia¹ and several monographs were published on the Roman theatres of the Iberian Peninsula, to which unpublished dissertations have to be added. This extensive

¹ These are: *Actas del Simposio “El Teatro en la Hispania Romana” – Mérida, 13-15 de Noviembre de 1980*; Organizado por Junta Regional de Extremadura, Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Badajoz y Caja de Ahorros de Badajoz. Coloquios Científicos de la Institución Pedro de València, Badajoz; and *Teatros Romanos de Hispania*, edited by F.S. Ramallo Asensio and F. Santiuste. Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana, 2. Universidad de Murcia y Colegio de Arquitectos de Murcia, Murcia. The former publication includes presentations on the Theatres at *Acinipo*, *Belo*, *Bilbilis*, *Clunia*, *Itálica*, Lisbon, Málaga, Medellín, Mérida, *Pollentia*, *Regina*, Sagunto, *Segóbriga*, Tarragona, and Zaragoza. Additionally included are articles on ‘Theatre and public in Ancient Rome’, ‘Theatre in the life of the provinces of *Hispania*’, ‘Urban location of Roman theatres in the Iberian Peninsula’, ‘The influence of theatre in the art of Roman *Hispania*’, and an enthusiastic call for using antique theatres for staging classics. A distinction of the second symposium is the emphasis given on the historiography and methodology of interventions in the presented examples of *Acinipo*, *Bilbilis*, Cádiz, *Caesar Augusta*, Cartagena, *Itálica*, Lisbon, Málaga, Sagunto, *Singilia Barba*, and Tarragona. Additionally included in this volume is a presentation on ‘Theatre and monumental urban development in *Hispania*’. When taken together, the two proceedings not only reveal the pace at which knowledge of the eight examples included in both volumes has expanded in the decade separating the two symposia and testify to recent discoveries, but also demonstrate a shifting interest to methodological concerns especially in founding restitution and restoration proposals. The controversial intervention at the Theatre of Sagunto must have had its share in this shift (fig. 3.9).

documentation, not only of their actual state but also of their historiography, is the second feature that makes Iberian examples suitable for our inquiry.

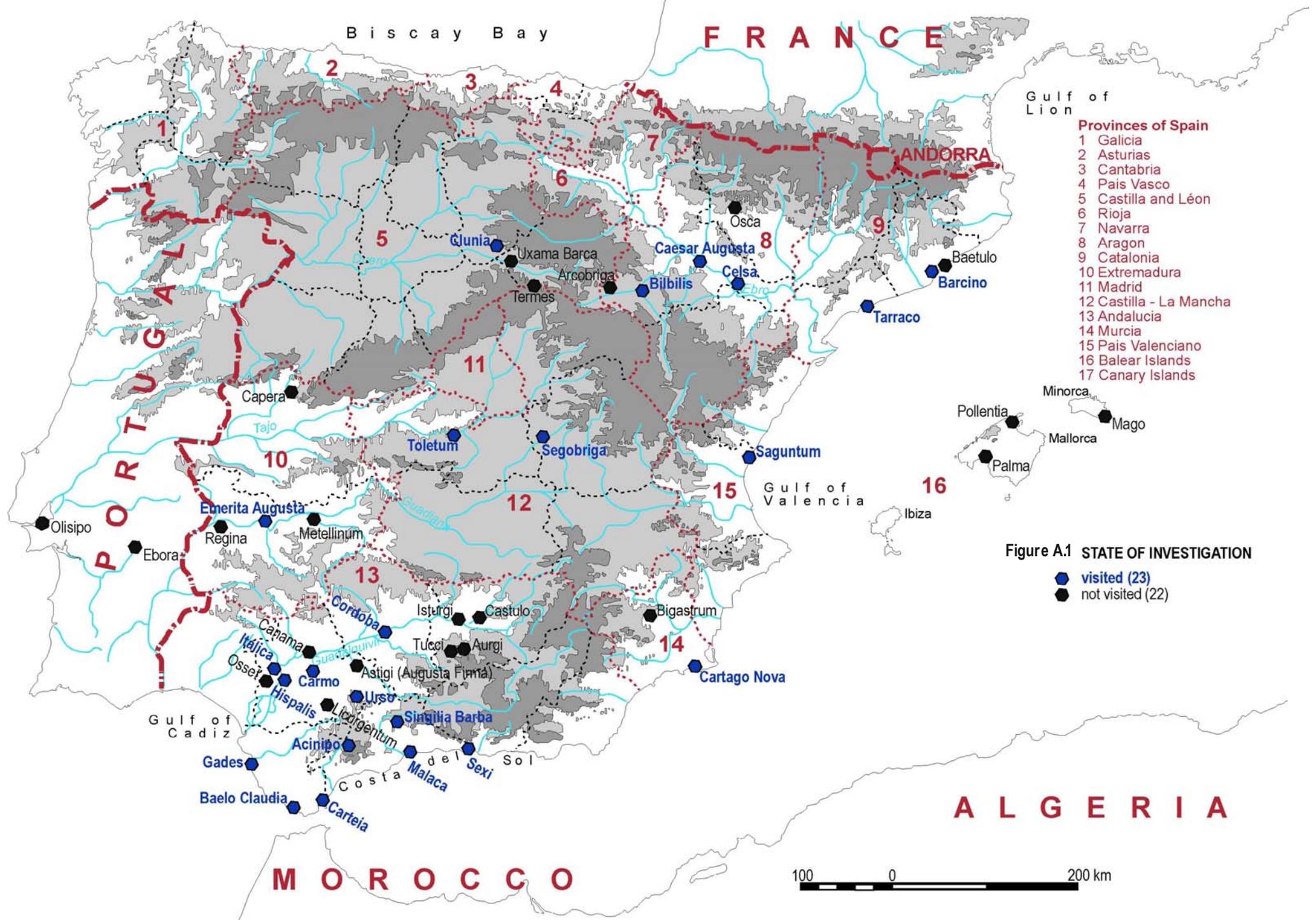
Especially influential, in the development of the present study, have been the proceedings of the two symposia organised in 1980 and 1992 respectively, bringing together experts in the field who explained to their colleagues not only their findings and hypotheses but also their working methods. The presentations included in these two volumes has revealed the fact that the Vitruvian diagram is still being used in the restitution of antique theatres and therefore has the potential to inform the consequent interventions. Born out of a preliminary presentation in 2002², which was followed by another one in 2004³, the third chapter on 'Implications of a Typology Based on the Greek-Roman Binarism in Studies on Ancient Theatre Architecture' has been founded on this observation. The main argument in the fourth chapter on 'The Network of Ancient Theatres in Modern Spain' has also been formulated on the basis of the present compilation, which would illustrate the essential part it played on the development of the dissertation. Additionally, two other presentations were made using part of the collected data on topics that remain beyond the main concerns of this study—namely, the variety observed in the conservation state of, and the corresponding type of interventions in, ancient theatre remains in Spain⁴ and the effect on these of modern festivals in comparison to the case in Greece⁵.

² Aktüre Şiram, Zeynep (unpublished). 'Greek or Roman? Roman period theatres of the Iberian Peninsula and the Vitruvian Canon', *Iberia & The Mediterranean – 5th Annual Congress of the Mediterranean Studies Association*, Universidad de Granada (May 29 – June 1, 2002).

³ Aktüre Şiram, Zeynep (unpublished). 'On senses of "form" and "structure" in studies on ancient theatre architecture', *CongressCATH 2004 – Architecture of Philosophy, Philosophy of Architecture, School of Fine Arts, History of Art & Cultural Studies*, University of Leeds (July 9-11, 2004).

⁴ Aktüre Şiram, Zeynep (unpublished). 'To restore or not to restore? Modern implementations at Roman theatres in Spain', *Catalonia & The Mediterranean – 7th Annual Congress of the Mediterranean Studies Association*, Universitat de Barcelona and Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània (May 26-29, 2004).

⁵ Aktüre Şiram, Zeynep 2003. '¡Hagamos Teatro Clásico en Nuestros Teatros Clásicos!' – On the local roots of modern Greco-Roman drama festivals in Greece and Spain', *34th Annual Congress of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, July 2-5, 2003. 500-word abstract published in *Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies Bulletin XXVIII* (1-2, Spring/Fall 2003) 33.



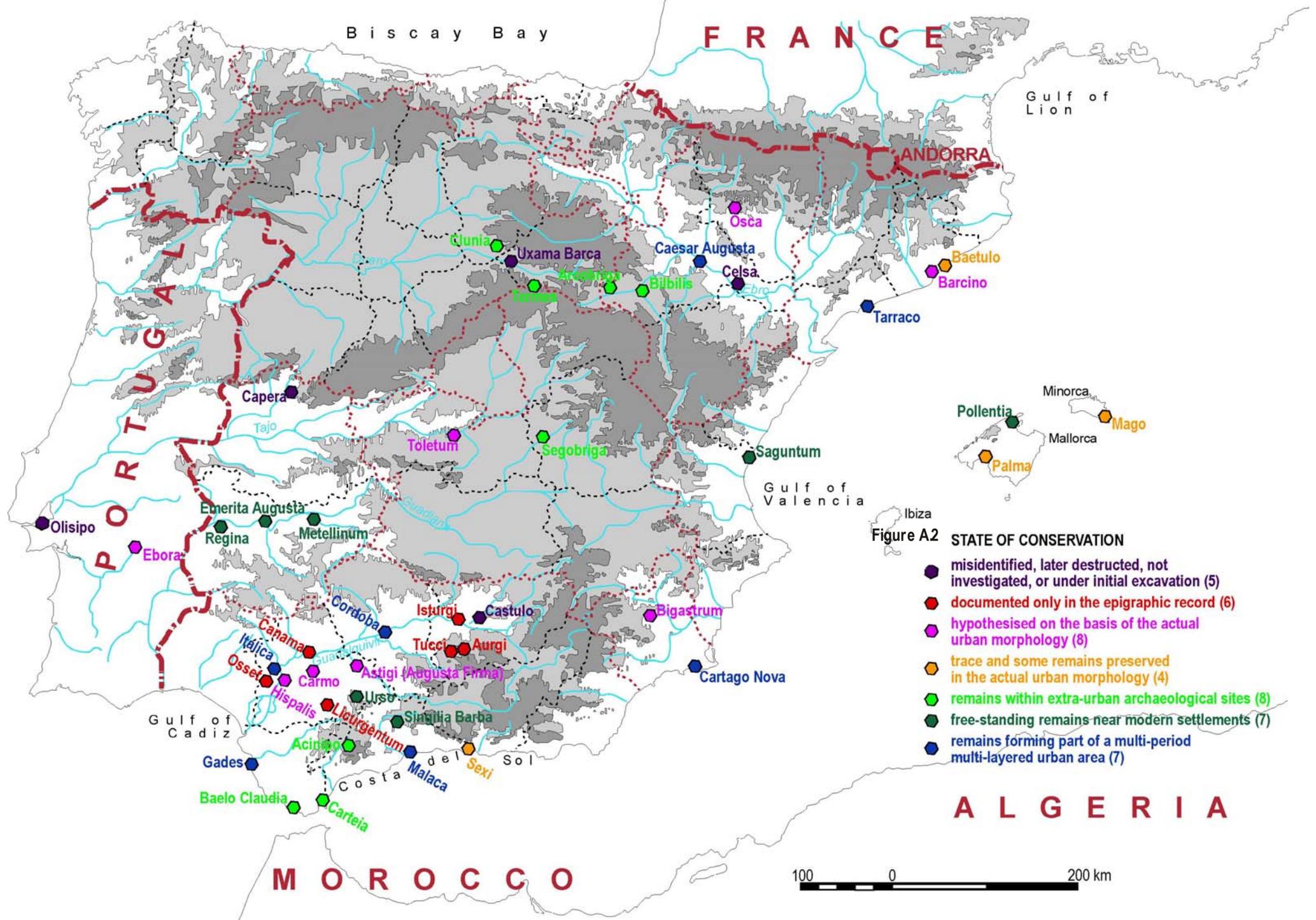


Figure A2

Table A Ancient Theatres in Modern Spain – Architectural Characteristics and Historiography

ancient name	modern location	state of remains	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
ACINPO (fig.A.7)	Ronda la Vieja (MÁLAGA)	within an extra-urban site	2,000 (seated, presuming 60-70 cm/person)	d=49-62m	d=18-20m	very close to the edge of the defile on which the city is located, in a peripheral condition limiting the city on the west; now is the only visible standing architectural element in the yet unexcavated city	carved straight into the living rock, with the excavated material used as blocks of stone in the upper structure of the monument, as in Greek and Hellenistic theatres / semicircular, three <i>mæniana</i> with six <i>cunei</i>	initial construction (including 2-storey rectilinear <i>scenae frons</i> with 5 gables) dated to the Republican period (2nd half of 1st c. BC - 1st triumvirate), mainly on the basis of the applied construction technique and architectural characteristics - 60-50 BC / final abandonment 2nd half of 2nd c. AD - AD 200	have always been visible / studied from 16th c. onwards / detailed descriptions and a series of drawings in manuscripts from 1750s / registered as Immovable Cultural Heritage - Monument in 1931 / plans and photographs published by Palomeque (1943) / systematic excavation after 1980 when the General Directory of Fine Arts, Ministry of Culture commissioned its restoration / interventions in 1980-85 include excavations to determine chronology, consolidation of existing stage building remains and their partial completion, and construction of a stage
ARCOBRIGA (fig.A.8)	Monreal de Ariza (SARAGOSSA)	within an extra-urban site		d=58m		located on a hill whose east side is cut naturally by a defile and the remaining three heavily fortified by double walls, access through a ramp at the south end of a Basílica almost tangent to the circle of the Theatre at a dominating height which would have provided for a perfect enjoyment to the representations	carved it into the living rock following the "Greek custom", taking the advantage of a profound ravine between the Acropolis and the plateau of public buildings, which may have been modified greatly to give it a semicircular form		described in the manuscript of Enrique Aguilera y Gamboa, Marqués of Cerralbo, dated 20 October 1911 / no remains have survived at the surface to our day
ASTIGI, AUGUSTARRMA	Ecija (SEVILLA)	misidentified							Following excavations, the remains thought to belong to a theatre were acknowledged to be those of an amphitheatre.
AURGI	Jaeń (JAEN)	epigraphically documented							
BAELO CLAUDIA (fig.A.9)	Bolonia (Tarifa, CÁDIZ)	within an extra-urban site	3,000 (not serving the rural and fishermen population of the site)	d=60m - 67-70m	d=16-20m	located at the junction of the upper and lower city where the level difference is the greatest; near the west wall of the city but connected to the monumental centre on its border flanked by the three Capitoline temples by the <i>decumanus</i> north of the <i>deumanus maximus</i> ; integrating perfectly with the orthogonal layout of the city, with the symmetry axis of the building corresponding to the <i>cardo</i> leading to it and the exterior façade of the stage building parallel to the aforementioned <i>deumanus</i> / possibly had a <i>porticus post scaenam</i> to its south	a hybrid construction consisting of tiers at the two ends over massive vaulted masonry substructures, two of which connected the <i>parados</i> with the upper <i>vomitivium</i> ; the central portion of the <i>ima</i> and <i>media caeae</i> installed over the living rock; and the upper part over concentric galleries cut by radial walls that divide the space between each <i>vomitivium</i> into three compartments, two of which were filled with earth while a stair case in the third united the <i>vomitivium</i> with the attic / semicircular, with three <i>mæniana</i> ; the <i>ima</i> cavea with four <i>cunei</i>	early 1st century Claudian - AD 60-70 Neronian or Vespasian initial construction (including multi-storey rectilinear <i>scenae frons</i> with 3 doors flanked by semicircular niches housing semi-detached sculptural ornamentation) / some experts have suggested two construction phases for the cavea on the basis of its composite construction technique / a comprehensive transformation in the stage building at the end of 1st c. AD / abandoned in 3rd c. AD - stayed in use up to 5th c. AD / 4th-7th c. AD Lab. Antique settlement / <i>parados</i> entrances blocked up by 1970s by a dry stone wall to keep animals	have always been visible / first archaeological prospected by Pierre Paris in 1914 followed by the work of the French through Casa de Velázquez / first systematic excavations limited by the orchestra in 1917-21 published in 1923 / consolidation of the east half of the edifice in the year 1973 caused the loss of all evidence that might have come from his part / start of new excavations in June 1978 to benefit from the tourism and cultural potential of the site under the auspices of the Provincial Government of Cádiz and the provincial representative of the Ministry of Culture, the latter to be replaced in 1980 by the Ministry of Education as the representative of the Spanish government at the site - the excavation of the west half of the edifice in the 1978-9 campaigns / comprehensive implementations apparently for preservation and presentation purposes going on in summer 2002
BAETULO (fig.A.10)	Badalona (BARCELONA)	trace and remains in actual urban morphology	1,500-2,000	d=48m		located on the higher part of the mountain slope on which the Roman city of <i>Baetulo</i> was situated; at the central area of the ancient city that had been possibly inhabited by an indigenous [i.e. pre-Roman Iberian?] population; next to other public buildings from the Roman period that form the Forum, including a Temple and Baths		1st c. AD	after an application made by a constructor to obtain the obligatory building permission required in the area due to its archaeological interest; some remains from the Theatre were discovered in June 2000 by the Museum of Badalona and buried back in order to maintain their intactness without hindering urban development in the <i>Dalt la Vila</i> (Upper Town) district in the historic quarter of modern Badalona, beneath the Sant Antoni and Eres streets and in front of a historic urban block that has long been suspected to have been built over the remains from the theatre due to the curvilinear form of the block which is in formal contrast with the orthogonal urban layout in that part of the settlement
BARCINO	Barcelona (BARCELONA)	identification still doubtful							in addition to epigraphic evidence; some remains have been discovered in the Calle del Regmir of the <i>Barri Gòtic</i> , which belong to a Roman period public building that may or not have been the Theatre
BIGASTRUM	Alicante (MURCIA)	still hypothetical							although reported by some scholars, still regarded as a hypothesis

Table A (continued)

ancient name	modern location	state of remains	capacity	cave size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
BLBLS AUGUSTA (fig.A.11)	Calabuyod (SARAGOSSA)	within an extra-urban site	6,000 (medium in size, as convenient with the minor importance of the city when compared with the grand capitals of <i>conventus</i> and <i>provinciae</i>); 4,622	d= 733m-7820m-80m	d= 20m	takes the advantage of the two slopes of the profound ravine between the Sta. Barbara and Bambuda hills, with a southerly exposure open to the prevailing wind as well as the view of the Jabon valley, while the height of the Bambuda hill provided shadow for evening performances; located close to the Temple of the Imperial Cult dedicated to Tiberius, with which it was planned together and connected through an access ramp, while the uppermost tiers reach the level of the plain above, designated as the Forum dating from the Augustan or Tiberian era	<i>in a and media cavea</i> cut into the natural rock, <i>summa cavea</i> out of linear timber rows would have rested on an ambulatory of radial sustaining walls and reached through steps in the vomitoria; perfectly semicircular in shape - one of those post-Augustan monuments in which the perfectly semicircular form has been dispensed with for economic reasons or for achieving an organic unity with the rectilinear architecture of the Forum in a complicated topographic situation; so the diameter line retreats 21 degrees at the <i>paecochb</i> between the <i>ima</i> and <i>media cavea</i> / remains from <i>porticus in summa gradatione</i> and <i>sacellum in summa cavea</i> with <i>sicune</i>	Augustan or early Tiberian - construction started between 1 and 14 AD (Augustan period) and inaugurated in mid-1st c. AD (Julio-Claudian period) / Tiberian construction of the <i>crupb</i> established unity with the porticoes of the Forum / late Tiberian or early Claudian stage building (consisting of a two-storey <i>scenae frons</i> with three gates through curvilinear niches) with painted decoration dated to a period between 35-45 AD / enlargement of the <i>postscenium</i> between the end of 1st c. AD and the first quarter of 2nd c. AD / transformed into a ruin and agricultural use after 3rd c. AD / use as a hotel or dwelling in the Dark Ages	included in travellers' accounts as early as 16th c. with sketches / first excavated by Sentenach y Cabanis in the second decade of 20th c. when the last levels of the media cavea where it connects with the <i>summa cavea</i> had most probably been cleared, in addition to the exterior wall of the <i>scenae</i> and a cut towards the interior that almost reached the centre of the orchestra, with the results including a wrongly-oriented plan published in 1918 and the limited material that had revealed in the excavations sent to the National Museum of Archaeology / a series of cuts realised in 1934 by Schütten who accompanied general Lammeler / investigations resumed in 1971 but remained limited to sounding drills up to the intensive campaign of 1975-80 that produced sufficient material for a theoretical reconstruction which awaited its definitive consolidation and partial restoration for a better preservation in the early 1980s / interventions going on in 2001
CAESAR AUGUSTA (fig.A.12)	Saragossa (SARAGOSSA)	remains forming part of a multi-period multi-layered urban area	6,000	d= 104-107m		discovered between historic buildings from various periods on an inner city block that preserves the Roman period street layout in the <i>regio anita de xtda (or citata)</i> , near an important <i>deumanus</i> and at the extreme south gate of the <i>ardus maxim us</i> from which it was also accessible; some 50m (= cavea radius) separated the <i>postscenium</i> from a secondary <i>deumanus</i> coinciding with the actual San Jorge street, possibly with a <i>prothyron</i> (monumental area with porticoes and gardens) between the two which would have provided access to the lateral entrances leading to vaulted passages in the <i>paescaenia</i> and below the cavea to reach the tiers forming the perimeter of the theatre at the south	the cavea rises on concrete vault finished by cut stone blocks - the unique example from Spain wherein the hollow structure was adopted, probably because there was not enough inclination in the site selected for the foundation of the <i>colonia Caesar Augusta</i> for its theatre cavea to rest on a natural slope - the inner <i>maenium</i> and the <i>orchestra</i> were made to sit directly onto natural sandstone by lowering the natural levels whenever necessary and the radial chambers were filled with earth and debris up to the floor level / semicircular, with three <i>maeniana</i> ; the <i>ima cavea</i> with <i>sicune</i>	Augustan houses / Augustan planning and Tiberian construction for the Theatre / Flavian marble orchestra pavement / end of 2nd c. construction in the central access with a podium for an imperial statue or a <i>sacrum bum et imaginum</i> / stone stripped off at the turn of 3rd c. / 4th c. repair in the <i>orchestra</i> and lower cavea implying re-use for an undefined function / filling up of the <i>orchestra</i> by 5th and early 6th c. probably for the celebration of circus and other games / final abandonment as a place of performance in 540-560 and re-use of the radial chambers for dwelling, with the re-sturning into a Visigoth junkyard / in 8th - early 10th c. <i>orchestra</i> used for burials / 11th c. leveling for a Hispano-Muslim house and artistic workshop, abandoned after the conquest of Alfonso I in 1118 / Late Medieval occupation by humble Jewish houses and possibly a synagogue / 15th c. church of San Andres and Mudejar factory, the latter demolished in 1868 / 16th c. Palacio de Zaporta at the site of today's <i>bercaja</i> /	discovered in 1972 during the preparations of the site for the construction of houses, which were immediately suspended and excavations started / first results published in 1976 / the site considered in 1983 as a possible site for the Museum of Saragossa / excavations resumed in 1984 and continued in 1985-86 / the Ministry of Culture expropriated the residence of the Jesuit Fathers, which was demolished in 1987-88 and its debris removed in 1989-90 / excavations in the period 1991-93 included research on earlier levels below the Sagrada Corazon church on the Plaza de San Pedro Nolasco for the possible remains from the stage building using non-destructive sensing methods; consolidation, cleaning and maintenance works; and preparation of timber bridges and passages for circulating around the remains / in the period 1999-2001, grant of funds by the Ministry of Public Works for the consolidation of the remains / interventions going on in 2001 involve a project to cover the remains from the Theatre with a transparent roof and integrate it into a Museum programme while also restoring the historic facade of the modern San Jorge street
CANAMA	Villanueva del Rio (SEVILLA)	epigraphically documented							
CAFERA	Caparra (CACERES)	under study							partially excavated and currently under study
CARMO	Carmona (SEVILLA)	still hypothetical				the foundations of an impressive building were unearthed in the General Freire street and identified with the Theatre on the basis of their construction characteristics, dimensions, topographical location and situation with respect to the Roman city			its existence has always been hypothesised although George Bonsor proposed that the Amphitheatre would have served the purposes of both edifices / what has been identified as the remains from the Theatre were unearthed in the General Freire street in 1995

Table A (continued)

ancient name	modern location	state of remains	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
CARTHAGO NOVA (fig.A.13)	Cartagena (MURCIA)	remains forming part of a multi-period multi-layered urban area	6000-7000	d = 87.20-87.60m-100m	d = 22.90-23.58m	situated on the northwestern slope of the Castillo de la Concepción, the traditional Acropolis and fortress inhabited from 5th c. BC onwards, in a peripheral position inside the fortified urban nucleus, in close relation with the civic and religious while considerably distant from the administrative centre, apparently to benefit from the possibilities offered by the topography of the site; faces the port and is protected from south winds in accordance with Vitruvian norms by turning its back to the open sea / partial superposition of the Old Cathedral and other later buildings over the remains from the Roman theatre is one of the major singularities of his splendid archaeological complex with <i>porticus post scaenam</i>	the cavea sits at its two extreme upper ends over semi-circular galleries separated by radial walls while its central part sits directly over the natural slope of the hill; the upper structure would have consisted of two outer rings at the same plan level and an inner one at a lower level, all vaulted / hypothetical <i>porticus in summa gradatone</i> and <i>scellum in summa cavea</i> / consisted of three <i>maeniana</i> that were divided into four <i>cunei</i> in the <i>ima</i> and <i>media cavea</i> and at least in four in the <i>summa cavea</i>	late 2nd - early 1st c. BC dwellings / architecturally Late Republican or early 1st c. AD construction for the Theatre (including 2-storey <i>scænae frons</i> with 3 curvilinear niches, central slightly larger) - epigraphically and stylistically between 5-1 BC / second half of 2nd c. abandonment or partial transformation attested in stratigraphy / 5th c. <i>tabernae</i> largely out of the Augustan Theatre material after leveling the abandonment layers / end of 5th c. burnt layer marking the abandonment of the <i>tabernae</i> / first half of 6th c. layer with rectangular rooms / mid-7th c. Byzantine layer adopted by the Theatre's geometry, with two construction phases and a final destruction around 620-25 by Visigoth troops / uninhabited by c. 10th c. when poor Islamic dwellings were constructed and abandoned in 11th c. / 12th c. Islamic district abandoned in the first quarter of 13th c. / scarce 14th - 15th c. evidence / 16th c. Cathedral and fishermen districts survived up to 19th c. / 19th. and early 20th c. installations	remains from the Theatre identified in 1986, after the partial demolition of the ruined house space of Carlos Peralta appropriated by the Town Council for the construction of a regional artisans' centre later transferred to another site, avoiding by a hairbreadth the repetition of the unfortunate situation at Malaga / other nearby urban buildings were also demolished and excavations started in 1988 and continued well into 1997 / 11th May 1994 application for and 23rd September 1997 declaration of the remains as cultural heritage of the monument category / 1996 convention between the Comunidad Autónoma, Ayuntamiento de Cartagena and Caja de Ahorros de Murcia mainly for the financing of the excavations set up a Commission for the Monitoring of the Roman Theatre of Cartagena headed by the noted architect Rafael Moneo, which is also responsible for the development and implementation of a project for the integration of the monument into the urban context, which is still pending for implementation
CARTEBA (fig.A.14)	Guadarranque (San Roque, CÁDIZ)	within an extra-urban site	an edifice of noble dimensions	d = 35m		located high in the northeast part of the city and very close to the limit of the city walls, near the Temple	rests on the natural rock in two thirds of its construction, while the now totally disappeared two ends of the <i>cavea</i> used to extend out / divided into four <i>cunei</i>	part of a Republican plan also including the Temple - an implementation little later than the Augustan era / traces of later remodeling during the prosperous periods of the city	described by travellers and scholars starting from 18th c. / early excavations reported in 1953 / later excavations in 1970 without publication, and an elemental restoration in which precise brick supports were introduced in order to sustain the concrete pillars conserved in the upper part of the tiers / cleaning and minor excavations in 1990 / was practically inaccessible and almost invisible in summer 2002
CASTILLO	Linares (JAÉN)	epigraphic evidence and unexcavated foundation remains							remains of the <i>scæna</i> and one third of the <i>cavea</i> were identified beneath the hermitage of S. José
CELSA	Veilla de Ebro (SARAGOSSA)	remains below later building		d = 90m					
CLUNIA (fig.A.15)	Couna de los Condes (BURGOS)	within an extra-urban site	8,000-10,000	d = 78.91-95.107-110m	d = 24-25m	situated probably outside the Roman fortifications in which case a gateway into the city might have been located in its vicinity / the central axis of the Theatre may have been parallel to the <i>deamarius</i> of an older orthogonal layout predating the Flavian Forum	while the <i>summa</i> and <i>media cavea</i> are carved into the living rock, the <i>ima cavea</i> was entirely constructed out of earth / five precincts with tier rows of seats and eleven <i>cunei</i> in each - three precincts, the <i>ima</i> and <i>media cavea</i> with four while the <i>summa cavea</i> eight <i>cunei</i> / the Vitruvian method for the Greek theatre used for the restitutions of the <i>cavea</i>	Tiberian initial construction (involving a 2-3-storey rectilinear <i>scænae frons</i> with 3 very wide gates) / agricultural use after abandonment	first excavated in 1775 / later reported by scholars and travellers with visual material / minor excavations in 1915 to correct the existing plans / excavations resumed in 1931-34 / cleaning of vegetation in 1965 and trial digs in the <i>scænae frons</i> / excavations in 1965-66 for the preparation of measured drawings in 1972-75 / start of modern use in 2000 for the <i>Festival Juvenil Europeo de Teatro Greco-latino</i>
CORDOBA (fig.A.16)	Córdoba (CORDOBA)	remains forming part of a multi-period multi-layered urban area		d = 124.3m (420 feet) - 126m the largest so far discovered in Spain		takes advantage of a steep natural slope at the foot of the southern section of the Republican wall, at the point of union between the Republican city and the Augustan enlargement towards the south, which is the only part of the city with significant topographical variations / the rest of the hillside terraced with squares and flights of steps on both side of the Theatre facilitating communication between the old urban nucleus and its Augustan extension and ordering the access to the Theatre in the absence of a <i>porticus post scaenam</i> in a manner reminiscent of Hellenistic influence / possibly intertwined with the Amphitheatre with a spacious gallery as in Mérida, forming a complex in triangular form generated by the change of angle in the orientation of the Republican and Imperial street pattern, at a peripheral but mural location limited from the east by the city walls and the first <i>cardo</i> inside it	infrastructure of the <i>cavea</i> seems to have been formed almost thoroughly by annular galleries and concentric or radial walls, with a complex network of stairs that distributed the internal circulation / the more-than-semicircular form of the <i>cavea</i> resting on a natural slope finds its parallel in Republican or Hellenistic buildings, setting the building apart from the other edifices constructed by the local elite in places such as <i>Itálica</i> , <i>Aciprio</i> and <i>Malaca</i> / a possible <i>scellum in summa cavea</i> / slightly exceeds a semicircle	Augustan - mid-1st c. AD initial construction possibly commissioned by M. Claudius Marcellus, the niece, son-in-law, and heir of Augustus; the architect responsible for the building seems to have tried to emulate, both in decoration and size, the Theatre of Marcellus at Rome / 2nd c. AD and Late Flavian - Trajanian decorative pieces attesting continuity of use and modifications / a possible <i>re-édifico</i> of the stage building in the period of Constantine attested in Asiatic Corinthian capitals / change of use in 3rd and 4th c. attested in later construction remains / domestic use after end of 6th - 6th c. siting / 6th c. burial ground after the collapse of its facade and stripping of its material	several individual finds in surrounding plots, later connected with the Theatre / some stone steps belonging to one of the terraces surrounding the Theatre revealed during their repair and construction work on the site of the Provincial Archaeological Museum in the Plaza de Jerónimo Páez in 1946, interpreted as belonging to the seating rows of the <i>cavea</i> and integrated into the epigraphic hall in the new extension to the building / excavations in and around the Museum in the 1990s revealed architectural remains / architectural finds of recent excavations in 1999 in plots appropriated by the Museum in its vicinity for the purpose of an extension to the Museum finally enabled the identification of the edifice / the Project for the Enlargement and Reform of the Museum, formulated in 1992 and revised in 1997, is finally underway for the conservation, integration and valorisation of the Theatre complex

Table A (continued)

ancient name	modern location	state of remains	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
EBORA	Evora (PORTUGAL)	hypothesised on the basis of actual urban morphology					sitting on the smooth slope of the San Albin hill, a precedent to be repeated particularly in the theatres of <i>Medellinum</i> and <i>Itálica</i> / an official commission designed by architects linked to the court of Augustus but the technical developments that made possible the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus have very little share in the grandiosity of the building / structurally represents the early Greco-Roman style with its tiers carved in the Greek manner while its upper part rests on substructures mostly out of granite stone and brickwork / semicircular, consisting of three <i>maeniana</i> with six <i>cunei</i> in the <i>ima cavea</i> and six <i>vomitoria</i> in the <i>media</i> and <i>summa cavea</i> / a Trajanian <i>saecularium laurum et imaginum</i> in the <i>ima cavea</i>	epigraphically documented to have been donated by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, the possible patron of the colony and the son-in-law of Octavius Augustus, in 16-15 BC and inaugurated in 15 BC / last quarter of 1st c. modifications under Domitian / late 1st-early 2nd c. Antonine remodeling of the stage through the addition of a monumental <i>scenae frons</i> (with 2-storey decoration and a large curvilinear central niche flanked by two small rectilinear ones) / epigraphically documented remodeling of the <i>scenae frons</i> and accesses in the first half of 4th c. under Constantine I - AD 333-337 - AD 337-340 / used as a warehouse after abandonment and virtually buried, with its material plundered and re-used / a Plaza de Toros over the remains	early excavations in 1750s / a masonry structure was added following the semicircular form of the visible ancient structure with less radius to convert the remains into a Plaza de Toros, as attested in a poster from the year 1779 / later futile attempts in 1868 by the Subcommission of Monuments for the excavation of the edifice / systematic excavations started in 1910 / registered as Immovable Cultural Heritage - Monument in 1912, published in 1913 / first official use for a modern performance of ancient drama in 1924 / official inauguration in 1933 / Classical Theatre Festival attaining regularly in 1953 / the Archaeological Ensemble at Mérida included in the World Heritage List in 1993 / included since 1996 in the European Youth Festival of Greco-Latin Theatre organised by the Greco-Latin Theatre Institute of Segóbrga / other activities within the framework of the Nework of Greco-Latin Theatrical Space constituted at Mérida in February 2000 by the International Institute Foundation of the Theatre of the Mediterranean
EMERITA AUGUSTA (fig. A17)	Mérida (BADAJOS)	free-standing remains near modern settlements	5500-6000	d = 86-86.5086.63-87m - 96.97.40m - 200	d = 17m - 30m	part of the most important building complex of <i>Emerita Augusta</i> consisting also of the Amphitheatre at the southeast end of the city, at the fringe of the walled area / has a <i>porticus post scaenam</i>			
GADES (fig. A18)	Cádiz (Cádiz)	remains forming part of a multi-period multi-layered urban area	20000	d = 120m = 400 Roman feet = 29.7 cm		in a convenient position within the new city founded by Balbus the Younger, over the border of the canal and close to the city entrance / it possibly had a monumental <i>porticus post scaenam</i> that extended almost to the bank of the harbour canal / surrounded by monuments from different periods that display the continuity in the urban history of the site / the only monumental building surviving from the Roman Gades	sitting on a natural slope, with mark of Republican rather than Imperial workmanship - <i>summa cavea</i> over radial walls completely destroyed by the sea or through re-use - arched vaulting cutting three annular galleries starting from the level of the <i>praedictio</i> between the <i>media</i> and <i>summa cavea</i> implies the possibility of another circulation level below, perhaps from an earlier construction stage - vaulted <i>opus caem enibulum</i> galleries constructed in independent horizontal layers instead of consecutive arches benefiting from the plastic quality of concrete / consists of three <i>maeniana</i> , no face of stairs - with six <i>cunei</i>	possibly constructed around 46-43 BC, which makes it the oldest dating Theatre in the Iberian Peninsula / Cato refers to its use by Balbus in 43 BC, which makes it the unique Hispanic example on which there exists literary sources / served as a shelter in 4th-6th/7th c. / a base for the first Medieval fortifications, with its vaulted substructure serving as the first urban infrastructure system / one of the early Islamic castles later remodelled by Alfonso X and demolished in 19th c., in whose place now stands the municipal nursery / 16th c. administrative and religious institutions in his area / 17th c. stables used by the nobles / almost half of the Vila Vieja (Old Village) now known as the Pópulo district was situated over the theatre and the correlation of the buildings allow for identification with the modern land division of annular and radial walls that were superimposed over the theatre	covered by the 13th c. Vila de Alfonso X / its memory kept in Islamic references to a <i>Carsa</i> (Mabarrat) (Theatre Castle), possibly the same with the Christian <i>Acazaba</i> demolished in 19th c. / a curvilinear wall of the Vgorrio Foundry coincided with the facade of the Theatre - galleries known in all periods, giving place to many traditions and legends / a rough plan drawn in 1980 of a circular vaulted gallery accessed from the basement of the Patio Mudejar and its superposition over the land use plan resulted in the identification of the Theatre and the main date start of its excavation / in 1990 interventions began for the management of the remains after their archaeological and architectural investigation following some expropriations / integrated into the <i>Programa Andalucía 92</i> to subsidise the investment accumulated in Seville for Expo 92 and the 500th year celebrations of the discovery of America / after excavations in 1990-93, some reconstruction, cleaning, and consolidation work / rescue operations in 2000, followed by the decision of the Regional Council of Culture in favour of the monument for housing functions of the Classical Greco-Latin Theatre
HISPALIS	Sevilla (SEVILLA)	hypothesised on the basis of actual urban morphology				possibly extant and located to the east of the city			
ISTURGI	Los Villares (JAÉN)	epigraphically documented							
ITALICA (fig. A19)	Santiponce (SEVILLA)	remains forming part of a multi-period multi-layered urban area	3,000	d = 64m - 71-75m	d = 21-22.5m	located outside the city walls but in continuity with them, over the east slope of the San Antonio hill inhabited since the foundation of <i>Itálica</i> over earlier layers / initially there existed a street around the <i>cavea</i> , giving access to it through five doors, which was later replaced by a portico area that was progressively expanded / a Basilica dedicated to Trajan higher up the hill with <i>porticus post scaenam</i>	the construction would have started by that of a sheer wall against the pressure of earth, over which a perforated stone wall was constructed further high up the theatre hill by leveling the hill down to the <i>orchestra</i> level and constructing a substructure out of annular and radial walls to form chambers that were later filled with earth, with stone seats over the mortar above the hill / despite this construction technique, still thought by some scholars as <i>gradieria a la griega</i> , <i>apoyada en la colina</i> / consisted of three <i>maeniana</i> , with the <i>ima cavea</i> divided into four <i>cunei</i> / a typical scheme found also at Mérida	Augustan-Tiberian-Hadrianic initial construction - devised between 30 BC and 37 AD in three phases - recent late Republican dating / substantial modifications in the semicircular <i>cavea</i> and <i>scenae</i> (with 2-storey decoration and three gates flanked by niches, all rectilinear) between 60 and 80 AD - Tiberian or Hadrianic remodeling of the stage with marble ornaments over the ancient stucco / late 1st-early 2nd century transformation of the <i>porticus post scaenam</i> into covered stalls and the Temple of Isis was added some years later / Severan (193-211) remodeling of the stage / stayed in use up to mid-3rd c. AD / stayed open to visits up to mid-4th c. AD when it was covered with earth during a flooding of the Guadalquivir, which initiated its abandonment / destroyed during Barbarian invasions / used as a medieval cemetery and later as an industrial livestock breeding plant / modern Santiponce houses after the settlement of the site following a flooding of the Guadalquivir in 1603	identified by Father Francisco de Zevallos in 1886 / some trial digs in 1898 / some benches unearthed in 1937 / systematic excavations in the period 1971-75 parallel to expropriation of the overlying houses / interventions started in 1978 in surface cleaning, measured drawings and other preparatory work in 1979 / restitution of benches and stairs in 1980/82 / in 1987, included in the <i>Programa Andalucía 92</i> to subsidise the investment accumulated in Seville for Expo 92 and the 500th year celebrations of the discovery of America / restitution project in 1987 / 1988/91 survey and reconstructions in the stage, stage building, the portico behind it and its vicinity / used especially during the International Dance Festival of <i>Itálica</i> since 1988, the European Youth Festival of Greco-Latin Theatre, organised by the Greco-Latin Theatre Institute of Segóbrga, since 1996, and the Festival of Greco-Latin Theatre in Andalusia since 1997

Table A (continued)

ancient name	modern location	state of remains	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	histoiography
LICURGENUM	Moron (SEVILLA)	epigraphically documented							
MAGO	Mahon (Mallorca, BALEARES)	trace and remains in actual urban morphology					dug out of the rock on a slope / semicircular, with two <i>maeniana</i> , the lower uninterrupted and the upper divided into four <i>cunei</i>	the public initially remained standing, the steps were built at a later stage	
MALACA (fig.A.20)	Málaga (MÁLAGA)	remains forming part of a multi-period multi-layered urban area		d = 62m, r = 31m	d = 13.80m - 20m - 20.40m	located on a triangular plot delimited from the east by the <i>Alcazaba</i> , from the west by the Roman Theatre and the House of Culture, and from the north a district of modest two-rise houses that are the last testimonies of those covering the whole <i>Alcazaba</i> before renovation works	built on a natural slope / consisted of three <i>maeniana</i> divided into four <i>cunei</i> - recent excavations at the site tested an upper enclosure wall and the absence of a superior cavea, resulting in a configuration very similar to that in <i>Achipo</i>	7th-5th c. BC Punic, as well as Greek and Hellenistic ceramic finds at the site / 1st c. BC - early Augustan date for the Theatre after leveling earlier constructions including a Republican Bath / later modifications including Flavian decoration <i>saenae</i> (with 2 orders and 3 curvilinear niches, the central slightly larger) / abandoned in 3rd c. and plundered of its fine building material / Late Roman structures abandoned in 6th c. and covered with tombs / the slope of the <i>Alcazaba</i> occupied by dwellings for industrial activities related to garum production in 4th-11th c./ used as a deposit to build the Arab fortress / extension of popular districts over the <i>Alcazaba</i> in 18th c.	revealed in 1951 during work in the garden of the House of Culture, newly completed in a national programme initiated in 1934 to endow provincial capitals with edifices adequate for museums, archives, and libraries / declared as historic-artistic monument in 1952 / excavations in 1956-62 followed by consolidation and reconstruction of the then open part of the cavea and modifications in the House of Culture for a better exploitation of the remains / used during the Classical Theatre Festival of Málaga established in 1999 / registered as Immovable Cultural Heritage - Monument in 1972 / excavations in 1980-83 of the part below the House of Culture / in 1988, included in the <i>Programa Andalucía 92</i> to subside the investment accumulated in Seville for Expo 92 and the 500th year celebrations of the discovery of America / investigations in 1989-91 to determine the state of the part below the House of Culture / demolition of the House of Culture in 1994-2000 followed by excavations / project underway for its preservation and possible use for performances
METELLINUM (fig.A.21)	Medina (BADAJOZ)	free-standing remains near modern settlements	small	d = 55.85m - ca. 60m		extramural located at the centre of the southern slope of a hill crowned by a Medieval Castle and the Church of Santiago above the Theatre - adapted to the physical characteristics of the site through its incision into slope or through the ascription of symmetry	the cavea rests partly on a natural slope and partly on structures, with a semicircular outer ambulatory through which spectators could directly reach their seats / three <i>maeniana</i> with bur <i>cunei</i> - possibility of a <i>summa cavea</i> over the <i>crypta</i> not confirmed in remains	dated to the last quarter of 1st c. BC on the basis of its construction technique in comparison with the examples in near Mérida and the anteriority of the foundation of the <i>Cobca Metellinensis</i> / medieval and Arab constructions over the remains / re-use of its building material in near constructions /	excavations in 1969-70
OLISPO	Lisbon (PORTUGAL)	understudy		d = ca. 60m - 69.20m	d = ca. 36m	on the actual S. Mamede road in the Alameda district, largely beneath modern constructions	cavea cut into the calcareous ground	Augustan construction and Neonian renovation presumed / completely buried in the 1356 Lisbon earthquake	discovered in 1798 during construction work in the area / later covered by new buildings up to 1960 when it was discovered again thanks to the demolition of a house over it
OSCA	Huesca (HUESCA)	hypothesised on the basis of actual urban morphology		d = ca. 100m (hypothetical)		possible identification of one of the theatre's entrances in the semicircular outer wall in Va. S. Paciencia close to the modern church of S. Lorenzo on the road going from Osca to Caesar <i>Augusta</i>			located on the basis of a study of land registry maps of modern buildings, which appear to follow a constant oblique course as they were probably built over the remains of the ancient structure.
OSSET	Salteras (SEVILLA)	epigraphically documented							
PALMA (fig.A.22)	Palma de Mallorca (BALEARIC ISLES)	trace and remains in actual urban morphology		d = 16m - 40m		traced inside the historic centre of Palma corresponding to the Roman part at a site now occupied by seven building lots whose subdivision is regular and geometrically radial but façades are of different typologies, periods and characteristics	with four <i>cunei</i>	presumably Augustan	the site has been documented since 1235 / the hypothesis for the Theatre developed during site inspections for a rehabilitation project involving the edifices now occupying the site and after a sounding drill in 1999 in the courtyard of the houses, which would have corresponded to the <i>orchestra</i>
POLLINTIA (fig.A.23)	Alicante (Mallorca, BALEARES)	free-standing remains near modern settlements	1500: 2000 - small	d = 31m - 35-40m - 75m	d = 8m - 9.50m - 10m	extramural to the southeast of city walls overlooking the Alacuda Bay; surrounded by the Imperial Roman Neopolis - at a strategic location on an isthmus between the bays of Alacuda and Pollensa, on which the unwalled Roman dyke relied for its defence	levelers and more than semicircular - semicircular <i>orchestra</i> carved into a smooth slope descending southward towards the Alacuda beach / has two <i>maeniana</i> , with six <i>cunei</i> - bur <i>cunei</i>	pre-Roman constructions and graves filled for the construction of the seating row / presumably late 1st c. BC, pre-Augustan or Augustan / used as a cemetery first in 3rd c. AD, with graves carved in such a way as to destroy the seating rows and also outside in the higher parts of the slope, a quarry for extracting stone and later a farming area in the Middle Ages	existence first noted in 1887 / trial digs by a local intellectual in 1923, results published by his son in 1934 / in 1931, the opera <i>Ifigenia in Tauride</i> was staged here to mark Goethe's centenary / in 1949, a conference here on the Roman Theatres in Spain on the occasion of a course on archaeology / referred to as an 'amphitheatre' in some tourist guidebooks / systematic excavations attempted in 1950 and began in 1952 with finance from the William L. Bryant Foundation / registered as Immovable Cultural Heritage - Monument in 1963 or 1966

Table A (continued)

ancient name	modern location	state of remains	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
REGNA (fig.A.24)	Casas de la Reina (CACEREZ)	free-standing remains near modern settlements	800 without <i>summa cavea</i> -small	d=53m-55m-58m =26m	d=16.4m	located in the northwest end of the city, with an approximate east-west orientation / possible <i>porticus postscenarii</i>	the <i>ima cavea</i> on a smooth slope and the possibly timber <i>summa</i> on a straight wall with irregularly set external buttressing - distribution of the four <i>vomitiva</i> do not coincide with that of stairways / four <i>cunei</i> in the <i>ima cavea</i>	second half of 1st c. AD (Flavian) initial construction (involving a <i>scenae frons</i> with 3 curvilinear niches, the central slightly bigger) / mid-4th c. abandonment/remains used to build humble medieval dwellings - medieval material and bits of animals remains indicating a later use for animal husbandry / part of the building destroyed in 1941-45 to provide building material for the construction of a road in the immediate vicinity	the unique structure known of the ancient city of Regina before excavations / in 1941-45 used as a stone quarry for the construction of the motorway joining Casas de Reina and the neighbouring Alhambres / first application for excavation in 1958, expropriation and start of excavations in 1978 / some parts of the building consolidated and restored - the rear facade of the stage building subjected to a rather coarse restoration - others have been tastefully restored with modern steps
SAGUNTUM (figs. 39, A25)	Sagunto (VALENCIA)	free-standing remains near modern settlements	4,000-6,000; current capacity 2,000	d=77m-79m-82m-93m to reach 115.50m with adjoining small constructions	d=21-22m	intramural, occupies the central terrace in the terraced area over which the town is built	the interruption at the centre of the ateporchion may be interpreted as a sanctuary / consists of three <i>maeniana</i> , with the <i>ima cavea</i> having four, the <i>media</i> six, and the <i>summa</i> ten <i>cunei</i>	Julio-Claudian - dated to the period between 146/8 AD / the renovated stage design (with 2 orders and 3 curvilinear niches, the central slightly larger) dated to 100 AD / 2nd or 3rd c. reconstruction / the whole upper part was intentionally destroyed in 1811 during the Napoleonic Wars as apparently hindered the Spanish army's military operations	has always been visible / the earliest Roman theatre to be excavated in Spain / by 1793 the tiers and orchestra cleared, with some undocumented restoration work / part of the upper structure bombed for defence purposes in 1811 / the first monument to be declared National Heritage in 1896 / inadequately documented partial restorations up to mid-20th c. / used during the festival <i>Saguntum Escena</i> since 1950s / photogrammetrically documented in 1979 / Grassi and Portelli project (1995) implemented in 1986-94 and <i>Saguntum Escena</i> retained regularly afterwards / the implementation declared as illegal in 1993, a sentence ratified in 2000 / current problem about the possibility and necessity of a reversion / used for the European Youth Festival of Greco-Latin Theatre since 1997
SEGOBRIJA (fig.A.26)	Cabeza de Griego (Saelices, CUENCA)	within an extra-urban site	1,500-2,000-2,500	d=60m-66m	d=196m-23m	immediately outside to the north of the Iberian Roman city walls, with the only Amphitheatre so far discovered in the interior of Hispania by its side and planned with it as did an Itinerarium Bath complex, but implemented in a long time span / his layout and the 'half-constructed' <i>cavea</i> points to a Hellenistic origin, as in <i>Bibilis</i> and Sagunto / a larger one at the centre of the <i>postscenium</i> devoted to the Imperial Cult as implied by the disposition of an extra-mural altar a few meters to its southeast, or oriented towards the east in the direction of the <i>valle regia</i> access to the room	the less-than-semicircular <i>cavea</i> over the city walls at its upper part, over a strong vaulted subconstruction that allowed for a road parallel to the City Walls, connecting the Northeast Gate with the principal North Gate - access to the <i>summa maenianum</i> over the <i>summa cavea</i> from the floor over a Cryptoportico inside the city walls which itself had an access from a Gymnasium to its south / three <i>maeniana</i> , with the lower two divided into four and the <i>summa</i> into ten <i>cunei</i>	dated to the period between the Julio-Claudian era and the reign of Vespasian - Late Julio-Claudian (between AD 40-70) / <i>scenae frons</i> (with 2-storey decoration and a large curvilinear central niche flanked by two small rectilinear ones) added later at the end of 2nd c. AD - late 2nd - early 3rd c. AD (Severan) dating from the <i>scenae frons</i> on the basis of stylistic evidence / abandoned in late 3rd c. AD / severe damage possibly during Franco-German invasions of 260s and 270s / late Roman and High Spanish-Visigoth re-use of the remains to build rustic dwellings over the eastern part of the stage, the eastern <i>parados</i> and <i>parascenium</i> / destruction with the Arab invasions / systematic plundering in 16th-17th c., mainly to build the monastery of Uclés / subsequent burial completely beneath earth / the sack continued in a rather modest scale with the hand of the dwellers of Saelices and other nearby settlements	'16th c. references to a possible' Theatre / remains from the Amphitheatre wrongly identified as those from the Theatre, a mistake corrected in the Amphitheatre excavations of 1875-92 / claimed to be identified in 1935 by Sanz-Oblita in an article published in 1958 / photographed in 1941, during the first Spanish fight with an archaeological motive / excavated in 1953-55 during major excavation work in the Amphitheatre / deterioration in 1956/2 / excavations resumed in 1962-64 / removal of the great amount of earth accumulated from earlier excavations in 1964-66 / conservation and restoration works in 1966-67 / excavations and parallel consolidation work resumed in 1976 and intensified in 1978-80 / the <i>pulpiti frons</i> reconstructed in 1977, the timber platform over it raised in 1980 and the monumental inscription of the west <i>parascenium</i> relocated in 1981 / in 1982, a visit organised by a local professor of Latin with his students who performed three excerpts from the works of Plautus and Euripides initiated the European Youth Festival of Greco-Latin Theatre still organised by the Greco-Latin Theatre Institute of Segóbriga at various venues
SEXI (fig.A.27)	Almecer (GRANADA)	trace and remains in actual urban morphology							
SINGILIA BARBA (fig.A.28)	Antequera (MALAGA)	free-standing remains near modern settlements	1600-2000-2242-8000	d=30m-48m-52m	d=14-14.5-15-15.5m-32m	remains on one of the northernmost terracing of the Casti11on Hill, in an area connecting with the plain at its feet and through which flows the Guadahora river	built over the natural slope of the hill in its central part, with the rest on substructures / two or three <i>maeniana</i> , with six <i>cunei</i> - four <i>cunei</i>	Imperial Roman construction / final destruction dated to 1696-1716 when the Church of San Juan de Dios was constructed	remains from an arch, two pedestals, and some column bases reported to have stood over the stage in 13th c. / mentioned in 16th c. documents, with the earliest reference dated 1544 / in the 1991 campaign, the two ends of the semi-arch of the <i>cavea</i> , which are the only visible parts corresponding to the <i>summa cavea</i> were cleared and delimited / now within private property accessible only with special permission
TARRACO (fig.A.29)	Tarragona (TARRAGONA)	remains forming part of a multi-period multi-layer urban area	4,000-4,750	d=45m-49m-54m-70.80-71m	r=10.5m; d=20.50m	extramural, taking advantage of a 15m high slope possibly wrapped by the City Walls in the southeast of the harbour district and close to a small [colonia?] Forum, separating the urban nucleus from the port - now situated inside the present-day city of Tarragona / remains of a landscaped space with a monumental <i>nymphaeum</i> by the side of the Theatre, which presumably provided entrance and exit for the spectators sitting in the first tiers of the orchestra	<i>ima cavea</i> , <i>orchestra</i> , and <i>proscenium</i> over a wall installed above levelled earlier structures and parallel to the stage building with others perpendicular to it, unlike the more common annular and radial walls, central part of <i>media cavea</i> carved into the main rock following the Greek fashion, with a substructure of annular passages constructed for its lateral extensions / a renovation in plan geometry with its <i>cunei</i> and <i>scabae</i> originating from separate geometrical centres / three <i>maeniana</i> with four <i>cunei</i>	Republican levels with grand stages carried into the rock (2nd-1st c. BC) / last quarter of 1st c. BC port warehouse and annexed district / beginning or end of 1st c. AD Theatre and its monumental annex - Augustan construction and Claudian reformations - decoration pointing to Augustan or Tiberian and stratigraphic evidence to Flavian initial construction / Antonine redecoration / end of 2nd c. AD abandonment of the monumental complex / 3rd c. AD transformation of the public space, with parallel levelling and re-use / 4th c. AD use as a marble, ashlar blocks, and metal quarry	identified with the Amphitheatre in 15th-20th c. / earliest remains revealed in 1885 and published in 1892-93 / investigations in 1892-1906 published in 1906 / site purchased by olive factory in 1919, whose construction urged rescue intervention published in 1919 / occasional archaeological investigations in 1920-40 / deposit of another company in 1950-60 destroyed the <i>cavea</i> / factories abandoned in 1970-73, site declared as buildable / emergency excavations in 1971 and 1973-74 / in 1974 site sold to a construction company allowed to demolish the factory buildings on the condition of excavations that produced spectacular finds / a campaign halted the construction work in 1977 / declared Immoveable Cultural Heritage - Monument in 1978 / site expropriated but payment still pending in 2001, preventing implementations / Preliminary Project for the Restoration and Amelioration of the Vicinity and Monographic Museum of The Roman Theatre of Tarragona (1983) / small rescue operations in 1984-89 / clearing and maintenance in 1991-1999 - 02-1990 / converted into urban green in 1991-92 and cleared for 14th International Congress of Classical Archaeology in 1993

Table A (continued)

ancient name	modern location	state of remains	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
TERMES (fig. A.30)	Tiermes (BURGOS)	within an extra-urban site				on the slope to the northeast of the city	consists of some rows of seats excavated into the living rock by taking advantage of an inlet	unknown	reported by Schullien
TOLETUM	Toledo (TOLEDO)	hypothesised on the basis of actual urban morphology							remains destroyed in the 1960s/a recent monograph (2001) not reviewed here
TUCCI	Marlos (JAEN)	epigraphically documented							
URSO (fig. A.31)	O sina (SEVILLA)	free-standing remains near modern settlements		d = 3250m		located in the centre of the area occupied by Roman remains pertaining to the Forum and waterworks	described by Thouvenot as carved into the skirts of a hill outside the city walls - the <i>summa</i> cavea on a semi-circular stone infill wall	Roman/late used as a lime kiln	excavated insistently in 1903 by local enthusiasts together with the remains from other Roman monuments in the area
UXAMA	O sma (SORIA)	mentioned in a single reference							

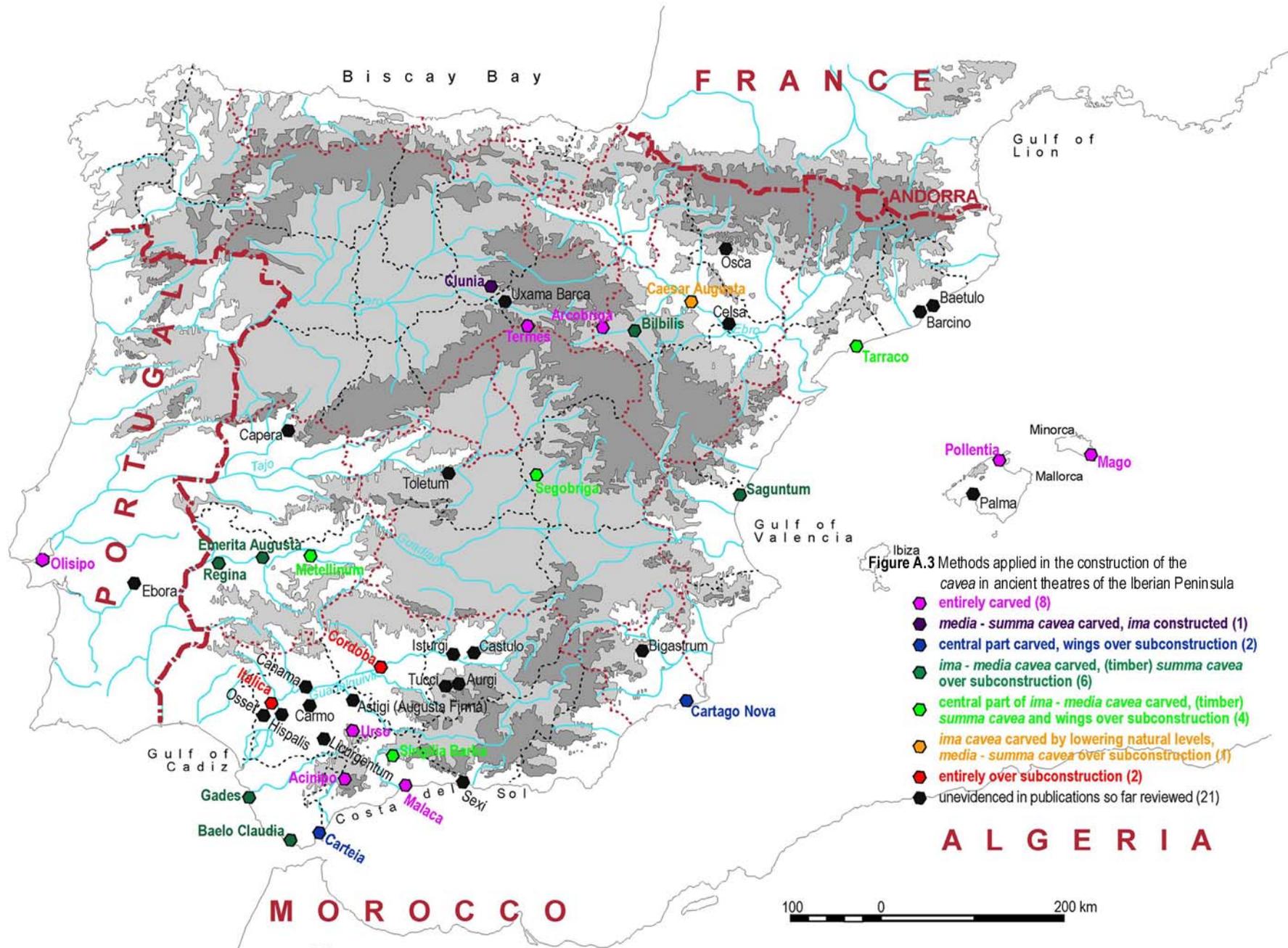
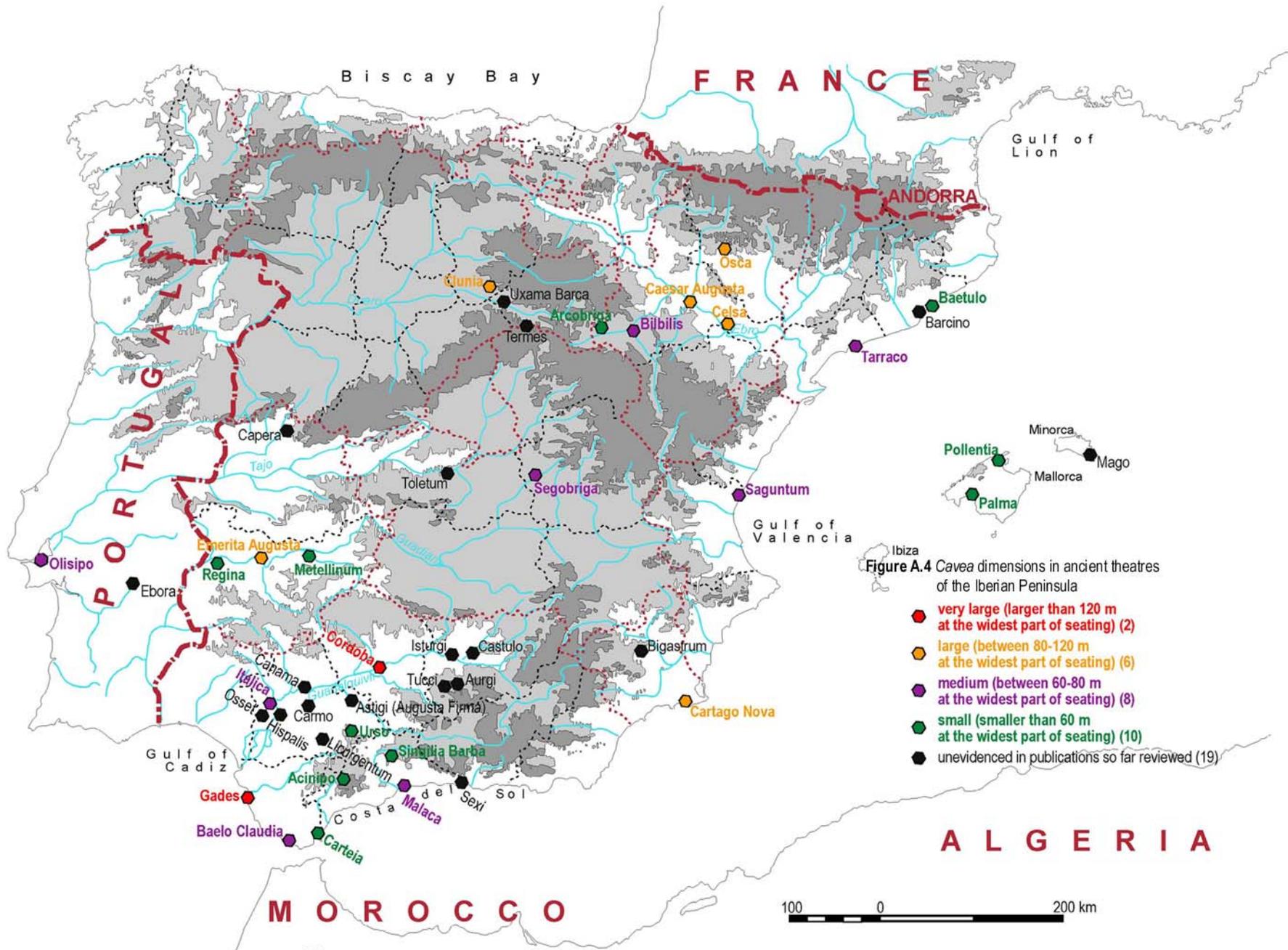
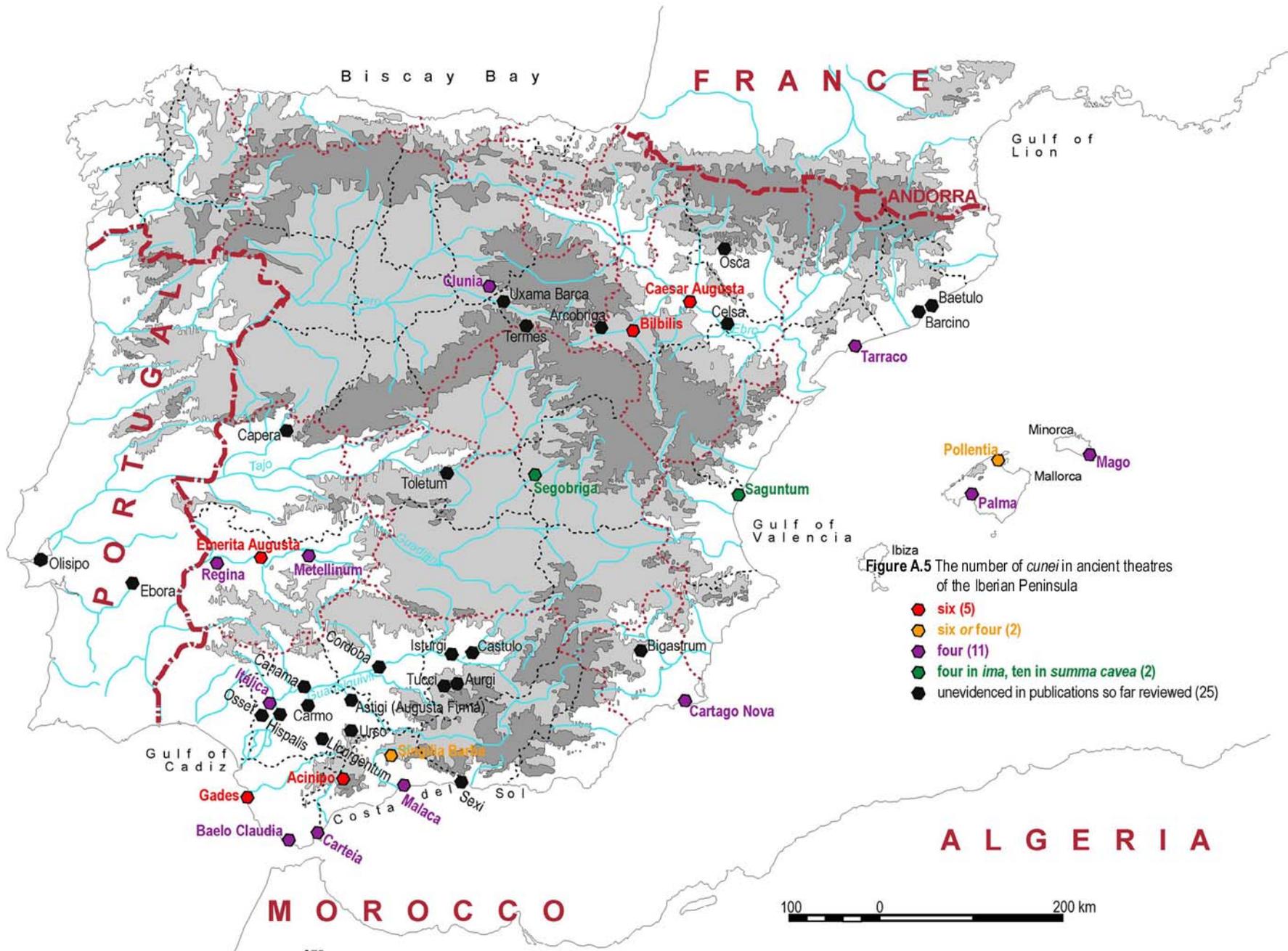
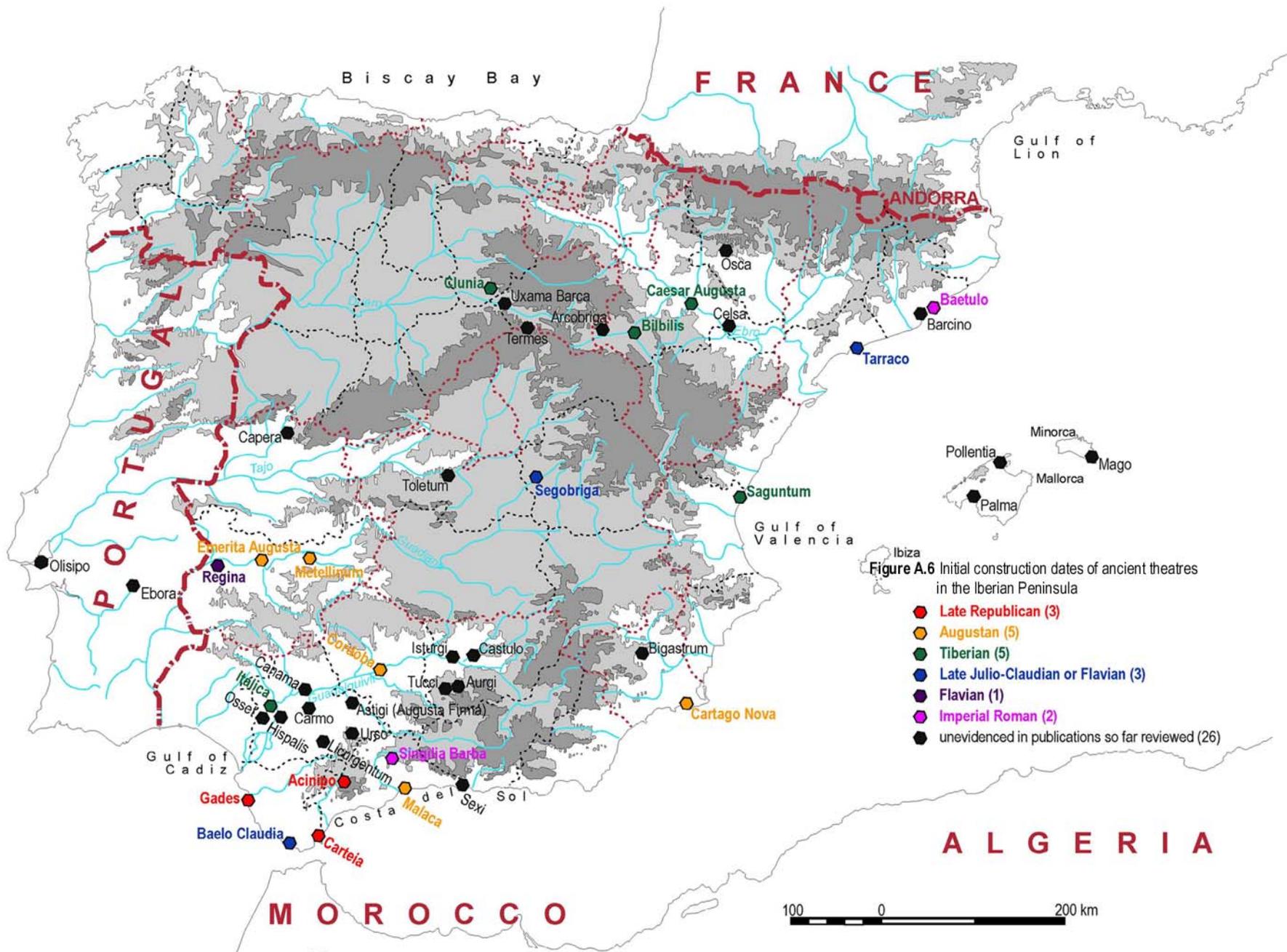


Figure A.3 Methods applied in the construction of the cavea in ancient theatres of the Iberian Peninsula

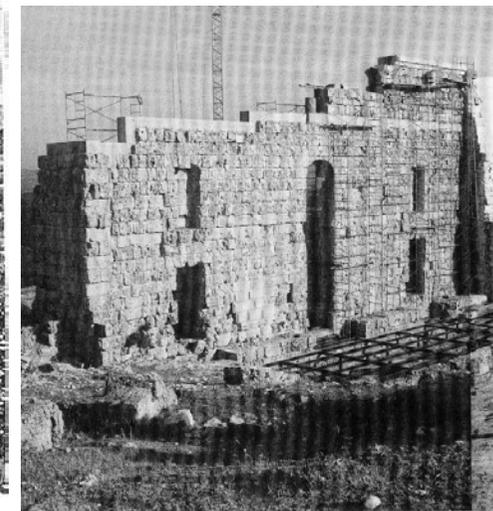
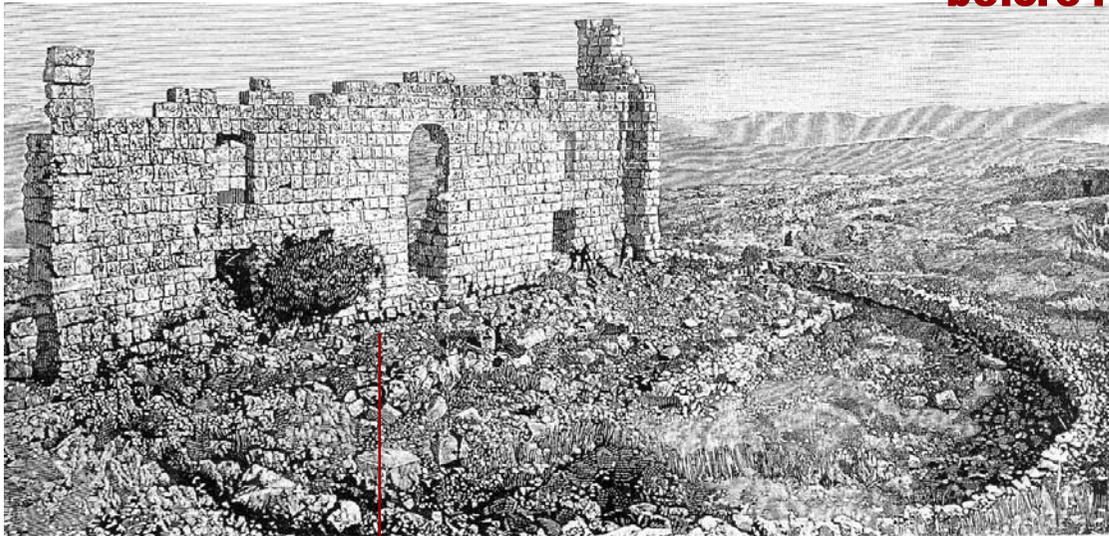








before restoration



during restoration



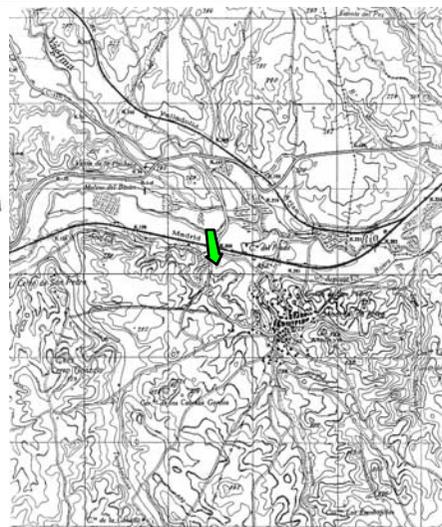
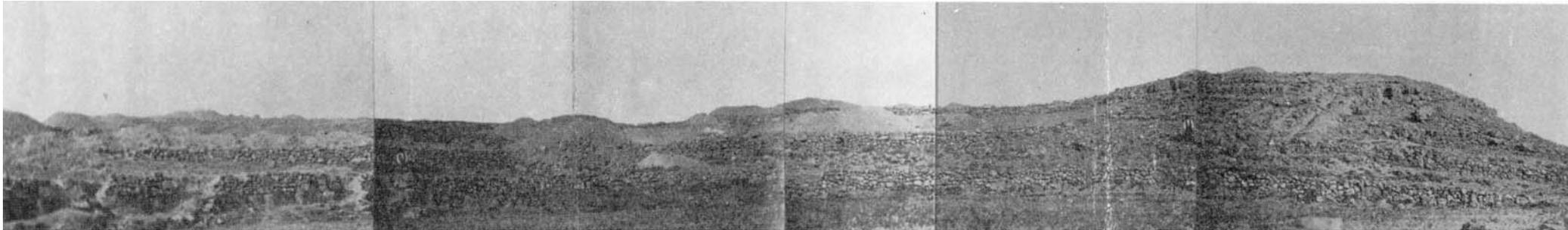
after restoration

Ronda la Vieja (MALAGA)

Acinipo

Figure A.7 Theatre of Acinipo; before, during and after restoration.

aerial photos from M. del Amo y de la Hera (1982: 234-5); interior photos from *Intervenciones en el Patrimonio Arquitectónico (1980-1985)* (1990: 423-4); colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.



Arcobriga

Monreal de Ariza (ZARAGOZA)

Figure A.8 Arcobriga. Figures by Enrique Aguilera y Gamboa, Marquis of Cerralbo, of the site, its location, and its Theatre during his excavations in 1909 and 1911.

from Beltran Lloris, M. (ed.), 1987. *Arcobriga (Monreal de Ariza, Zaragoza)*. Institucion Fernando el Cablico (C.S.I.C.), Zaragoza, lam. XI, fig. 1b, fig. 2, lam. XII, lam. XII-bis.1.



Baelo Claudia

Bolonia (CADIZ)

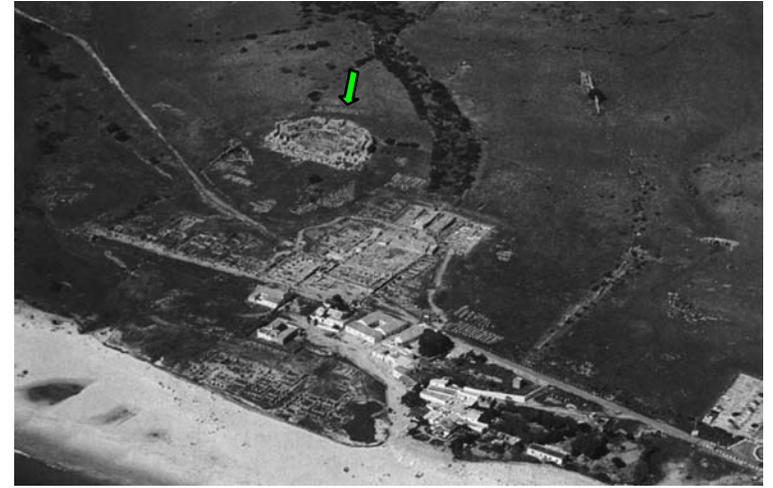


Figure A9 Theatre of *Baelo Claudia*.

from Sillières (1997: 22, 48, 131, cover) except the colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2002.

Baetulo

Badalona (BARCELONA)

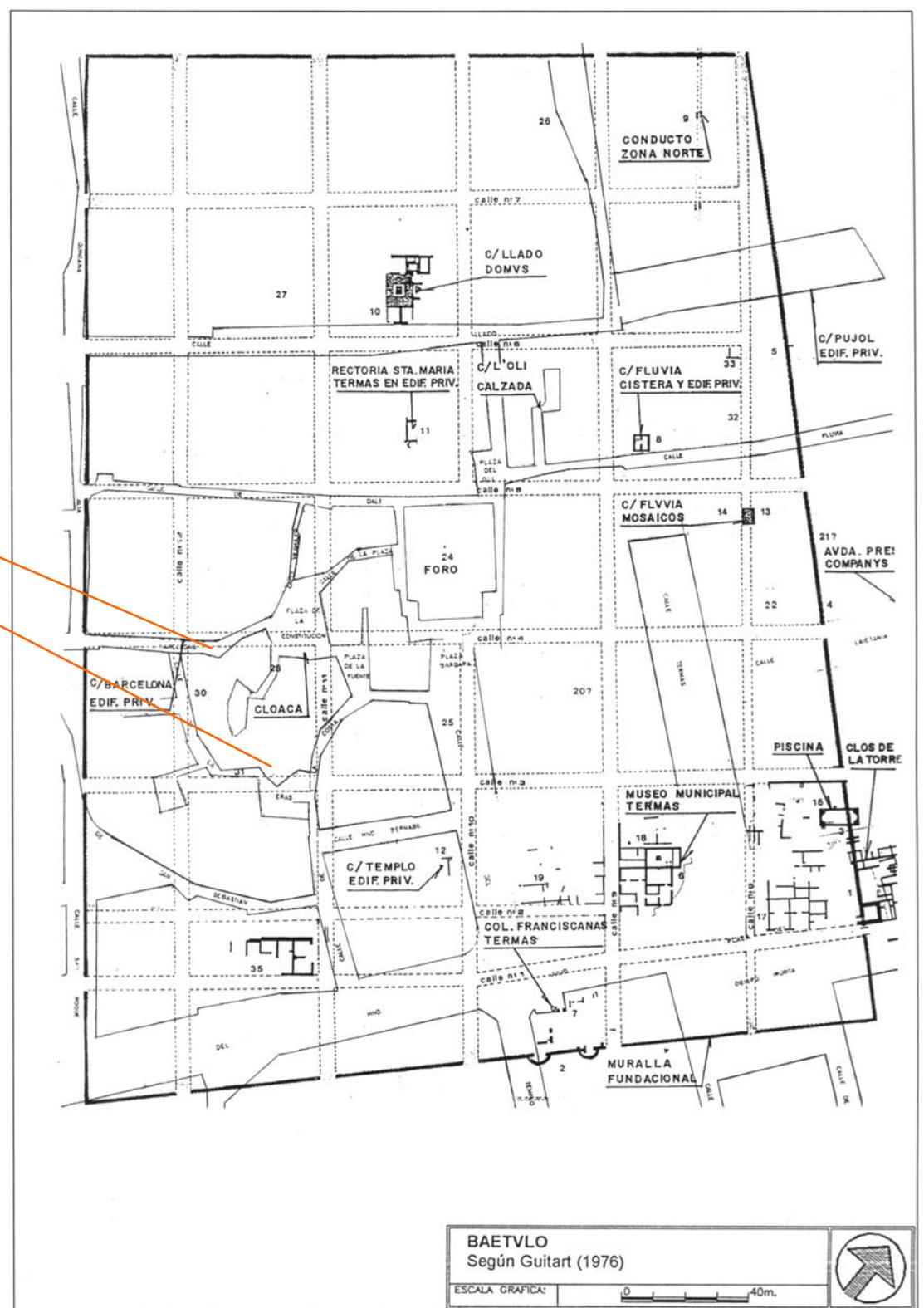
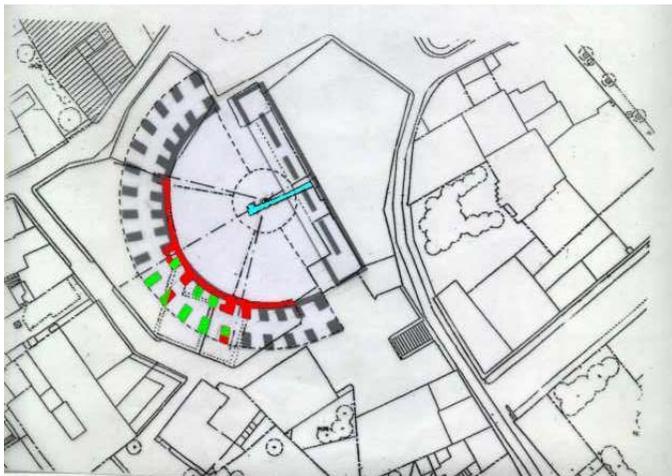
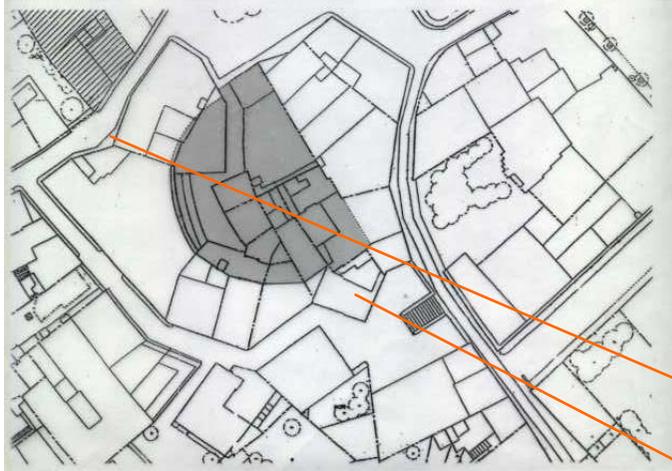


Figure A.10 Trace of the Theatre of *Baetulo* in the actual urban morphology of Badalona.

sketches from Moranta Jaume, L. 2000. *Hipótesis de la Existencia de un Teatro Romano en Palma de Mallorca*. <http://palma.infotelecom.es/~moranta>, 22.09.2000; site map from Cepas Palanca (1997: 137).

BAETVLO
Según Guitart (1976)

ESCALA GRAFICA: 0 40m.

Bilbilis Augusta

Calatayud (ZARAGOZA)

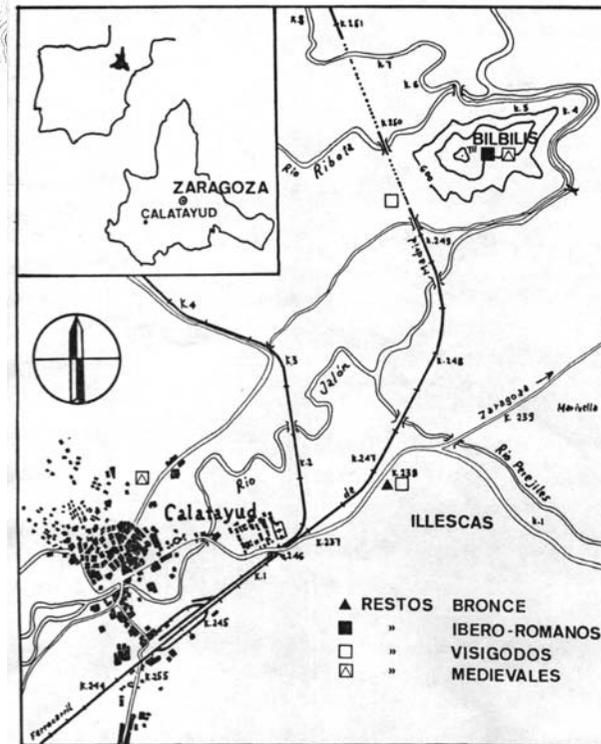
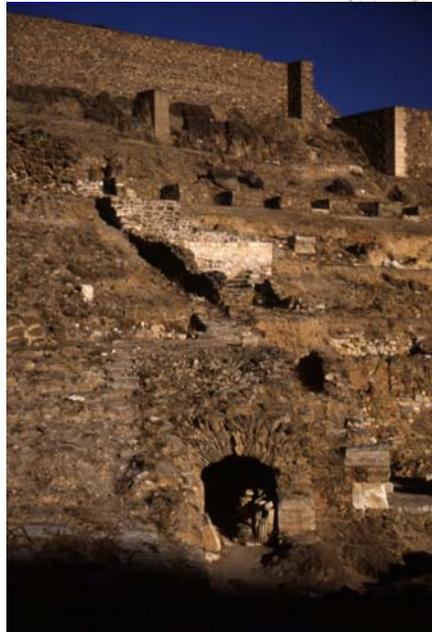
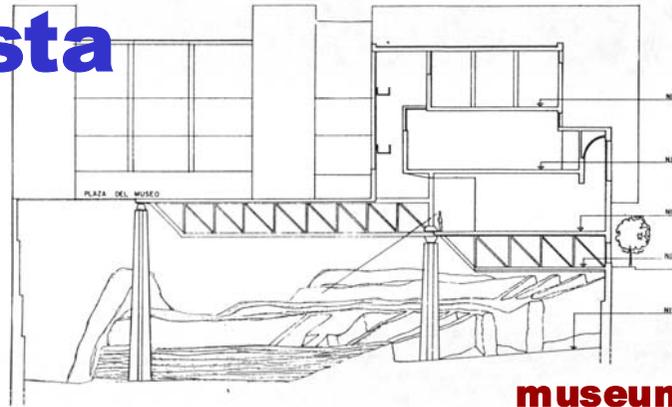


Figure A.11 Remains from the Theatre of *Bilbilis Augusta* under excavation, and later restoration works.

from Martín-Bueno and Nuñez Marcén (1993: 120, 121, 125); except regional plan from Martín Bueno (1975: 18); and colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.

Caesar Augusta

Zaragoza (ZARAGOZA)



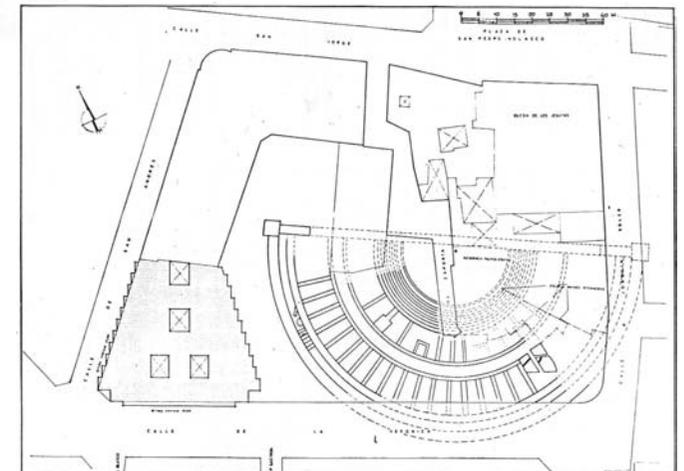
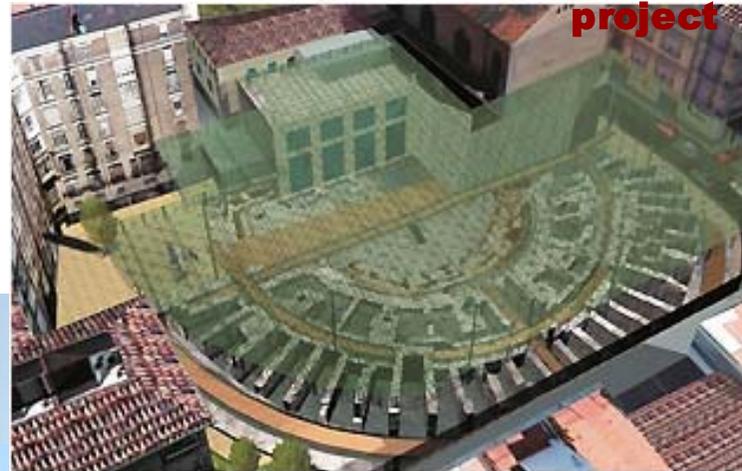
**museum
project**



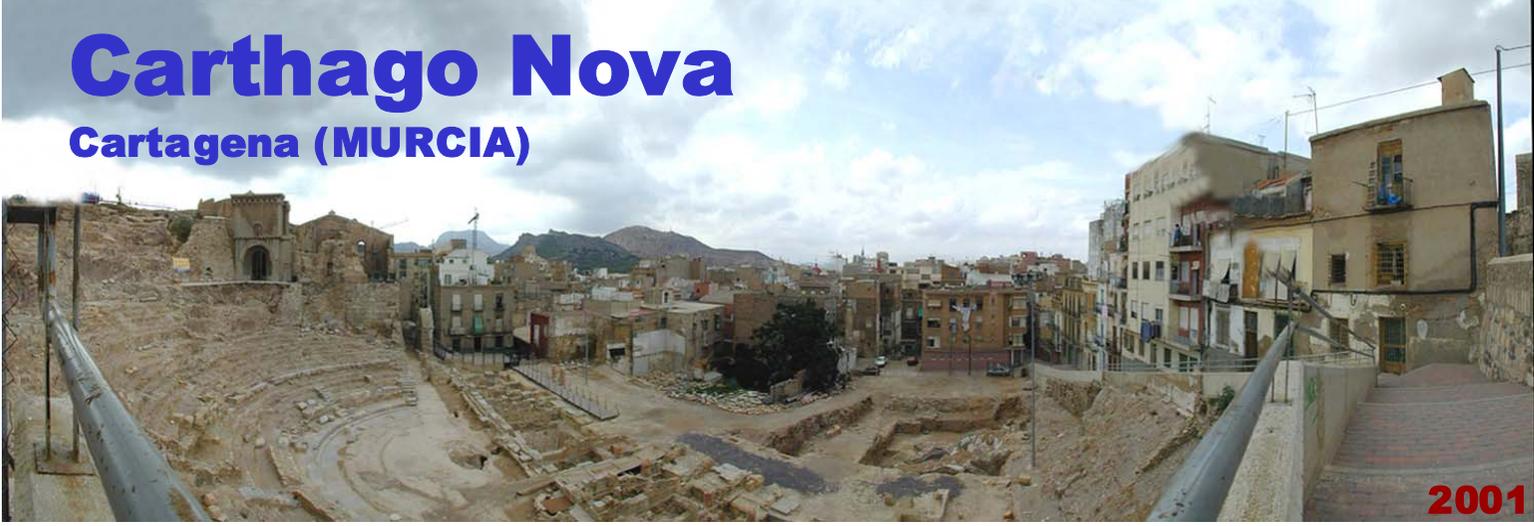
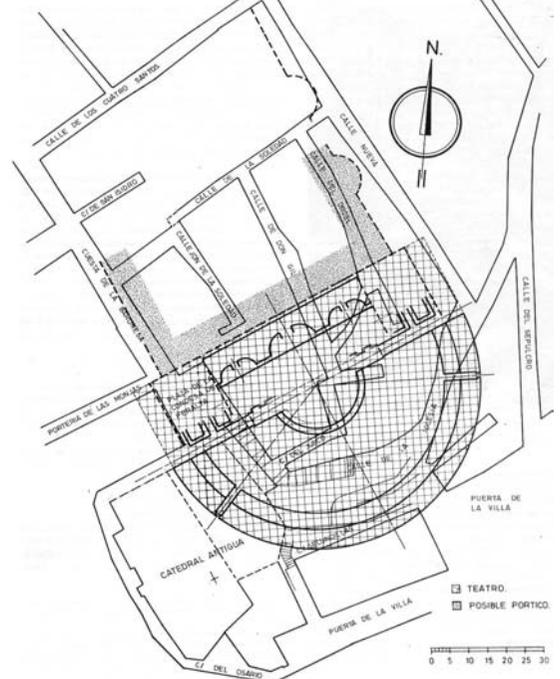
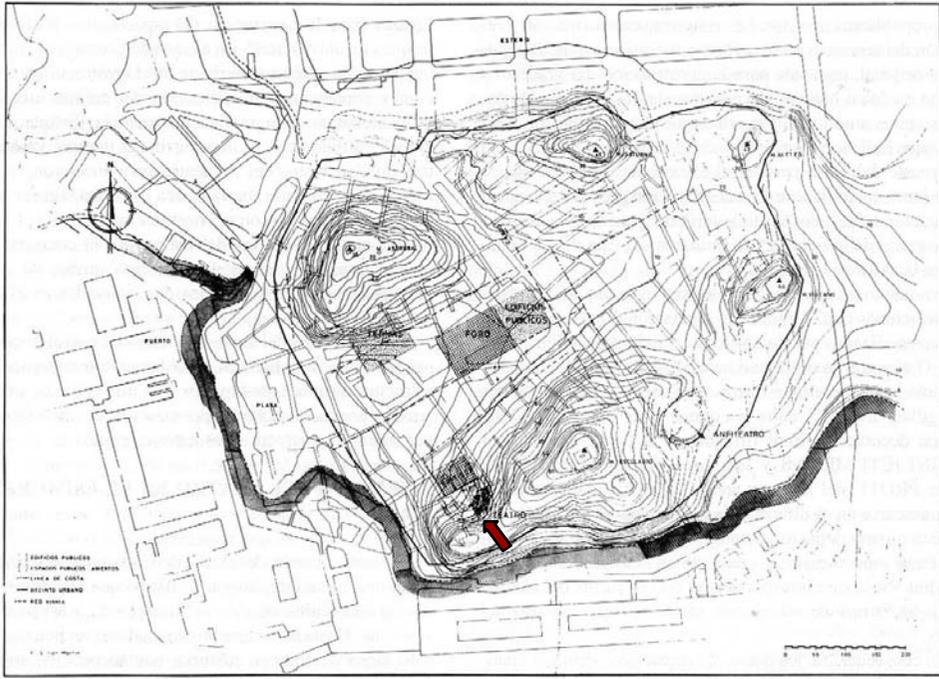
location

Figure A.12 Theatre of Caesar Augusta.

stamp from http://www.filateli.amartinez.com/paginas/emisiones2003_1.htm; top left from F. Beltrán Lloris (1991: 97); top right from M. Beltrán Lloris et al. (1985: 61); center left from <http://www.pueblos-espana.org/aracon/zaragoza/zaragoza/galeria-fotografica/>, 13.05. 2004; center right from Beltrán Martínez (1982: 46); bottom photos taken by I. CanSiramin in Summer 2001.



2001



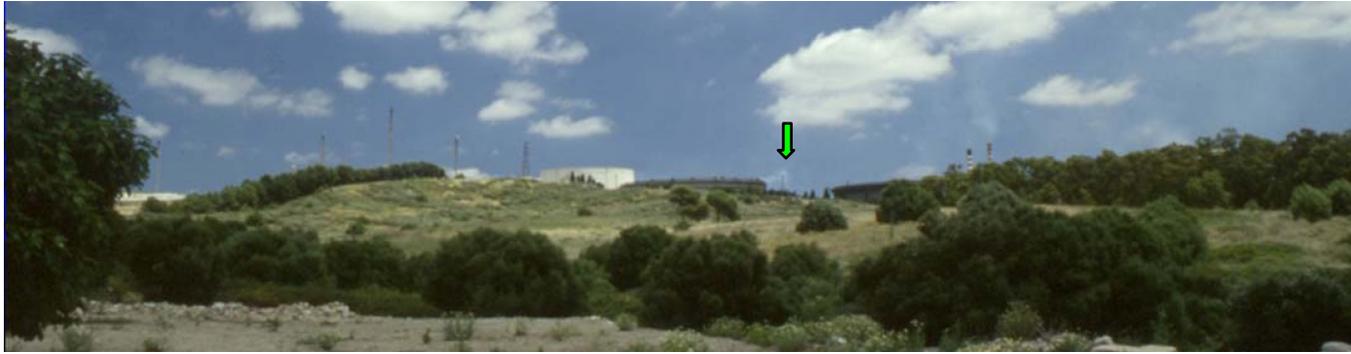
Carthago Nova

Cartagena (MURCIA)



Figure A.13 Remains from the Theatre of *Carthago Nova*. Location, gradual excavation, and the current state.

from S.F. Ramallo Asensio *et al.* (1993: 53, 54, 59, 88); except the bottom two from S.F. Ramallo Asensio and E.L. Ruiz Valderas (1998: 60, 62); and the panorama taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.



Carteia

San Roque (CADIZ)

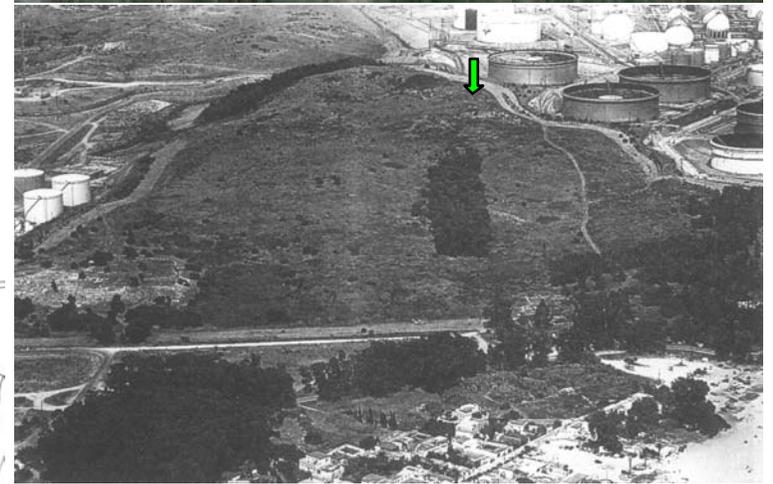


Figure A.14 Carteia.

from Roldán Gómez *et al.* (1998) except left taken by I. Can Sira in Summer 2002.



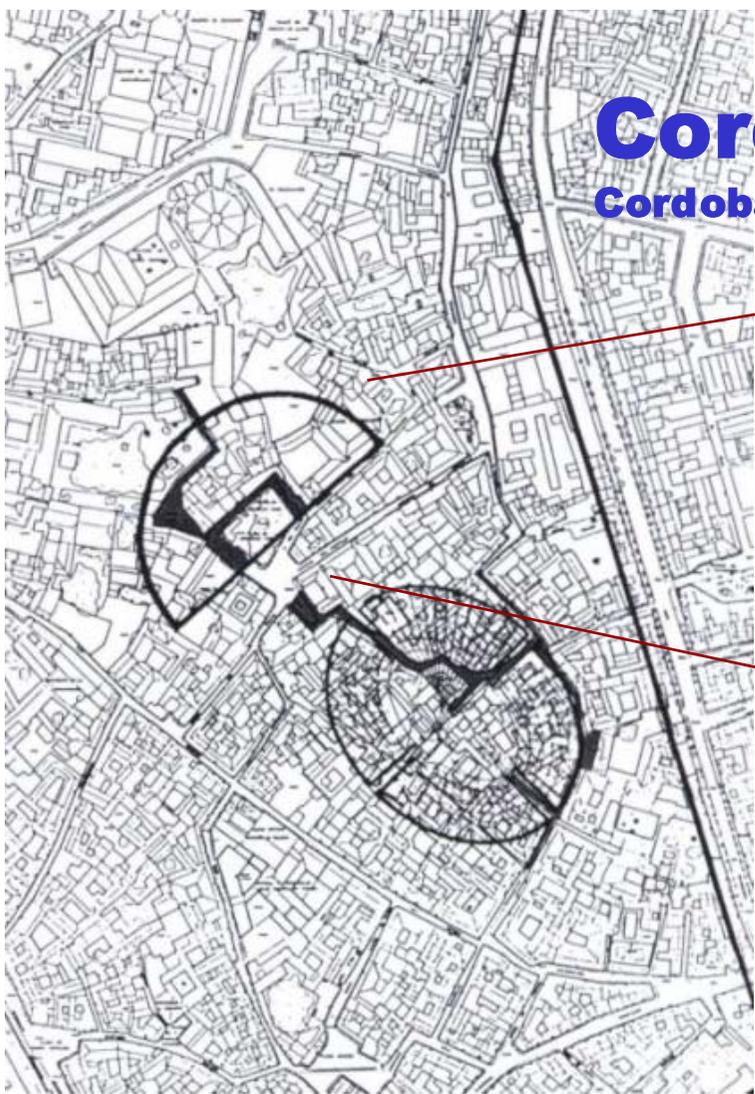
Clunia

Coruna de los Condes (BURGOS)

Figure A.15 Clunia.

map from an information leaflet distributed at the site; photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2004





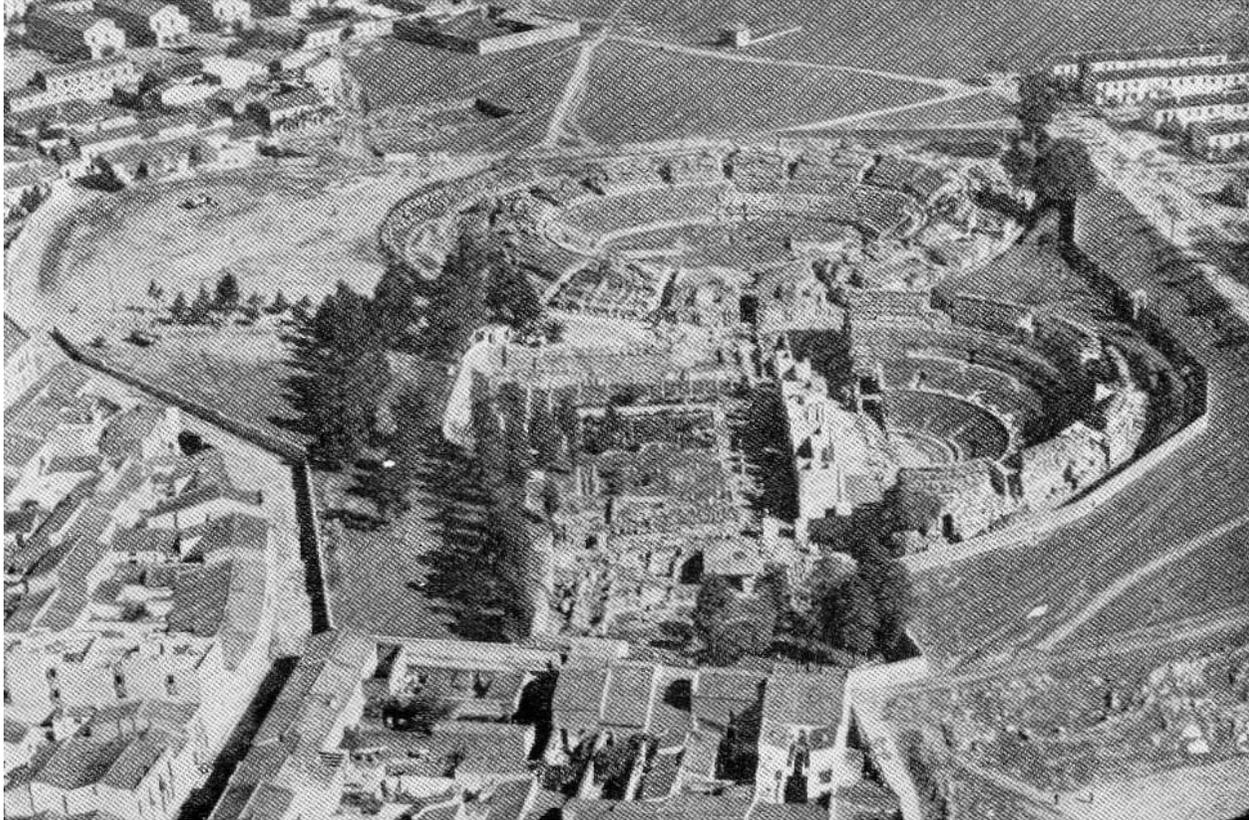
Cordoba

Cordoba (CORDOBA)



Figure A.16 Remains from the Theatre of Corduba.

top left and right from Ventura Villanueva 2001-2004, http://www.almedron.com/historia/antigua/teatro/teatro_05/teatro_05.htm; bottom left from F. Lorente Enseñat 2000, <http://usuarios.tripod.es/pacobrente/TeatrosRomanos/cordoba.jpg>; center top from A. Ventura *et al.* (1998: 94, 106); center bottom from Ventura Villanueva (1999: 59); bottom right from M^{re} Dolores Baena Alcántara (2002: 54).



Emerita Augusta

Merida (BADAJOZ)

- 1 EX-CONVENTO DE JESUS HOY PARADOR NACIONAL DE TURISMO
- 2 PARCO DE TRAJANO
- 3 MUSEO ARQUEOLOGICO
- 4 SANTA MARIA
- 5 ALCAZABA
- 6 SUPUESTO ARCO CIMBRON
- 7 TEMPLO DE DIANA
- 8 ANTIGUA PTA. DE LA VILLA
- 9 MONUMENTO A STA. EULALIA
- 10 BASILICA DE STA. EULALIA
- 11 CIRCO ROMANO
- 12 ANFITEATRO ROMANO
- 13 TEATRO ROMANO
- 14 PLAZA DE TOROS
- 15 PUENTE NUEVO



Figure A.17 Theatre of *Emerita Augusta*.
 from Almagro (1974); except the colour photo taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.

Gades

Cadiz (CADIZ)

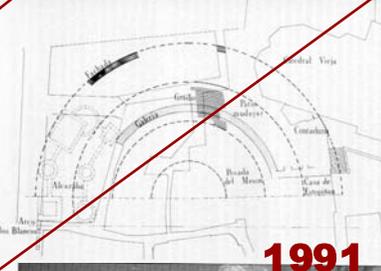
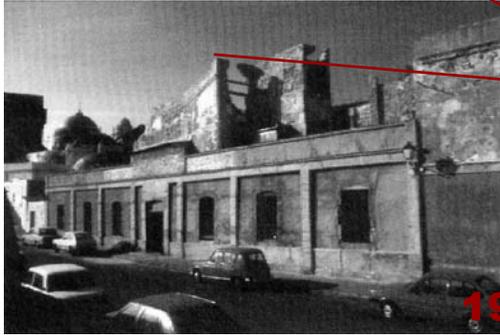


Figure A.18 Theatre of Gades.

from Esteban González *et al.* (1993: 144, 146-7); except the postcards bought in 2002; the two maps showing the historic geography of Gades and the location of the remains from the Theatre from Corzo Sánchez (1989: 200-201); and the colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in 2001 and 2002.

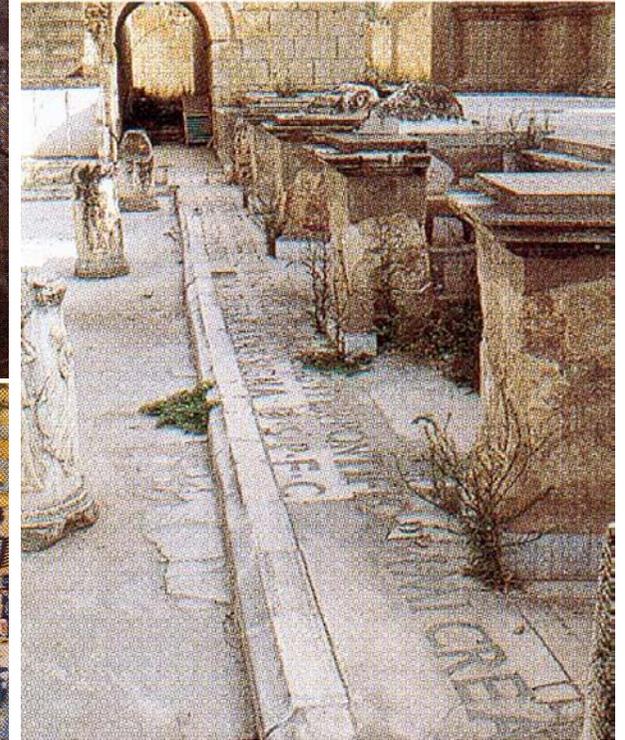
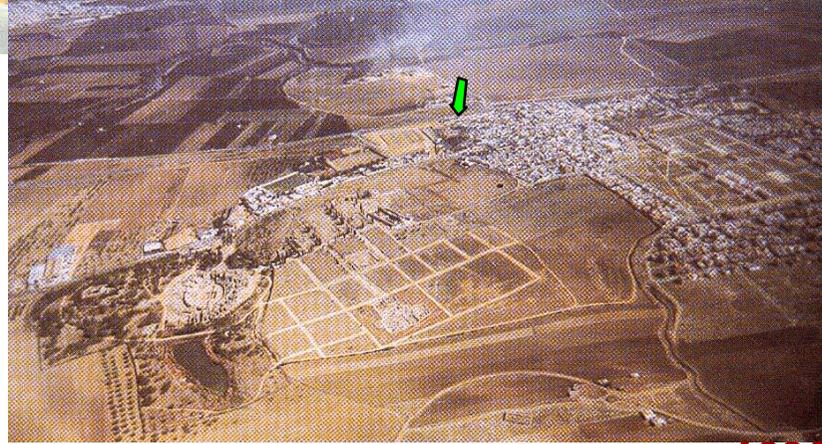


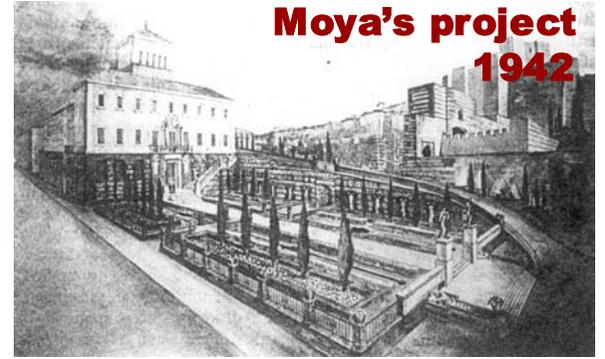
Itálica

Santiponce (SEVILLA)

Figure A.19 *Itálica* and its Theatre.

panoramas taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001; aerial site views, centre and bottom right from from Caballos Rufino *et al.* 91999: 49, 57, 89 and 96); top right from F.J. Montero Fernández (1993: 179).





Malaca
Malaga (MALAGA)

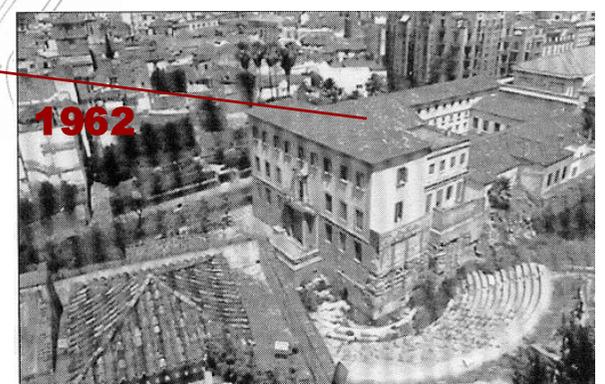
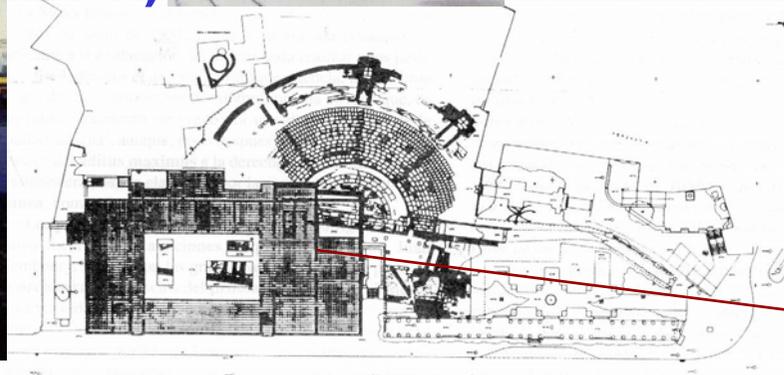
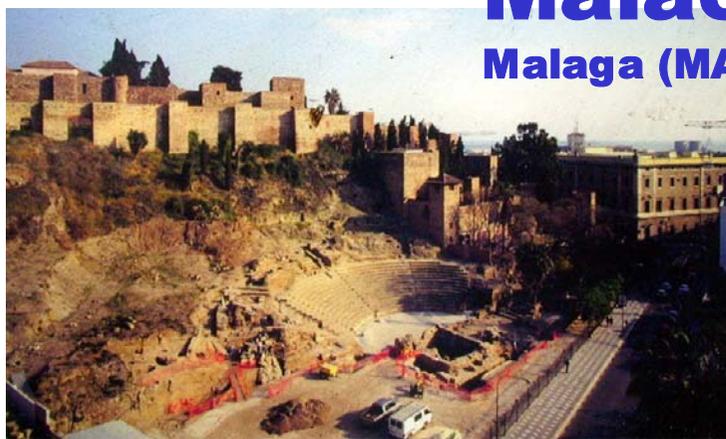


Figure A20 Gradual unearthing of the Theatre of Malaca.

from information panels at the site except top right from Camacho Martínez and Morente del Monte (1989); top center, second and bottom left from Martín Delgado (1993: 184, 196); panorama and bottom right taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.

Metellinum

Medellin (BADAJOZ)

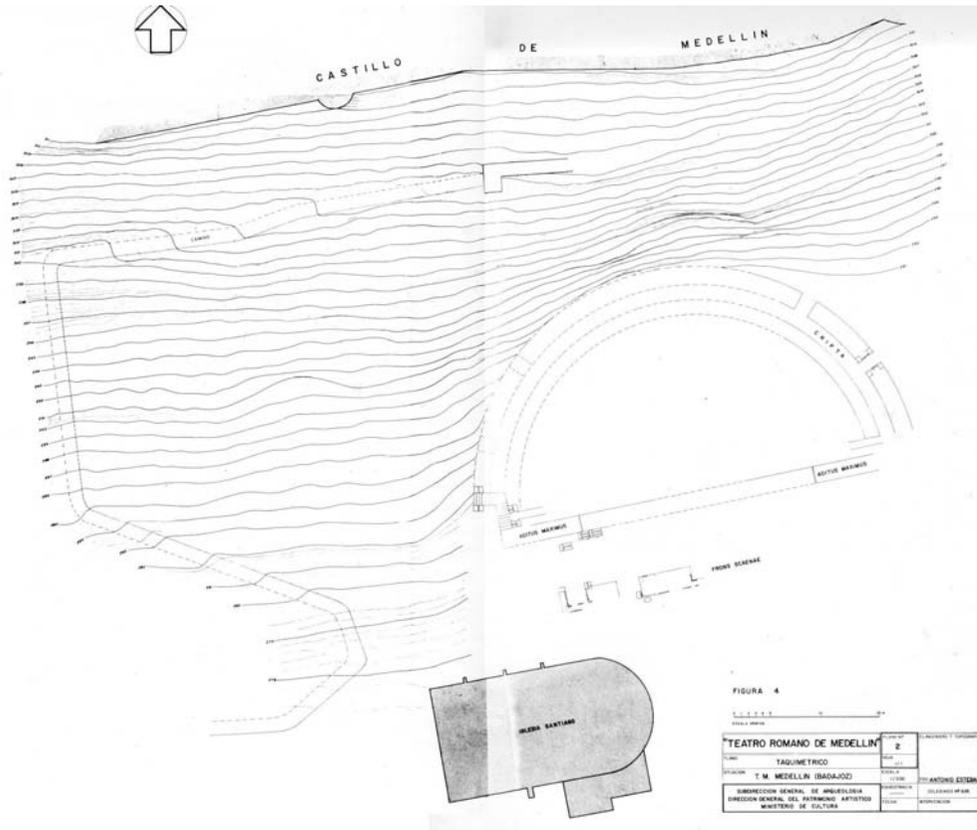
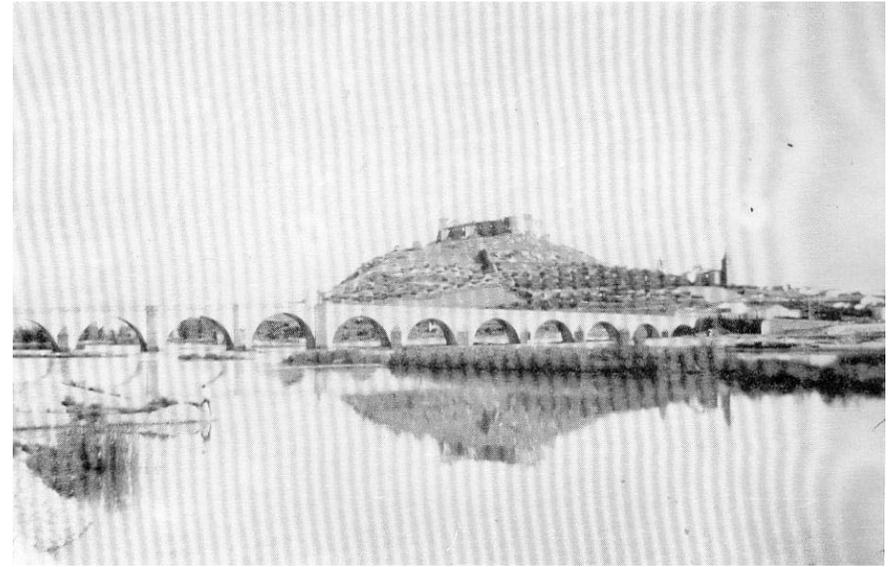
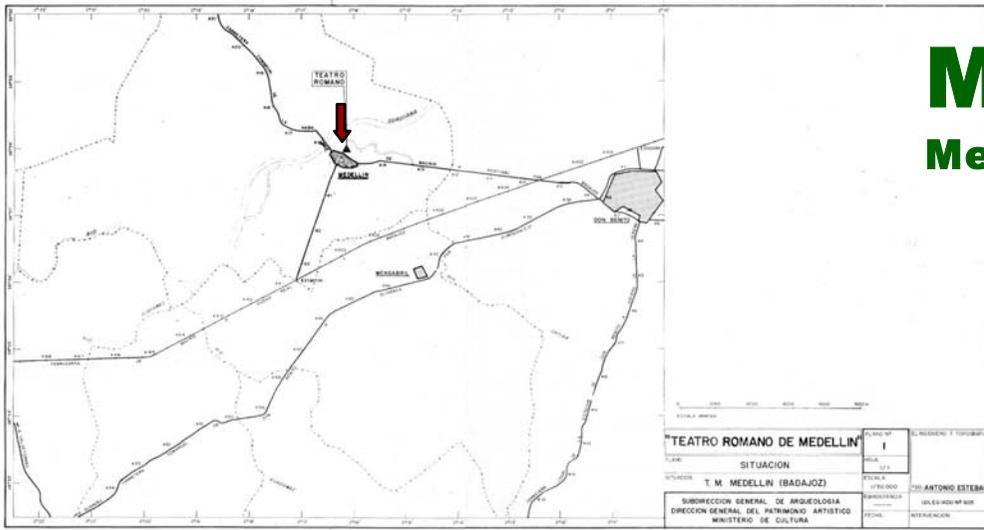


Figure A21 Theatre of *Metellinum*.
from del Amo y de la Hera (1982a:325ff).

Palma

Palma de Mallorca (BALEARES)

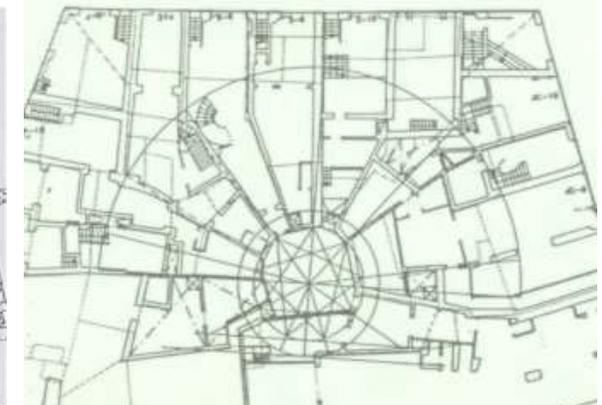
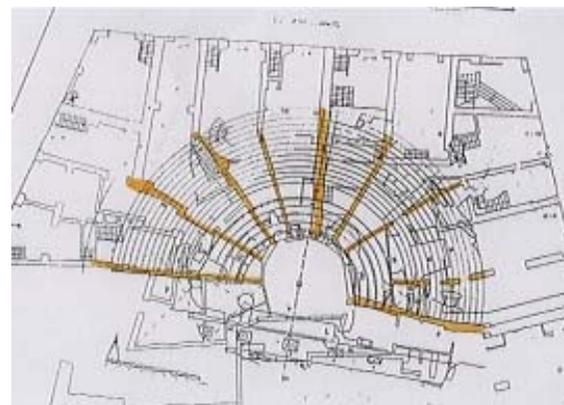
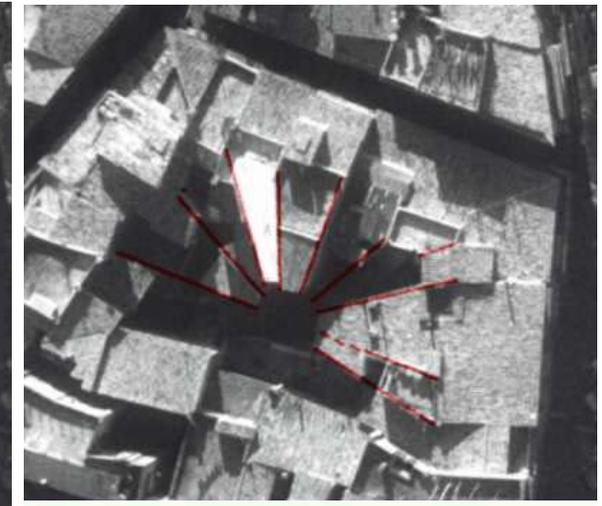
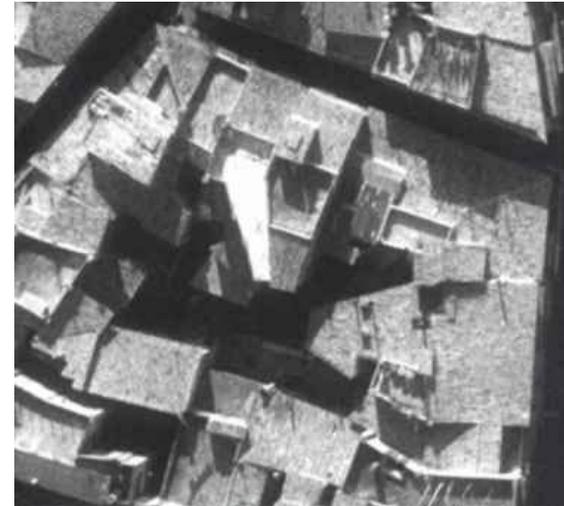
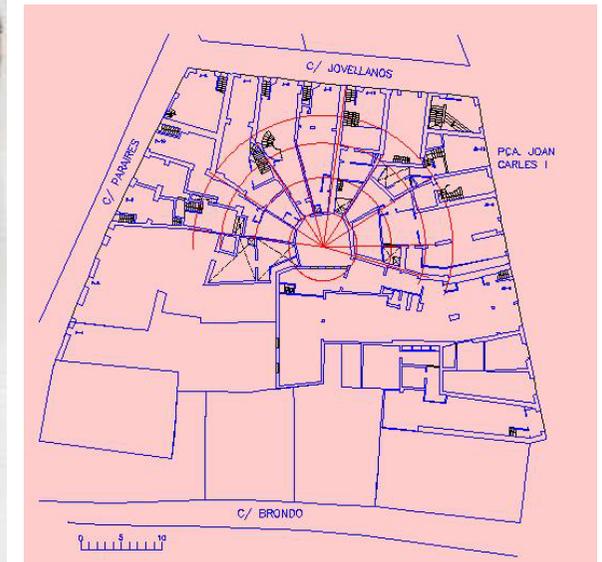


Figure A22 Hypothesis concerning the existence of a Roman theatre in Palma de Mallorca.

from Moranta Jaume, L. 2000. *Hipótesis de la Existencia de un Teatro Romano en Palma de Mallorca*. <http://palma.nfotelecom.es/~moranta>, 22.09.2000.

Pollentia

Alcudia (Mallorca, BALEARES)

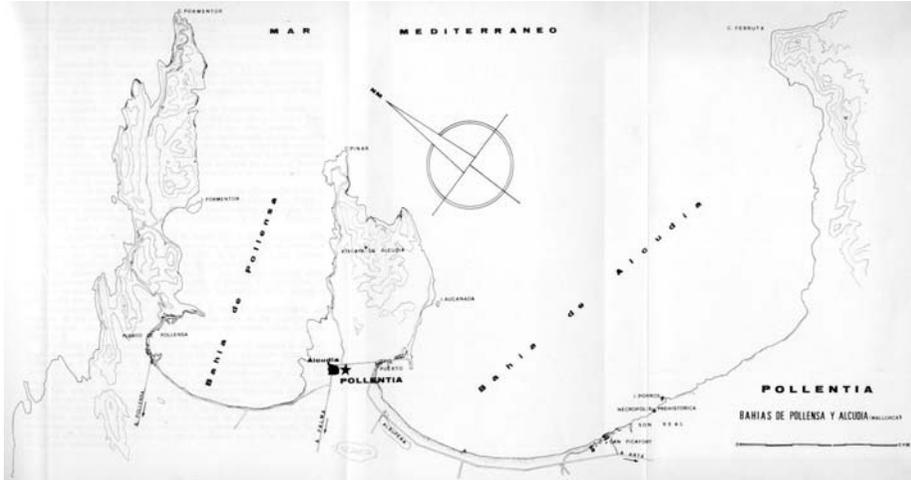


Figure A23 Theatre of Pollentia.
from Arribas, Tarradell and Wood (1973).

Regina

Casas de la Reina (CACERES)



**before
excavation**



**during
excavation**

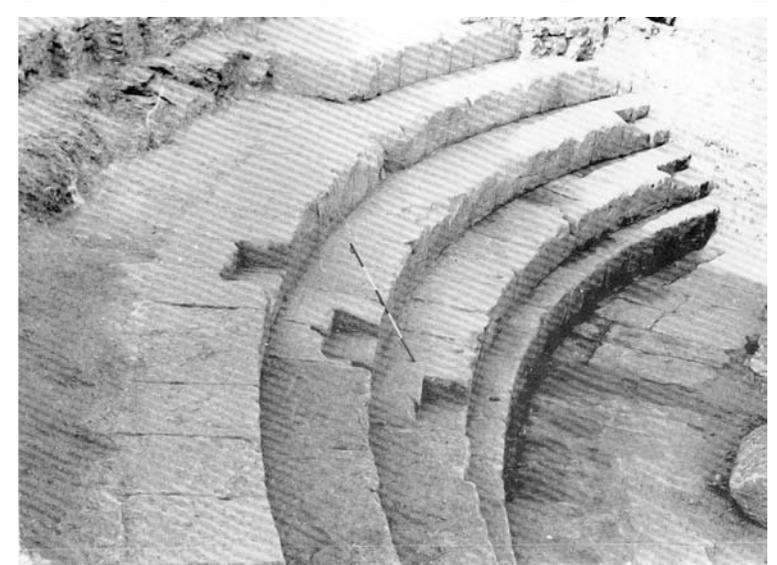
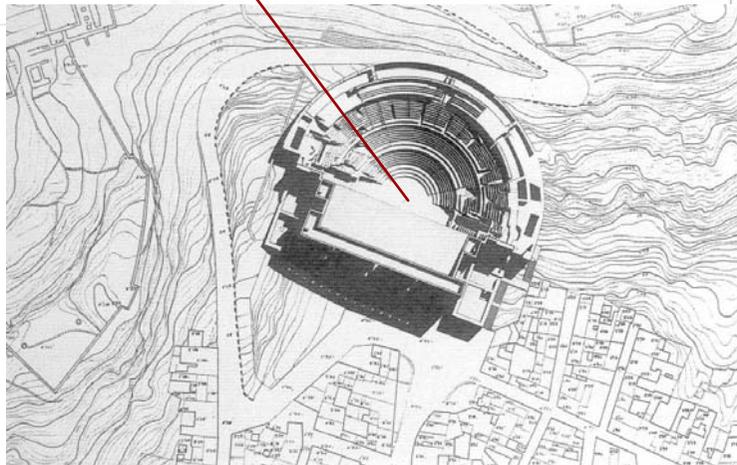


Figure A24 Theatre of Regina.

from Alvarez Martínez (1982: 277, 279, 281, 282).



Saguntum

Sagunto (VALENCIA)



Figure A25 Theatre of Saguntum.

taken by I. Can Siramin in Summer 2001 except the top plan from M. Beltrán Lbris (1982); center plan from Grassi and Portaceli (1990: 125); and center right from the official website of the Municipality of Sagunto <http://www.aytosagunto.es>, 17.05.2004.

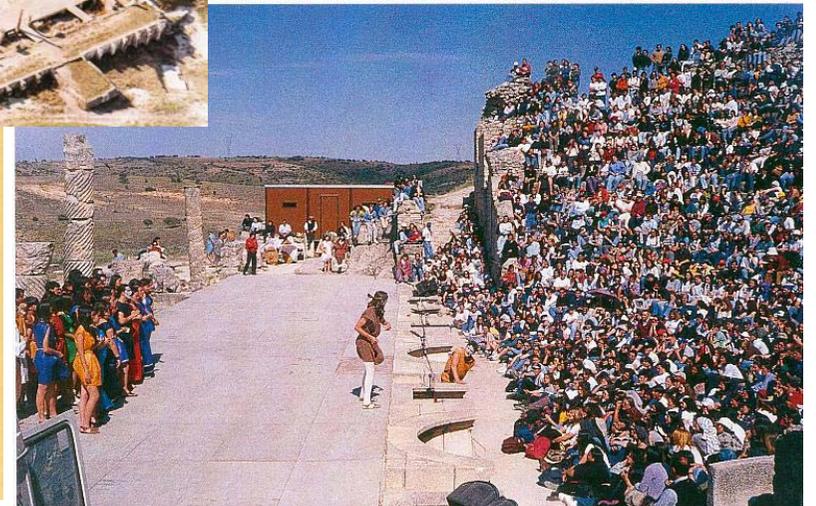
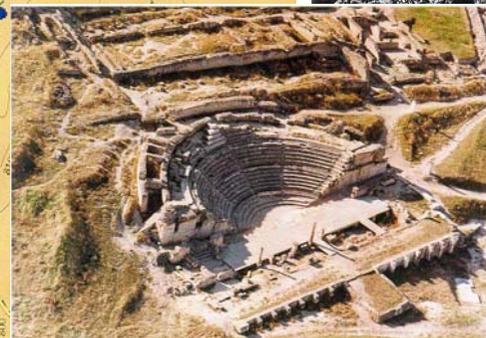
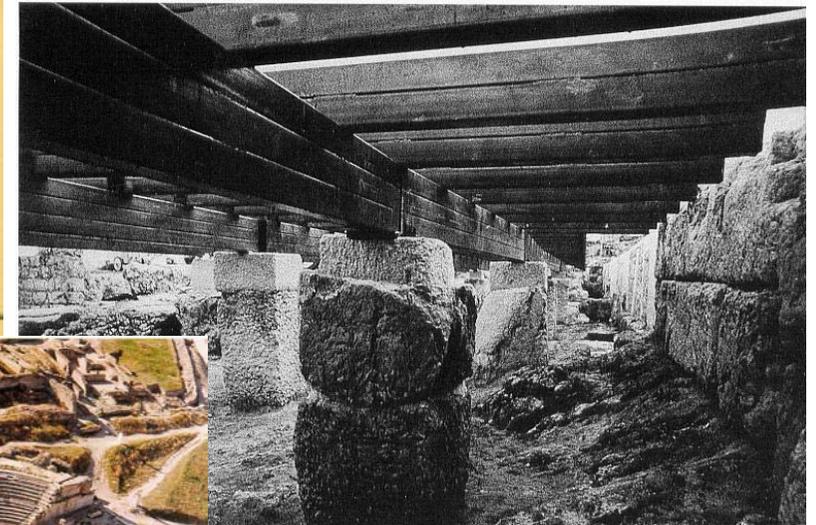
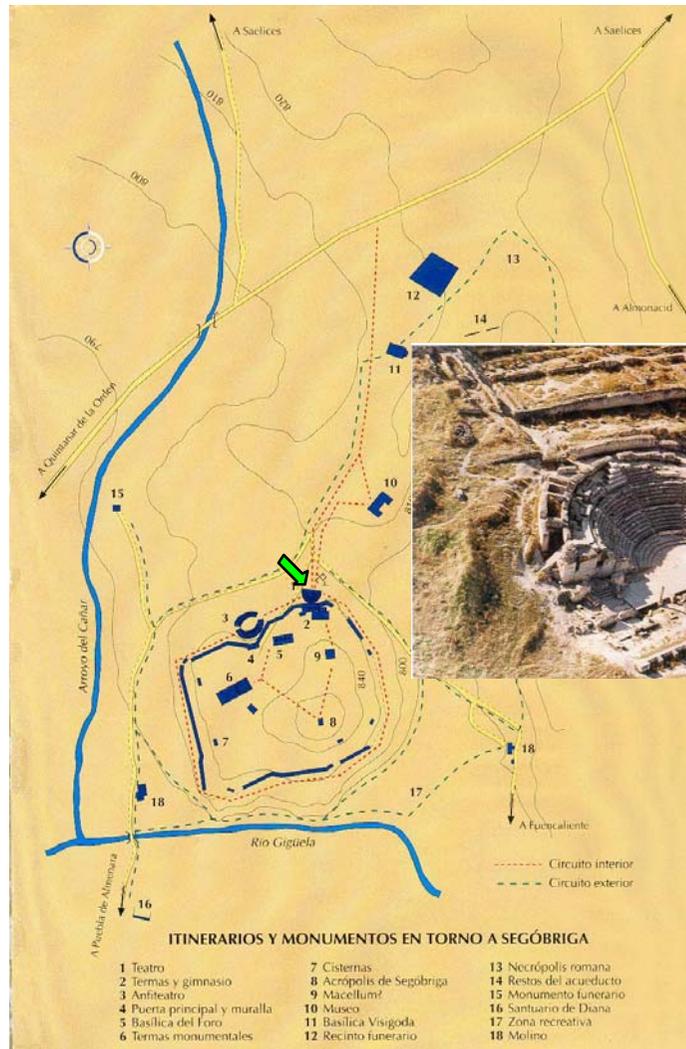
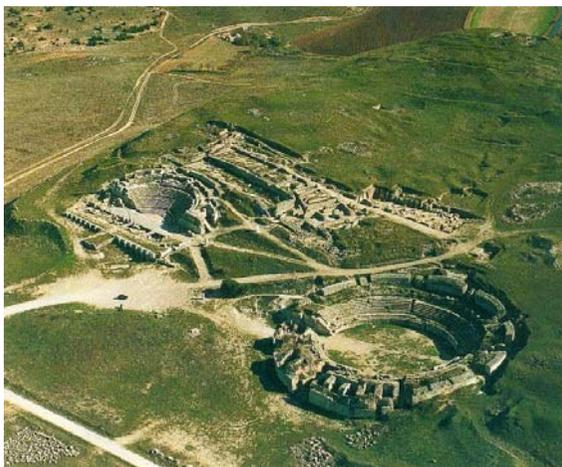
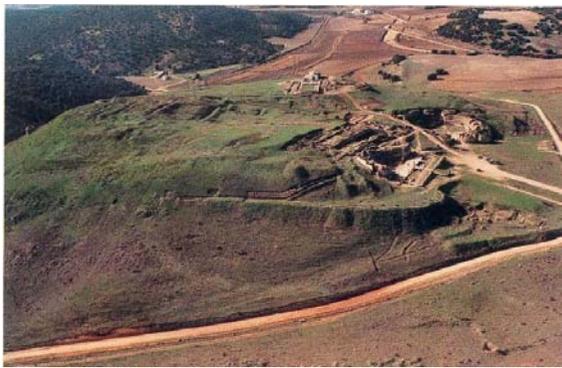


Segobriga

Saelices (CUENCA)

Figure A26 Segóbriga.

from Almagro-Gorbea and Manuel Abascal (1999: 13, 47, 48, 50, 51, 60) except the panorama taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.



Sexi

Almunecar (GRANADA)

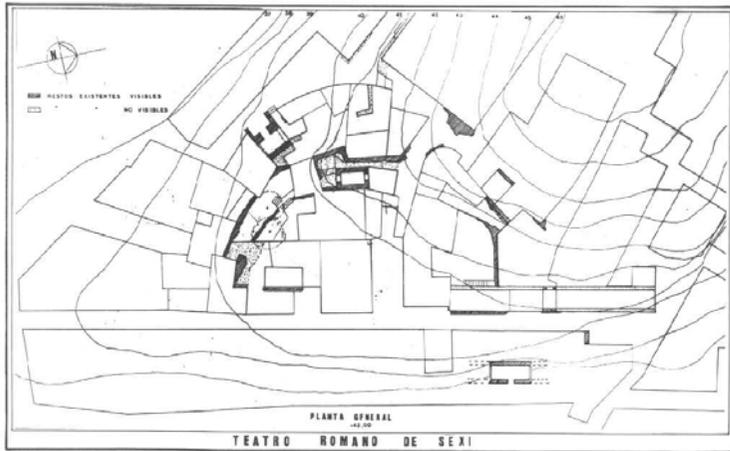


Figure A.27 Trace of the Theatre of Sexi in the actual urban morphology of Almunecar.

maps from Lorente Enseñat, F. 2000. Historia de la Arquitectura del Teatro. http://usuarios.tripod.es/paco_lorente/TeatrosRomanos/0724Sexi_Teatro.htm, 29.11.2000; photos taken by I. Can Siram in summer 2001.



Singilia Barba

Antequera (MALAGA)

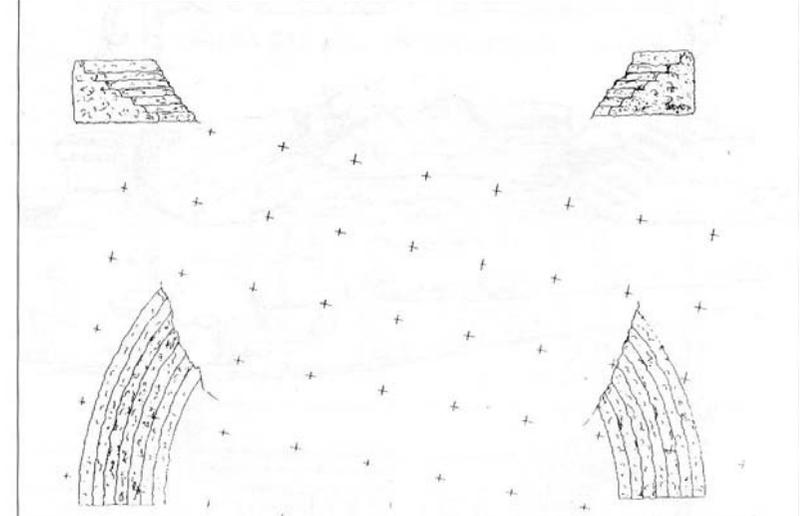
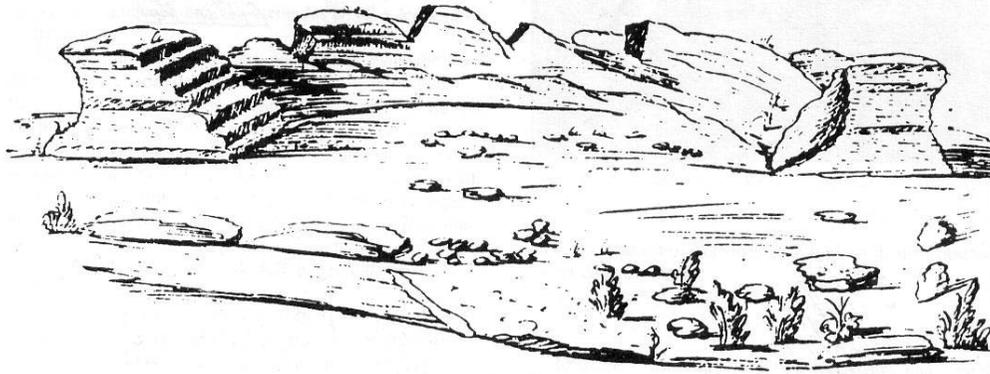


Figure A28 Theatre of *Singilia Barba*.

from Serrano Ramos and Atencia Páez (1993: 209, 210, 213, 214, 215); except the colour photo of Antequera taken by I. Can Siramin in Summer 2001.

Tarraco

Tarragona (TARRAGONA)



Figure A29 Remains from the Theatre of Tarraco.

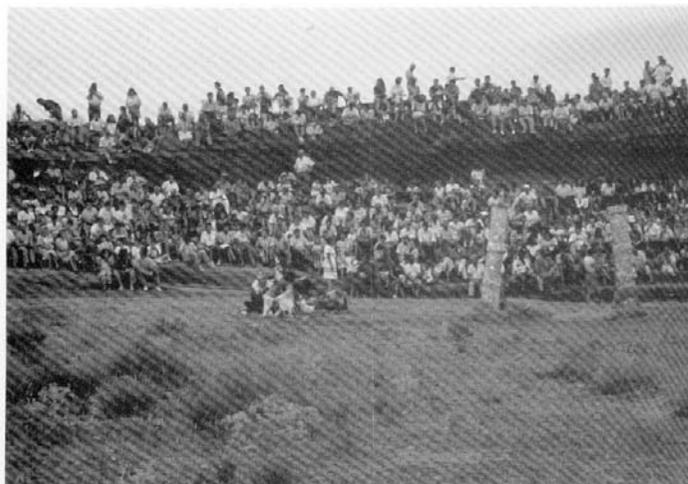
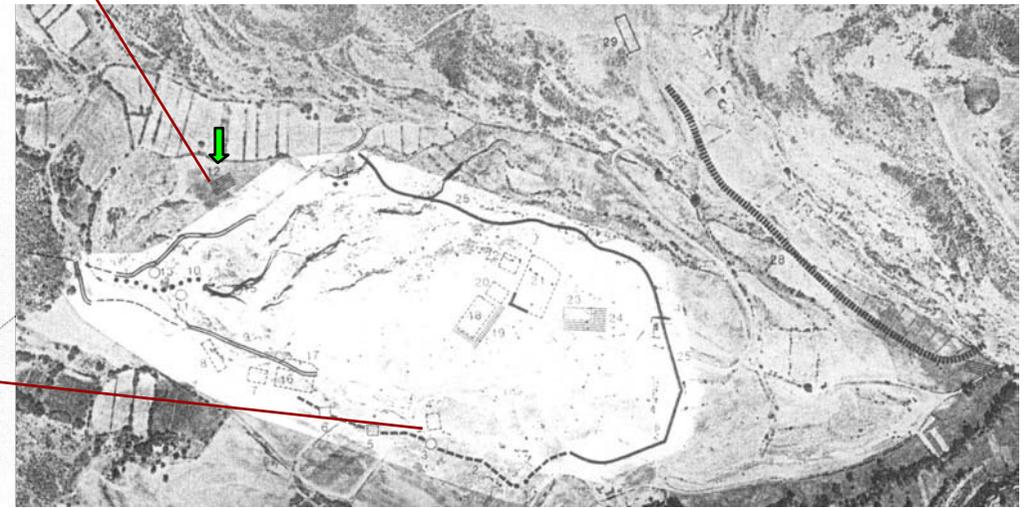
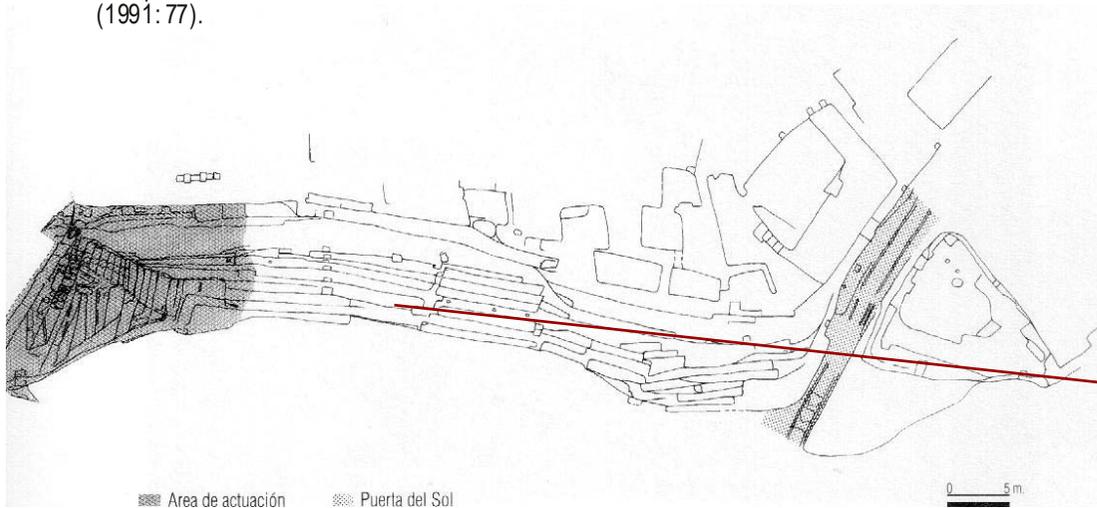
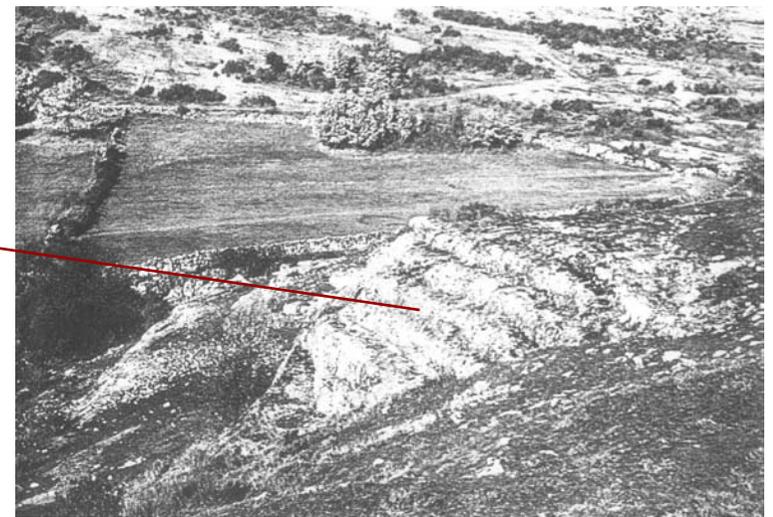
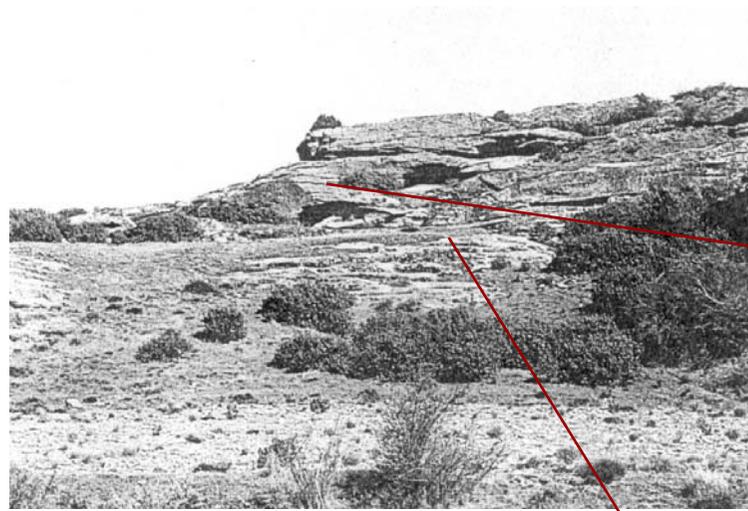
from Mar *et al.* (1992: 13, 20); except the colour photos taken by I. Can Siram in Summer 2001.

Termes

Tiermes (BURGOS)

Figure A.30 Tiermes. Remains from the Theatre (top) and the rock-cut steps used for contemporary performances (bottom).

top and aerial view from Tiermes (1990: 57, 28); plan and bottom from Tiermes (1992: 99, 123, 124) except bottom left from Tiermes (1991: 77).





Urso

Osuna (SEVILLA)

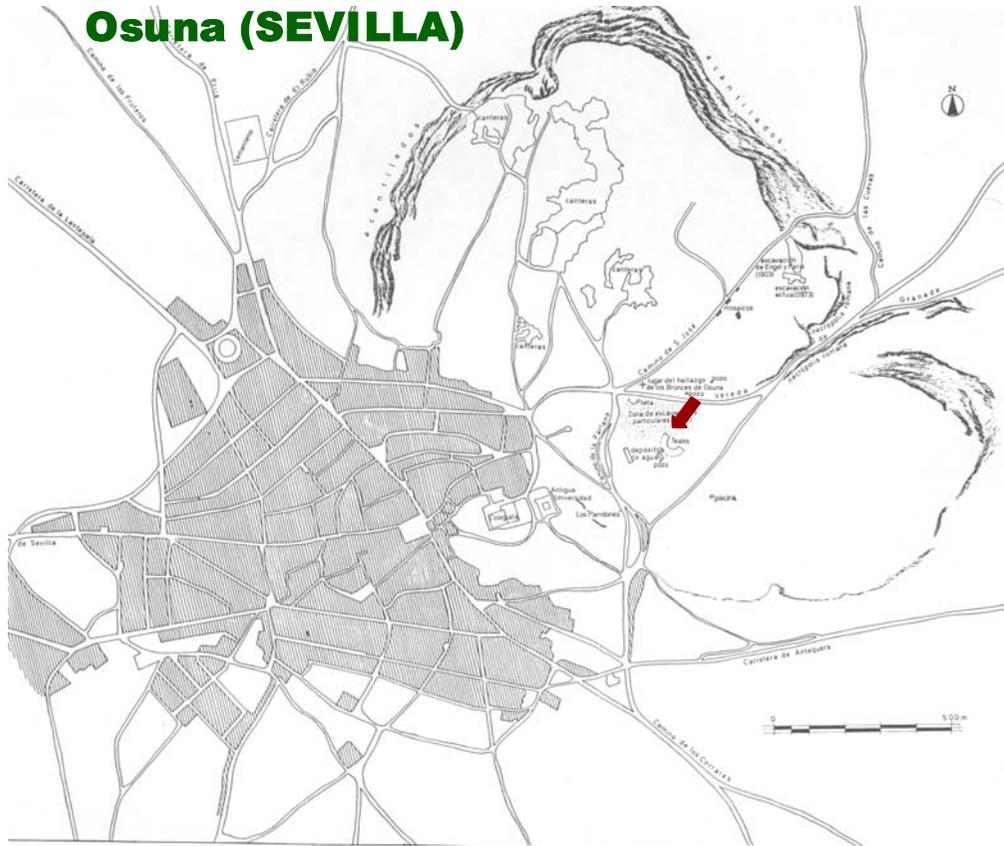


Figure A31 Theatre of Urso.

aerial view and map from Corzo Sánchez (1977); colour photos from the official website of the Municipality of Osuna <http://www.ayb-osuna.org>, 19.05.2004.

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APPENDIX B

ANCIENT THEATRES IN GREECE ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

This Appendix is a summary of a research project supervised by Dr. Manolis Korres from the School of Architecture of the National Metsovian Technical University of Athens (NMTUA) and partially financed by a postgraduate/doctoral research grant offered by the State Scholarship Foundation of the Republic of Greece (IKY - Ιδρύματος Κρατικών Υποτροφιών) in the period 1st December 2002 – 30th November 2003. Conducted mainly in the History of Architecture library of the NMTUA and the collections of the American, British, and French schools of archaeology in Athens, the first six months of the project was devoted to the collection of information, and its classification under the following headings, on 156 theatres, including epigraphically-evidenced examples as in Spain as well as *odea* buildings that have been undocumented in the Spanish context, of which 27 have so far been identified as *ex novo* Roman period constructions:

- *physical properties of the monument*
 - *overall diameter*
 - *diameter of the orchestra*
 - *capacity*
 - *state of conservation*
- *urban history at the site*
 - *modern research and excavations*
- *construction stages and architectural characteristics of the individual monument*
 - *location of the theatre in the city*
 - *stratigraphy and construction stages*
 - *architectural characteristics*
 - *conservation history of the monument*
- *references*

Then, a summary of this voluminous document has been prepared in table format on the occasion of a preliminary presentationⁱ that later formed an important part of the fifth chapter of the present study on

ⁱ Aktüre Şiram, Zeynep (in press). 'Yunanistan'daki antik tiyatrolarda yapı – mekan – zaman ilişkisi üzerine bir deneme' (An essay on the structure – place – time correlation in antique theatres in Greece), *2000'den Kesitler III: Eskiçağ'ın Mekanları / Zamanları / İnsanları* (Excerpts from 2000 III: Spaces / Times / Peoples of the Antiquity) – METU Department of Architecture, Graduate Program in History of Architecture, Doctoral Research Symposium, Ankara, June 2-3, 2003.

'The Network of Ancient Theatres in Modern Greece' featuring a series of maps drawn from this table. Another presentationⁱ was later made on some conclusions drawn from this 'network' on the correspondence between Roman period theatre-construction activity and processes of 'Romanisation' in Greece according to Fernand Braudel's three planes of historical time, which have been adopted also for the Conclusion chapter of this study. Additionally, a presentationⁱⁱ was made on the establishment of modern festivals featuring performances at ancient theatres and their effect on modern interventions to the existing ruins in comparison to the case in Spain, which remains beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The accompanying maps shows the distribution of the listed theatres throughout mainland Greece and the Ionian, Cycladic, North Aegean and Twelve Islands as well as the current state of the investigation to serve as a measure for the reliability of the conclusions drawn for individual cases. The appended summary chart presents the entries in alphabetical order of ancient settlement names. It is possible to list the same data according to provinces or building sizes or types, as required by the destined use, which has been the basic reason for the preparation of the summary.

Especially on numerical data, such as seating capacity or dimensions, and on chronological data, such as those referring to distinct construction phases or historiography, the summary has been prepared so as to give an idea about inconveniencies between various references. While consecutive and not contradictory information has been listed as separated by a " / " (e.g. initially constructed in 5th c. BC / later modified in 4th c. BC), global figures have been given as separated by a "–" without space (e.g. dates to 5th-4th c. BC or 1,500-2,000 people) while different estimations or chronological attributions have been distinguished by spacing before and after " – " (e.g. dates to 5th c. BC – 4th c. BC or 1,500 – 2,000 people). The same denotation logic has been applied whenever necessary to other, non-numeric data (e.g. the *cavea* has been carved into the living rock – constructed over manmade substructure).

ⁱ Aktüre Şiram, Zeynep (unpublished). 'Geographic Distribution and Architectural Characteristics of Roman Theatres in Greece – A Theoretical Approach Based on Fernand Braudel's Three Planes of Historical Time', *Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology (SOMA)*, Chieti University (February 24-26, 2005).

ⁱⁱ Aktüre Şiram, Zeynep (unpublished). '¡Hagamos Teatro Clásico en Nuestros Teatros Clásicos!' – On the local roots of modern Greco-Roman drama festivals in Greece and Spain', *34th Annual Congress of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, July 2-5, 2003. 500-word abstract published in *Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies Bulletin XXVIII* (1-2, Spring/Fall 2003) 33.

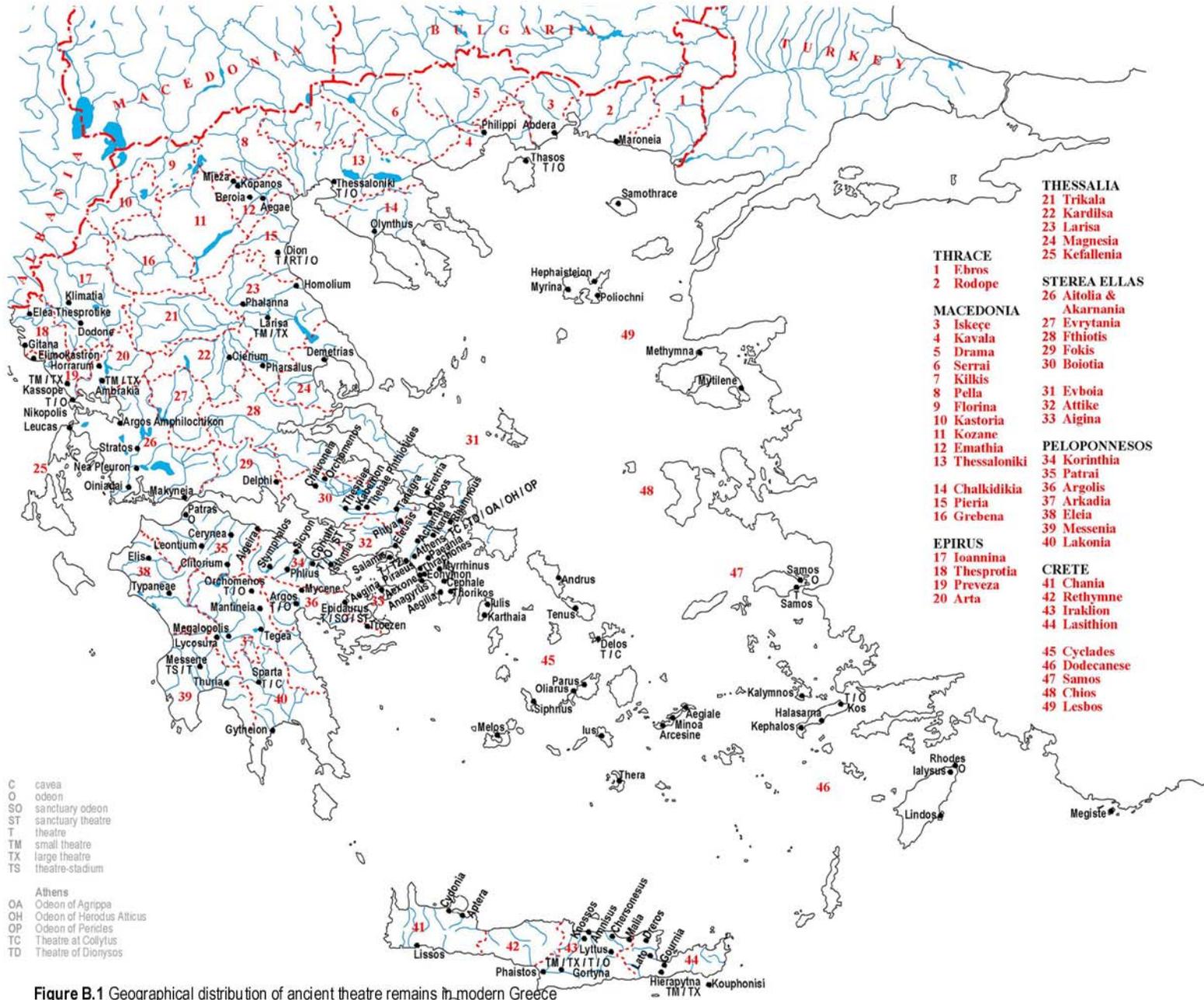


Figure B.1 Geographical distribution of ancient theatre remains in modern Greece

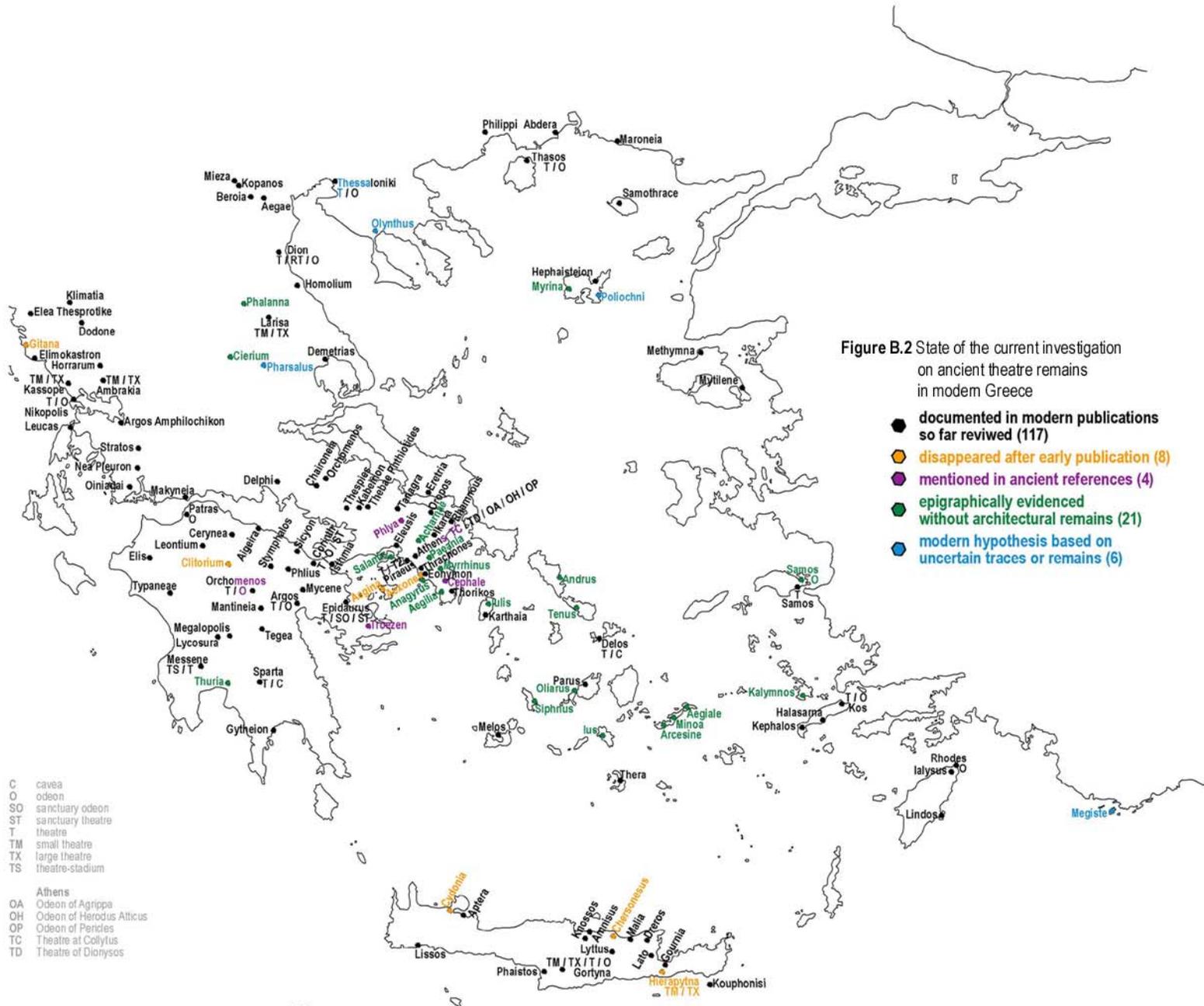


Table B Ancient Theatres in Modern Greece – Architectural Characteristics and Historiography

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
ABDERA	THRACE (ISKEÇ B)	Theatre				situated N of the city, may originally be extra-urban and later incorporated into the more recent city walls	cavea on natural slope		partially excavated in 1965
ACHARNAE	ATTICA	Theatre						one inscription dates to 4th c. BC; mention of Rural Dionysia in another	epigraphically evidenced
ACROCORINTH	PELOPONNESUS (CORINTHIA)	Sanctuary Cavea				part of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, which has no distinctive temple building but an open-air meeting place and rooms possibly for religious banquets	seats cut as steps in the rock constitute the very open-air meeting place itself while a stoa below at the N perhaps constituted askene	early 7th c. BC	The fortress on the <i>Acrocorinthos</i> has been investigated after the initiation of systematic excavations at ancient Corinth by ASC SA in 1896, with excavations in 1926 in the highest part of the site, which revealed traces of continuous occupation from Archaic times down to the beginning of 19th c.
AEGAE (VERGINA)	MACEDONIA (EMATHA)	Dionysian Theatre	2,500-3,000		d = 28.44m	located close to the Agora and the Palace from whose veranda the royal family most probably watched the performances and with which it was probably contemporary; linked with the cult of Dionysus	the horseshoe-shaped cavea resting on a natural slope (at E and over a "remblai" at W) has local limestone front row of seats and the rest presumably of timber	dated to the end of 5th c. BC together with the Palace - dated to 4th c. BC on the basis of the assassination of Philip II there in 336 BC / the site abandoned no later than mid-2nd c. BC - in mid-2nd c. AD / considerable pilgery of building blocks during the Medieval period	
AEGEIRA	PELOPONNESUS (PATRA)	Sanctuary Theatre	3,000 - 10,000	d = 55m	r = 14.4m (horseshoe)	included in a wider area of sanctuaries, it was part of the Sanctuary of Zeus and undoubtedly the most important building in <i>Aegira</i> , possibly with the <i>Agora</i> to its NE	horseshoe-shaped cavea is divided into two by a <i>diözoma</i> with two lateral accesses, about two-thirds of which carved out of the rock and the rest completed with artificial embankments	already existed in the Classical Age / existing remains date from middle - 3rd quarter of 3rd c. BC / transformed little before 3rd c. AD (Hadrianic period) unfinished stage building with <i>pulpitum</i> and straight two-sided <i>scenae frons</i> / 3rd c. AD conversion into water basin / abandoned in 3rd c. AD	
AEGALE	CYCLADES (AMORGOSIS)	Theatre						earliest inscription dates to 3rd c. BC	epigraphically evidenced
AEGLIA	ATTICA	Theatre						inscription mentioning Rural Dionysia	epigraphically evidenced
AEGINA	AEGINA	Theatre		d = 110m				dates to the Roman Empire / demolished in 3rd c. AD to build city walls / in 1828 it was covered by the quarantine building, which was based on its plan	not preserved
AIXONE	ATTICA	Theatre						epigraphically evidenced performances in late 5th and 4th c. BC	lastly seen by Lolling, it is possibly identical with the Theatre of <i>Thadranes</i>
AMBRAKIA (fig. B23)	EPRUS (ARTA)	Small (Urban) Theatre			d = 6.70m / 5.35m (perfectly circular)	lies in the centre of <i>Ambracia</i> , as little distanced from the late Archaic temple of Apollo, Dionysus or <i>Halkar nas</i> summit on site as standing near the Temple of <i>Aproditie Aineias</i> and the Heron of <i>Aineias</i>	cavea built on an artificial slope - man-made embankments	late 4th - early 3rd c. BC over a mid-4th c. BC bath	partially excavated in 1976 by Elias Andreou when a large pit was opened for the construction of a modern building
AMBRAKIA	EPRUS (ARTA)	Urban Theatre			r = 9m	Isler has defined it as an urban Greek theatre situated close to the Temple of Apollo	probably wooden seats in the cavea set on the suitably prepared natural rock	built around the beginning of the 3rd century BC	uncovered under the Tsakalof Street of the modern town of Arta
AMISUS	CRETE (RAKLON)	Recilinear Steps					a flight of five steps probably designed to accommodate spectators	dates back to the 8th-7th centuries BC	
ANAGURUS	ATTICA	Theatre						4th c. BC inscriptions, one possibly referring to Rural Dionysia, the other to <i>proedria</i>	epigraphically evidenced
ANDRUS	CYCLADES (ANDROSIS)	Theatre						4th-3rd c. BC inscription mentioning a tragedy contest during Dionysiac celebrations	epigraphically evidenced
APTERA	CRETE (LASITHON)			d = 55m	d = 18m	inside the south city wall, with traces of a small Doric temple possibly dedicated to Dionysus to its east		Hellenistic, with Roman period alterations attested in brick remains	The site was correctly identified by Ashley (1837?). Temple inscriptions excavated by Westher (1862-64) followed by German excavations in 1942, those by St Alexou in 1958 and finally by systematic and salvage excavations in 1986-87 and 1992-95 by the Ephorate of Antiquities.
ARCESINE	CYCLADES (AMORGOSIS)	Theatre							epigraphically evidenced

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
A ROOS (figs. B.9 & B.10)	PELOPONNESUS (ARGOLIS)	Urban Greek Cavea-Roman Odeon	2500-2,300-1,500-1,105 seats (GT) / 1,800-1,790 seats (RO)	max.w = ca. 30m (G) / external rectangle 29.3x 27.6m (1st R) / d C = 40m (2nd R)	initial trapezoidal orchestra.w O = ca. 30m, d O = ca. 25m	located S of the main Theatre and close to the Agora. Nielsen associates the early rectilinear <i>theatron</i> with the Aphrodision situated on a terrace 20m to S and at the same general level and with the cult house of Adonis mentioned by Pausanias, suggesting continuity of cultic theatre in the Roman odeon.	rectilinear Greek period seating rows hewn from the living rock with no corresponding stage building; semicircular Roman cavea resting on a natural slope except in the dual system of radial chamber extending the former rectangular arrangement	initial construction in 5th c. BC for assemblies of the <i>eclesia</i> of the <i>deme</i> - as a cultic theatre / early 2nd c. AD - 1st c. AD Roman conversion into a roofed odeon / reconstruction during the third quarter of 2nd c. AD / semicircular plan with the corresponding <i>scenae frons</i> with three niches (central semicircular, lateral rectangular) dates to the second half of the 3rd c. AD / abandoned in 4th c. AD	discovered in 1912, excavated in 1953 and 1956
A ROOS (fig. B.10)	PELOPONNESUS (ARGOLIS)	Theatre	20000 seats (once the largest cavea in Greece)	max. r = 77.28m		rests on the southeast slope of the Acropolis (Larissa hill) to the west of the Agora, on a site previously dedicated to the cults of Oscurio and Hercules	with its central portion carved into the hill and wings constructed, the cavea exceeds a semicircle only at the level of the first steps, while the somewhat irregular entire upper part covers less than a quarter of a circle	first constructed in late 4th or early 3rd c. BC as the venue for the music and drama contests of the great Nemea festival as well as the Heraia / first Roman transformation dates to the Hadrianic period / transformed into an arena in the 3rd c. AD / transformed into a pool in the 4th c. AD / abandoned at the end of 4th c. AD	Partial excavations of I. Kophiriou in 1892 were followed by French School of Archaeology investigations in 1930, 1933 and 1951 by W. Volgraf, and from 1954 to 1956 by J. Bingen and G. Roux. New excavations were undertaken in 1981 and 1982 by C. Abadie and J. Des Courtils and finally for four consecutive years, between 1986 to 1989 by A. Pariente and J.-Ch. Morelli, the latter of whom has also prepared a booklet (1993). Consolidation and restoration has been programmed and included in the packet DELORS I. The Theatre has been used for various cultural performances of which some were part of the 'Athens Festival'.
A ROOS A MPHLOCHKON	EPIRUS (AITOLIA & AKARNANIA)	Extra-urban Theatre				situated at the foot of the hill on which the city is built, facing south	only the position of its carved stone seats has been located on the ground		no data obtained so far except Schoder's report of traces of a theatre with carved stone seats
ATHENS	ATTICA	Theatre of Colytus				thought to have been situated at an urban demos north or west of the Acropolis of Athens			cited in ancient sources
ATHENS (fig. B.11)	ATTICA	Theatre of Dionysus	8000-10000 people in Aeschylus' time - original capacity 14000-17000 seats	r = 52m (pre-Periclean) - distance between the outer corners of the <i>anabmmab</i> ca. 89m	r = 24m-27m in its earliest phase - r = 1020m during the first two building phases - d = 1961m	located on the southern slope of the Acropolis of Athens	cavea resting on the natural slope, whose inclination was increased twice through artificial fill during the consecutive building phases of the monument	dates and architectural characteristics attributed to its consecutive pre-Roman building phases are still heavily debated / a two-storey <i>scenae frons</i> with projecting pavilions for doors introduced during the reign of Nero in 1st c. AD / a later conversion into an arena / another into a water tank to be used for mime performances	Excavations by the Greek Archaeological Society started in 1838; examination and plans by E. Ziller (18623), later by J.H. Shack. Major excavations by W. Dörpfeld (1886-95). Individual investigations by Petersen in 1908, Versakis in 1909, H. Bule, K. Lehmann-Hartleben and W. Wiede in 1923. The next major excavation by Dörpfeld (1924). E. Fischer's excavations in 1927 with some checking in 1933. Individual examinations since then with no full-scale major excavation. A new programme started in 1978, with cleaning and recording by Wurster (1978-80) accompanied by a photogrammetry programme. The Committee on the Preservation of the Theatre of Dionysus (Ministry of Culture, 1st Euphorbia, under the chairmanship of AD elvorias) published a report by H. Makri (1985-87) on the retaining walls by the Epiporos.
ATHENS (figs. B.12 & B.30)	ATTICA	Odeon of Agrippa	initially about 1,000 / not more than 500 after remodeling	outer extension 5138 x 43.2m and half of the cavea 24.59 x 24.74m	r = 10.17m	located in the Classical period Agora of Athens, arguably at the location where wooden bleachers used to be erected for dramatic performances during festivals before the construction of the Theatre of Dionysus	built on a hillside, consists of a rectangular nucleus surrounded on three sides by two-level porticos	possibly erected around 15 BC with a <i>scenae frons</i> with three doors / after partial collapse, restored around 150 AD to be used for public conferences / covered by a monumental complex after Heruli destructions in 267 AD	discovered in 1934 and excavated until 1940 by American scholars; published by Homer Thompson
ATHENS (figs. B.12 & B.30)	ATTICA	Odeon of Herodas Atticus	5,000 - 6,000	r = 38m - d = ca. 92m	d = 19m	located on the southern slope of the Acropolis of Athens	most of the semicircular cavea cut into the rock, with the wings constructed; crowned by a semicircular portico	initially erected between AD 160 and 174 with a single-storey eight <i>scenae frons</i> with three doors / was thoroughly destroyed by fire in AD 267	Excavated between 1848 and 1858, and the area in front of it between 1955 and 1959. Modern interventions include re-employment of the <i>orchestra</i> and reconstruction of the <i>pubitum</i> for contemporary performances that date back to 1930 and continued during 'Athens Festival'.
ATHENS (fig. B.11)	ATTICA	Odeon of Pericles		w = 624m, d = 68.6m		located on the southern slope of the Acropolis of Athens	It is a rectangular columned hall with provisional tiers of steps at the centre of the four sides and presumably with a conical roof.	initial construction date still debated / destroyed by the army of Sulla in 86 BC / reconstructed in 52 BC at the expense of Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia (63-52 BC) by two Roman architects, C. and M. Statilius / probably destroyed in AD 267	Excavations conducted by Kastriots (1914-27) and Orlandos (1928-31), revealed the north side of the building and five column bases at the northeast corner.
BEROIA (fig. B.13)	MACEDONIA (EMATHIA)	Theatre - Odeon		d = ca. 20m			evidence has been found of the foundations of the cavea's ten radial chambers	Roman Imperial Theatre or Odeon	
CEPHALE	ATTICA	Theatre							

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
CERYNEA	PELOPONNESUS (PATRA)	Theatre		d=25-30m		urban Greek theatre facing west	the cavea cut of local sandstone rests on a natural slope	chronology unknown but could date to before the end of 4th c. BC	
CHARONEIA (fig.B.8)	BOEOTIA	Theatre	no more than 1,000 people (probably the smallest in Greece)	max. Preserved w = 37.2m		lies at the foot of the north summit of Petachos, where located was the fortified Acropolis, and believed to be dedicated to the worship of Dionysus but it has not been ascertained that there was a temple nearby	cut into a steep rocky slope, early rectilinear theatre replaced by a curvilinear Hellenistic cavea whose lower part was further enlarged over Roman concrete substructures to take a horseshoe shape / of mediocre design and workmanship	initial construction with rectilinear seating rows dates to the second half of 5th or 4th c. BC / Hellenistic semi-circularisation / entire Roman remodelling with enlargement of the cavea / later conversion into a <i>consistorium</i> for the staging of gladiatorial fights	unexcavated but used for theatrical performances
CHERSONESUS (fig.B.14)	CRETE (RAKLON)	Theatre		d=47.5m	d=27m		the cavea had a semicircular portico with pillars	built during the Roman Empire	destroyed after 1897 but a plan with some of the fanciful details (of the scaenae, in particular) was published by Bell in 1958
CERUM	THESSALIA (KARDLSA)	Theatre							epigraphically evidenced
CLITORUM	PELOPONNESUS (PATRA)	Theatre						probably dates to the Hellenistic period	The monument can only be seen through a depression in the ground. The elements of steps visible in the nineteenth century are no longer preserved.
CORINTHOS (fig.B.30)	PELOPONNESUS (CORINTHIA)	Odeon	3,000 seats	d=61-64m	d=15.5m / extended to 25.6m for the arena	lays to the immediate south of the Theatre to which it was connected by a colonnaded court	great part of the cavea cut from the native rock except in formerly quarried places in which did not reach the proper height where a vaulted concrete subconstruction was used. The three aisles dividing the auditorium each ended in a <i>vomitorium</i> at the second storey level which opened from an upper gallery entered directly from the higher ground level on S and was reached at the extremities by stairways partly cut in rock and partly built. Underneath the gallery ran a semicircular corridor.	built by Agrippa towards the end of 1st c. BC / rebuilt by Herodes Atticus around AD 175 / destroyed by fire about 50 years later and converted into an arena for animal shows around AD 225 / ruined in the earthquake of AD 375 after which the <i>scaenae frons</i> was reconstructed with spoil material in very poor quality of workmanship / final destruction perhaps during Gothic invasions under Alaric towards the end of 3rd c. AD when a fire swept the building, apparently leaving it completely ruined / its ruin was used to build dwellings	D discovered in 1907 during the ASCSA excavations in Corinth, its excavation continued in 1909-10 in the presence of W.B. Dinsmore and was taken up again in 1927 under the direction of Oscar Broneer. The entire structure was cleared by 1928.
CORINTHOS (fig.B.15)	PELOPONNESUS (CORINTHIA)	Theatre	11000-15000 in the early G phase - 18,000 in both G and R period	r=55m - r=60.20m in the first R phase - d=121m (the R cavea)	r=1080-1100m (early) - d=234m (G) / r=17.16m (H circle) and r=23.40m (outer proedra) / r=27.40m (R arena) / r=3680m - d=22m (R)	lays in an area of several layers of Greek period housing that have an orientation different than the Roman one, to the northwest and below the famous sixth-century BC Archaic Temple of Apollo, with its cavea on the north-west slope and seating facing directly northwards to the Corinthian Gulf; the natural slope forms a step between the upper level on which the Agora is situated, and the lower terrace which extends almost on an even grade to the Asklepeion at the northern edge of the city	the shallow Hellenistic cavea that took advantage of the natural slope of the terrain was made steeper by artificial earth fill over which the Roman period cavea seats were built on radial supporting walls under which Hellenistic remains were conserved, with additional buttressing introduced during later rebuilding while several front seats were removed during conversion into arena and re-introduced after the conversion back to theatre	some argue a late 5th c. (425-413 BC - 415 BC) or Hellenistic curvilinear stone cavea facing a timber stage / others argue an initial (late) Hellenistic curvilinear cavea and a stone stage building / Hellenistic rebuilding in ca. 338 BC - 250 BC (ie. Antigonis rule, possibly the Corinthian League revival in 302 BC) - late 3rd quarter - very early 4th quarter of 4th c. BC cavea enlargement / abandonment after 146 BC / probably a temporary <i>phylakes</i> stage after 44 BC / total late Augustan - early Tiberian rebuilding with straight <i>scaenae frons</i> / repairs probably after AD 77 after earthquake damage / Hadrianic - very early Antonine replacement of a <i>scaenae frons</i> with three semicircular exedra / conversion into a hunting theatre - arena in AD 211-17 removing some front rows of seats / 2nd half of 3rd c. conversion for water ballets / conversion back into a theatre in the later 3rd c. / destruction during the invasion of Alaric in AD 396 / a final reconstruction in 4th c. AD / final destruction 50 years later / Early	The Theatre was first located by R.B. Richardson of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in 1896 and initial excavations were carried out by F.C. Babbitt without discovering the stage building, who published the first results in 1897. Further work was undertaken by Samuel Bassett in 1902 while the discovery of the stage had to wait for the 1903 excavations of David H. Robinson. After the partial excavations in 1908 and 1909, a comprehensive campaign started in 1925 with the removal of debris accumulated in the earlier campaigns and continued through 1926 as well as 1928-29. After his complementary investigations in 1948 that nevertheless failed in unearthing the remains throughly, R. Stillwell published his monograph in 1952, which was followed in 1977 by M. Sturgeon's monograph on the three Theatre Friezes in addition to several articles published until then. Work at the Theatre was resumed in 1982 when investigations started in the residential areas to the east of the Theatre and the results were
CYDONIA	CRETE (CHANIA)	Theatre							Drawn by Bell before being demolished in 1589.
DELOS (fig.B.8)	CYCLADES (DELOSIS)	Sanctuary Cavea	700-750-600-700 seats	d=206m, width with the porticos 517m	d=10.16m	the cavea is part of the Sanctuary of the Syrian Goddess located on a terrace on the slope of Mt. Cynthus, beside the Sanctuary C. It has been suggested that it constituted the model for the theatre-temple sanctuaries of Laodizea but later and, unlike them, the cavea does not surround the Temple with which it is not axially aligned as well.	Used for worship, the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope and constructed only on western side. It constitutes part of the terrace forming the sanctuary. It never had a stage building but instead, a <i>temenon</i> with an altar at the centre and a cistern at the side.	the terrace of the Sanctuary was built from 113-112 BC onwards (that is, just after it had been made official by the Athenians) and the cavea dedicated by the praetor N. Kostabos in 106-107 BC / the Sanctuary was destroyed in 88 or 69 BC	Excavations at the site by the French School of Archaeology in Athens date back to 1873, intensifying in the period 1904-14 under the direction of M. Holleaux and again in 1958-75, long after the cavea had been destroyed after 1897.

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
DELLOS (fig. B8)	CYCLADES (DELOSIS)	Sanctuary Cavea	700-750-600-700 seats	d = 206m, width within the porticos 51.7m	d = 10.16m	the cavea is part of the Sanctuary of the Syrian Goddess located on a terrace on the slope of Mt Cynthus, beside the Scaepion C / It has been suggested that it constituted the model for the theatre-temple sanctuaries of <i>Latum</i> but is later and, unlike them, the cavea does not surround the Temple with high isometrically aligned as well	Used for worship, the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope and constructed only on western side. It constitutes part of the terrace forming the sanctuary. It never had a stage building but, instead, a terrace with an altar at the centre and a cistern at the side.	the terrace of the Sanctuary was built from 113-112 BC onwards (hatis, just after it had been made official by the Athenians) and the cavea dedicated by the priest Nikostratos in 108-107 BC / the Sanctuary was destroyed in 68 or 69 BC	Excavations at the site by the French School of Archaeology in Athens date back to 1873, intensifying in the period 1904-14 under the direction of M. Høleaux and again in 1958-75, long after the cavea had been destroyed after 1897.
DELLOS (fig. B8)	CYCLADES (DELOSIS)	Theatre	5500 seats	d = 64m	d = 21.16m (perfectly circular)	lies S of the Sanctuary of Apollo at the SW of the site, on a hillside above which were sanctuaries of foreign gods; W behind the stage building was a plaza-courtyard, great houses with fine mosaics and a large cistern; a complex of rooms to its east seems to have been a hotel; the altar in the area dating from 179-178 BC is attributed to Dionysus	The peculiarly oval-shaped cavea, whose upper and lower parts are not concentric, rests on a hillside.	built in stages from late 4th c. BC - 280 BC onwards, replacing an earlier timber structure with a <i>proskēnion</i> stage and a façade comprising of twelve columns, possibly completed in 246 BC - the first half of 3rd c. BC. / a new façade with a Doric ornamental colonnade was added in the late 3rd century BC / the <i>proskēnion</i> colonnade was elongated at its both ends in a third phase when a portico with Doric columns was erected along the three free faces of the <i>skene</i> so as to open onto the plaza courtyard to W	Excavations at the site by the French School of Archaeology in Athens date back to 1873, intensifying in the period 1904-14 under the direction of M. Høleaux and again in 1958-75. The stage building, which was buried after the original excavation, was cleared in 1988 when some test trenches were also placed against the outside of the cavea to define the access ramps.
DELPHI	STEREAS HELIAS (RHOKIS)	Sanctuary Theatre	5000 seats	d = 52.5m	d = 18.5m	located in the northeast corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo, in such with the predict wall and fitting perfectly into the surrounding landscape / used as the venue for the musical contests in Pythia and Soteria	The more than semicircular cavea, cut off to the southwest and northeast rests on the rock and covers a more ancient, poorly preserved construction	initial construction dated to 4th, (late) 3rd or early 2nd century BC, with the construction of a scheme with wings perpendicular to the <i>proskēnion</i> walls having started before 159 BC and possibly at the end of the decade 170-60 / an interruption by an earthquake or avalanche / resumption after 159 BC thanks to a donation by Eumenes II of Pergamon, with a modification in the lateral walls of the <i>koilon</i> , which may explain the "Pergamene" style of the stage building / orchestra transformed in 1stc. AD	Known to have been used in 1927, 1930 and 1951 for modern-day theatrical performances.
DEMETRIAS	THESSALIA (MAGNESA)	Theatre	6000 seats	r = 40m (estimate)	r = 24.15m (horseshoe-shaped)	located on W of the settlement, hosted political assemblies and theatrical performances, not supporting the Hellenistic palace and theatre proximity typology theory since the palace (Anaktoron) was built on a hill east of the town - located E of the settlement (supporting the same typology)	the greater part of the cavea rests on artificial fill	built shortly after the city's foundation in 294 BC (first half of 3rd c. BC) and underwent at least four repairs from 3rd c. BC onwards, with Roman period interventions / stage building seems to date from the later part of 2nd c. BC while the late Roman stage building had no <i>proscenium</i> / permanently abandoned in (second half of) 4th c. AD - in all four construction phases has been distinguished in Efstathiou-Batzou	First excavated and published in 1960 by Theodoris, with cleaning and limited excavation carried out in the early 1990s as part of a programme to make it available for use.
DION (figs B.16 & B.30)	MACEDONIA (PERRIA)	Odeon		external rectangle 28.4x19.5m	d = 10m	located close to the Agora and was linked to the Roman baths dating to the same period.	Built on flatland to fit into a rectangle, the more than semicircular cavea rests on vaulted radial chambers and confirmed to have been roofed, with a simple three-door <i>scenae frons</i> .	erected at the end of the 2nd century AD / destroyed in late 4th century	Discovered in 1963 and later excavated.
DION (fig. B.16)	MACEDONIA (PERRIA)	Roman Theatre		d = 54.3m	d = 21.4m	suburban	The more than semicircular cavea rests on radial vaulted chambers with a semi-annular corridor on the outside and separated from the five-door <i>scenae frons</i> .	dates to 2nd c. AD / transformations dating to 4th c. AD	Excavations began in 1963.
DION (fig. B.16)	MACEDONIA (PERRIA)	Hellenistic Theatre			r = ca. 26m (circular)	located outside the city, to the south, on an artificial embankment west of the Sanctuary of Dionysus. All indications are that the Classical theatre stood on this site.	excavation confirmed an earlier cavea below the Hellenistic and Roman phases when it formed an artificial embankment shaped like a horseshoe without constructed <i>anabainata</i>	the city known to have held 'scenic contests' from the time of Archelos (413-399 BC) with Euripides among the contestants / the theatre dated to 3rd c. BC, to the reign of Philip V (221-179 BC) - to around 200 BC to replace an earlier theatre / renovated during the Roman Empire after a period of neglect	Excavations started in 1973, with additional work in the late 1990s in the area of the Hellenistic period stage building and of the Roman period cavea.
DODONE (fig. B.17)	EPIRUS (IOANNINA)	Sanctuary Theatre	17,000-18,000 seats, one of the largest in Greece	d = 129m, h = 34.5m	d = 22.9m / arena l = 33.1m and w = 28.12m (originally circular)	located in the Sanctuary of Zeus	Probably replacing an early hillside theatre, the impressive size of the cavea resting on a natural slope necessitated tower-like buttresses on lateral retaining walls. The two <i>odiazonaria</i> are readable from outside through steps - two large stair cases on the outside of the cavea.	an earlier hillside theatre was probably replaced by King Pyrrhus of Epirus (297-272 BC) in early 3rd c. with the extant stone structure / destroyed in fire by the Aetolians in 219 BC and repaired at the end of 3rd c. BC by Philip V / demolished by fire in 167 BC by Aemilius Paulus and turned into an arena during 1stc. BC (during the reign of Augustus or later), eliminating the first two rows of seats / the Sanctuary stayed in use until the second half of 4th c.	Systematic restorations started in 1961, on the basis of the proposal by the architect B. Charissis, with finance from the Archaeological Society and the Program for Public Investment. By 1975, the greatest part of the theatre had been restored except for the third <i>odiazonaria</i> . The building is currently used for modern performances.
DREROS	CRETE (LASTHION)	Reclined Steps in the Agora	500 people (in the Agora)	w = 25m		steps contained in the Early Greek Agora formed by terracing the slope between the two peaks on which the city of Dreros is located. A Geometric temple lies further up the slope to W, and is connected to the Agora by specially constructed steps. Today a cistern separates the Temple from the theatre steps.	The 40m-long Agora widens to 43m at the terrace wall and narrows to 23m at SW where the reclined theatre steps with curved wings, originally extending along the full width of the Agora, continued part way down its side at least a few meters and along the opposite side.	the theatre steps have been dated alternatively to 850-800 BC, to the early part of 8th c. BC (the Geometric period) and to no earlier than the sixth century BC, and are thought to have been built at the same time as the temple, because, architecturally, they were constructed in relation to the temple steps	The site was first excavated in 1917 by S. Xanthoudides and then by Pierre Demargne in 1932, by Henri van Effenterre in 1936 and by S. Marinatos and C. Picard from the French School of Archaeology in Athens; the latter two working on the temples.

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	sub context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
DREIOS	CRETE (LASITHION)	Rectilinear Steps in the Agora	500 people (in the Agora)	w = 25m		steps contained in the Early Greek Agora formed by terracing the slope between the two peaks on which the city of Dreios is located. A Geometric temple lies further up the slope to W, and is connected to the Agora by specially constructed steps. Today a cistern separates the Temple from the theatre steps.	The 40m long Agora widens to 43m at the terrace wall and narrows to 23m at SW where the rectilinear theatre steps with curved wings, originally extending along the full width of the Agora, continued past way down its side at least a few meters and along the opposite side.	the theatre steps have been dated alternatively by 850-800 BC, to the early part of 8th c. BC (the Geometric period) and to no earlier than the sixth century BC, and are thought to have been built at the same time as the temple, because, architecturally, they were constructed in relation to the temple steps	The site was first excavated in 1917 by S. Xanthoudides and then by Pierre Demargne in 1932, by Henri van Effenterre in 1936 and by S. Marinatos and C. Picard from the French School of Archaeology in Athens; the latter two working on the temples.
ELEA THESPROTAE	EPIRUS (THESSALY)	Urban Greek Theatre	3,000-4,000 seats	d = 45-50m		situated SE of the Agora		probably Hellenistic	buried and unexcavated
ELBUSI (fig. B8)	ATTICA	Rectilinear Steps	ca. 600 people (large for the type)			located in S of the city, situated in S court of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone/Kore where there exists also a presently L-shaped and perhaps very old theatre on along the Sacred Way	both in straight rows, the older set was built beside a paved processional way and below an altar at the top	of the two sets of steps one dates to 3rd c. BC while the other is Roman built in 1st c. BC - others have dated them both to the Hellenistic period	G. Wheeler reported on the site in 1976. In 1811 the Dilettanti Society carried out the first excavation. Greek excavations since 1882, especially in the 1930s and more recently, have helped to clarify the maze of ruins.
ELMOKASTRON	EPIRUS (PREVEZA)	Theatre				located in the valley leading to the Acropolis		built between 275 and 167 BC	Located by Petas in the valley leading to the Acropolis.
ELIS	PELOPONNESUS (ARCADIA)	Theatre		d = 92m	horseshoe-shaped	located to the northwest of the Agora, about 200m from the centre of the city and to the northwest of the Agora, about 200m from the centre of the city and reportedly near a Sanctuary of Dionysus	asymmetrical in the plan of the more than semicircular cavea dug out of the natural slope, in whose layout two separate centres were used for E and W halves, perhaps the result of two phases of construction	the initial construction dated to the end of 4th c. BC - 3rd c. BC - fairly confidently to c. 200 BC / the stage building was built during the Hellenistic era, possibly just after the cavea / Hellenistic transformations in the cavea and inside the stage building / other Roman Imperial period transformations	Discovered in 1961 when excavations started. Results of excavations by V. Leon in the early 1970s not published yet. A digital survey of the building as well as partial restorations reported in 1991.
EUNYMON	ATTICA	Theatre			almost rectangular	the remains are located in the Attic deme site near Glyfada		the remains, as preserved, date to the third quarter of 4th c. BC as do the two statues of Dionysus that are, however, Archaistic style	At a lecture in Athens in March 1990, O. Alexandri reported on her excavation of the theatre at Eunymon, which has still received no publication beyond the preliminary reports.
EPIDAURUS (figs. B.18 & B.30)	PELOPONNESUS (ARGOLIS)	Sanctuary Odeon	ca. 550 people	external rectangle 34 x 20.8m	d = ca. 10.5m	built inside the peristyle of an already partially collapsed Greek gymnasium inside the Sanctuary of Aesculapius, which probably served also as a banquet hall with the odeon taking over the function of the central courtyard for "mystic dramas".	The semicircular cavea is inserted into a rectangle and cut at the sides, with outer pillars supporting the roof and columns of the pre-existing peristyle are incorporated in the brickwork.	initially built around the mid-2nd century AD - Hellenistic, with no traces of a <i>scenae frons</i> / the mosaic of the orchestra was added in around 200 AD	Excavated by Kawadias towards the end of 19th c.
EPIDAURUS (fig. B.18)	PELOPONNESUS (ARGOLIS)	Sanctuary Theatre	initial 6,210 seats expanded to 14,000-12,000-12,500 seats	r = 58m - d = 117-119m	r = 20m - ca. 21.5m / orchestra d = 19.5m (circular)	located SE of the Sanctuary on the wooded slopes of Mt. Kynortion, with no other edifice nearby except a small hill-top sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas further up, which is much older than the cult of Asclepius and remained in use through Roman times	the more than semicircular cavea is a segment of a sphere resting on a natural slope except for the NW <i>cunei</i> , which rest on an artificial embankment. Unaltered Greek features argued after Roman interventions.	disputedly built in the middle of 4th c. BC or some time after 300 BC with cavea enlargement and stage building modification in mid-2nd c. BC - other argue for a single 4th c. BC building phase for the cavea / later transformations of the stage building no earlier than the 4th c. AD	First systematic excavations under P. Kawadias started in 1881 and restoration work was undertaken in the year 1907 at the gate of the western parados entrance and the contiguous retaining wall in the period 1954-63, the voluminous task of reconstructing the destroyed sections of the monument and its partial restoration was undertaken. Implementation is still going on at the gate of the west parados of the building. Theatrical performances begun during the Festival of 1954 and continued through 1956 up to the present. In 1988 a program of conservation work at the Theatre to solve a series of specific problems concerning the wear caused by thousands of visitors.
EPIDAURUS (fig. B.18)	PELOPONNESUS (ARGOLIS)	Theatre	2,000 seats - 5,000-6,000 seats			dedicated to Dionysus, it was an urban theatre resting on the western slope of the Acropolis.	the cavea rests on a natural slope and has an asymmetrical shape, being cut at the sides so that the more recent <i>proscenium</i>	constructed in stages from the middle of 4th c. BC well into the Hellenistic period, possibly after a simpler form of theatre earlier at the site / Roman period transformations / abandonment in 4th c. AD / benches formed by the cavea used in the city walls	Discovered in 1970 and excavated for a few months by Ms. E. Delaki. Further work scheduled after the restricted campaign in 1988, after which an annual music festival is planned by the Town Hall of Ancient Epidaurus. In June 1995, four musical performances were held, with the collaboration of the Town Hall of Ancient Epidaurus and the Ministries of Culture and Tourism. Their monuments are still virtually unpublished.
ERETRA (fig. B.23)	EUBOIAIS.	Theatre	6300 people-6000 people (2nd, i.e. 2nd half of 4th c. BC) and less before	d = ca. 90m	d = ca. 2020m (in both locations) - d = 22.04m - d = 22m (in 2nd location)	its location inside the West Gate in the upper part of the city, just above the Sanctuary of Dionysus and on an artificial elevation was evidently determined by the proximate Temple of Dionysus / the altar in front of the Temple is common to both structures and a vaulted corridor connected the orchestra to the <i>temenos</i>	Known as one of the earliest Greek theatres in imitation of the Theatre of Dionysus, its cavea is, however, about 3m dug into the ground and partly stands on retaining walls maintaining the earth fill out of the excavated material. Roman transformation from horseshoe-shaped into semicircular cavea	initial construction dated to around 440-411 BC - 5th c. BC - late 4th c. BC for the earliest stage building with timber <i>proscenium</i> - stone stage building / mid-4th c. BC - early 3rd c. BC - mid-3rd c. BC restructuring with preserved cavea / a restoration after the destruction of Eretria in 198 BC	Excavated at the end of the 19th c. by ASCSA. The 11th Ephorate of Antiquities has already put forward its restoration.

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
GIANA	ERRUS (THESSALIA)	Theatre	4,000-5,000 seats	d = 65m, h = 10m		Extra-urban	Fitting into a natural depression in the slope, the cavea is no wider than one third of a circle, with wings built in <i>opus polygonalis</i> .	built between about 230 and 167 BC	published by Dakaris
GORTYNA (figs. B.19 & B.30)	CRETE (RAKLON)	Odeon		w = ca. 36m	d = ca. 9m (almost semicircular)	Located to SE of the Acropolis, with the ancient Agora in front of it built over the Archaic tholos that carried on its circular wall the Gortyna Law Code. Its rectangular Hellenistic predecessor was probably a <i>temple</i> (Periér) or a Bouleuterion (Meehe).	A typically Roman theatre built on flatland over a previous rectangular building, with its outer wall going well beyond the semicircle and two entrances on the north side.	initial construction dates to the mid-1st c. BC - AD 100 in the reign of Trajan incorporating the 5th c. BC Gortyna Law Code inscription / reconstructed by Trajan in 100 AD after crumbling with a straight three-door scaenae frons / stayed in use up to 3rd c. / Byzantine reconstructions confirming its use for other purposes	Excavations for unearthing the inscription date to 1884 while systematic excavations were conducted from 1911 to 1914. The famous Code of Gortyna has been incorporated and sheltered within a small building in the north circular wall of the Odeon.
GORTYNA (fig. B.19)	CRETE (RAKLON)	Large Theatre		d = 88m		located at the foot of the Acropolis	its semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope, but wings are constructed.	Roman	Reported by Taramelli and Belli while details of the plan published by Belli in 1586 appear to be somewhat fanciful.
GORTYNA (fig. B.19)	CRETE (RAKLON)	Small-Sanctuary Theatre		d = ca. 60m		it probably belongs to the nearby Sanctuary of Apollo	the semicircular cavea is built on flatland	Imperial Roman	Details of the plan published by Belli in 1586 appear to be somewhat fanciful; excavations in late 19th c. and in the 1930s.
GORTYNA (fig. B.19)	CRETE (RAKLON)	Theatre		min. d = 80m			the cavea rested at least partially on substructures	Imperial Roman with a stage building that had at least two storeys and was flanked by two projecting parts	The remains were for centuries wrongly interpreted to be an amphitheatre on the basis of information provided by Belli who also produced a very fanciful plan. Although Pococke had already advanced the hypothesis in the eighteenth century that it was a theatre, only recently has this identification been definitely confirmed.
GOURNA	CRETE (LASTHON)	Rectilinear Minoan Steps		top step l = 6m-330m, bottom step l = ca. 4.10 x 2.0m, d = 50m		Confined by a low flight of L-shaped steps on the south of the Palace at Gournia, facing the court (measuring 48m NS and 1823m WE) by the west which was the centre and possibly the Agora of the town.		initially dated to the period between 1700-1500 BC which was later revised as 1550-1450 BC	Excavations at Gournia were carried under Harriet Boyd (Hawes) with the assistance of Richard Seager by the American Exploration Society of Philadelphia during 1901, 1903 and 1904, completely unearthing the site. Ruins have recently been partially reconstructed.
GYTHION (fig. B.13)	PELOPONNESUS (LACONIA)	Theatre		r = 75m (retaining walls) - d = ca. 735m	d = 178m	located on the Acropolis, it possibly was the venue for a festival of <i>thymelikoí agónes</i> established in AD 15 as an addition / revision of an existing Kaseiraia	the semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope, with not preserved constructed wings and, although its design is characteristically Roman, it retains some Greek elements	Early Imperial Roman, and possibly Augustan as can be judged from its stairway on the central axis and parallel to the scene building, with a straight scaenae frons with three doors, honouring the Imperial family with a festival / a later wall tank built in the area of the orchestra	Discovered at the end of 19th c. during excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society and excavated in 1891.
HALASARNA	DODECANESE (RHODOS)	Sanctuary Theatre		d = 17m		extra-urban and part of the Sanctuary of Apollo	the cavea rests on a natural slope	Hellenistic / with Roman <i>pulpitum</i>	
HEPHAESTEION	DODECANESE (LIMNOSIS)	Theatre				urban and situated not far from the Acropolis	the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope and is cut at the sides	initially built at the start of the Hellenistic era / restructured at the peak of Hellenism / Imperial Roman rebuilding of the stage building / later Roman restorations	partially excavated in 1937-1939 and virtually unpublished
HERAPYRNA (fig. B.14)	CRETE (LASTHON)	Large Theatre		d = 885m			the cavea partially cut into the rock	Imperial Roman	Described by Belli in 1586, with plans somewhat fanciful in details. A statue of Aesculapius from the theatre today embellishes a fountain in <i>Heraklion</i> .
HERAPYRNA (fig. B.14)	CRETE (LASTHON)	Small Theatre		d = ca. 48m	d = ca. 27m			Imperial Roman, dating before the end of 2nd c. AD	Described in 1586 by Belli somehow fancifully in plan details, as with two orders of marble Ionic columns, which were partly destroyed by fire while others were taken to Venice. The last walls were destroyed in 1961 and the exact location is today uncertain.
HOMOLIUM	THESSALIA (LARISSA)	Theatre				the cavea can be seen by a depression in the ground			unexcavated
HORRARUM	ERRUS (ARTA)	Suburban Theatre				the cavea can be seen by a depression in the ground		built between 275 and 167 BC	unexcavated
HYALYSIS	DODECANESE (RHODOS)	Extra-urban Sanctuary Theatre			d = 155m	located in the extra-urban Sanctuary of Apollo Erethymios, not very far east of the small temple	the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope / a general similarity to the new theatre of Oropos, with traces of a stage building	dated stylistically to the late 5th-4th century BC - built around the first half of 3rd c. BC	Almost completely demolished during World War I in order to build a pillbox at the top of the cavea.

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
IKARA (fig. B8)	ATTICA	Sanctuary Theatre- Theatre Steps in the Agora			w = 19m, depth = 8m	located in the extra-urban Sanctuary of Dionysus - the remains form S of the Agora, below a Temple called Python with another Temple on the other side of the Agora with a nearby choragic monument	consisting of <i>proedria</i> formed by five marble thrones and a flat space with an irregular perimeter - bounded by a wall that served as an <i>orchestra</i> , with no stage building	earliest remains dating to late 6th c. BC / epigraphic evidence for performances taking place here in 447 BC / actual remains date back to probably 4th c. BC (2nd phase)	Main excavation in 1888-1889 by Carl T. Burk under the general direction of A.W. Merriman with ASCA
ETHNA (fig. B.20)	PELOPONNESUS (CORINTHIA)	Theatre	500 seats - 1,550 permanent seats (G), 868-940 permanent seats (1st R)	d = 72m - ca. 75.5m	r = 6.90m (2nd G), r = 880m (1st R) - d = 138m (G), d = 17.6m (R)	located close to the Temple of Poseidon and used in the Panhellenic Isthmian games	both early rectilinear and later curvilinear Greek cavea carved into the natural rock, the later partly lowering the <i>orchestra</i> level / the slope of the cavea increased with new <i>anabimata</i> (1st R) and with pillared substructure and possibly timber seating rows (2nd R)	initial rectilinear construction around 400 BC / second half of 4th c. BC Greek curvilinear remodeling after a severe fire in 390 BC / end of 4th c. BC Greek inscription of a new <i>proskenion</i> and <i>gades</i> / unusd until 6 BC or 2 BC after the sack of Corinth by Mummius in 146 BC Roman modification for the visit of Nero around AD 66 or 67 / mid-2nd c. AD Roman remodeling, possibly before AD 155 never completed / some casual use during 4th and 5th c. AD	Located and identified in 1952. Excavations by O. Bröchner from ASCA started in 1954 as part of University of Chicago's Isthmian excavation, with more clearing in 1957 and in 1959 Elizabeth R. Gebhard took over and continued in the spring of 1960 and 1962 to complete the essential excavation of the edifice, presenting it as her PhD dissertation in 1963. Gebhard's monograph on the monument was published in 1973. The trench plan of the Theatre was completed by Peter Colet in 1994. A modern retaining wall had to be built along the east side where the top is unprotected by Roman masonry.
ULIS	CYCLADES (CECYSIS)	Theatre				used during the Dionysia			epigraphically evidenced
US	CYCLADES (IOSIS)	Theatre				used during the Dionysia			epigraphically evidenced
KABEIRDON (fig. B.29)	BOEOTIA	Sanctuary Theatre			r = 26m	located on the slope of a low hill, overlooking an Altar at the centre of its <i>orchestra</i> and along the axis of the Temple of the Kabairi Cult, which appears to have served as <i>skene</i> , it possibly served spectators of the <i>aced</i> outbreaks (<i>Dromenoi</i>)	the circuit wall formerly enclosing the Temple and an open area in front of before 300 BC was extended to the east in 2nd c. BC to include the cavea of the Theatre	dated to 3rd c. BC with consecutive building phases (Hellenistic i.e. 3rd-1st c. BC) - two building phases (200-150 BC and AD 30-100) noted in the cavea	The Kabairion was discovered in 1887 and excavated by a team from the German Archaeological Institute (including P. Wolters, W. Dörpfeld, W. Judeich, H. Winnefeld, F. Winter) in the period 1888-9 and the results were published. These were followed by the investigations conducted by Gerta Bruns in 1956, 1959, 1962 and 1964-6. After a supplementary excavation in 1971, the new results were published. In 1993-4 restoration works were undertaken in the enclosure wall of the cavea which was endangered due to rainwater.
KALYMNUS	DODECANESSE (KALYMNOSIS)	Theatre				located close to the Temenos of the temple of Apollonear Linaria		probably dated to before the third century BC	epigraphically evidenced
KARTHAIA	CYCLADES (CECYSIS)	Theatre				located on the south slope of the <i>Kartheia</i> hill		3rd c. BC epigraphic evidence attests tragedy contests during Dionysia if remains dated to 1st c. BC	Unearthed in 1963-65 during the clearing and excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service.
KASSOPE (fig. B.17)	EPIRUS (PRIVEZA)	Large Theatre	6000 seats	r = 81m - d = 81m	d = 18m (horseshoe-shaped)	located at the foot of the largest hill in the region beyond the residential region, it does not follow the orientation of the city plan	The theatre is semi-circular, very steep cavea (h = ca. 12.20m) rests on a natural slope with front retaining walls supported by two massive bow-like buttresses, as in Dodone. It could be entered via two staircases leading up to a wide ambulatory around the top of the theatre.	dates back to the early 3rd c. BC or shortly afterwards	The first excavations at the site were undertaken in the period 1952-55 by the Athens Archaeological Society under the direction of S. Dalakis. A second campaign conducted by the University of Ioannina in collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute started in 1977-78 and lasted until 1983.
KASSOPE	EPIRUS (PRIVEZA)	Small Theatre	2,000-2500 seats - 500 seats	r = 46m - d = 46m, rectangular outer wall 47.5m x 25m	d = ca. 163m	located in the east side of the Agora but is not oriented according to the city plan, overlooking the settlement's main thoroughfare	the more than semi-circular cavea is cut into the rock lower down while higher up it rests on a backfill supported by an outer rectangular wall	initially constructed in 3rd c. BC - doubted later as a bouleuterion / reconstructed at the end of the century	The first excavations at the site were undertaken in the period 1952-55 by the Athens Archaeological Society under the direction of S. Dalakis. A second campaign conducted by the University of Ioannina in collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute started in 1977-78 and lasted until 1983.
KEPHALOS	DODECANESSE (ROSOS)	Theatre				located near the extra-urban Sanctuary of Demeter of the ancient Koan deme of Isthmos, to which it is associated on the basis of epigraphic evidence		dated to 4th c. BC on the basis of a 2nd c. BC inscription	excavated in 1928
KLIMATIA	EPIRUS (IOANNINA)	Theatre			d = ca. 14m		the small cavea rests on a natural slope	built between 275 and 167 BC	
KNOSSOS (fig. B.21)	CRETE (RAKLIDON)	Rectilinear Minoan Steps	ca. 500 people standing	E steps w = 10.15 - 10.60m, S steps w = 15.50m	13m x 10m	forms part of NW entrance to the Palace of Knossos, and is in fact part of the main Minoan NW road that led to the Palace from the sea	consists of two sets of steps, with 6 in Sand 18 in E	18th-17th c. BC - initial construction 2100 BC / 1800 BC (Middle Minoan A) / reconstruction for 160 people standing in 1900 BC / 1700 BC (Middle Minoan II) / capacity increase during remodeling in 1700 BC / 1550 BC (Middle Minoan IIA)	Knossos was discovered in 1878 by Minos Kalkbrenner and excavated by Arthur Evans between 1900 and 1931. Since then, the site and the surrounding area have been excavated by the British School of Archaeology at Athens and the 23rd E.P.C.A. The restoration of the palace by its present firm was carried out by Evans. The 'theatral area' with its rectilinear steps can most be structurally compared to a classical theatre.

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	history
KOPANOS	MACEDONIA (EMATHIA)	Theatre	1500 estimated			located on a natural slope and probably belonged to the ancient Macedonian city of Mieza	the cavea is carved into the rock	Late Hellenistic	Accidentally discovered in 1992, the excavation of the monument began and is still conducted by the archaeologists V. Michalidou and V. Alamani. The site is always open to the public.
KOS (fig. B30)	DODECANESE (KOS IS.)	Odeon	700-750 seats	outer rectangle 319 x 261m	d = ca. 5m	located below the old Acropolis hill SW the Harbour	is more than semicircular; cavea is enclosed in a rectangular perimeter on flat land over a double semicircular corridor formed by two series of pillars, while the part behind the steps consists of five vaulted chambers	2nd c. AD - 3rd c. AD with a scaenae frons with three doors	Discovered and excavated in 1929, restored and partially integrated in 1930.
KOS	DODECANESE (KOS IS.)	Theatre				located on a hillside at some distance from the old Acropolis hill		a 3rd c. BC Hellenistic theatre known to have been destroyed in Byzantine period / an Imperial Roman theatre probably from 1st c. AD may have replaced it	Partially excavated in 1921.
KOUPHONISI (fig. B14)	CRETE (KOUFONISII)	Theatre	1,000-1,050 seats			located at the NE end of the island, at the very centre of the ancient settlement	the semicircular cavea is mostly hewn from the soft living rock, with a small portion of the west wing resting on a built <i>analemma</i>	Roman / severely looted and destroyed by fanatic Christians in 4th c. AD	Excavated in 1976-77.
LARISA (fig. B22)	THESSALIA (LARISA)	Theatre A	10,000 seats			lying on the S slope of Phourion (Fortes) Hill below the fortified Acropolis, it overlooked the Euboean Agora and was also used as a meeting place for the <i>koino</i> of the Thessalians	the cavea was cut out of the hillside	earliest phase probably dates to 4th c. BC / main phase late 3rd c. BC / converted into an arena, which remained in use up to the end of 2nd c. AD / covered by constructions in late 19th c.	Discovered and started to be excavated in 1910, with excavations continuing with intervals until today after the removal of some modern construction. The 15th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities has already purchased the private plots in which the monument lies, and carries out systematic excavations in the area.
LARISA (fig. B22)	THESSALIA (LARISA)	Theatre B			r = 29.70m	situated outside the city walls at the bottom of the SW slope of Pelekia hill (where the Acropolis was located?) it served musical contests and other artistic events in honour of Zeus Eleutherios	although built at the beginning of the Imperial Roman period, it was still of Greek type - the cavea had two rows of marble seats while the rest probably had wooden benches	basic construction dated to the first or second half of 1st c. BC / cavea to later 1st c. BC	Discovered in 1983 and unearthed in the excavations of 1985 and 1986. This theatre has now seen its first modern production.
LATO	CRETE (LASTHION)	Rectilinear Steps	350 people	w = 9.13m, h = 2.688m		located at a lower level of the Temple to the South of the Agora, with a raised path at the centre leading towards the Sanctuary and with a three-story high tower on either side, probably part of the early fortification	steps are partly constructed and partly cut in the rock, with an exedra beside them while another platform formed the <i>skene</i> (stage), with an altar to the west	built around 700 BC - built in late 4th or 3rd c. BC	The steps have been compared from the script to later form of theatre, as attested by the 1901 report Demargne. They are measured for and included in Dilke's 1948 and 1950 publications on the Greek cavea.
LEONTEUM	PELOPONNESUS (PATRA)	Theatre ?					the semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope	dated to 4th c. BC	Discovered in 1957, excavated in 1958 and later reburied. It is unpublished.
LEUCAS	EPIRUS (LEUCADIS)	Urban Theatre					the cavea has a polygonal masonry wall	presumably Hellenistic - presumably has a pre-Roman and a Roman building phase	Discovered and partially excavated in 1901 by E. Krüger; was mentioned in Döppel's 1927 publication, but the excavation was not published.
LINDOS (fig. B.8)	DODECANESE (RHODES IS.)	Theatre	1800 people- 1500-1700 people- 2200 people	d = 28M	r = 9m- d = 14.6m	situated on the SW slope of the Acropolis hill, right below the famous Temple of Athena Lindia and with a large <i>telestateron</i> (funding in connection with the <i>aporesis</i>) beside it, and was probably connected with the Dionysiac festival known to us as the <i>Smintina</i> attested in epigraphic sources	the cavea is cut into the living rock of the Acropolis and no stage building has been identified; the <i>telestateron</i> (with columns, at the inside, on all four sides that supported a pitched roof around an open-air courtyard) less the extension of the <i>skene</i>	tentatively dated to 4th c. BC - intended for religious ceremonies, was built in late 4th or early 3rd c. BC - after the 3rd c. BC / later occupation by three successive Christian churches	The monument which was only partially buried, was excavated in 1904.
LISSOS	CRETE (CHANIA)	Theatre			r = c. 15M		concrete-built theatre		
LYCOSURA (fig. B.8)	PELOPONNESUS (ARCADIA)	Rectilinear Steps	ca. 520 people	max l = 30m		situated in the 4th c. BC Sanctuary of the old chthonic goddess Despoina, along the S side of and close to the Temple, to which there was access via a small side door	a ten-stepped structure (max. l = 30m, h = 27-33 cm, d = 43-88 cm)	dated to 2nd c. BC	
LYTTUS (fig. B14)	CRETE (RAKLON)	Theatre		d = 167m			the cavea was cut out of the natural slope	Imperial Roman, <i>scaenae frons</i> with curvilinear central niche	Drawn by Belli in 1586 somewhat fancifully, nothing remains today of the cavea, which was well preserved at his time, or of the stage building, much of which is still buried.
MAKYNEIA	EPIRUS (AITOLIA & AKARNANIA)	Extra-urban Sanctuary Theatre			horseshoe-shaped	located just outside ancient <i>Makynéia</i> (<i>Naupaktos</i>), adjacent to a sanctuary		dated possibly to 4th c. BC	A first trial trench has been inserted in 1985, following its identification from aerial photographs. Currently investigated under the direction of Lazaros Kolonas.

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
MALIA	CRETE (RAKLON)	Redlinear Minoan Steps				two sets of steps inside the main palatial court measuring 48m N-S and 22m W-E	the so-called 'Monumental Stairway' with 6ur (l = over 8m, h = 13-15m, d = 8085cm), the Grand Stairway with eleven steps (l = 320m, h = 13m, d = 45cm in the upper nine)	after successive settlements with minor palaces, 1st major palace around about 2000 BC (Middle Minoan I) / 2nd major palace around 1650 BC (Middle Minoan II - Late Minoan)	The Palace was first excavated by J. Chatidakis in 1915 who was joined in 1921 by L. Renaudin from the French Archaeological School that resumed the excavations under F. Chapouhier in 1922 and continued them until today with intervals, with the results published chiefly in the series <i>Etudes Crétoises</i> since 1928.
MANTINEIA (fig. B23)	PELOPONNESUS (ARCADIA)	Urban Theatre		r = 33.50m (here retaining wall around) - d = 67m	r = 10.85m - d = 21.7m	located at the western edge of the Agora, in direct contact to the surrounding porticoed buildings and temples of which those of Zeus and the Heraion are probably more recent	one of the few in Greece whose irregularly shaped cavea larger than a semicircle, rests on an artificial embankment over flatland contained by an almost semicircular masonry retaining wall, with two external flights of steps leading to the cavea and with spectators entering via four entrances at the back of the <i>arabimna</i>	initial construction end of 4th c. BC and shortly after 371 BC - around 360 BC / <i>skene</i> later, with <i>terminus post quem</i> 222 BC / probable transformations after 222 BC	Systematic investigation started in early 20th c. by the French Archaeological School at Athens - excavated in 1890.
MARONEA	THRACE (RHODOPE)	Theatre	1,200-1,300 seats		d = 23m	located in Kambara, occupying two hillocks, united by an embankment to unite the two knolls, between which flowed a torrent diverted by a culvert	reverted in marble, the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope and utilises a small valley	initial Early Hellenistic construction / an extensive Roman remodelling / the <i>orchestra</i> transformed into an <i>arena</i> or pool at a later time, abolishing front rows of seats and introducing a parapet / continued to be used during the early Christian era	Excavated from 1981 to 1990. There has been some further clearance of the site and investigation of drainage channels, as well as repair after water damage.
MEGALOPOLIS (fig. B24)	PELOPONNESUS (ARCADIA)	Theatre	17000-21,000 spectators	d = 129.5-130m	d = 30-30.2m (circular)	located next to the <i>Thersilion</i> , a theatre-like assembly hall of the Arcadians whose portico served as a backdrop to the stage	the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope, but the wings were constructed	constructed in 370 BC with the <i>Thersilion</i> that served as the backdrop by its movable timber stage / stone <i>proskēnion</i> after the destruction of the <i>Thersilion</i> in 222 BC / various Hellenistic reconstructions	Revealed in the first BSA excavations at the site in late 19th c. And was excavated in 1890-1891. It has been partly restored, especially at the <i>parados</i> that bended seriously under the pressure of the earth they sustain. A static investigation is underway to ameliorate its solidity and aesthetic aspect, after the completion of which the restoration work will be undertaken in the area.
MEGISTE	CASTELROSSO ISLAND	Theatre							mentioned by Beaufort
MELOS	CYCLADES (MELOSIS)	Theatre			d = 27.28m	located on the slopes of a low hill between the heights of Profitis Ilias and Klimavouni	the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope - on an earthfill contained by mighty retaining walls	thought to be initially Hellenistic / later 2nd c. AD Roman reconstruction including the <i>skene</i> never completed	Discovered in 1814, partially excavated in 1816-17; cleaned up in 1836 on the initiative of King Ludwig II of Bavaria when Otto was the king of Greece; drawn in 1838 by French specialists; still pending for publication. Further damage following excavations. Excavations resumed in 1989, with preparatory work for consolidation and restoration. Used for several performances.
MESSENE	PELOPONNESUS (MESSENIA)	Urban Sanctuary Theatre-Odeon	ca. 900 people	ca. 29 x 21.5m	r = 970m	situated at the centre of Messene, N of the E Propylon leading to and in a corner against the walls of the Asklepeion. Nielsen suggests cult use in connection, apart from Asklepios, with Artemis. Ulpian washipped na shrine within the Sanctuary.	cut at the sides, the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope and can be reached on the eastern side through two doors	under chronology suggests an Hellenistic period construction completed during the early Roman Empire / stage building reconstructed in the Roman period	Excavated on several occasions since 1909, with activity resumed in 1987 after being interrupted in 1975, unearthing the western part of the cavea and the nearby <i>parados</i> ; and in 1988 part of the stage building.
MESSENE	PELOPONNESUS (MESSENIA)	Urban Theatre-Stadium				situated in the northern part of the built-up area		probably Hellenistic	Excavations begun in 1987.
MEIHYMNA	NE AEGEAN (LESVOSIS)	Urban Theatre						possibly Hellenistic	Discovered during construction work and immediately re-covered.
MIEZA	MACEDONIA (EMATHIA)		1,500 people		d = 22M	located in SE of the town	the lower 6 of the 14 tiers are constructed and the rest carved into the rock - first tier is almost perfectly semicircular and the <i>parados</i> walls make an acute angle with the axis of the <i>koibn</i>	two phases suggested for the stage building, with the first one being Late Hellenistic	Discovered in 1992 and excavated in 1993.
MINOA	CYCLADES (AMORGOSIS)	Theatre							epigraphically evidenced
MYCENAE	PELOPONNESUS (ARGOLIS)	Urban Theatre					resting on the drum and the slope produced by the roof of the 'tomb of Clytemnestra', the cavea possibly had only one row built in stone and three radial flights of steps	Hellenistic	The central part of the theatre was removed by St. Niemann.
MYRNA	NE AEGEAN (LMNOSIS)	Theatre				reference to Dionysia			epigraphically evidenced

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
MYRRHUS	ATTICA	Theatre				reference to rural Dionysia		4th c. BC inscription referring to <i>proedria</i>	epigraphically evidenced
MYTENE (fig. B25)	NE AEGEAN (LESVOS IS.)	Theatre	10,000 seats	d = 107m	d = 2420m	situated in a sparsely built area at a high and secluded spot exactly above the city centre	the more than semicircular cavea was dug out of a natural slope and the material obtained was used for the <i>orchestra</i> and the constructed wings	Early Hellenistic initial construction believed to have served as a model for the Theatre of Pompey in Rome, from which a 3rd c. BC <i>proedria</i> survives/Roman remodeling/transformation into an <i>arena</i> between 1st c. and mid-2nd c. AD / stayed in use up to late Roman times	Initial excavations were conducted in 1928 by D. Evangelides who resumed them in 1958, focusing on the <i>orchestra</i> and <i>skene</i> . After its declaration as an archaeological site in 1960, it was cleared and dawn in 1967 by the Ephor of Antiquities V. Petalos who in 1968 undertook restoration work around the <i>orchestra</i> .
NEA PLEURON	EPRUS (ATOLIA & AKARNANA)	Theatre		r = 10.7m	w = 27m	occupies a natural declivity on the southwest side of the square formed by the city walls	the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope, but the lower steps are cut into the rock - the earth fill of the cavea is contained by retaining walls	dated to the middle of 3rd c. BC and soon after the construction of the city wall in 234 BC, a large section of which was most successfully incorporated into the <i>skene</i> , with a tall bastion doubling as the stage building through the addition of two side rooms (<i>paeskenia</i>) on both sides on the flank of the rampart	The first excavation took place in 1989 (1889 or 1889?). Following Fiedler's publication, the theatre was fully excavated, but this excavation is unpublished.
N OPOLES (figs. B26 & B30)	EPRUS (REVEZA)	Odeon		d = ca 48.5m		lays on a flatland to W of the Early Christian wall, in a walled sector	built on flatland, the semicircular cavea rests on a semicircular corridor and a semicircular portico with arches, with a radial corridor leading to the <i>orchestra</i> and definitely a roof	built in 1st c. AD - the Flavian period / reconstructed in 2nd c. AD / has a two-storey <i>scenae frons</i> with three doors / stayed in use up to the second half of 3rd c. AD / ultimately destroyed by fire	Excavated and restored several times, including the period 1989/92.
N OPOLES (fig. B26)	EPRUS (REVEZA)	Theatre	huge			located to SE of the Monument of Augustus on the Mikhalisi hill in N part of the built-up area, on the lower slopes overlooking the Mazoma lagoon	the cavea out of bricks and mortar rests on a natural slope, with an outer wall supported by external pillars and a base outside for a flight of steps or for a temple in <i>summa cavea</i>	dated to 1st c. AD - 2nd c. AD - the Roman Empire with a <i>scenae frons</i> that has a curved niche in the centre	still buried - restred in the period 1978-84
ONIAI	EPRUS (ATOLIA & AKARNANA)	Theatre		r = 14.82m - d = 21m (circular)		located on the south side of the hill dominating the ancient settlement	the horseshoe-shaped cavea rests on a natural slope, probably with wooden benches over two rows of permanent seats in the W	4th c. BC - 3rd century BC initial construction possibly without stage building / 3rd c. BC renovation at the instigation of Philip V of Macedonia about 219 BC including an oblong two-storey <i>skene</i> building with two projecting <i>paeskenia</i> / Roman period renovation at least of the stage building	The theatre was excavated by Powell in 1900. Following the excavations, the remains underwent further damage. A novel investigation of the monument was undertaken in the period 1991-95, after the work of H. Bulle, E. Fiedler and A. von Gerkan. Among other things, a 1/100 measured drawing of the monument was prepared and a sondage was made in the stage building between the two middle pillars of the <i>skene</i> .
OLIARUS	CYCLADES (ANTIPARUS IS.)	Theatre				reference to Dionysia			epigraphically evidenced
OLYNTHUS	MACEDONIA (CHALKIDIKIA)	Urban Theatre				its location has been indicated in a depression on the slope of the acropolis, but its existence is uncertain		built before 348 BC	
ORCHOMENS	PELOPONNESUS (ARCADIA)	Odeon							mentioned by Pausanias but not located yet
ORCHOMENS	PELOPONNESUS (ARCADIA)	Theatre				built into the eastern slope of the city's Acropolis, at a short distance from the centre of the acropolis and the Agora, with the stage building bordering with the surrounding wall, which curves outward to encompass it	the cavea rests on a natural slope and has an irregular plan, with a partly rectilinear and partly curvilinear outer wall	built in 4th-3rd c. BC by host games in honour of Dionysus / a number of later modifications	Discovered and excavated by Blum and Passart with further unpublished excavations after 1974. - First excavated in the early 20th c. by the French School at Athens under the direction of Mendel and others.
ORCHOMENS	BOEOTIA	Extra-urban Theatre		d = 16m		located on a natural slope between the <i>holos</i> tomb (Treasury of Minyas) and the Byzantine Skripoi monastery outside the fortified Acropolis, was almost certainly the venue for the <i>Charitiesia</i> - situated at the foot of the Acropolis close to the Temple of Dionysus	the slightly more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope, and the foundation levels of the ten steps are cut into the rock	initial construction dated to late 4th c. BC on the basis of epigraphic evidence, with 3rd c. BC choragic monuments / <i>proscenium</i> and stage building dated to 2nd c. BC at the earliest / Imperial/Roman conversion including acquired a <i>scenae frons</i> / remained in use into Late Roman times	Brought to light in excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service under the direction of the Ephor Th. Spyropoulos in the period 1970-73. - Excavations were started in 1972, but the monuments are still virtually unpublished.
ORPOS (fig. B.8)	ATTICA	Sanctuary Theatre		d = 111m		located on NW side of the Sanctuary, behind what off the so-called Stoa of Incubation, and was probably used for religious pageants connected with the cult and for musical competitions in the special festivals at the shrine every four years after their initiation in 332 BC / the more 'canonical' theatre is behind the Stoa to the east of the <i>theatron</i>	the more than semicircular cavea lay over a rectilinear theatre with four preserved steps / the natural incline had to be increased by cutting several rows further down, forming an artificial depression at the foot of the hill for the cavea	built in stages: initial wooden seating - the original <i>theatron</i> dates back to the foundation of the Sanctuary in late 5th c. / rectilinear <i>theatron</i> dates to 4th c. BC - Classical / a more 'canonical' but still partly rectilinear <i>paeskenia</i> behind the stoa to the east of the old <i>theatron</i> and the <i>skene</i> at large constructed probably in early 2nd c. BC - 3rd c. BC / mable <i>proscenium</i> added around 200 BC / the upper part of the building with the <i>thyomachia</i> added around 150 BC / <i>proedria</i> placed inside the <i>orchestra</i> around 70 BC - the period of Sulla	The present <i>proscenium</i> has been reconstructed.

Table B (continued)

ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
PAEANIA	ATTICA	Theatre							epigraphically evidenced
PARUS	CYCLADES (PARUSIS)	Theatre		d = ca. 50m			the cavea is horseshoe-shaped	dates to the second half of 3rd c. BC / part of the <i>proedria</i> and marble steps was re-utilised in the Katapolian Church	
PATRAS (fig. B.30)	PELOPONNESUS (PATRA)	Odeon		d = 47.5m	d = 89m	located close to the Agora, according to Pausanias	the slightly more than semicircular cavea is incorporated in an outer wall with external pillars helping to support the roof and upper <i>maenarium</i> supported by ten radial vaulted chambers and an outer semicircular corridor	built in the first half of 2nd c. AD with a <i>scenae frons</i> with three doors that survived / probably destroyed by the Herulians in the second half of 3rd c.	Still unpublished, it was established and integrated between 1959 and 1961 to such an extent that today most of the ancient parts are virtually no longer visible. It is used for musical shows.
PHASTOS (fig. B.21)	CRETE (RETHYMNE)	Rectilinear Minoan Steps	500 seated / 300 standing (1st phase) / 800 standing (2nd phase)	w = 23m (N steps)	area in front 30 x 30m (1st phase)	the steps form a (36 x 36m) large paved outer courtyard one of the terraces on W side of the Palace, below a wall supporting an upper terrace	9 rows for seating in front of a wall supporting the large open terrace above with a small set of steps at the end, 5 of which were buried in the second phase and the rest joined by another flight of 12 at right angles	two phases coinciding with the two palaces: 2000 BC - 1850-1650 BC - 1850-1700 BC / 1700 BC - 1600-1400 BC - 1500 BC	Both phases unearthed by Habermann and Pernier in the excavations between 1900-1909. Doron Levi excavated the site in the period 1950-67, revealing the existence of two earlier pavements below the existing theatrical courtyard.
PHALANNA	THESSALIA (LARISA)	Theatre						3rd c. BC inscription mentioning both the theatre and the <i>proedria</i>	epigraphically evidenced
PHARSALUS	THESSALIA (LARISA)	Urban Theatre							location suggested by Strabon still uncertain
PHILIPPI	THRACE (KAVALA)	Theatre		d = ca. 90m	d = 21.6m (G), d = 24.8m (R)	cut into the lower slopes of the conical hill that dominates the site, whose heights were turned into a fortified acropolis by Macedonian walls, on which Byzantine ones rest below a terrace halfway up the hill with a large Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods	the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope, but the wings are constructed - in its Hellenistic phase, the <i>arabn mala</i> had an outer <i>isodome</i> wall and an inner cyclopean one with an earth and stone infill, behind which the infill embankment supporting the tiers was composed of large stones	initial construction mid-4th c. BC - just after the city's foundation in 357-356 BC, which links it with King Philip II / 2nd c. AD Roman structure, no earlier than Antonine period, when it acquired a two-storey high stage building with a straight front that had five entrances and six niches / <i>orchestra</i> transformed into an arena around mid-3rd c. AD through removal of front seats and introduction of a parapet / abandoned around AD 400 - at the end of 4th - beginning of 5th c. AD	Never completely buried, it was excavated on various occasions from 1914 onwards and poor quality restoration work was carried out in 1963-64. There is a project in progress for restoration and preservation within the framework of the 1994 European Program "Historical Monuments and Places of Spectacle" (European Network of Ancient Places of Performance?). Samou and Athanasades (1987) report on recent activity.
PHLIS	PELOPONNESUS (CORNTHIA)	Theatre		w = 23m (<i>theatron</i>)		set in SW slope of the Acropolis, directly below the Little Church of the Virgin Mary	of the <i>hecton</i> resting on a natural slope, the lower curvilinear step is preserved and other evidenced by cuts in the rock at the rear	exact chronology unknown: initial construction 4th c. BC - 1st c. AD / cavea and <i>skene</i> completed in 1st/2nd c. AD / seemingly abandoned in 4th c. BC	Partially excavated by American excavators from 1970s on, with excavation reports by Wil Biers constituting the main reference on the edifice.
PHLYA	BOEOTIA	Theatre				mentioned in the <i>De Dyonisia</i>			mentioned in two passages of Isos but its site has not yet been identified with certainty
PRAELIS	ATTICA	Theatre				located on NW slope of the Mounidia hill to the east of the Agora, it was the venue for the Dyonisia of Piraeus	the cavea rests on a natural slope, with remains from the first marble step	chronology uncertain but initial construction dated to 5th c. BC mostly on the basis of references to performances of Euripides which is thought to have been replaced in 4th c. BC from which phase date the existing remains	As reported in 1900, excavations by the official Greek archaeological society revealed supporting walls and an orchestra with drainage channels. Later re-covered by modern buildings, it is no longer available for investigation.
PRAELIS	ATTICA	Theatre of Zea		r = 67m - d = 66.5m	d = ca. 16m (horseshoe-shaped)	located near the present Archaeology Museum W of the Zea Harbour	believed to copy the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens in its architectural form and proportions, with the horseshoe-shaped <i>ma cavea</i> cut into the rock while upper tiers rest on radial substructures	dated to 2nd c. BC - ca. 150 BC - ca. 200 BC - 100 BC	Discovered and excavated in 1880. Following Fecther's publication, the part of the stage building beneath the courtyard of the nearby school was also excavated, but this excavation is still unpublished.
POLIOCHN	NEAEGEAN (LIMNOSIS)	Rectilinear Theatral Steps				situated inside the built-up area	two large rectilinear steps probably used as seats along one of its long sides of a closed, narrow and long rectangular area		dated to 3rd millennium BC
RHAMNUS	ATTICA	Rectilinear Theatral Area	450 people	w = 13.9m (<i>proedria</i>), d = 10.7m (audience rectangle)	w = 13.9m (<i>proedria</i>), d = 10.7m (audience rectangle) - d = 11.4 (with <i>proedria</i>)	situated within the outer circuit of the Fortress, it is part of the Acropolis slope between two hills which formed a terraced area for the performance of plays just south below the clade / small foundation in the rock is probably linked to the temple of Dionysos, which is epigraphically confirmed / an apsidal building beside the <i>orchestra</i> has been identified as a <i>stibadan</i>	consisted of a large rectangle divided into two roughly equal parts by a straight row of official seats, with the audience sitting or standing on the slope to N and the <i>orchestra</i> stretching out to S, possibly never with built-up rows	believed to be contemporary with the foundation of the town in 5th c. BC - date from 4th c. BC	Excavations begun in 1879 by H.G. Lolling were continued by D. Philios in 1880, by B. Stais in 1890-93, and by A. Orlandos in 1922-23. Recent excavations have been carried out by the French School from 1947, mainly under Jean Pouilloux and J. Marade.

Table B (continued)

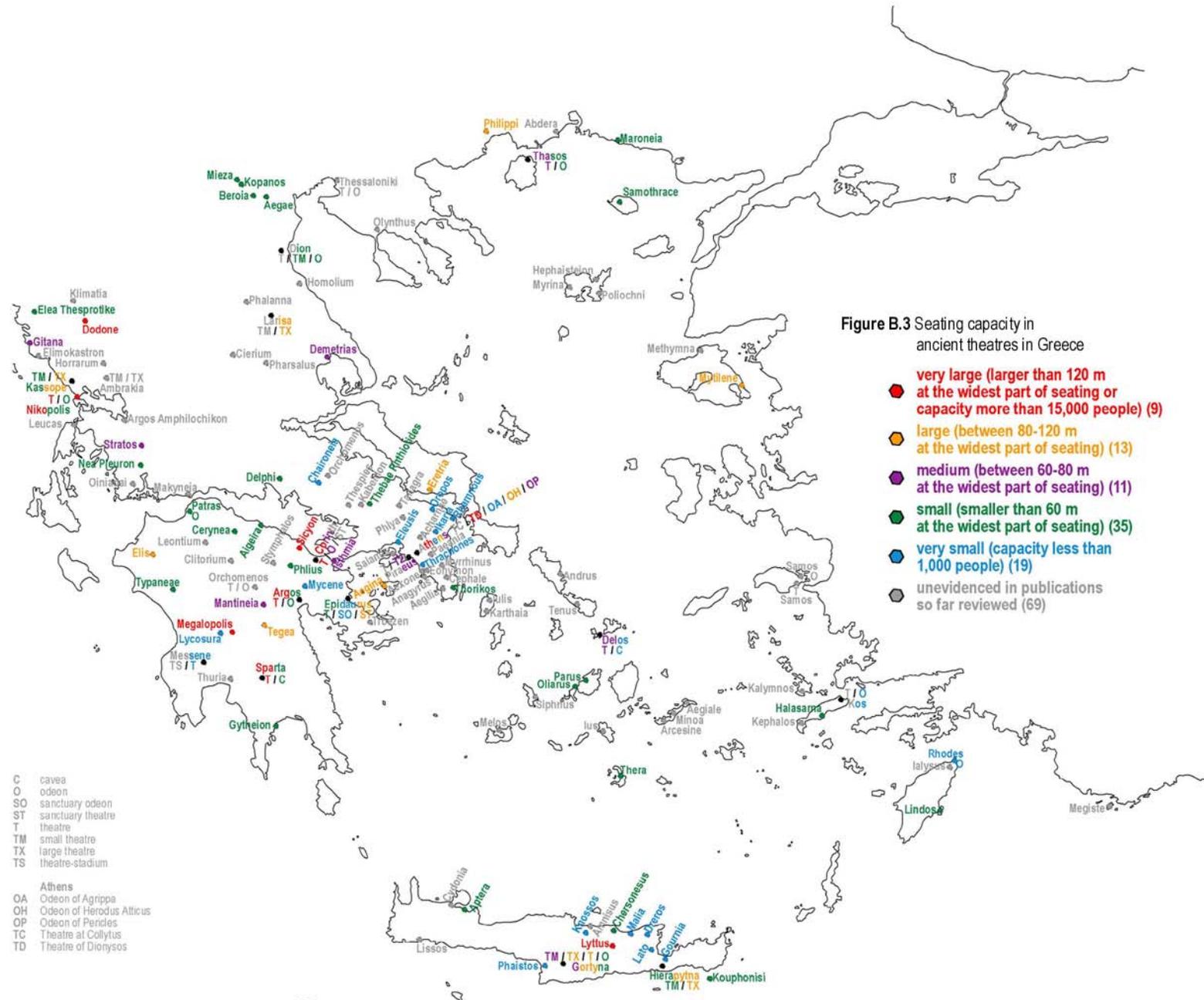
ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
RHODES (fig. B30)	DODECANESE (RHODESIS)	Odeon	800 people	d = 29m	d = 5m	located to NW of the Stadium on SE side of the Acropolis hill and close to the Sanctuary of Apollo Pythius	resting on a natural slope, the cavea is incorporated in an outer rectangular wall, and is semicircular in the lower <i>maenium</i> while the upper one is cut at the sides	built at an unspecified time during the Roman Empire	Excavated before the World War II and reconstructed with very few original elements without prior publication. The interior is now completely reconstructed, possibly by the Italians. It is not known to what extent the current restoration has followed ancient traces.
SALAMIS	AGNIA (SALAMIS)	Theatre				remains of rural Dionysia		earliest inscription dated to 4th c. BC	epigraphically evidenced
SAMOS	NEAEGEAN (SAMOSIS)	Sanctuary Odeon				situated in the extra-urban Sanctuary of Hera		built or before 4th c. BC	epigraphically evidenced
SAMOS	NEAEGEAN (SAMOSIS)	Urban Theatre				located on the Acropolis slope, S of Splianion monastery, half way to E exit of Eupalinos' tunnel	the cavea rests on a natural slope, partly cut into the rock and a small part of the wings constructed	Greek cavea dated to late 4th c. BC / Roman phase with stage building no earlier than the second half of 2nd c. AD	unexcavated and buried
SAMOTHRACE (fig. B8)	NEAEGEAN (SAMOTHRACEIS)	Sanctuary Theatre	1,500 people		d = 10m	part of the Sanctuary of the Kaberoi; its location on the slope of a terrace above the site on which stood a very long stair with the rock-cut niche of the Vebray of Samothrace to its S and the terrace of the Heron below it; it belongs to the 'public' (not 'mystery') part of the Sanctuary where ritual drama was performed for the Megabi Theoi and related to the mysteries during the great summer festival, the Panegyris, which became intermittent in 4th c. BC	the cavea resting on a natural slope was located opposite the altar courtyard on the other side of the stream, with a terrace in front of the altar courtyard used as a scena while the courtyard served as a backdrop / carelessly built from the beginning, with rows varying both in depth and in height and the <i>orchestra</i> even in Antiquity crossed by a canalised watercourse that flooded it during the winter	the 5th c. BC round, paved area surrounded by five steps (to which another three was later added) and with a marble altar in the middle may have been used for ritual dramas before the construction of the cavea; his area was destroyed in an earthquake in 1st or 2nd c. AD / the cavea was built around 200 BC / Roman restorations / abandoned at the end of 4th c. AD	The cavea was excavated in 1886 and 1891 by the French and was later re-excavated until it was excavated again in 1923. The present theatre is very poorly preserved, since it was plundered shortly after its excavation in 1927-37, and the excavator Ch. Pauthier and Sabot never published their results; his task was actually undertaken by Salvati in 1956, and afterwards continued by Lehmann, neither of whom participated in the excavations themselves.
SIKYON (fig. B27)	PELOPONNESUS (CORINTHIA)	Urban Theatre		d = 125m	d = 20m - d = 24.04m	located E of the Acropolis and close to the Agora, at a level between the two, separating them; with a small Temple of Dionysus in front and a stadium in a ravine to W	the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope, with its central part and <i>orchestra</i> dug into the rock and wings consisting of backfill; approach to upper seats from both ends of the <i>diakoma</i> and gates at the <i>parodoi</i> through vaulted passages beneath the seats	initial construction dated to 4th c. BC, with a <i>teminus arborem</i> in 251 BC - to early or first half of 3rd c. BC / officials of the Achaean League met here in 168 BC to plan their strategy / may have been used during Panhellenic games probably held in Sikyon after the sack of Corinth and <i>Isthmia</i> in 146 BC / the marble <i>proscenium</i> dates to 1st c. BC or start of the Roman Empire / <i>proscenium</i> replaced by a <i>pulpitum</i> later - the Roman phase with <i>pulpitum</i> cannot be precisely dated - a <i>scenae frons</i> was never built	Among the first investigated monuments in the early ASCSA excavations at Sikyon in the period 1887-91, its excavation was resumed in 1926 by the Archaeological Society (that has maintained the excavation rights ever since) under the direction of A. Philadelphus and continued by A. Orlandos in the periods 1934-41 and 1951-54. Lately its cavea was excavated in 1984 by Ms. P. Christal-Volsi, the former Epnora of Antiquities. It is used for various cultural manifestations.
SIPHNIUS	CYCLADES (SIPHNIUS)	Theatre				inscription referring to Dionysia		inscription dated to 3rd c. BC on basis of epigraphic characteristics	epigraphically evidenced
SPARTA (fig. B8)	PELOPONNESUS (LACONIA)	Extra-urban Sanctuary Cavea		d = ca. 54m (RC)	d = ca. 22m (RO)	located in the extra-urban Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and used as a place for worshipping the divinity / additionally what is referred to by some as a Heron in the same Sanctuary is argued by others to have been an <i>orchestra</i> with the <i>atron</i> for ritual drama	the circular Roman cavea was built on flat land around the Hellenistic temple of Artemis that served as a backdrop, with the Altar located in the <i>orchestra</i> in an off-centre position	initial phase dated to 8th c. BC when the area between the Temple and Altar was used for ritual drama / 6th c. BC rebuilding after a major flood / the cavea dating back to 200 BC - indications of a Late Hellenistic (i.e. 1st c. BC) <i>theatron</i> with marble <i>proscenium</i> / surrounded by a circular Roman cavea some time after 225 AD	Referred to by 19th c. travellers as an amphitheatre, the remains, whose N part has been washed away by the river, were never completely buried. Excavated in 1906-07. Some 3,000 fragments of clay masks dating from 6th and 5th c. BC were unearthed in the area between the Temple and the Altar.
SPARTA (fig. B28)	PELOPONNESUS (LACONIA)	Theatre		d = ca. 140m-142m-114m	d = ca. 25m (horseshoe)	built on the SW slopes of the city's Acropolis, with remains from shops nearby, it was mainly used for political assemblies, pan-Lacedaemonian festivals and sporting events since the Spartans held dramatic performances in low esteem / the Temple of Athena Chalkiokos was located above, with some later Byzantine churches, and the Tomb of Leonidas was near	seemingly constructed on the model of Megalopolis with open <i>parodoi</i> , the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope, but the wings are constructed and there is an external flight of steps leading to the middle passageway on the eastern side / the <i>analemma</i> placed parallel to the scene-building during the Roman remodeling, with a remarkably extensive use of mud-brick in conjunction with concrete for support systems	there presumably existed an earlier theatre at the site / earliest remains dated to 200 BC - dating from 2nd or 1st c. BC together with the storeroom for props and a rolled-in stage - initial construction seems to have taken place ca. 300 BC with later Flavian and Severan reconstructions / an Early Imperial Roman stage added - an Augustan renovation that did not involve, however, the erection of a permanent stage building in place of the moveable one / the stage later reconstructed with <i>scenae frons</i> / stayed in use up to 4th c. AD / use of the site continued for some time and involved extensive robbing of building materials in later periods	Never completely buried, it was first excavated by British teams in 1906-1910, and then more systematically in 1924-27; there was further clearance by Greek Archaeology Service in the 1960s and 1970s. New excavations were begun after the British Archaeological School at Athens took over the excavations at Sparta in 1992-95. Its measured drawing and conservation is being planned at the moment with financial support from the European Union.
STRATONIS	EPIRUS (AITOLIA & AKARNANIA)	Theatre	6,000 seats (one of the largest in the region)		d = 16.50m (horseshoe)	located on a low, closed slope close to the city centre, just to the east of the centre of the transverse wall (<i>diakisma</i>) that unusually runs north-south from near the main gate to the acropolis, dividing the city into nearly equal halves		rather hypothetically dated to 4th - late 4th c. BC / building actively continued up to 1st and 2nd c. AD in the <i>orchestra</i> and stage building	Recently uncovered and excavated by Lazaros Kolonas, with recent work involving cleaning, minor excavation, and recording but not publication. Only the depression of the buried cavea can be seen in the ground.

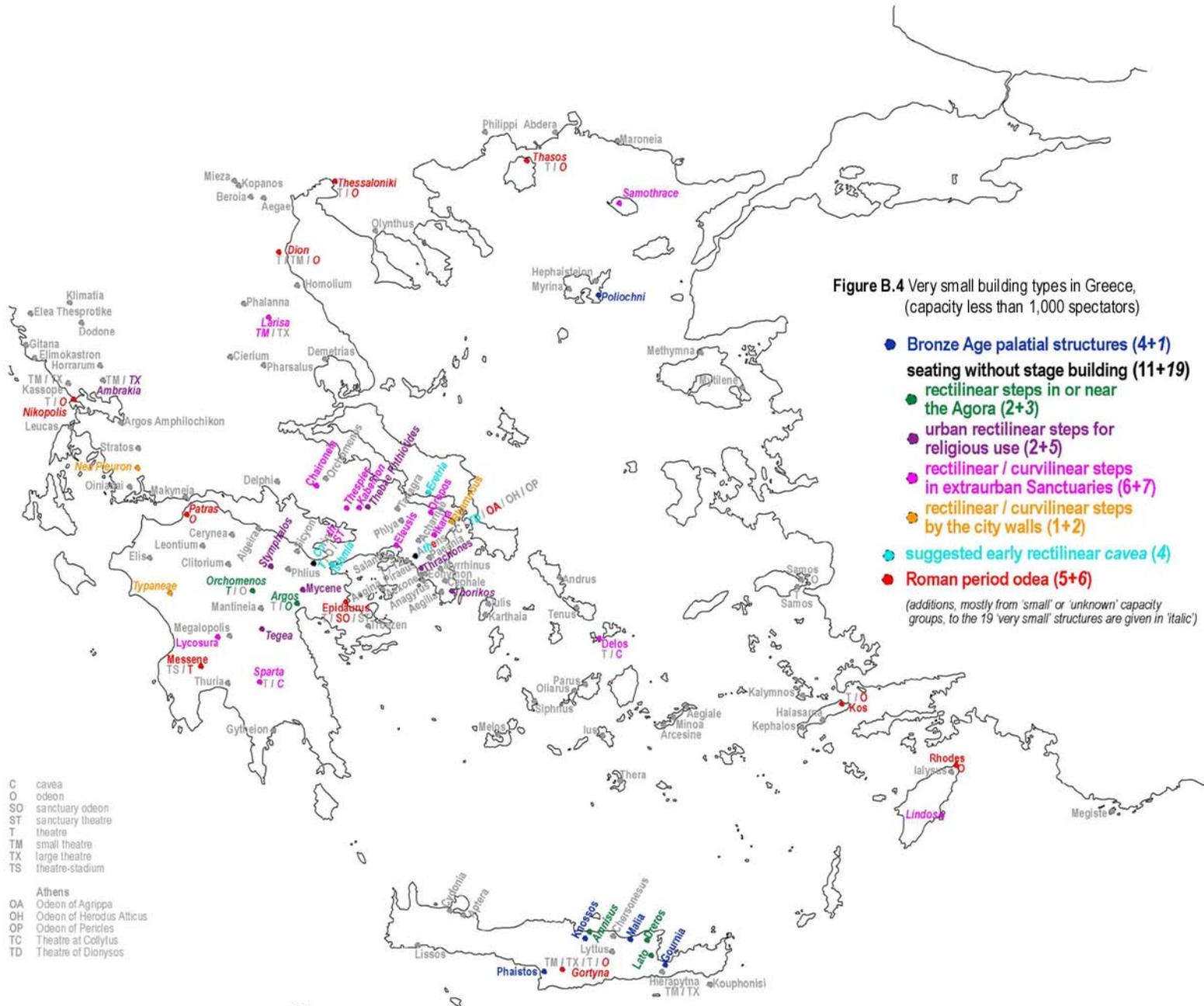
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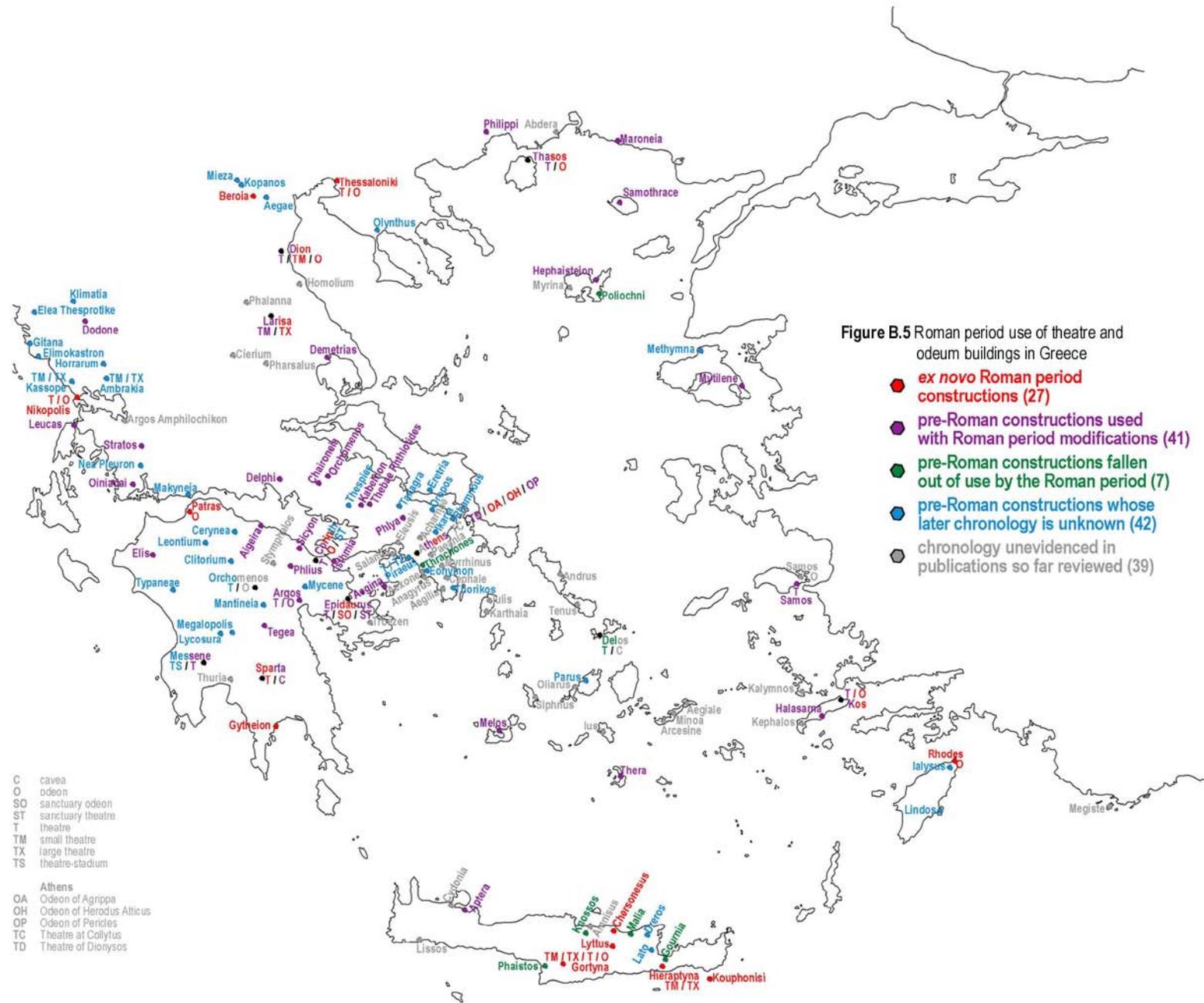
ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
STYMPHALOS	PELOPONNESUS (ARCADIA)	Rectangular Steps					among the redhear structures characterized by the absence of a stage building (eg. Syracuse)		no data obtained so far
TANAGRA	BOEOTIA	Urban Theatre				urban Greek theatre built along the north side of the Acropolis		probably dated to 3rd c. BC	It was partially buried by the Greek Archaeological Society at the end of 19th c. and has recently been included in the topographic survey conducted by a Canadian team in the area of Tanagra.
TEGEA	PELOPONNESUS (ARCADIA)	Theatre		d = ca. 80m			the more than semicircular cavea is built on a gentle natural slope, with remains only from two rows—an original straight stone <i>proedra</i> bench and a row of thrones that was placed in front of the row at a later time—and none from steps	the straight <i>proedra</i> dates to 4th c. BC / according to Livy, the cavea was built by Antiochus Epiphanes in around 174 BC / the stage building dates to the Roman Empire	After being discovered by Valois beneath a church, it was excavated very partially, which has left a number of problems unsolved.
TENDOS	CYCLADES (TEBOSIS)	Theatre				inscription referring to Dionysia		inscription dated to 3rd c. BC that refers to Dionysia and <i>proedra</i>	epigraphically evidenced
THASOS (fig. B.30)	NAEAGEAN (THASOS IS.)	Odeon		max w = 52m	d = 12.96m	located to E of a rectangular building of the Agora and, judging by the plan, it is unlikely that it was used as a bouleuterion as suggested by Méliand-Balty	probably incorporated in a rectangular outer wall, with corridors and flights of steps at the sides providing access to the area behind the steps, the lower part of the more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope while its upper part was built on a system of vaulted radial chambers	Ant's suggestion of an earlier theatre / the odeon is from the period of Hadrian but was never completed then / later restored	It was partially excavated in 1925-31.
THASOS	NAEAGEAN (THASOS IS.)	Theatre		d = ca. 74m	d = 23.30m - ca. 23m (semicircular)	located at the NE edge of Thasos, at some distance from its centre as built into the embankment of the city's defence wall with its <i>proscenium</i> dedicated to Dionysos and a later cult of Nemesis confirming its use for amphitheatre games in Roman times	the less than semicircular cavea, with asymmetrical features probably due to successive structural interventions, rests on a natural slope / some lower steps were removed for conversion into an arena	5th c. BC foundation remains under the later stage / cavea dates to late 4th c. BC / Hellenistic - early 3rd c. BC / <i>proscenium</i> built in the first quarter of 3rd c. BC / Roman period <i>scenae frons</i> / extensive 1st c. AD - 2nd c. AD alterations for gladiatorial and animal combat / unspedied - late 2nd-early 3rd c. AD (Severan) modification at the cavea to obtain sleeper seats	After being excavated on various occasions between the end of 19th c. and 1957, some cleaning has been carried out in the edifice with a view to its being used for performances and the opportunity was taken to conduct limited excavation to try to clarify points of chronology. It has been restored.
THEBES	BOEOTIA	Extra-urban Sanctuary Cavea	1,400 people (2nd phase after early 1st c. AD)	d = ca. 615m	d = 27m	oriented towards the Temple that replaces the stage building, the cavea was part of the extra-urban Sanctuary of the Kabeiroi, with another Sanctuary of the Kabirian Demeter and Kore in the vicinity	the theatre-type cavea rests on a natural slope, with the S part resting on an embankment	the <i>orchestra</i> with the great Altar and Temple date from early 2nd c. BC when spectators sat on the natural slope facing the Temple and was not conventionalised until early 1st c. AD when a circular orchestra and stone seats were constructed - the first cavea dates to between 200 and 125 BC; the second dates to between 50 and 100 BC / the Sanctuary was still in use in the second half of the 4th century AD, always remaining alone	Keramopoulos uncovered a segment of the Mycenaean palace at Thebes near the hill's centre between 1906 and 1921, and Pflon in 1963-64 partially excavated some rooms to the south.
Thera	CYCLADES (SANTORINI IS.)	Urban Theatre	1,500 people	max w = ca. 23m (between the external corners of the <i>anabimata</i>)	d = 23m (circular)	located to the SE of the Agora and just a few steps away from the Royal Stoa over a natural slope in the heart of the busy city to which it is believed to owe its rectangular shape	the more than semicircular cavea resting on a natural slope was cut at the sides and contained by a quadrangular outer wall whose shape was determined by the Hippodamean town plan, with two entrances on the N - Ant interprets some of the front walls to belong to a trapezoidal cavea	probably built over an earlier timber construction, it is dated to 3rd c. BC (ie. Ptolemaic period) - mid-2nd c. BC / during 1st c. AD under Roman rule and possibly under Tiberius, the <i>orchestra</i> was converted into a <i>consterium</i> and a new skene building was constructed with a <i>scenae frons</i>	Discovered and excavated in late 19th c.
THESPIES	BOEOTIA	Extra-urban Theatre				situated at the foot of Mount Helicon, in a natural depression of the ground, and used during the festival of the "Mousia" devoted to the 9 Muses	a constructed cavea never existed, except a marble first row of <i>proedra</i> , with spectators sitting on the seats cut in the mountainside	built in 3rd c. BC - no earlier than late 3rd c. BC - beginning of 2nd c. BC	After their identification by A. Stamatkís in 1882, it was presumably excavated by P. Jamot under the auspices of the French Archaeological School in the period 1882-90 or 1888-90 and later published by Roux on the basis of excavation documents. Nothing survives of them monument today.
THESSALONIKI (fig. B.30)	MACEDONIA (THESSALONIKI)	Odeon			d = 163m (semicircular)	located behind the SW portico of the Agora	built on flatland, the cavea in the shape of a half ellipse rests on two series of vaulted radial chambers separated by a double semicircular corridor	Severan - dated to the tetrarchy - with <i>scenae frons</i> - used for amphitheatre games	Discovered in 1962 and much of it was excavated until 1963. It was restored in 1975 by integrating the steps, pulpitum and numerous vaults.

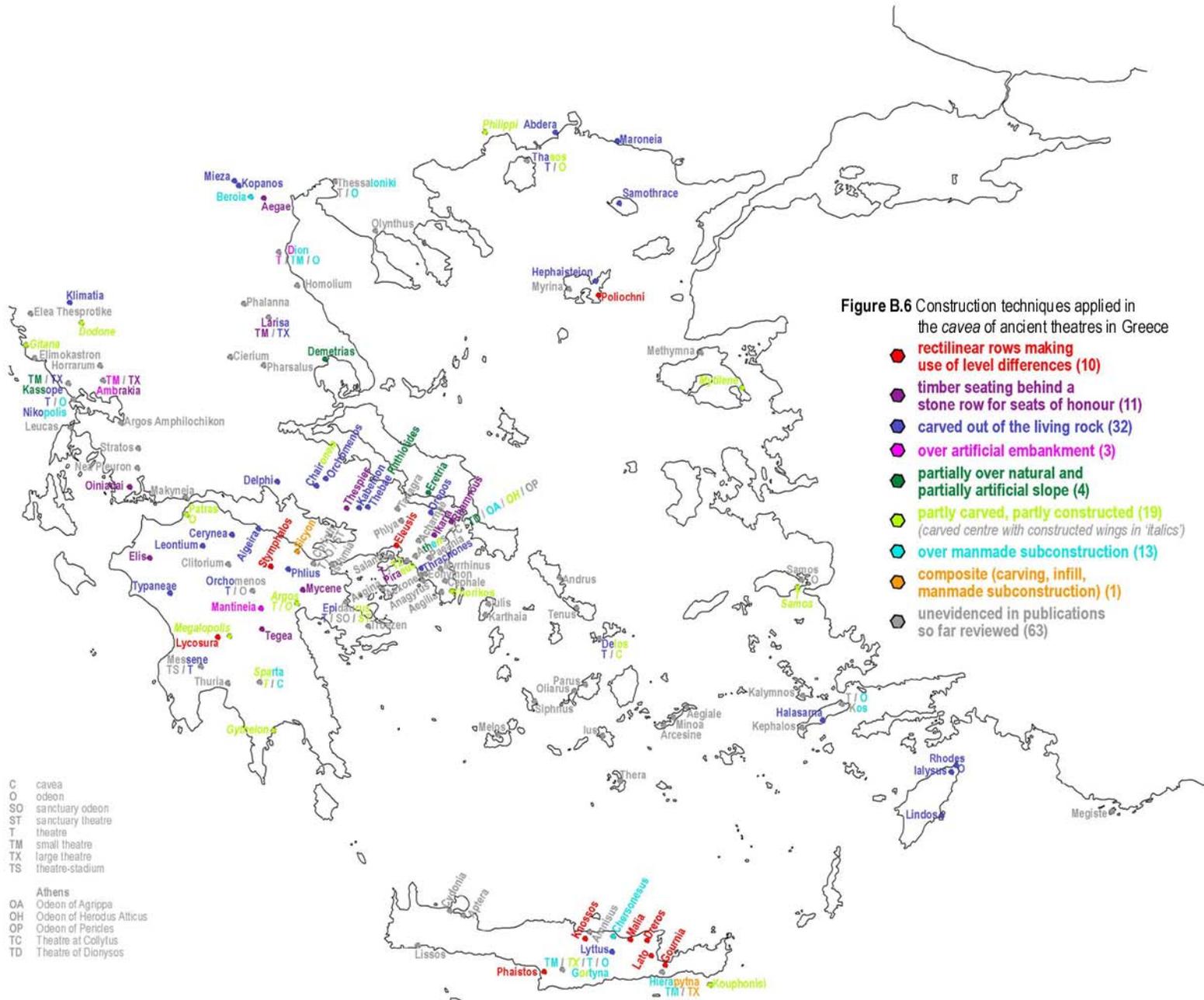
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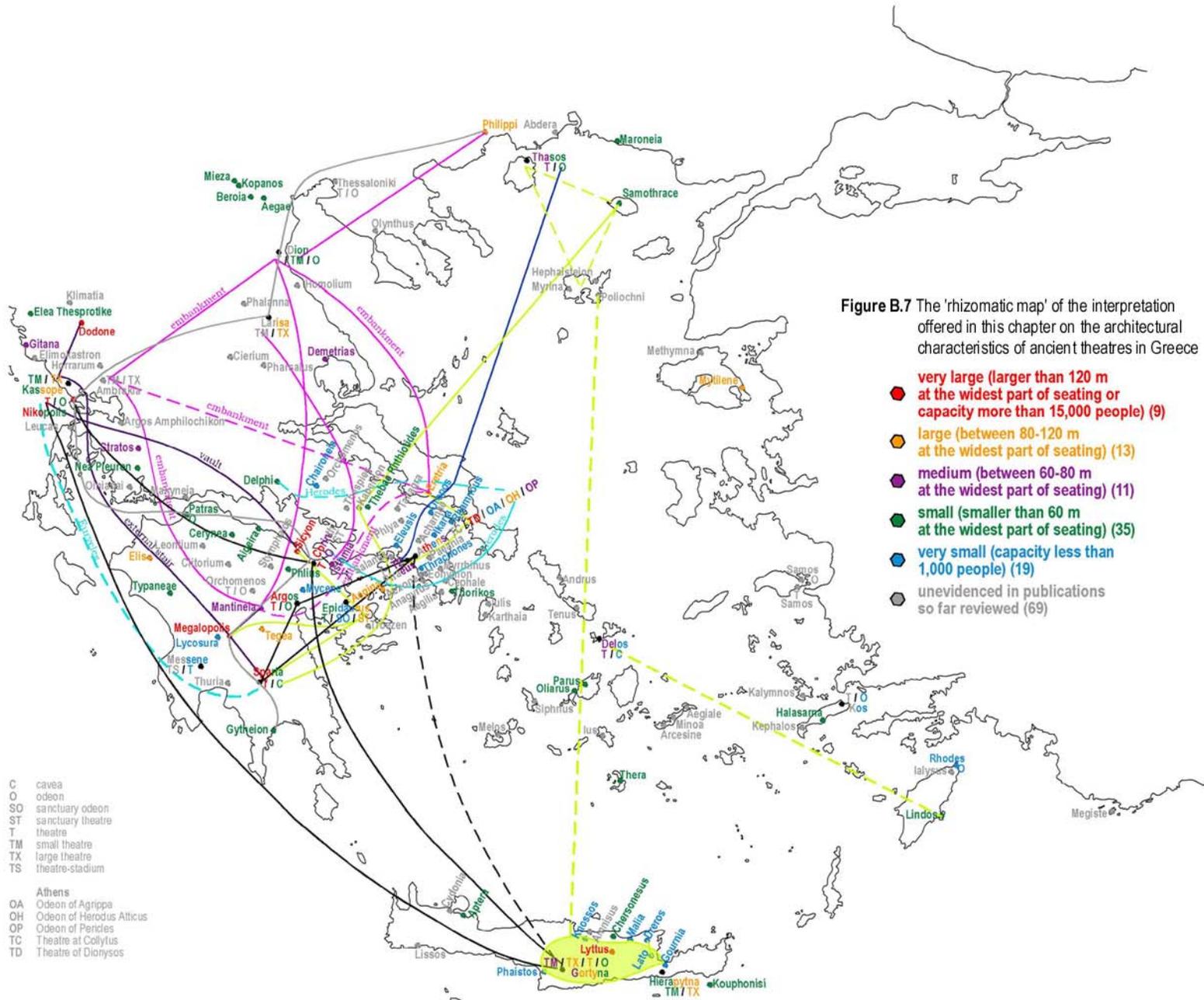
ancient name	modern location	building type	capacity	cavea size	orchestra size	urban context	cavea characteristics	building phases	historiography
THESSALONIKI	MACEDONIA (THESSALONIKI)	Theatre						probably Imperial Roman	The elements of steps that were re-utilised to build the surrounding medieval wall are linked to the theatre. This is confirmed by the act of the martyrdom of St Demetrios, but the theatre has not been located. The steps could however also belong to other monuments, e.g. the hippodrome.
THORAKOS (fig. B.29)	ATTICA	Theatre	2,500-2,500-3,000 after 1st enlargement / 5,000-5,000-6,000 during its largest phase	max. w = ca. 535m	14x30m not earlier than 5th c. BC (trapezoidal with rounded corners)	located in SW skirts of the Velaburi hill (Acropolis), with an industrial quarter and residences over the rest of the slope; a site believed by some to have been the original Agora, with the Theatre rectangular in its original form on its edge and a Temple of Dionysus nearby and probably an Altar in the orchestra	the irregularly curvilinear cavea that has somehow straight rows of seats only in the central section rests on a natural slope, with the latest upper addition constructed over retaining walls, without any stage building	the only theatre yet discovered on mainland Greece dating to 6th c. BC - 5th c. BC, when it was confined by a retaining wall for the orchestra and a slope for the spectators, and with stone seating to mid-5th c. BC - the orchestra was still bordered by rectilinear wooden banks and a tribune (thēlos) under the Peisistratides; its floor was deepened around 450 BC when the kōilon and the banquet hall were constructed in stone while the Temple of Dionysus and a wooden stage already existed / enlarged in the 2nd half of 4th c. BC	First excavated by the American School at Athens in 1886 under the supervision of Walter Miller and William L. Cushing; and later by a Greco-Belgian team under the direction of Tony Hackens from the Belgian School in Athens in 1963, 1964 and 1965. More recent photogrammetric survey of the monument contributed greatly to the ongoing analysis of its plan geometry.
THURA	PELOPONNESUS (MESSENA)	Sanctuary Theatre							epigraphically evidenced
TRACHONES (fig. B.29)	ATTICA	Theatre			w = 15.3m, depth = 7.5m	built at a confluence and was flooded by the waters of a torrent at a site also identified as the ancient Attic deme of <i>Eunymos</i> , north of the airport area on the southern outskirts of Athens, and probably dedicated to Dionysus	originally consisted of 21 rows of flat steps cut into the rock on three sides of the orchestra and six seats of marble on the proedra on one side / later semicircularised	initial phase dated to late 5th c. BC / proedra added in mid-4th c. BC / the cavea and the stage complex enlarged in the Hellenistic period / abandoned probably in 4th c. and probably because of flooding by the waters of a torrent - abandoned in mid-3rd c. BC	It is probably identical to the theatre observed in 1879 in the <i>demos of Aexone</i> (Glifada). Although it was discovered in 1973 and excavated between 1975 and 1981, the theatre is virtually unpublished.
TROIZEN	PELOPONNESUS (ARGOLIS)					located near or in the Agora, next to an altar dedicated to the Muses and the stoa according to Pausanias, it was closely associated with Artemis (Lykēa)		2nd half of 1st c. BC - 1st half of 1st c. AD inscription mentioning decree of a proedri during the celebration of the mysteries and a place in the procession	mentioned by Pausanias but not located yet
TYPANAE (AEPUM)	PELOPONNESUS (ELBA)	Theatre		d = ca. 345m		situated close to the city's surrounding wall which provides a backdrop for the stage building	the slightly more than semicircular cavea rests on a natural slope and contains nine polygonal steps, with a circular outer wall, separated from the upper step by a passage	the cavea probably dates to 4th c. BC / stage complex is later than 245 BC	neither excavated nor restored

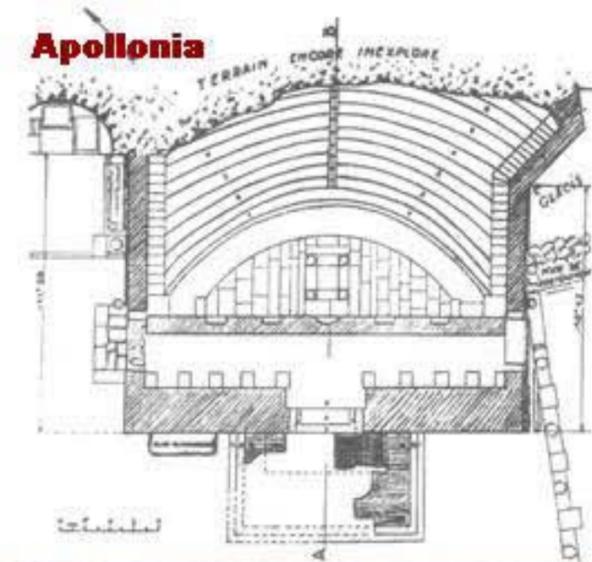












Apollonia



Charoneia



Ikaria



Oropos

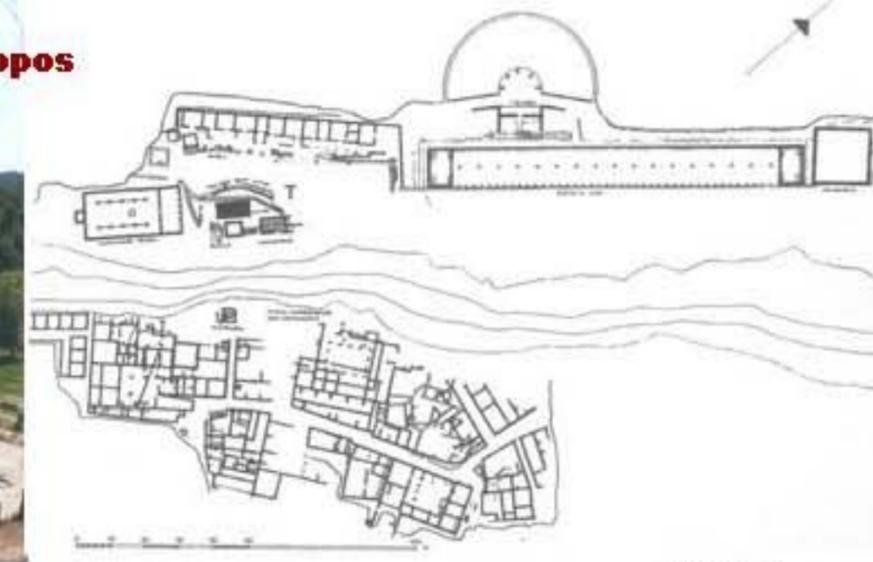


Figure B.8 Rectilinear or curvilinear steps in extra-urban sanctuaries.

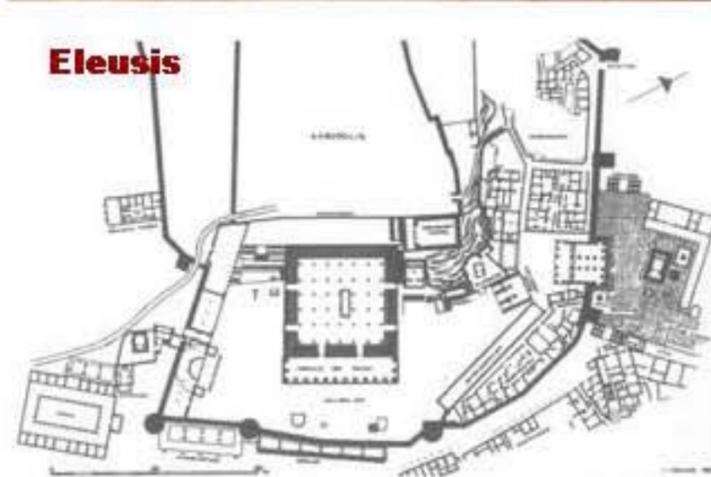
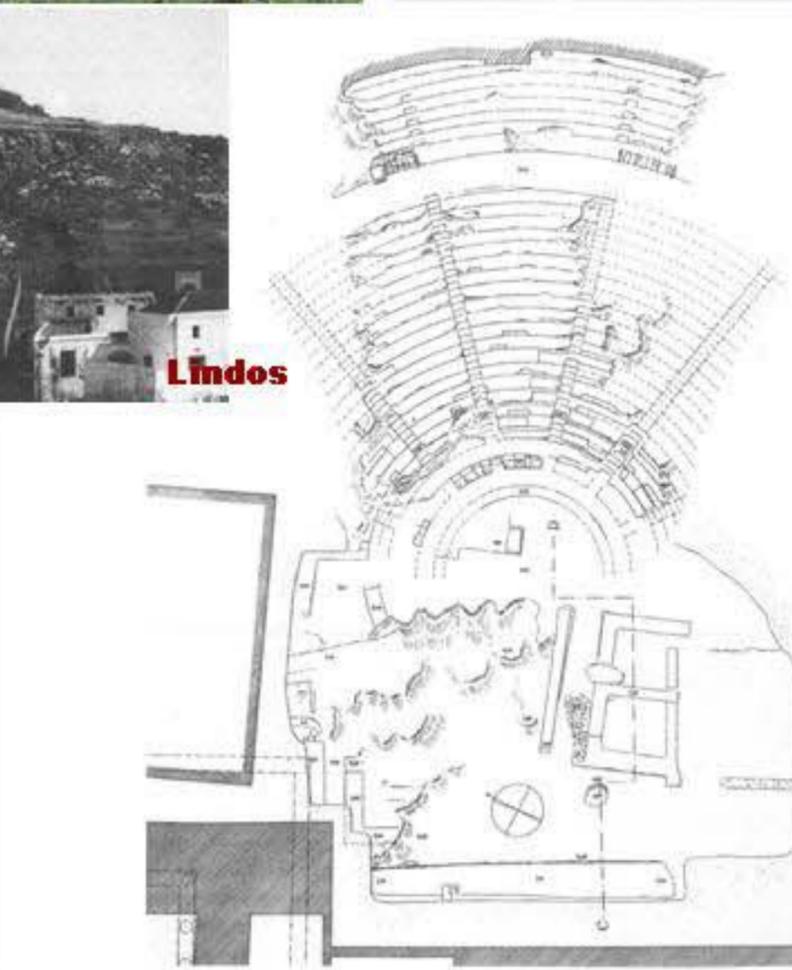
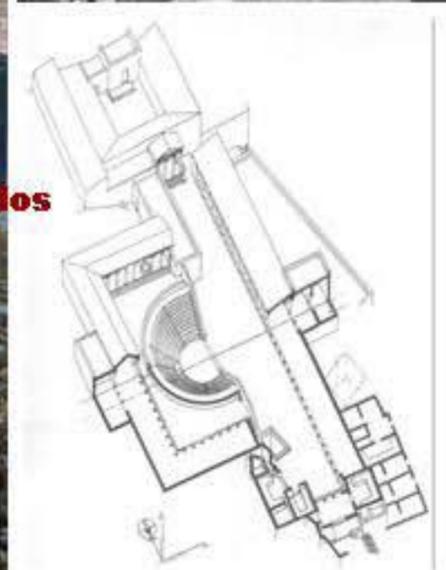
all from Nielsen (2002: 255, fig. 120; 251, fig. 116; 122, fig. 52; 141, fig. 64; 127, fig. 56; 108, fig. 42; 129, fig. 57 and 90, fig. 27) except Delos aerial photo from Schoder (1967: 57); Charoneia and Delos colour photos from AT (1996); Lindos B&W photo from Konstantinopoulos (1986: 189, fig. 213); Oropos colour photo from GNTO (1996-98: 20-21) and Samothrace plan from Doxiadis (1972: fig. 24).



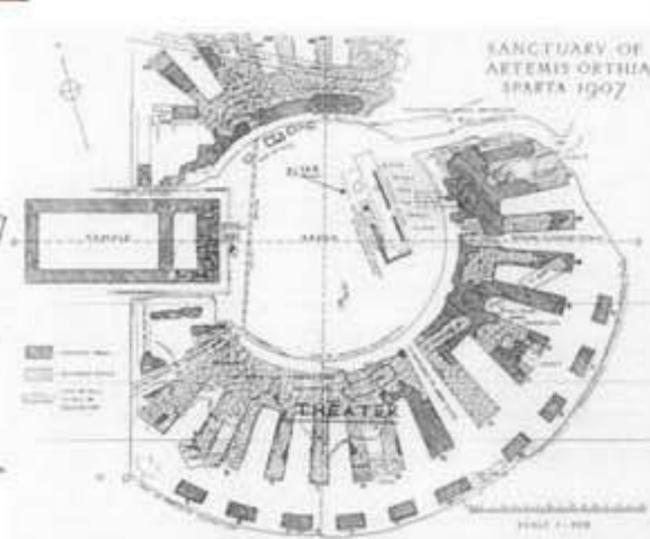
Delos



Lindos



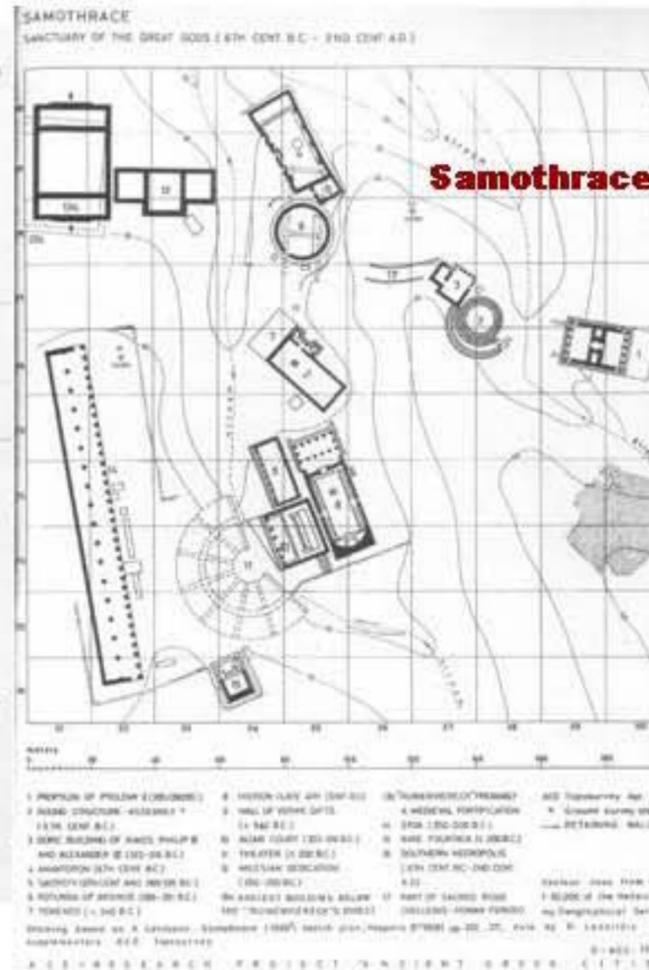
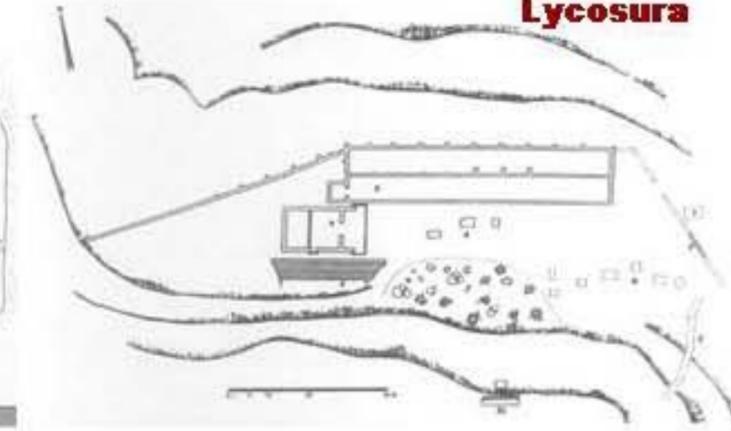
Eleusis



Sparta



Lycosura



Samothrace

SAMOTHRACE
SANCTUARY OF THE GREAT GODS (6TH CENT. B.C. - 2ND CENT. A.D.)

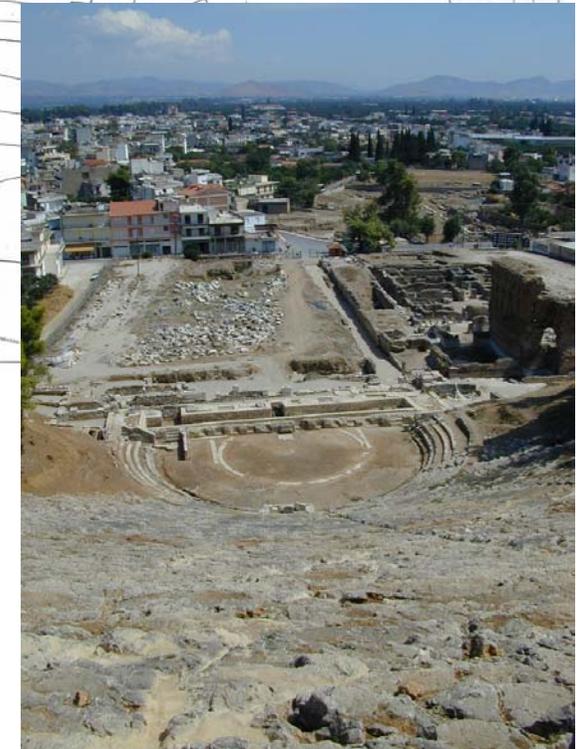
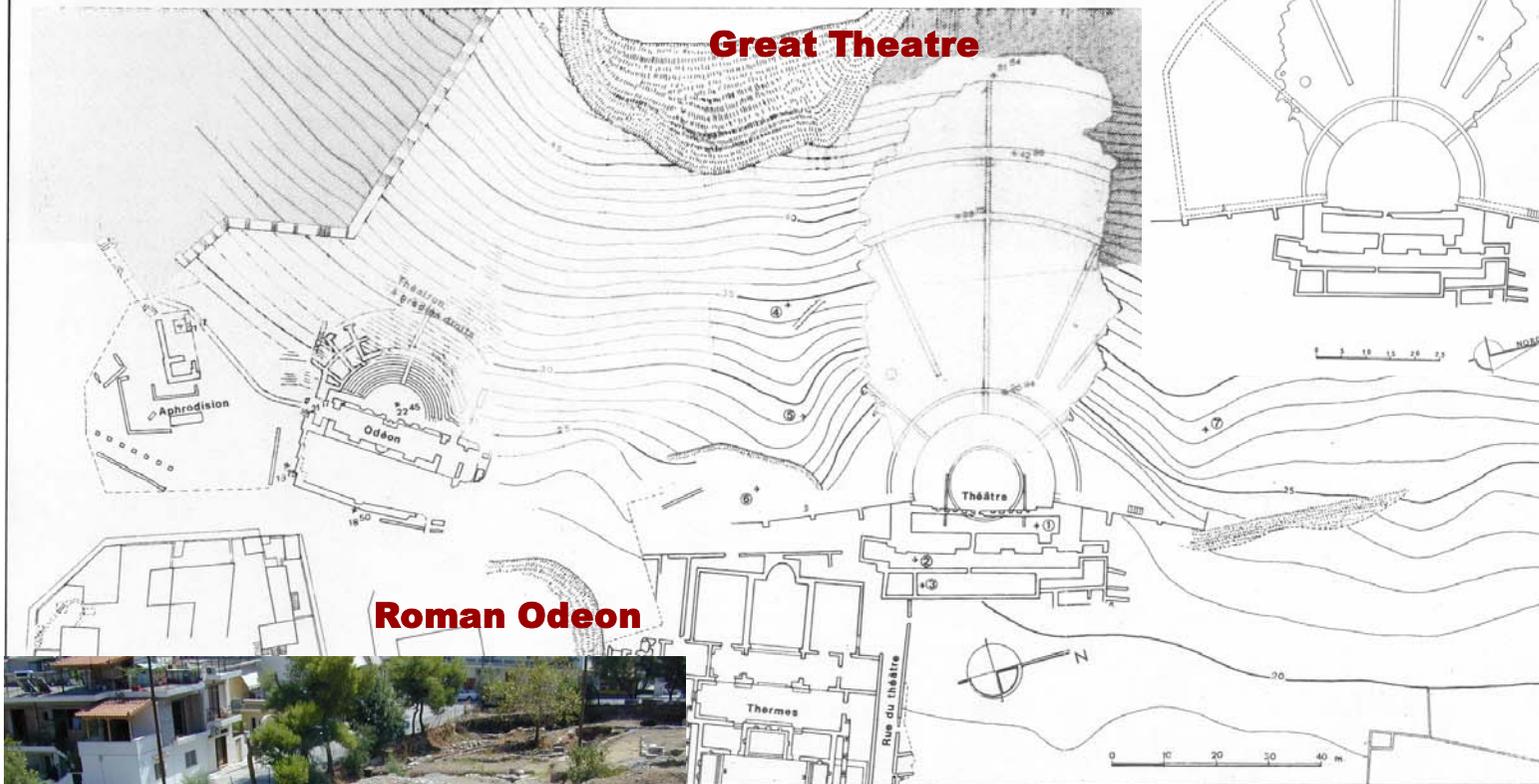
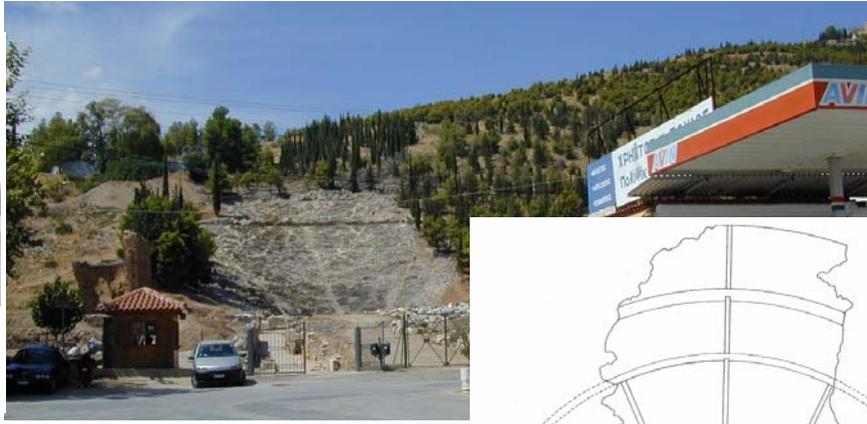
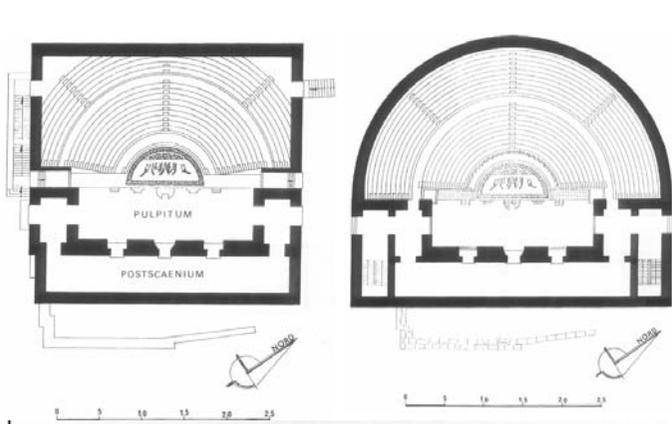
1. SECTION OF POLYION (2ND CENT. B.C.)
2. BARRACKS (1ST CENT. B.C.)
3. BARRACKS OF ANTI-PHILIP (1ST CENT. B.C.)
4. AMPHITHEATRE (1ST CENT. B.C.)
5. SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS (1ST CENT. B.C.)
6. THEATRE (1ST CENT. B.C.)
7. THEATRE (1ST CENT. B.C.)

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Scale 1:1000

RESTORED SECTION ON LINE A-B

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Argos

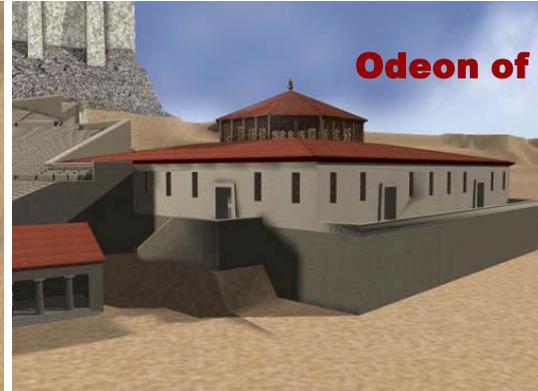
(ARGOLIS, PELOPONNESUS)

Figure B.10 Argos, Roman Odeon and Great Theatre.

Odeon plans from Moretti (1993a: 27, fig. 25; 29, fig. 28); site plan from Moretti (1998, fig. 1); Theatre plan from Moretti (1993a: 8, fig. 6); colour photos taken by the author in summer 2003.



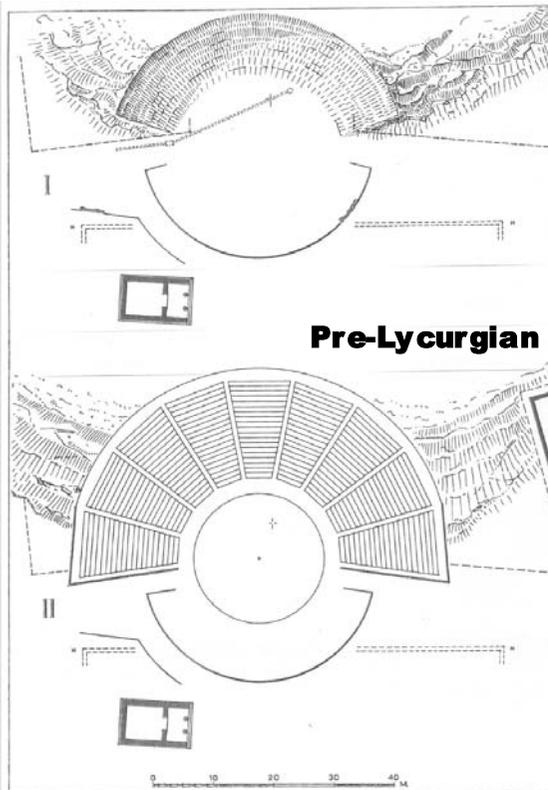
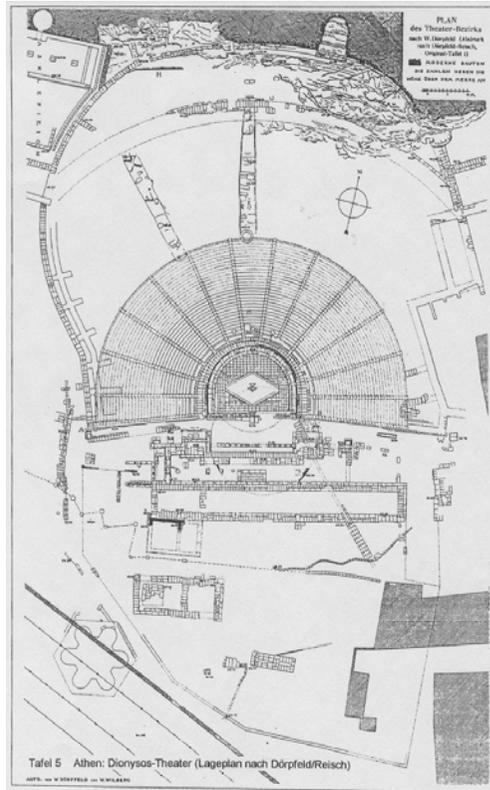
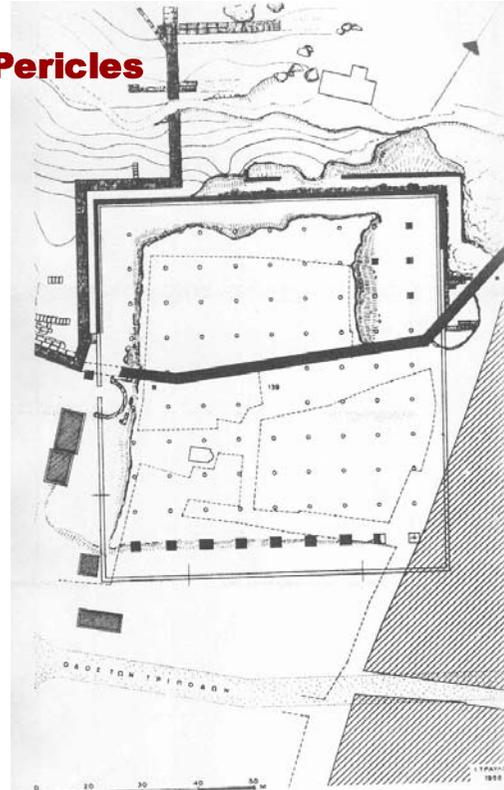
Theatre of Dionysus



Odeon of Pericles



Lycurgian



Pre-Lycurgian



Hellenistic



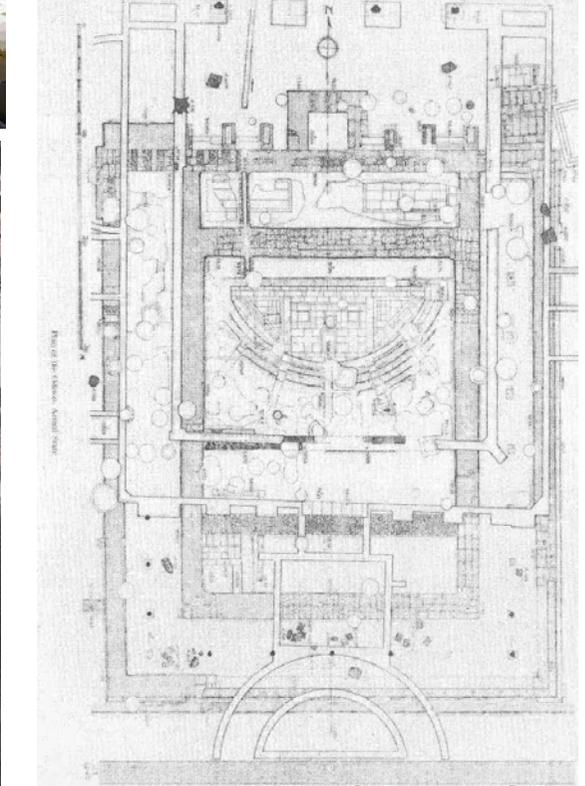
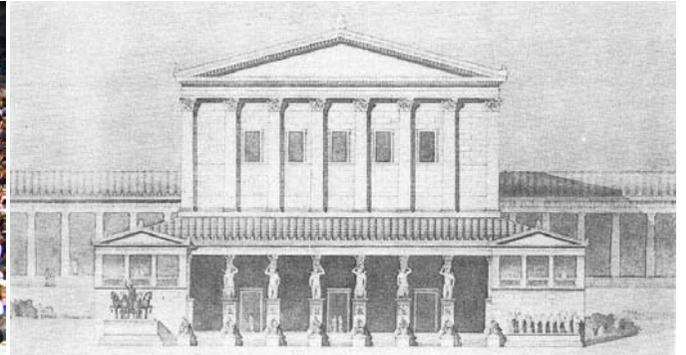
Roman

Athens

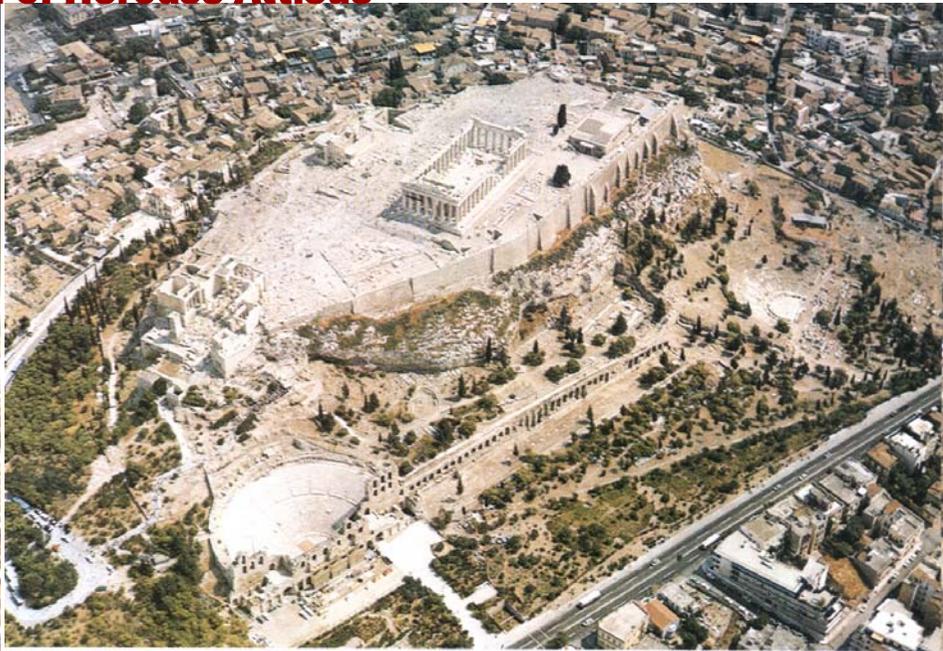
(ATTICA, ATTICA)

Figure B.11 Theatre of Dionysus and Odeon of Pericles in Athens.

bottom left from Burmeister (1996: 67); bottom centre from Nielsen (2000: 114, fig. 8); top right from Meinel (1980: 578, fig. 35); reconstruction drawings by Theatron Ltd. (2000).



Odeon of Herodes Atticus



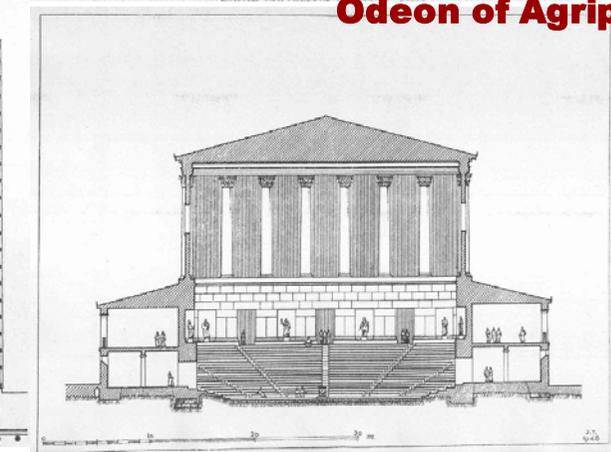
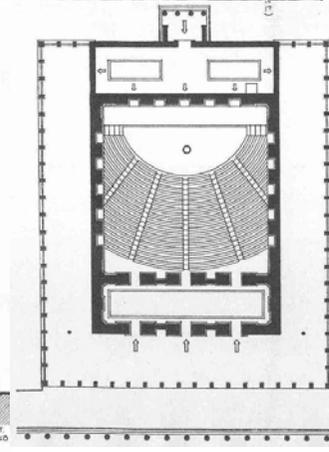
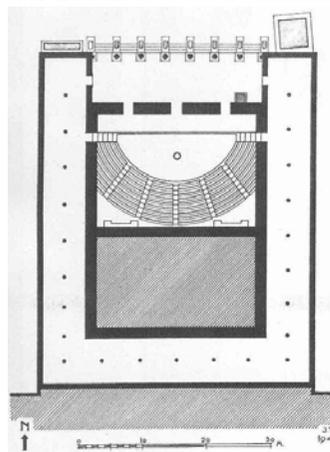
Odeon of Agrippa

Athens

(ATTICA, ATTICA)

Figure B.12 Roman period Odeon of Herodes Atticus (left) and Agrippa (right) in Athens.

all material on Odeon of Agrippa from Meinel (1980: 562, figs. 5-6; 564, fig. 9; 565, figs. 11-2); top left from Meinel (1980: 570, fig. 22); aerial view from Schoder (1967: 33); other colour photos taken by the author in Summer 2003.

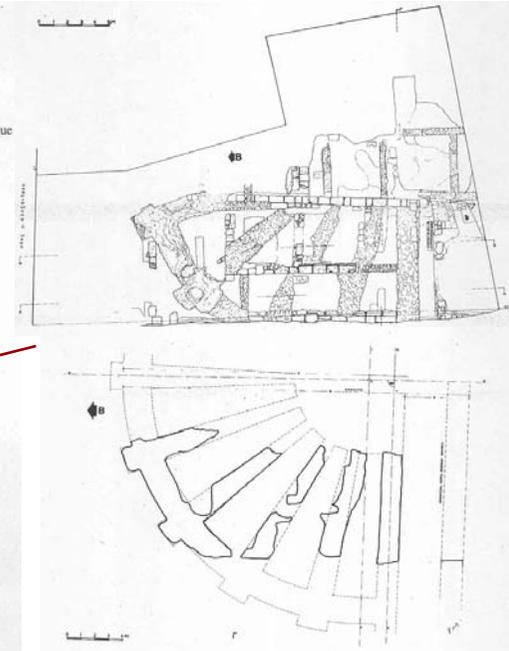
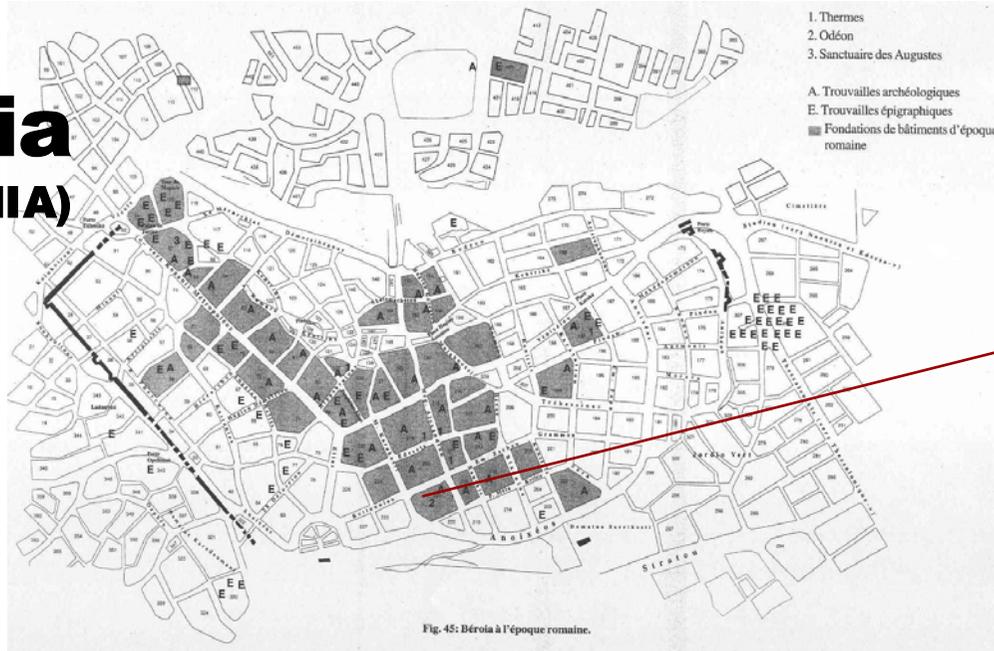


Beroia

(EMATHIA, MACEDONIA)

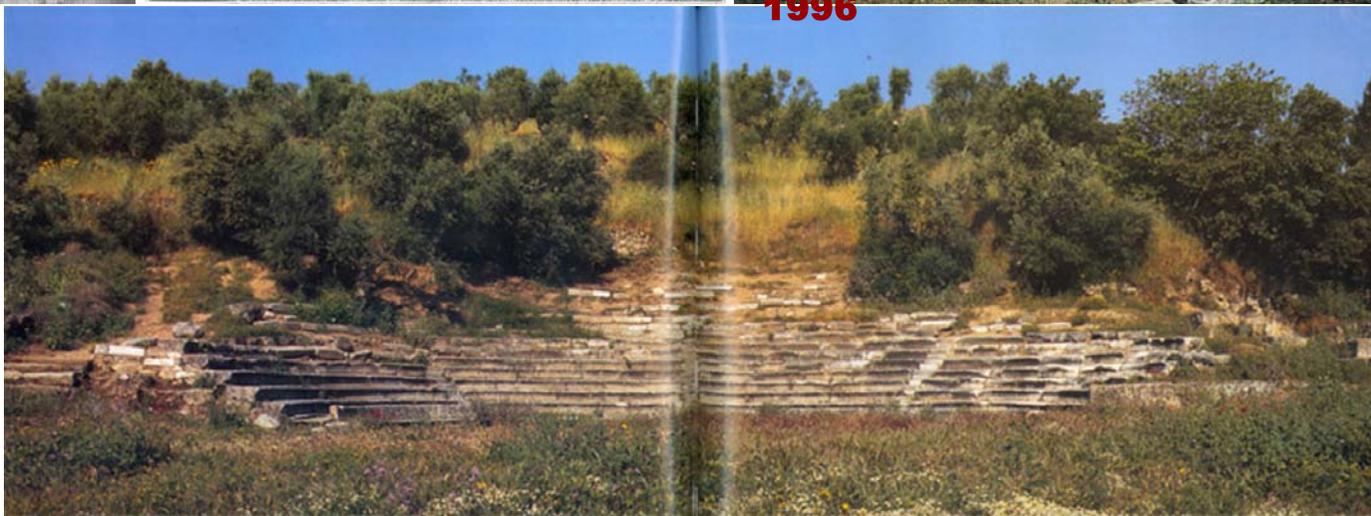
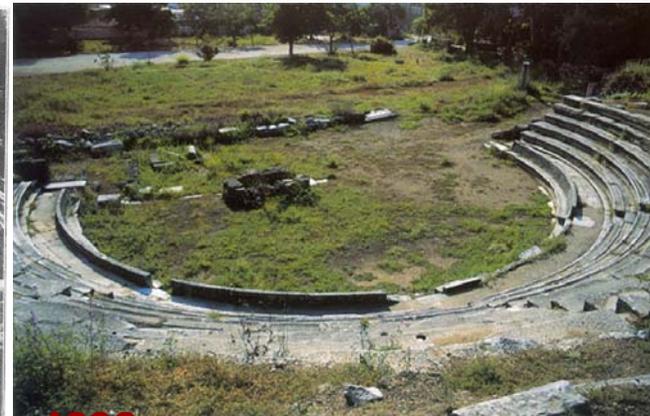
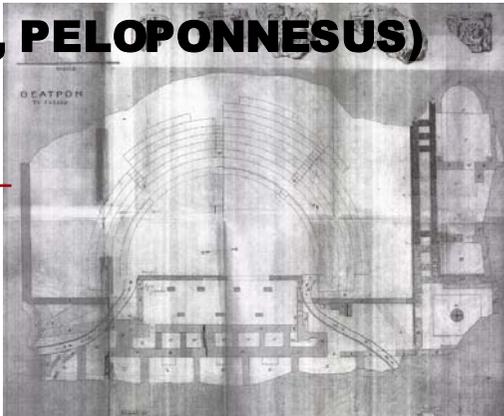
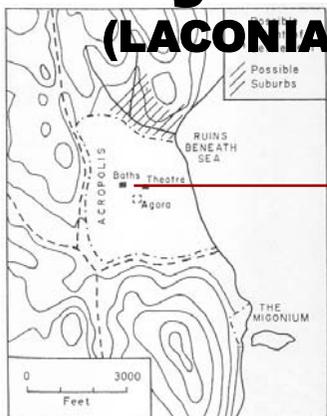
Figure B.13 Roman period theatres in *Beroia* and *Gytheion*.

all *Beroia* plans from Brocas-Deflassieux (1999: figs. 43, 44, 45); *Gytheion* site plan from Wagstaff (1969: 258, fig. 4); plan from PAE (1891); B&W photo from Versaks (1912); bottom left from GNTO (1996-98: 158); other colour photos from AT (1996).



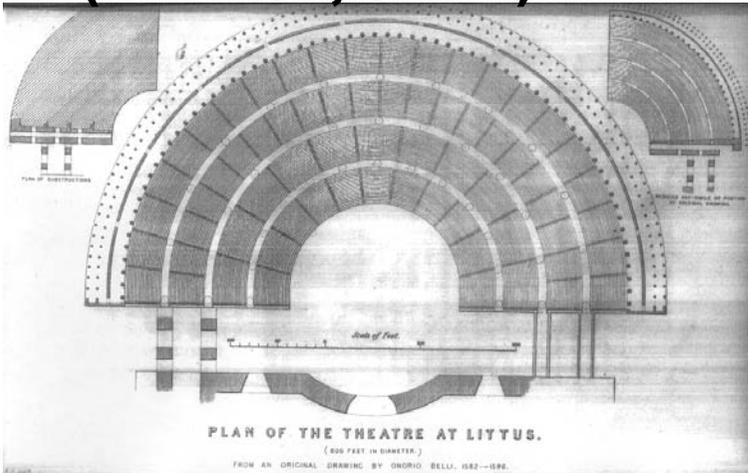
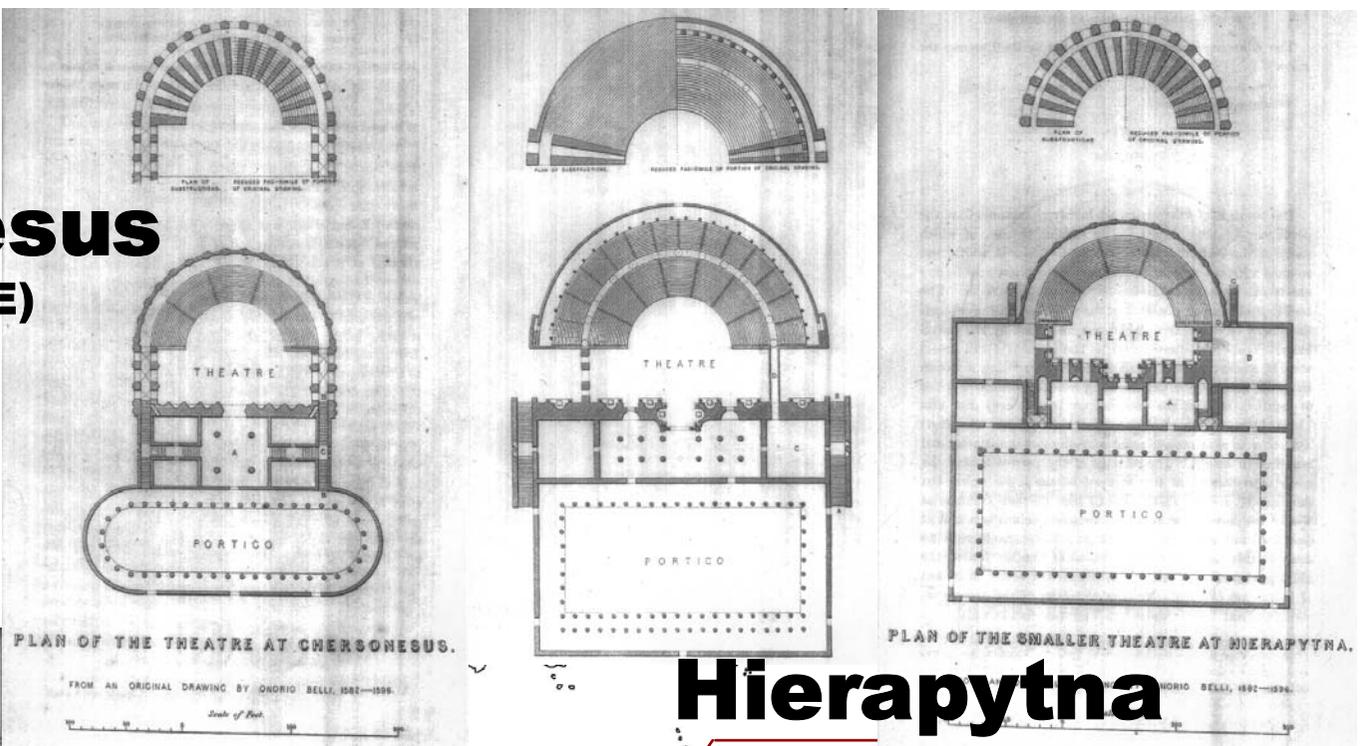
Gytheion

(LACONIA, PELOPONNESUS)

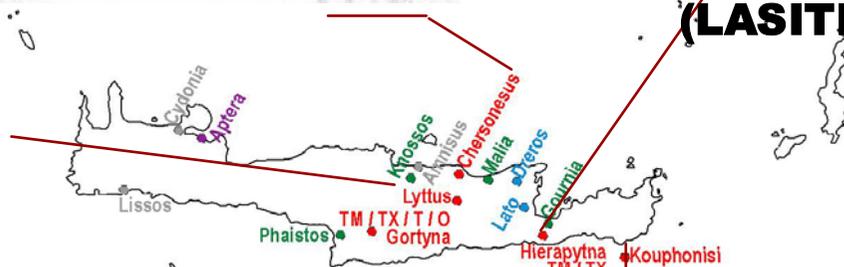


Chersonesus (IRAKLION, CRETE)

Lyttus (IRAKLION, CRETE)

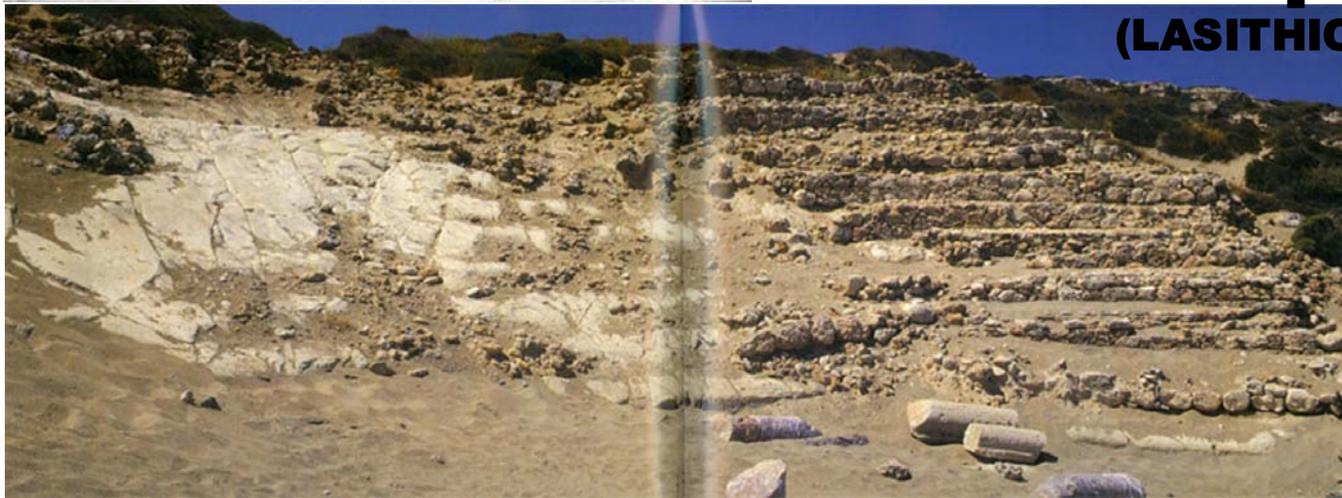


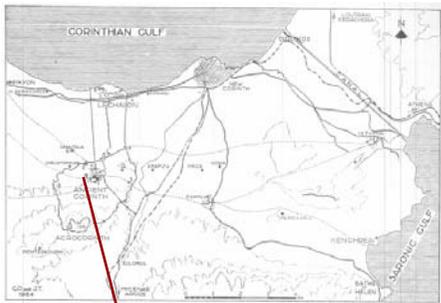
Hierapytna (LASITHION, CRETE)



Kouphonisi (LASITHION, CRETE)

Figure B.14 Roman period theatres in Crete, except those in Gortyna, the capital of the province of Creta et Cyrene.





all from Stillwell (1952: 6, fig. 1; 7, fig. 2; 9, fig. 4; plates II, III, IV, VII, VIII); except top and bottom left from Robinson (1965: 5, fig. 4 and 22, fig. 15), center left from Romano (1993: 11, fig. 1), section-elevation from Williams and Zervos (1988: 116, fig. 15), and *scaenae frons* elevation from Sturgeon (1977: vi, plate 91); left colour photo from GNTO (1996-98: 110); right colour photo from AT (1996: 137).

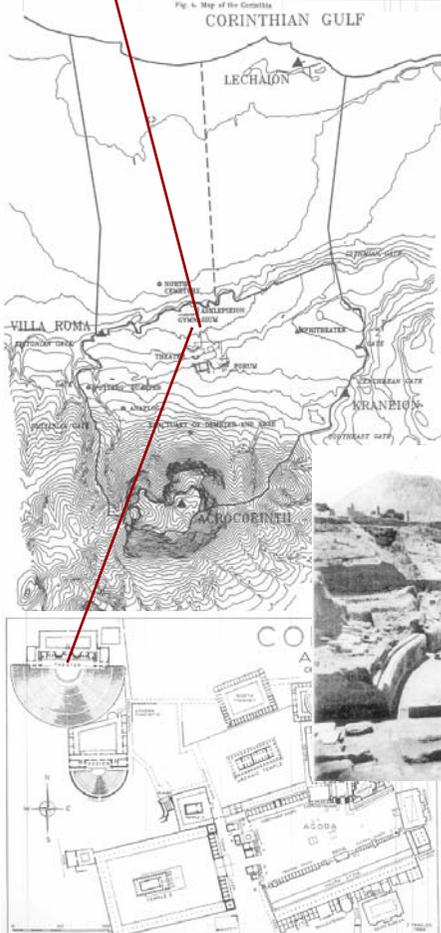
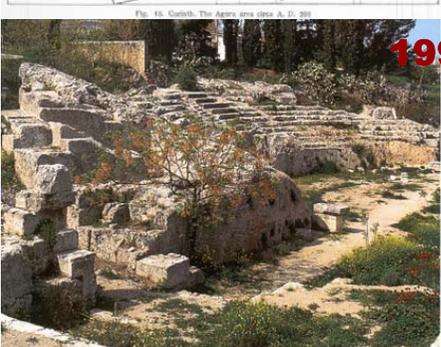


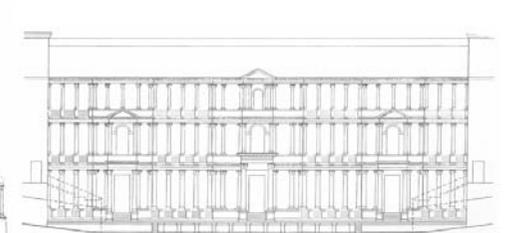
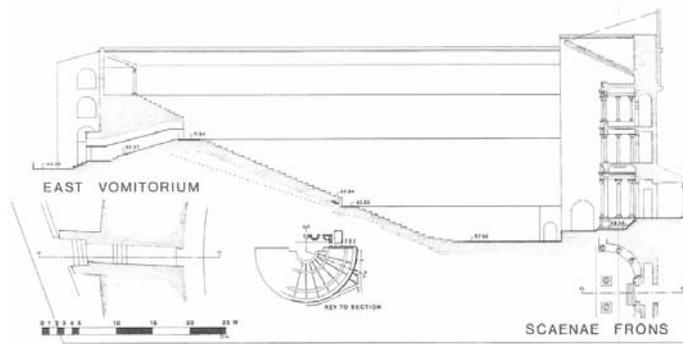
Figure B.15 *Corinthos*, the capital of the province of *Achaia*. Its location, the excavation and restitution of the pre-Roman and Roman stages of its Theatre.



1952



1996



a. Schematic restoration of the scaenae frons

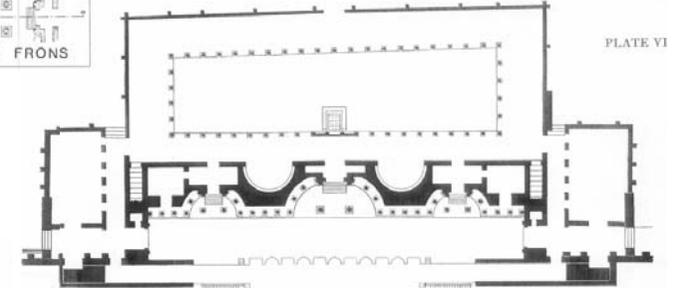
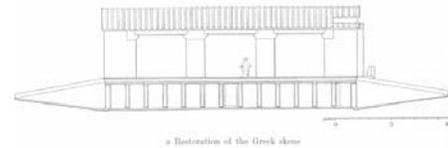


PLATE VI

a Restored plan of Roman theatre of the Second century

Corinthos

(CORINTHIA, PELOPONNESUS)



a Restoration of the Greek theatre

Pre-Roman

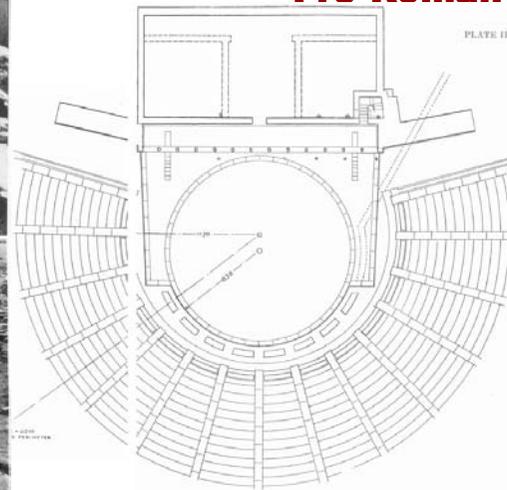


PLATE III

Plan of Hellenistic Theatre, restored

Roman

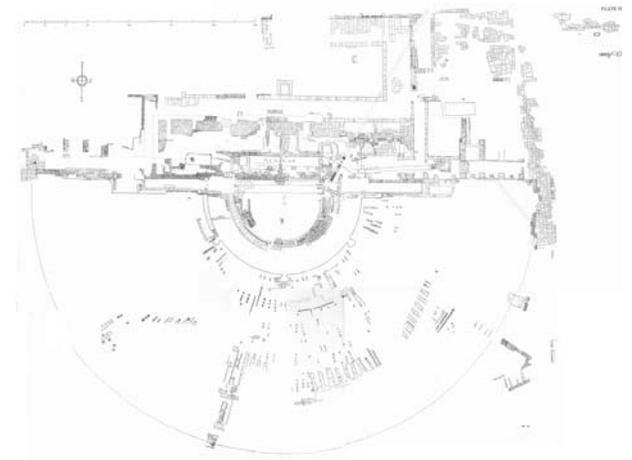


PLATE IV

Plan of Roman Theatre

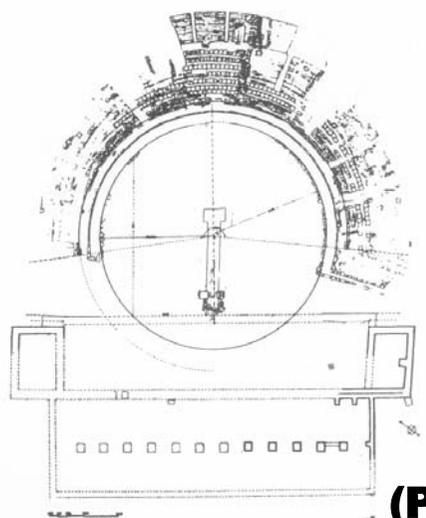
1985



Hellenistic Theatre

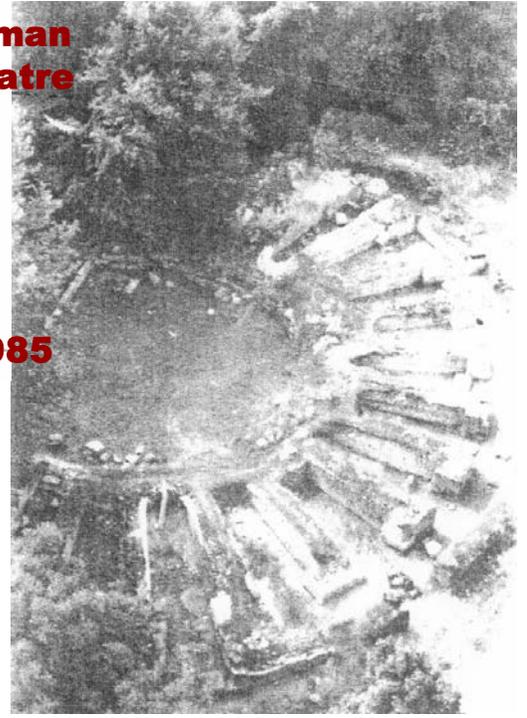


1996



Roman Theatre

1985



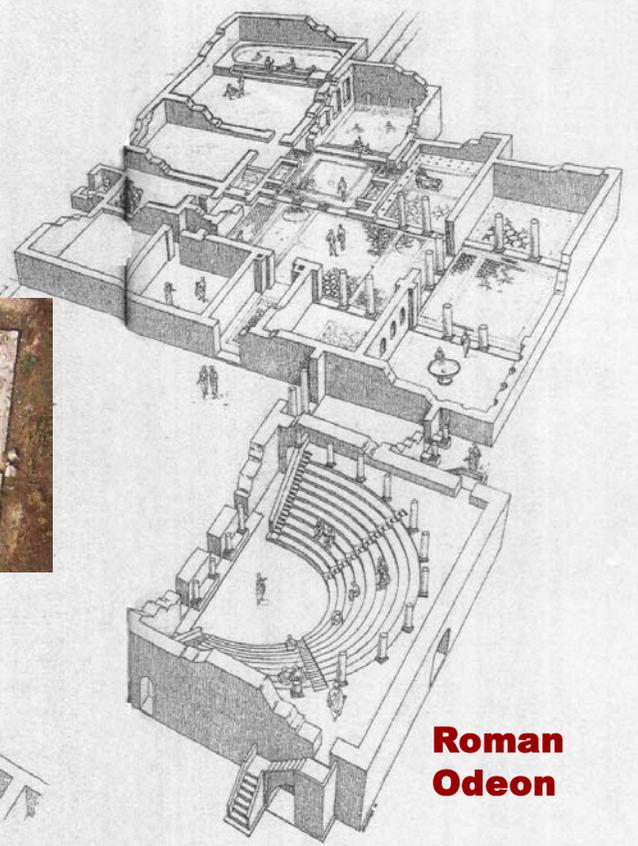
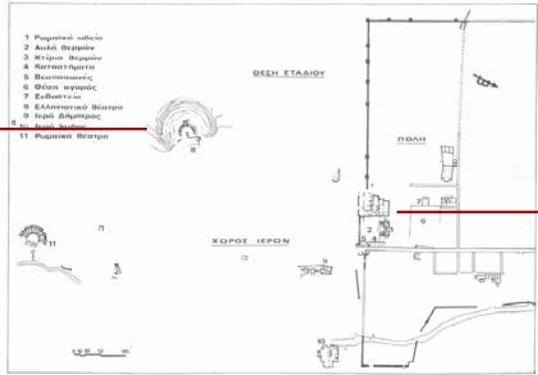
Dion

(PIERIA, MACEDONIA)

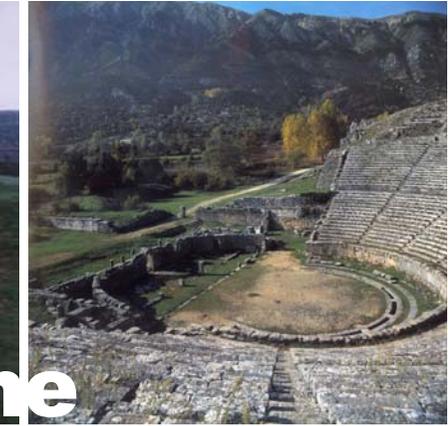


Figure B.16 Hellenistic and Roman Theatre and Roman Odeon of Dion.

all from Pandermalis (1997) except top two from left and topographic map from Karadedos (1985: 26, fig. 1; 27, figs. 2-3); centre two left from AT (1996: 94); bottom left and odeon photo from GNTO (1996-98: 86); Roman Theatre material from Palaokrassa (1985: 55, fig. 1; 57, fig. 2), site plan left part from Karadedos (1990: 30, fig. 1).

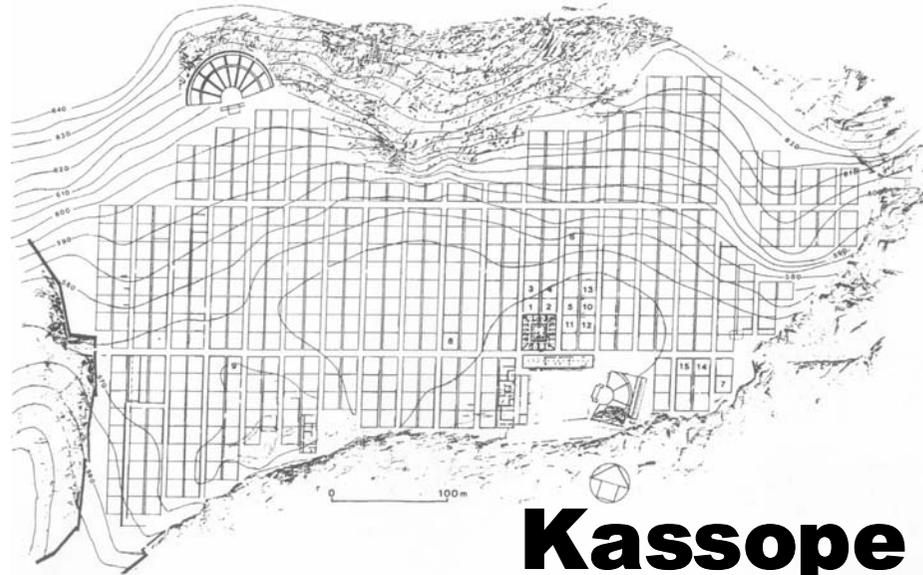


Roman Odeon



Dodone

(IOANNINA, EPIRUS)



Kassope

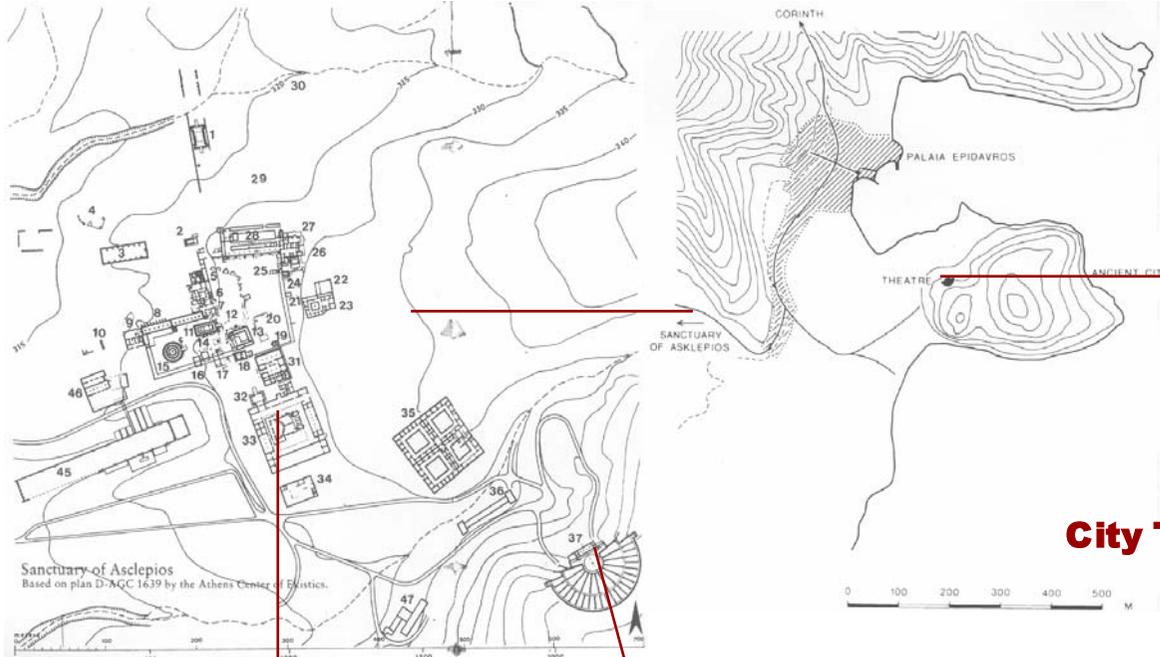
(PREVEZA, EPIRUS)

Figure B.17 Two major ancient theatres of Epirus, at Dodone, the most ancient oracle in Greece, and Kassope, a stronghold against Roman rule.

all from AT (1996) except top left taken in 2003; centre left from Gravani (2001: 117); and centre right from Schoder (1967: 61).



Theatre of Kassope



City Theatre

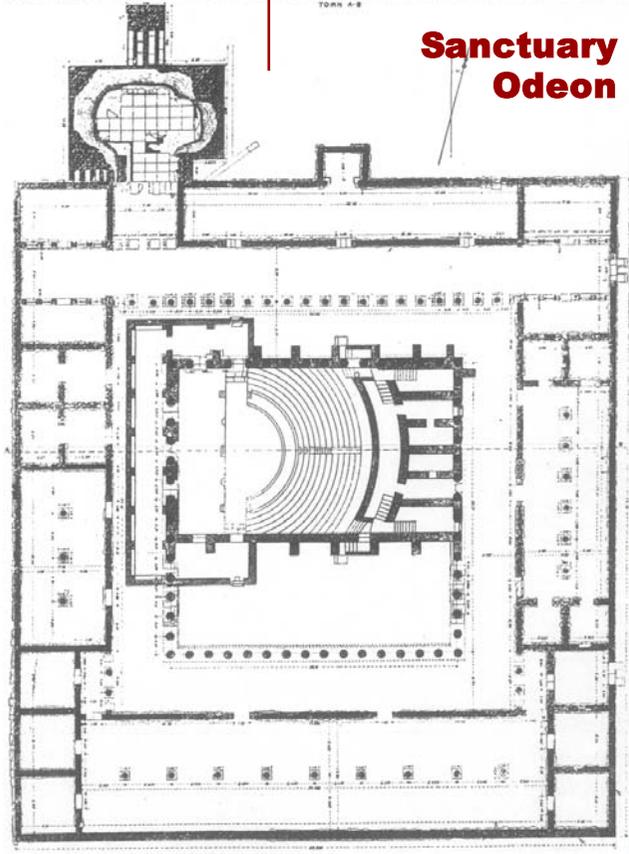
Epidaurus (ARGOLIS, PELOPONNESUS)

Figure B.18 Performance buildings at *Epidaurus*. The Sanctuary Theatre and Odeon and the City Theatre of *Epidaurus*.

top left from Faraklas (1972); top centre from Tomlinson (1983: 11, fig. 2); top right from GNT0 (1996-98: 146-7); bottom left from Nielsen (2002: 107, fig. 41); bottom centre and right taken by the author in Summer 2003.



Sanctuary Odeon

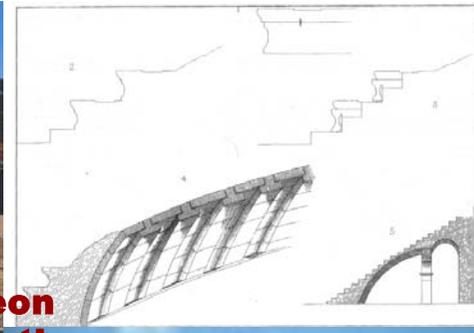
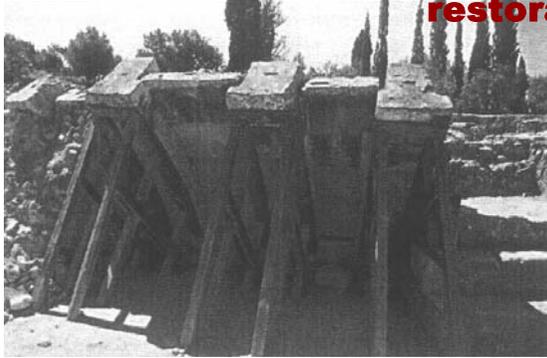


Sanctuary Theatre





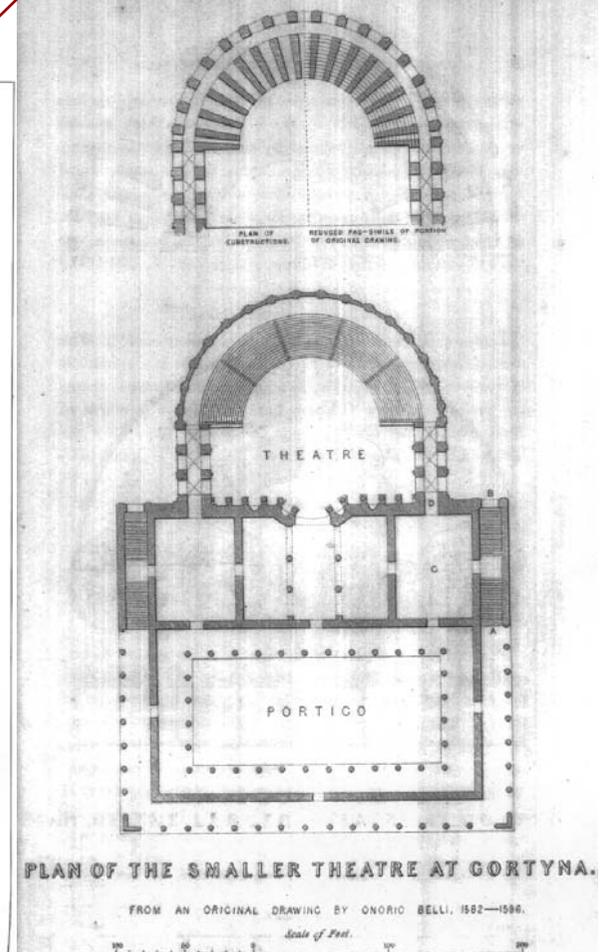
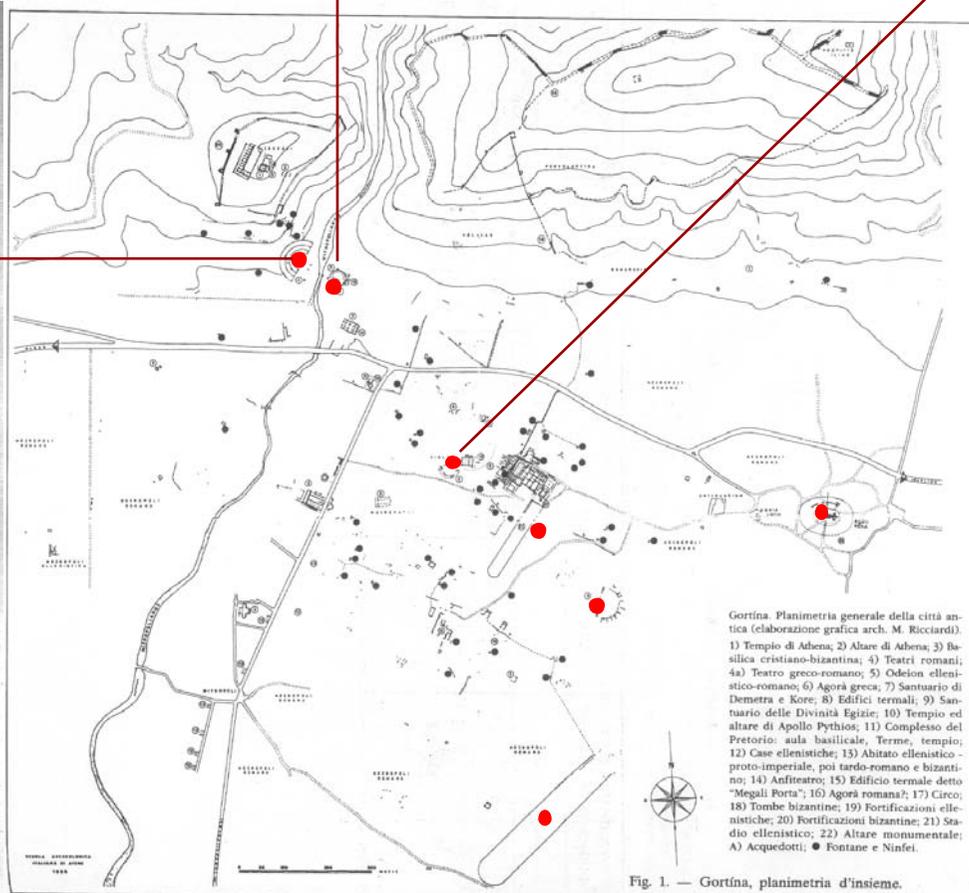
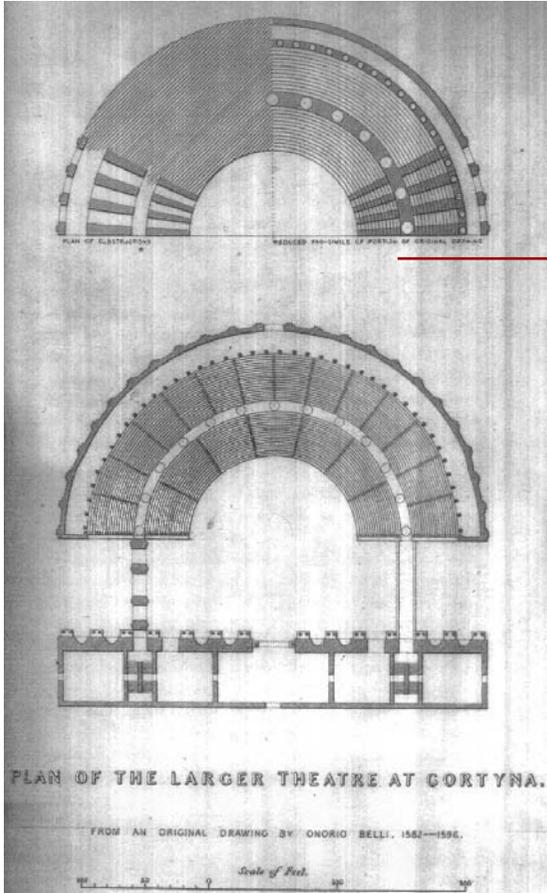
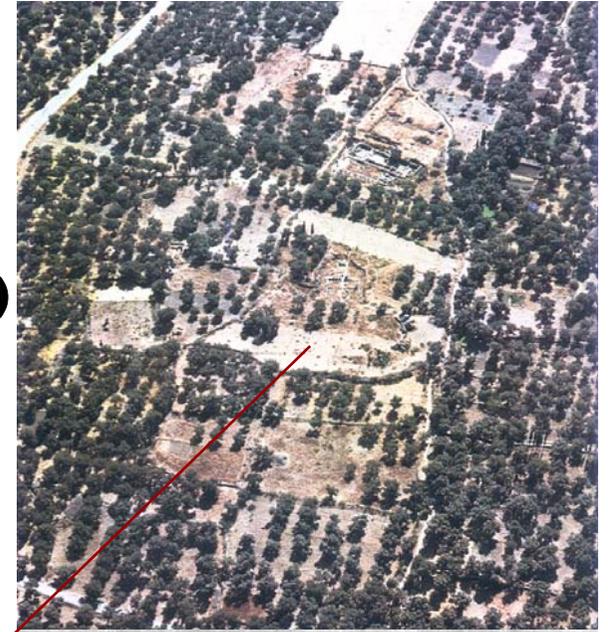
odeon
restorations



Gortyna (IRAKLION, CRETE)

Figure B.19 Gortyna, the capital of the province of *Creta et Cyrene*.

from de Vita (2001: 518, fig. 1; 524, figs. 7-8), except theatre plans from Falkner (1854), aerial view from Schoder (1967: 82), top left from GNT0 (1996-98: 141) and other colour photb from HMC.



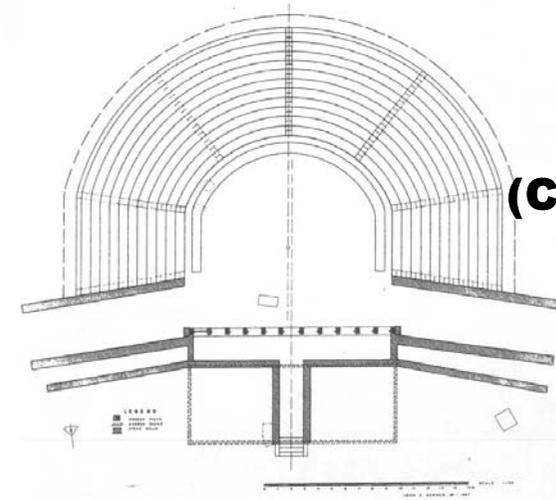
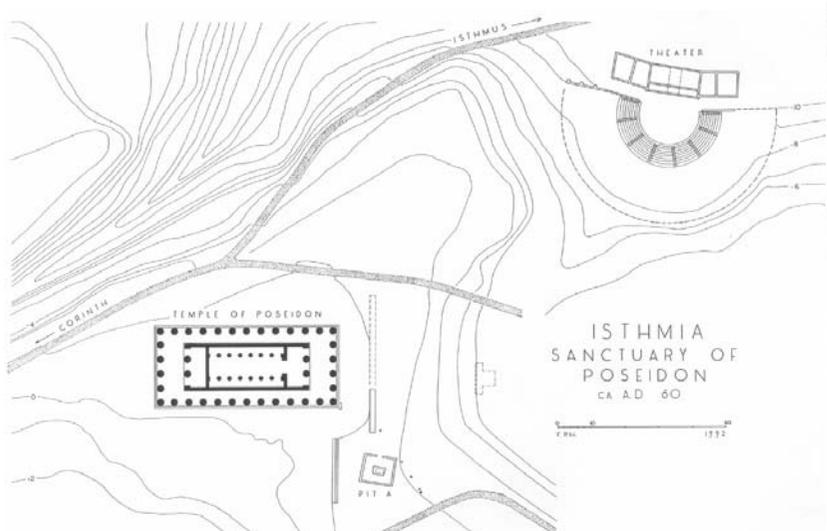
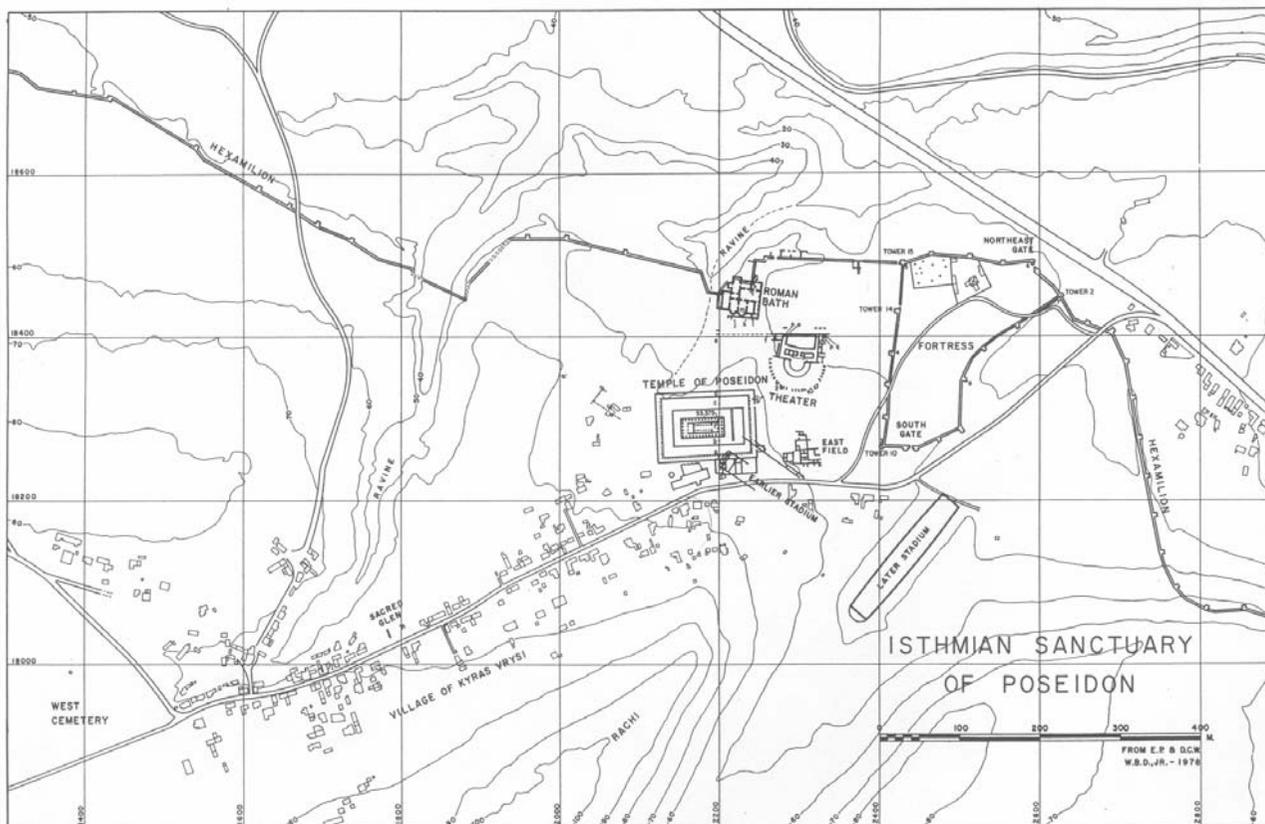
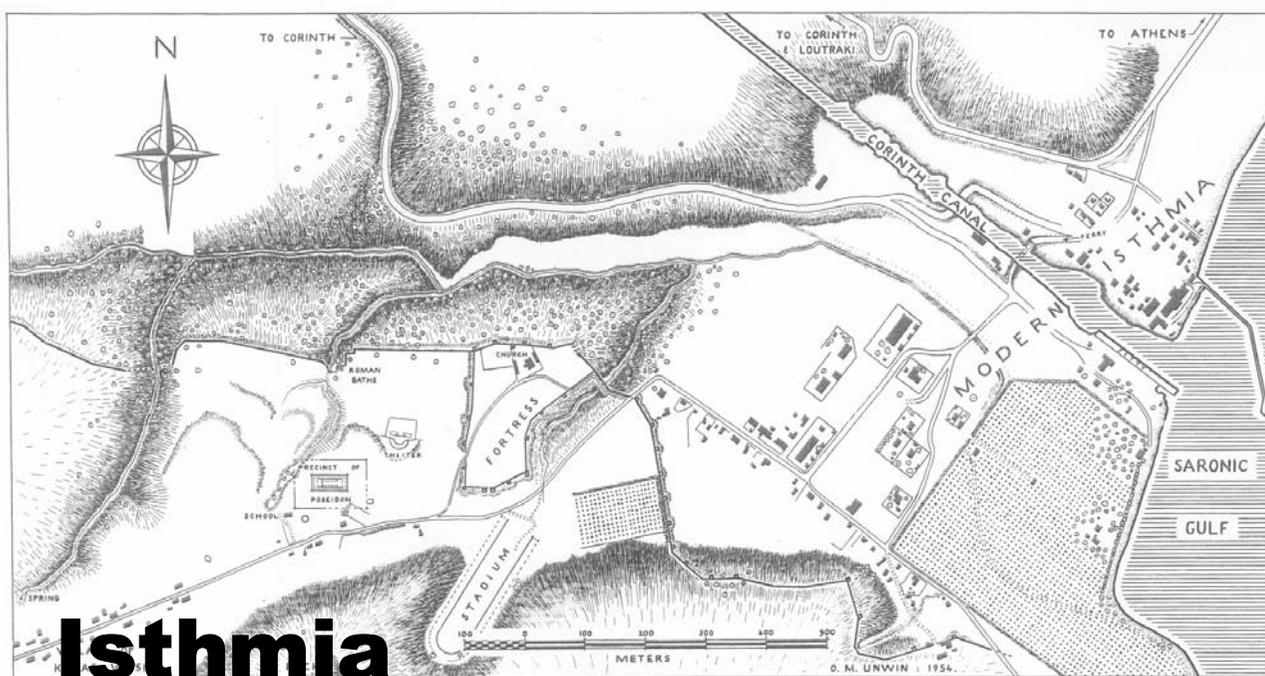


Figure B20 The Theatre at the Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary of Poseidon at *Isthmia*.

(CORINTHIA, PELOPONNESUS)

top left and bottom right from Gebhard (1993a: 84, fig. 3 and 75, fig. 1); centre left from Nielsen (2002: 101, fig. 36); bottom right and top left from Brooner (1973: plates 1 and 51).





Knossos

(IRAKLION, CRETE)

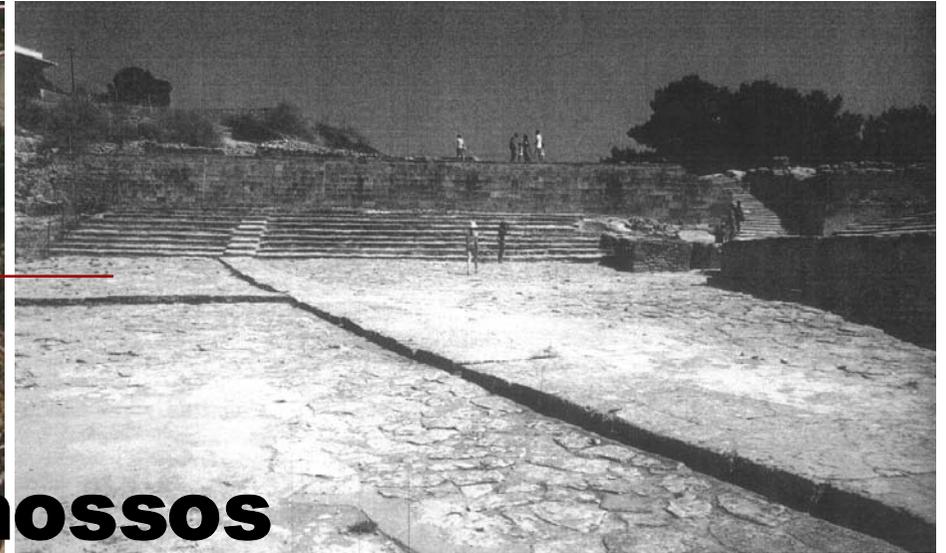


Figure B.21 Theatral areas in the Bronze Age palaces at *Knossos* and *Phaistos* in Crete.

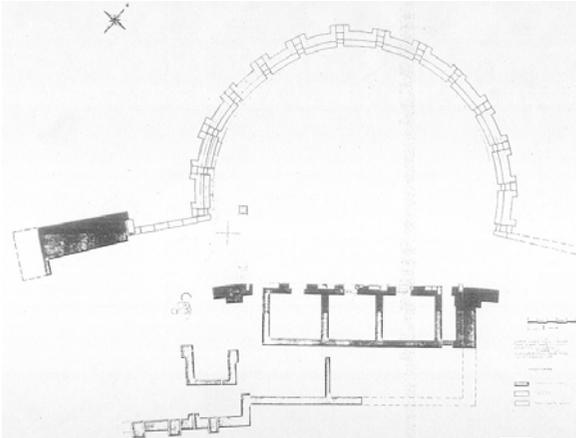
aerial views from Schoder (1967: 119, 73), top right from Nielsen (2000: 110, fig. 4); bottom right from Papadopoulos (1997: 105).



Phaistos

(RETHYMNE, CRETE)

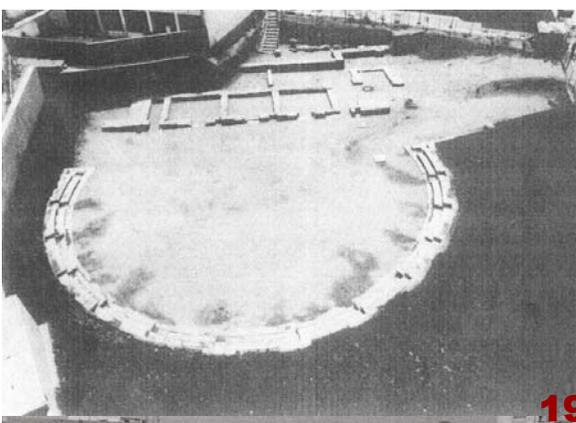




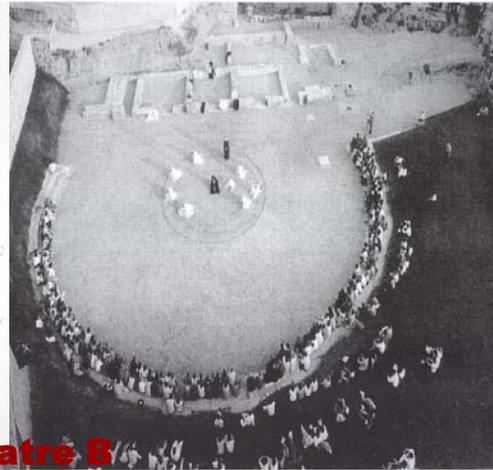
Theatre B



1996



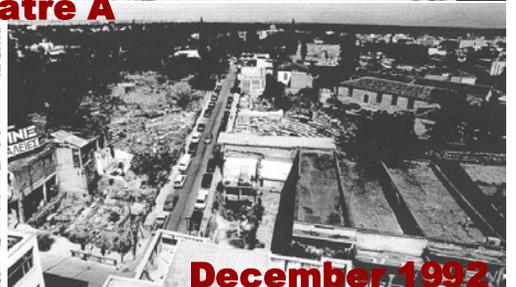
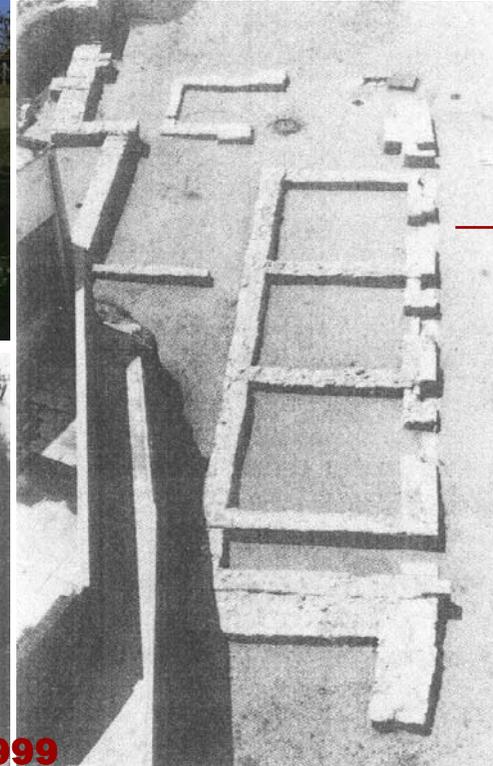
1999



1985



Theatre A



December 1992



1996



1999

Larisa (LARISA, THESSALIA)

Figure B.22 Theatre A and B of Larisa.

all from Katakouta (1999: 8, 9, 13, 14) except top left and third left from Tziafalias (1990: 199, fig. 1; plate 70a); top row second left from Katakouta & Karapanou (1999: 16); left column third from top and second left column second and third from top from Tziafalias (1992: plate 161b; plate 162a&b); and colour photos from AT (1996: 100).



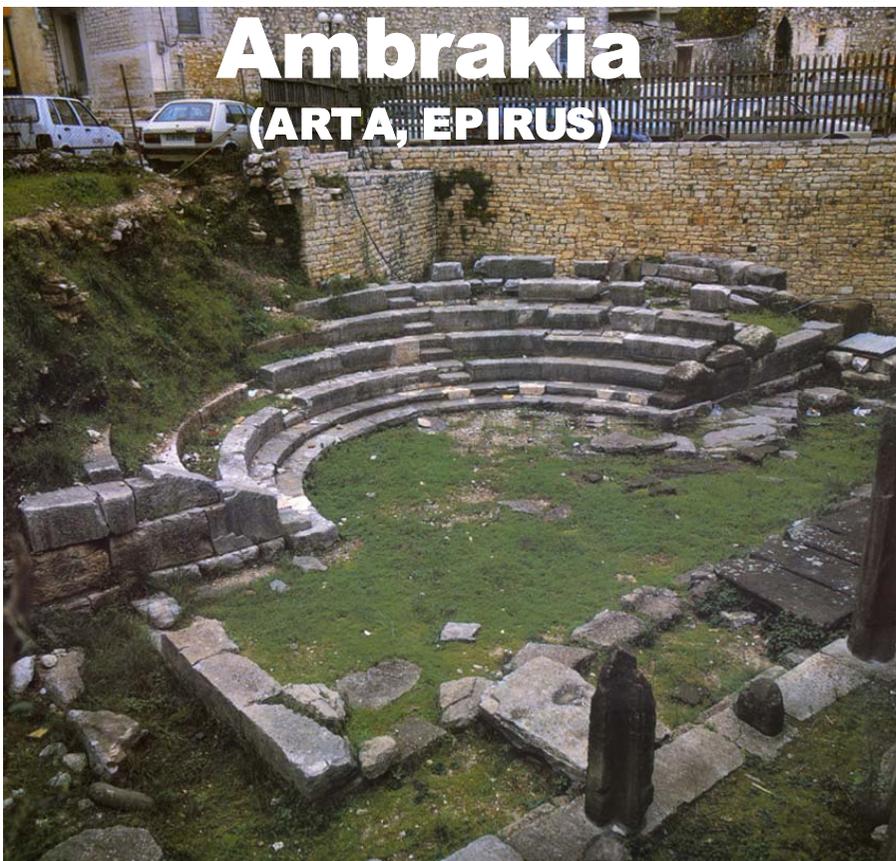
Mantineia

(ARCADIA, PELOPONNESUS)



Eretria

(ERETRIA, EUBOIA)



Ambrakia

(ARTA, EPIRUS)

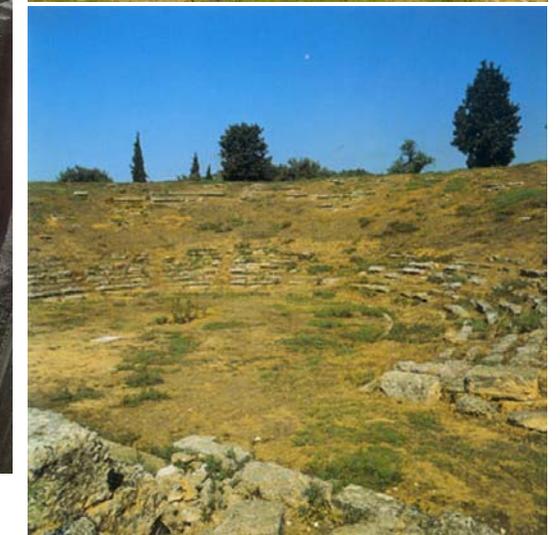
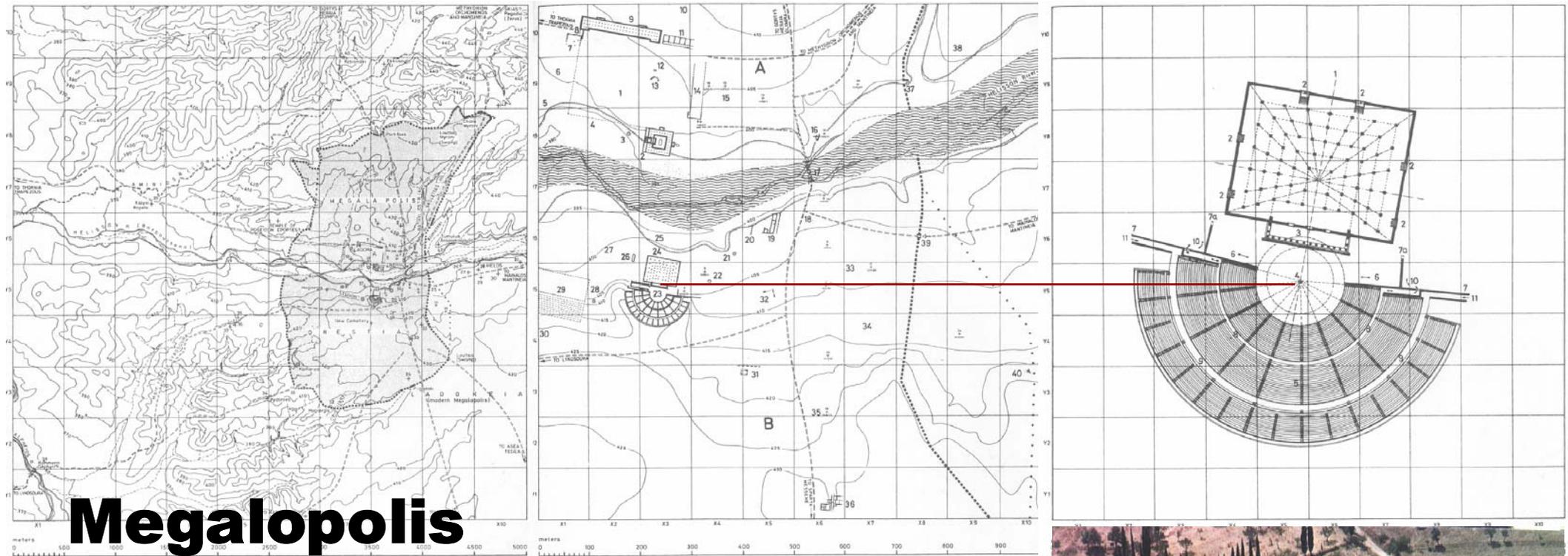


Figure B.23 all from AT (1996) except top two from Schoder (1967: 136, 70)

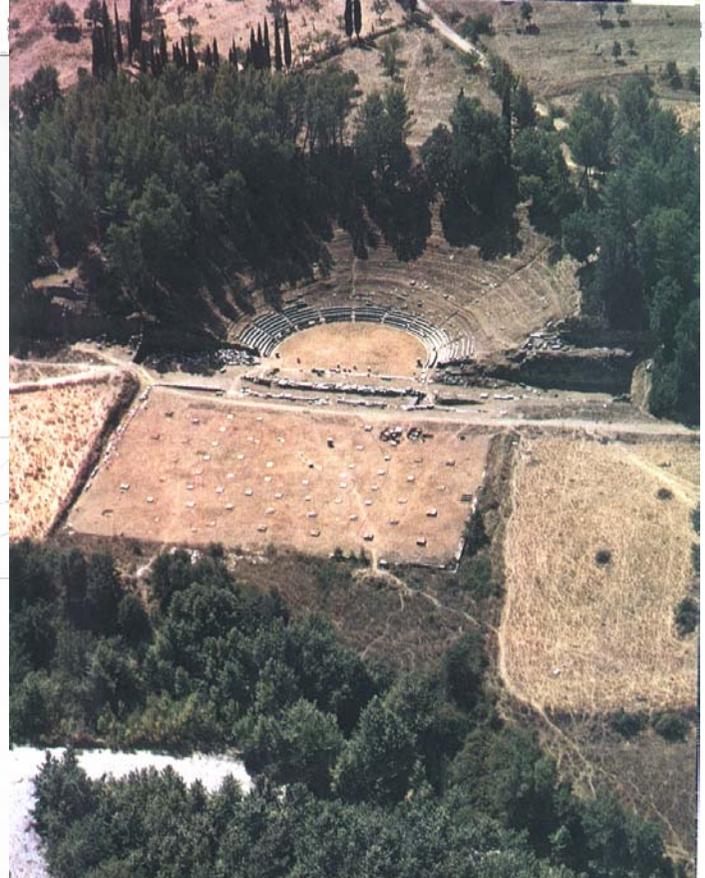
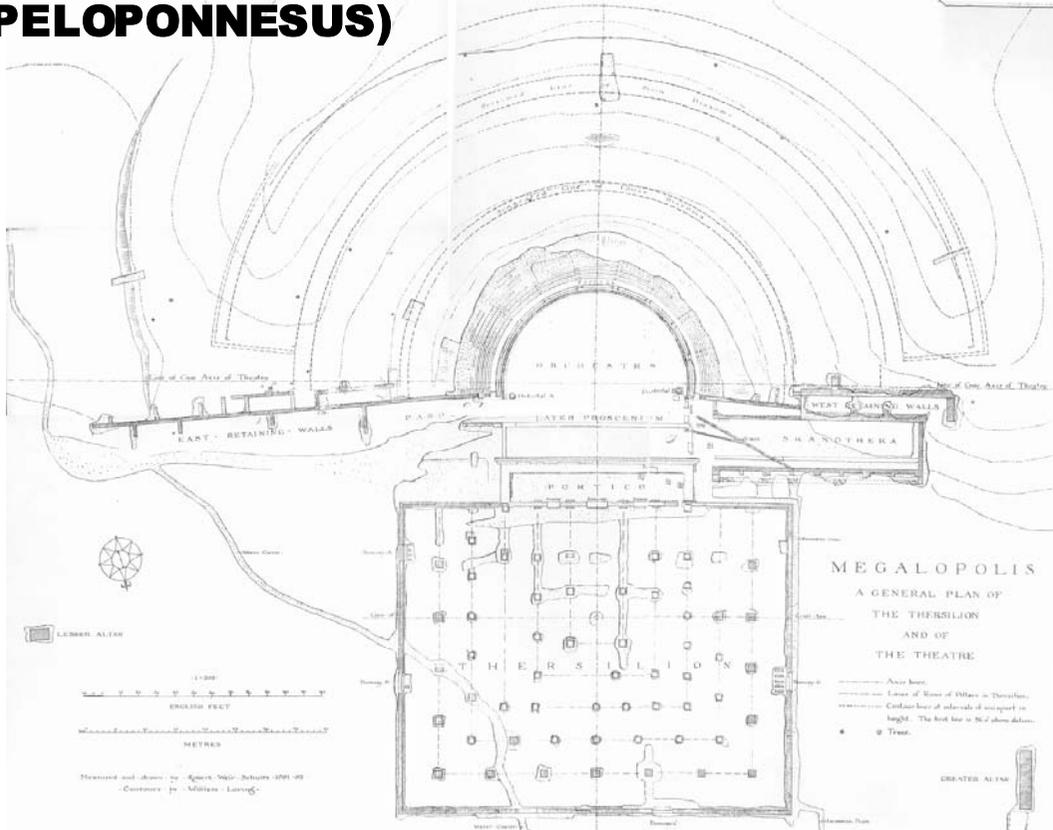


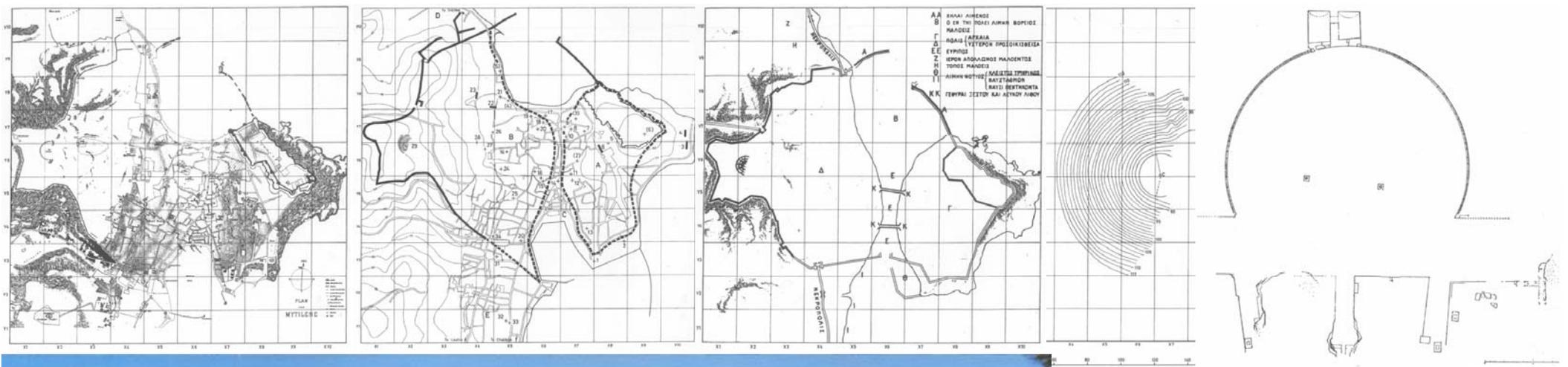
Megalopolis

(ARCADIA, PELOPONNESUS)

Figure B.24 *Megalopolis*, the centre of the Pan-Arkadian Confederacy. Its Thersilion and Theatre.

top row from Petronotis (1973: figs. 6, 7, and 10); bottom left from Gardner *et al.* (1892); bottom right from Schoder (1967: 141).



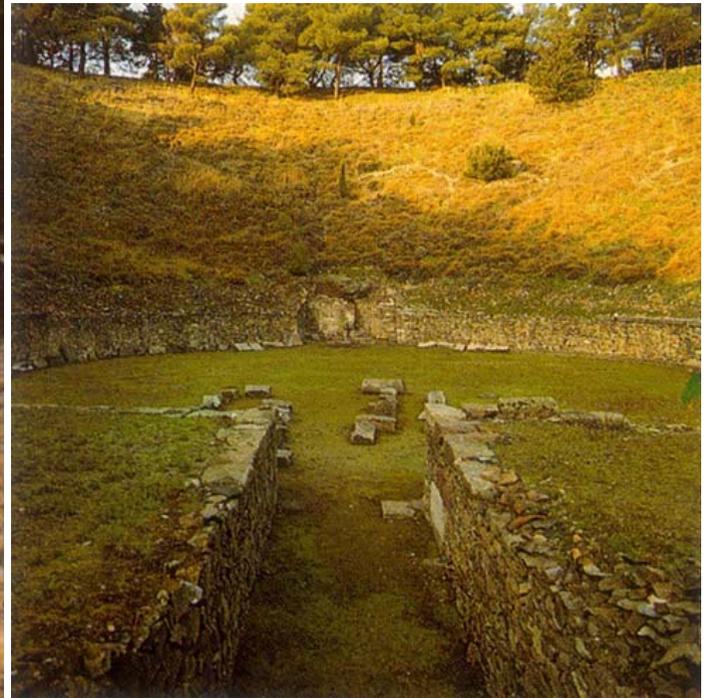


Mytilene

(LESBOS, NE AEGEAN)

Figure B.25 Theatre of *Mytilene*, which is commonly believed to have served as model for the Theatre of Pompey in Rome.

all maps from Kodis (1973: figs. 37, 39, 38, 41); plan from Petrakos (1969: 450); colour photos from AT (1996).



Sicyon (CORINTHIA, PELOPONNESUS)

Figure B27 *Sicyon* and its Theatre.

top row from Faraklas (1971: figs. 31, 32, and 38); bottom left from Schoder (1967: 197); bottom right from AT (1996).

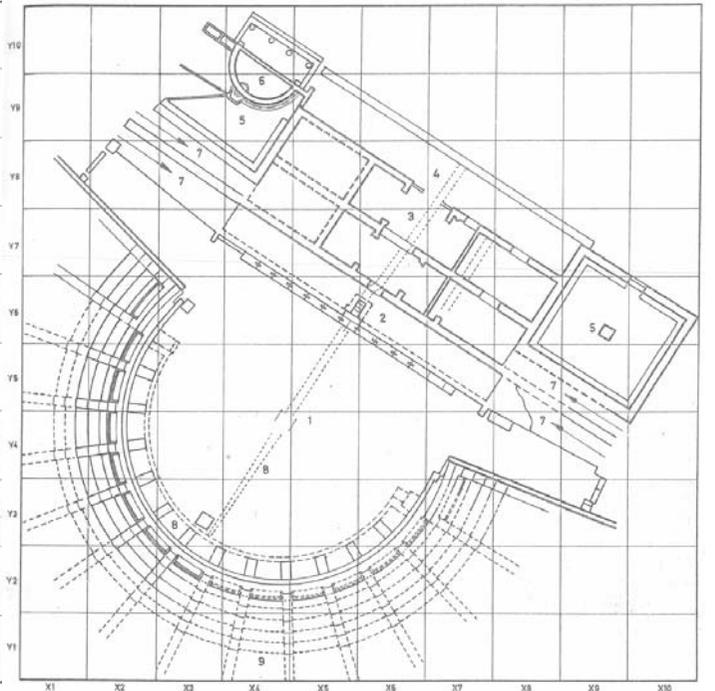
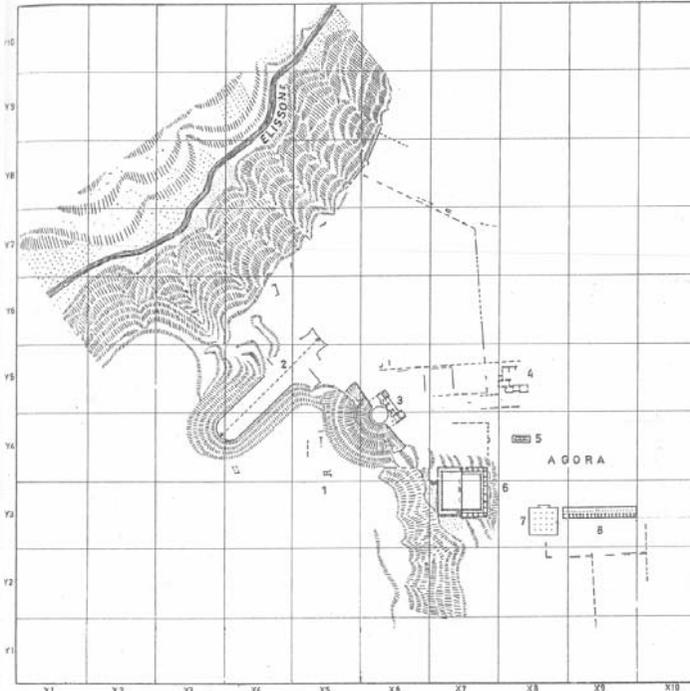
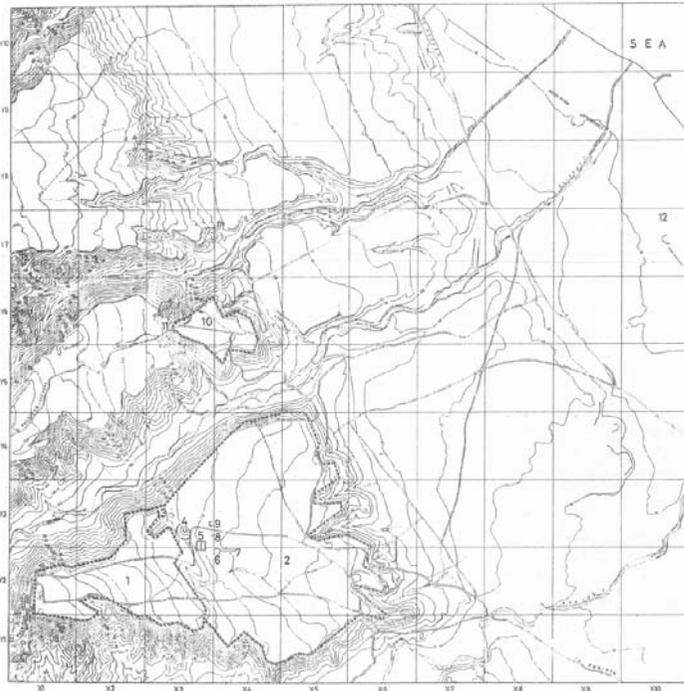
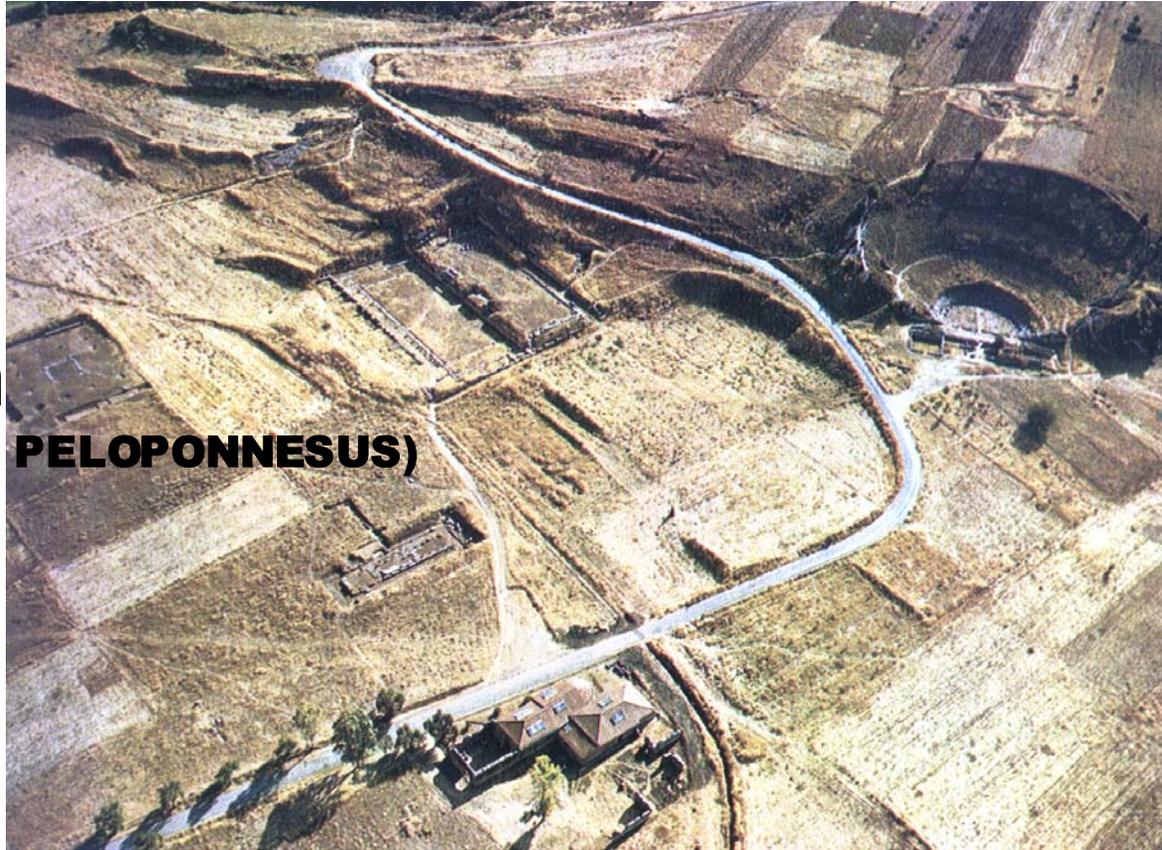
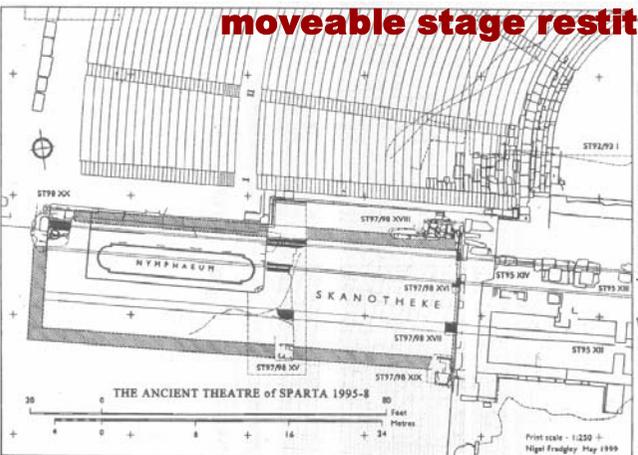
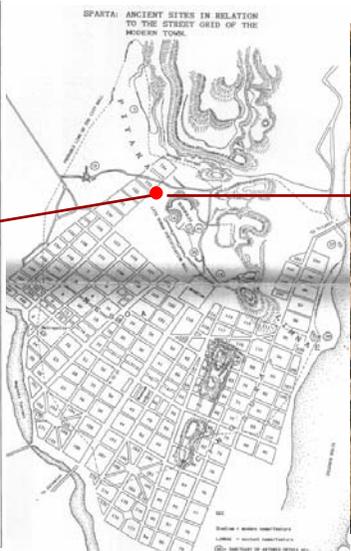
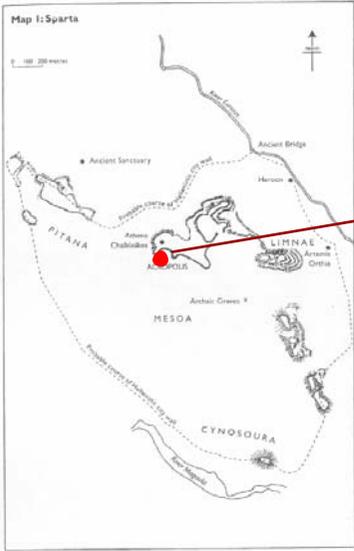
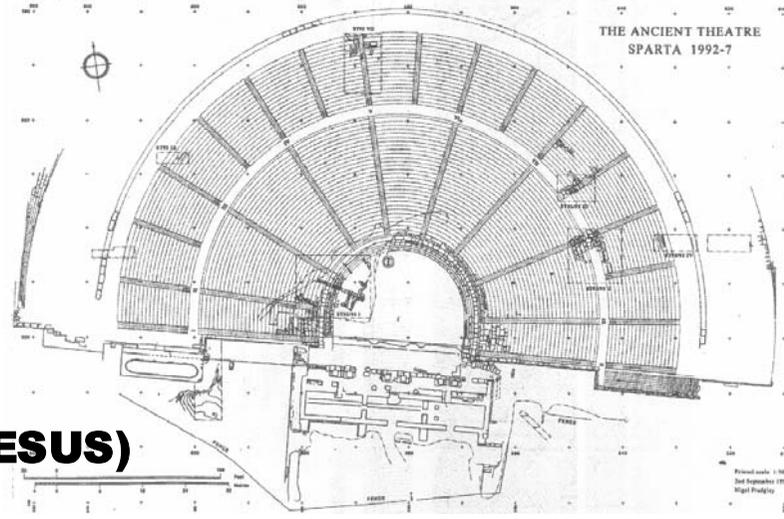


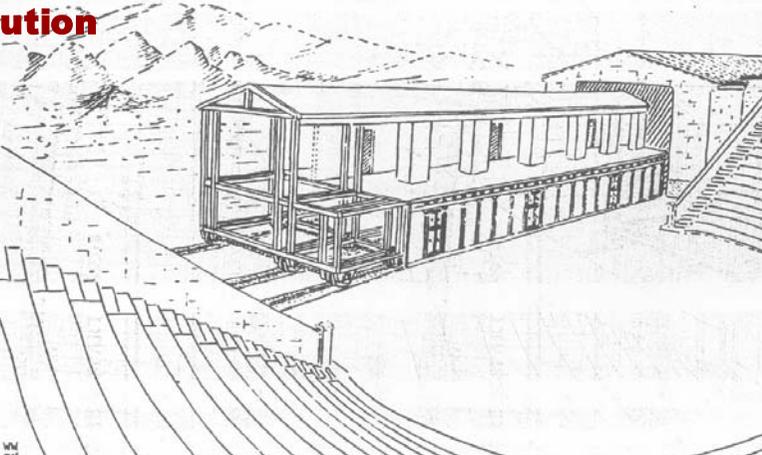
Figure B.28 Theatre of Sparta.

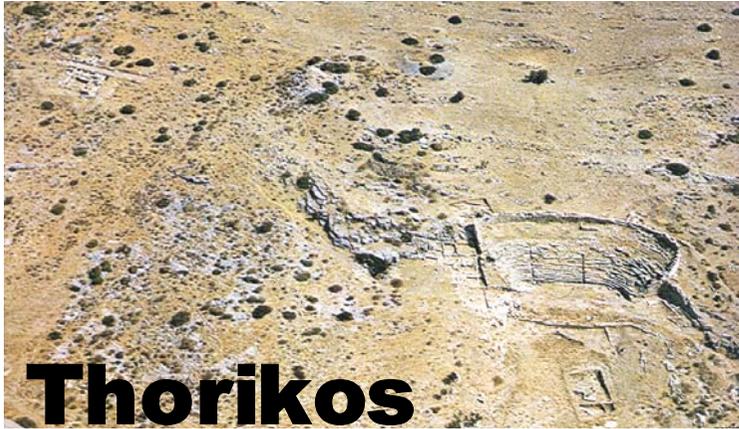
all from Waywell (2002: 249, fig. 2; 251, fig. 3; 252, fig. 4) except left map from Whitby (2002: xvii), right map from Cartledge & Spawforth (1989: 214-5), aerial view from Schoder (1967: 202); top left from GNT0 (1996-98: 164); other colour photos from AT (1996: 148).

Sparta (LACONIA, PELOPONNESUS)

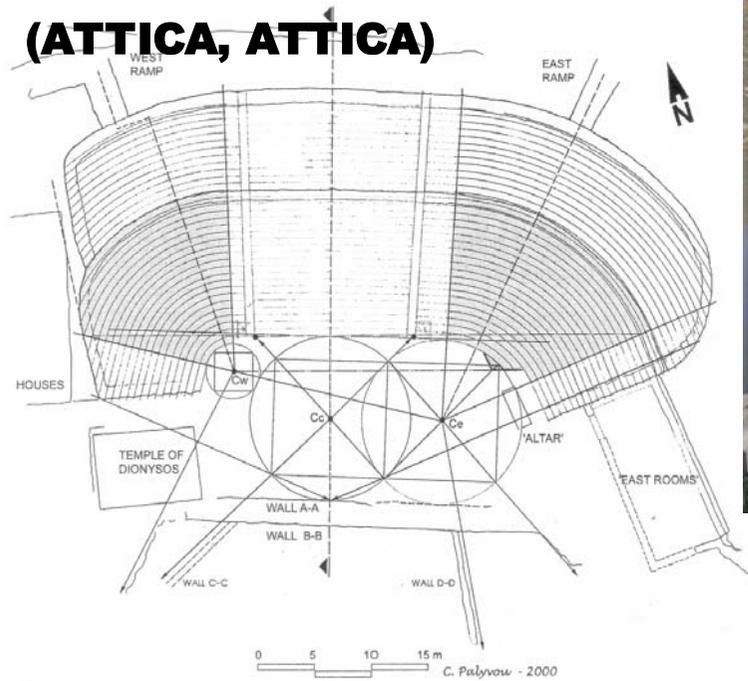


moveable stage restitution

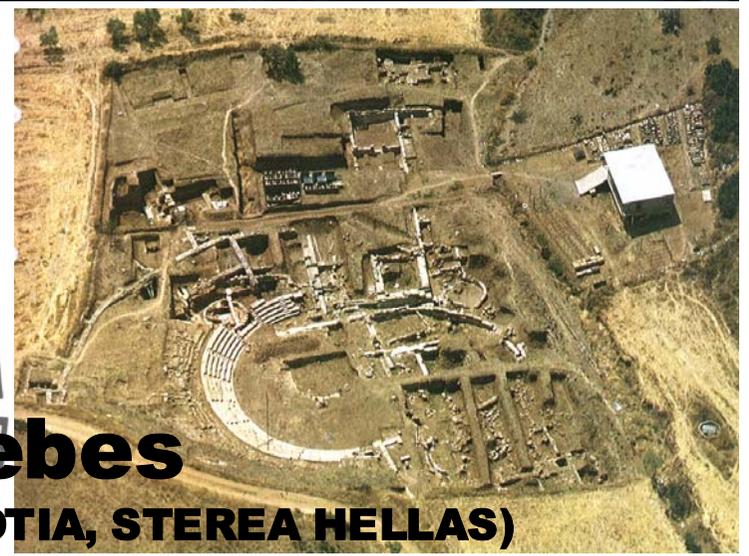
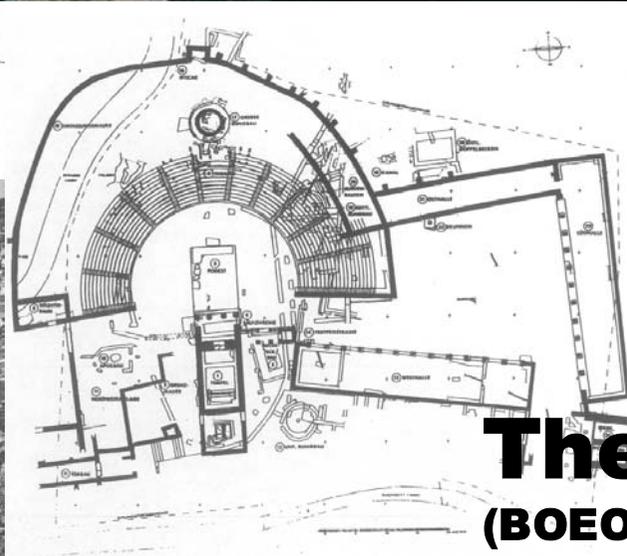




Thorikos (ATTICA, ATTICA)

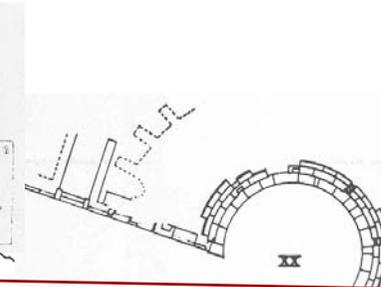
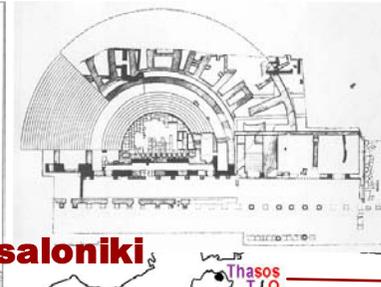


Trachones (ATTICA, ATTICA)



Thebes (BOEOTIA, STEREA HELLAS)

Figure B.29 aerial views from Schoder (1967: 105, 224); top right from AT (1996); centre left from Palyvou (2000: 54, fig. 7); left and centre bottom from Nielsen (2000: 116, fig. 10 and 2002: 134, fig. 61).

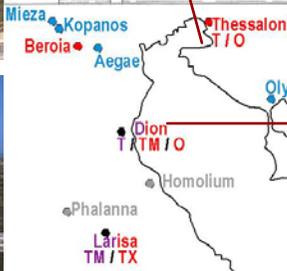


Thessaloniki

Thasos



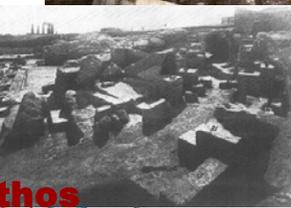
Nicopolis



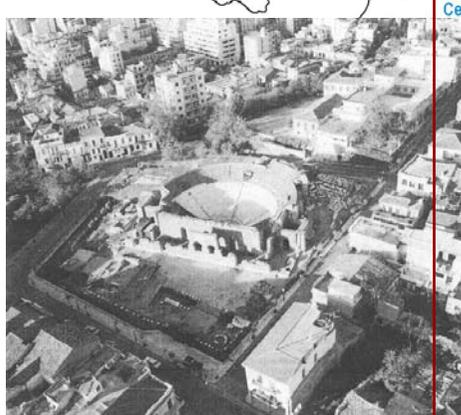
Dion

Figure B.30 Roman period odea in modern Greece.

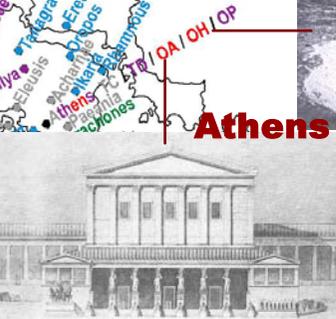
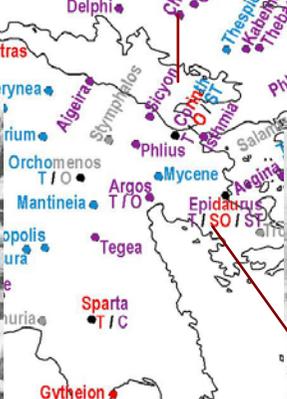
all from Meinel (1980: 565, fig. 12; 566, fig. 14; 567, fig. 16; 570, fig. 22; 597, fig. 73; 609, figs. 97-8; 610, fig. 99; 614, figs. 107-8; 643, figs. 162-3) except Thessaloniki site plan from Vitti (2001: 484); Thasos site plan from Doxiadis (1972: fig. 16); Dion site axonometry from Pandermalis (1997); Epidaurus site plan from Faraklas (1972); Rhodes material from Konstantinopoulos (1986: 241, fig. 266 and plate XLIV); all colour photos from GNTO (1996-98: 64, 81, 86, 108-9; 141, 158); Patras aerial view from



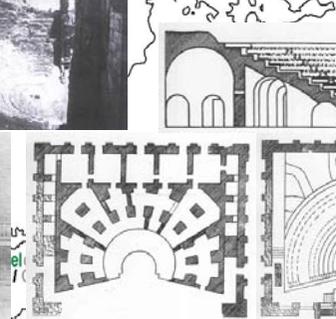
Corinthos



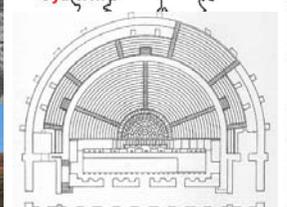
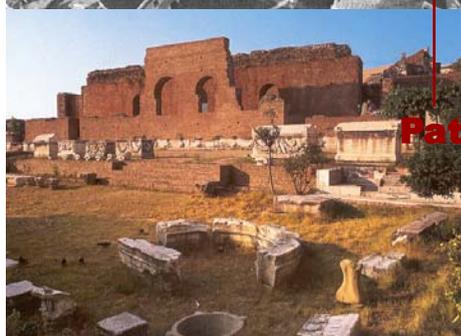
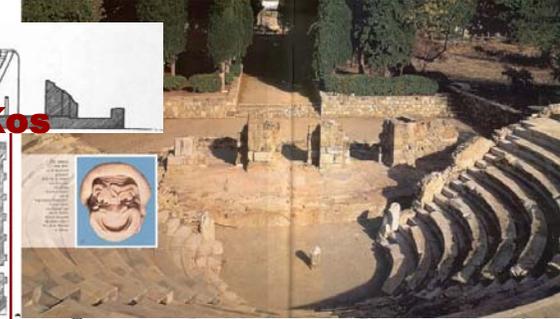
Patras



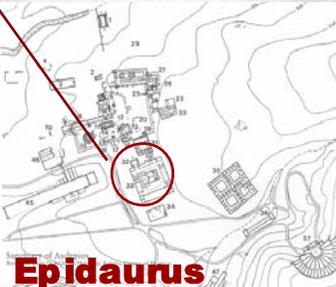
Athens



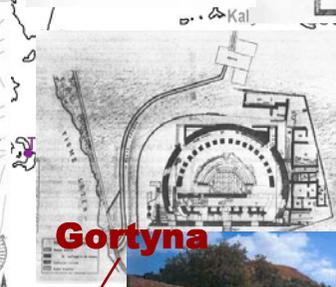
Kos



Epidaurus



Gortyna



Rhodes



FIGURE REFERENCES

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AE – Αρχαιολογική Εφημέρις

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1992-1993	KA•BA Conservation and Evaluation of Historic Works, Ankara	Architect
1991-1992	SANART Association for the Promotion of Visual Arts in Turkey	Coordinator
1990-1991	Yakup Hazan Architecture Workshop, Ankara	Architect
Summer 1987, 1989, 1990	Apollo-Smintheion Temple excavations supervised by Prof. Dr. Coşkun Özgünel, Department of Classical Archaeology, Ankara University	Intern Architecture Student

Teaching Experience (as Research Assistant at METU Department of Architecture)

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2001 – 2002	ARCH 301-302 Architectural Design III-IV	Inst. Berrak Seren and Inst. Erkin Aytaç
1996 – 2000	ARCH 401-402 Architectural Design V-VI	Prof. Dr. Yıldırım Yavuz
1997 Summer	ARCH 190 Summer Practice in Cumalıkızık	METU Department of Architecture
1997 Summer	ARCH 102 Introduction to Architectural Design	Inst. Türel Saranlı

Degrees and Honours

Year	Institution	Award
2005	Society of Architectural Historians	Opler Emerging Scholar Fellowship for Membership
1988-89	Building and Industries Centre, Istanbul	Outstanding Students of Architecture Award

Selected Publications

Aktüre Şiram, Z. 2003. '¡Hagamos Teatro Clásico en Nuestros Teatros Clásicos!' – On the local roots of modern Greco-Roman drama festivals in Greece and Spain', *34th Annual Congress of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, July 2-5, 2003. 500-word abstract published in *Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies Bulletin XXVIII* (1-2, Spring/Fall 2003) 33.

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