

From Hellenistic *Loutron* to Roman *Thermae*: The Romanization of Baths at Eretria

Introduction

Roman Eretria is a recent discovery. Until the end of the 1980s, it was believed that the ancient city no longer thrived under the Roman Empire, but was only inhabited by a handful of fishermen and farmers. The 1972 archaeological guide of Eretria is symptomatic of the ignorance of the latest phase of Eretria at that time, since the presentation of the site's history ends ca. 198 B.C. with the storming of the city by the Roman troops of Flamininus¹.

This ignorance stemmed not only from a lack of interest for the late Hellenistic and Roman occupation of the city, but also from the very nature of this occupation. Indeed, the Roman settlement appears to have been significantly different from that of the Classical period, when the city enclosed by its wall extended from the acropolis to the seashore (Fig. 1). Excavations over the past decades have revealed extensive Roman buildings at the foot of the acropolis where the late settlement retreated.

Unsurprisingly, the main discoveries were made by two specialists of the Roman period: Petros Themelis, who unearthed a monumental public building and houses of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.², and Stephan Schmid, who discovered the temple of the imperial cult and remains of workshops³. These discoveries urged the Swiss School to program extensive excavations in the same sector, in order to explore the centre of the Roman city. As

a result, a tholos bath and a thermal complex of the Early and Middle Roman Empire were unearthed during five seasons⁴, which ended in 2014.

The Roman town of Eretria does not exhibit outstanding monuments or dense residential areas as compared to the main centres of Roman Achaia,

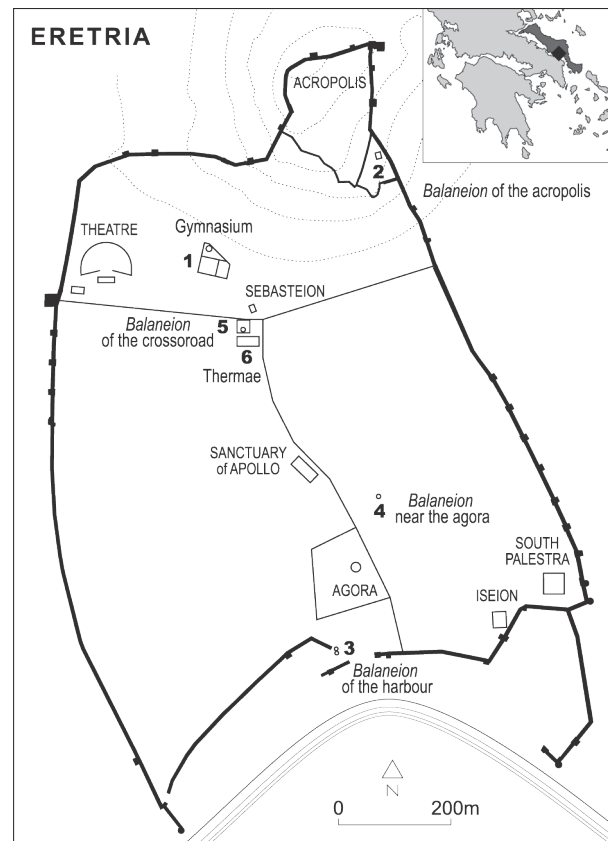


Fig. 1. Archaeological plan of Eretria (ESAG).

yet it offers some interesting study cases allowing us to investigate the transformations of the Greek society, between continuity and change, during these centuries of transition from the late Hellenistic to the Roman imperial period. In this paper, we intend to present the evolution of bathing practices and facilities in Eretria, a relevant and long debated issue to assess the influence of Rome in the provinces⁵ and to discuss briefly the adequacy and limits of the concept of Romanization.

As a preliminary, we will present a brief outline of the Roman settlement of Eretria and its evolution from the 2nd cent. B.C. to its abandonment around the 6th or possibly the 7th cent. A.D. Following this, we will describe the Hellenistic and Roman bathing facilities of the town. Finally, we shall discuss the evolution of bathing facilities and practices in the context of the Romanization of the Greek mainland.

The city plan and its evolution during the Roman period

Compared to the extent of the Classical and Hellenistic city, evidence attests to a severe contraction of the Roman town (Fig. 2). Presence of swampy and brackish zones E and W of the city, whose existence is attested by geological boreholes and ancient sources⁶, certainly contributed to limit the occupation in lowlands in favour of the lower slopes of the acropolis, where dwelling houses possibly from the Roman times developed.

The focus of the Roman occupation is located at the crossroads of the two main axes of the ancient city, an E-W road connecting Chalkis to the south of Euboea and a N-S street stretching from the acropolis to the harbour. The close proximity of the gymnasium, just a hundred metres NW of the crossroad, is probably a second factor explaining

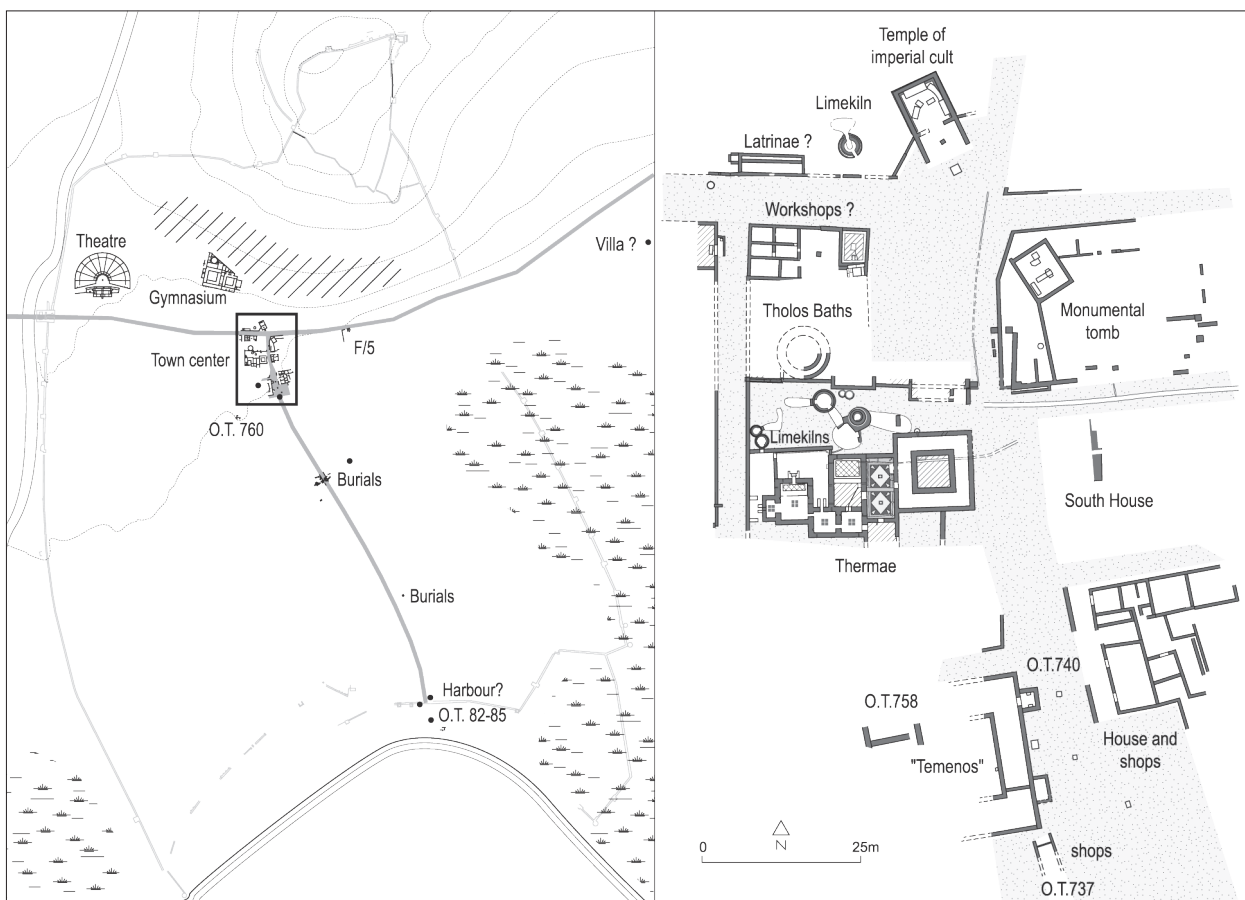


Fig. 2. Phase plan of Roman Eretria and detail plan of the town centre (ESAG).

why the town centre moved there in later time, as it became a focus of the social and public life during the late Hellenistic period. There are some hints that the theatre was still in use well into Roman times, as evidenced by a series of rectangular holes cut all around the *euripos* for a temporary wooden installation, probably for the staging of *venationes*⁷.

Excavations by the Greek archaeological Service have also unearthed several structures from the Roman period near the southern shoreline (O.T. 82–85)⁸, which attest, together with the main roads, to the continuing importance of land and maritime communication networks.

The successive phases of growth and contraction in the occupation of Eretria during the centuries under study are difficult to ascertain, since this requires an exhaustive reappraisal of the findings, especially the pottery⁹. Based on archaeological reports and recent published studies on the Roman coins and glass vessels from Eretria, we can nevertheless broadly sketch the evolution in five main stages.

During most of the 2nd cent. B.C., the urban extent and institutions of the city were not significantly different from that of the previous two centuries. Some houses show traces of abandonment, but no quarters of the ancient city seem to be deserted.

The main break in the occupation occurred in the early 1st cent. B.C. Extensive destruction layers have been discovered in several parts of the city, which have been attributed to Sulla's military campaign in Euboea¹⁰. According to Strabo (10. 18–11), Eretria was still the second main town in Euboea of his age, but archaeological evidence shows a severe contraction of the settlement during the 1st cent. B.C., with several rich *intra-muros* burials along the main axis¹¹, whereas the main festivals and sanctuaries of the ancient polis seem to have been discontinued¹².

The resumption of construction works started sometime around the turn of the century, when the temple of the imperial cult¹³ was erected at the crossroads together with industrial and bathing fa-

cilities to the W and to the E along the main road¹⁴. The Hellenistic gymnasium remained in use during the 1st cent. A.D. and possibly later¹⁵.

Sometime in the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D., another building program developed south alongside the main axis: a monumental public building whose function remains unknown was built as well as shops and houses¹⁶. A Roman bath and several limekilns directly adjacent to the N complemented this new layout¹⁷. This flourishing period lasted until the mid-3rd cent. A.D., when it was perhaps disrupted by the raids of the Germanic tribes.

Little is known about the following and last phase of occupation. It is mainly evidenced by several burials along the main roads as well as by two pottery kilns from the late 4th cent. A.D.¹⁸. They are few sporadic finds, most of which are of funerary nature, from the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., after which there was no more settlement in Eretria until modern times¹⁹.

Bathing facilities and practices

A series of bathing facilities has been discovered at Eretria, dating from the Hellenistic to the Imperial periods (Fig.1). It offers a rich insight into half a millennium of history of bathing practices and their related infrastructures. During the Hellenistic period, three different kinds of bathing practices are attested at Eretria: shower bath with cold water drawn from large basins on a stand, hipbaths with hot water, and steam bath.

The gymnasium

The gymnasium was built at the end of the 4th cent. B.C. on the first slope of the acropolis (Figs. 1.1 and 3.1)²⁰. It contained an early Hellenistic *loutron* with a series of seven interconnected stone basins supplied by a freshwater canalisation for shower bath. Athletes used to wash their bodies by sprinkling cold water drawn from these basins. During the Late Hellenistic period, an adjoining space to the S

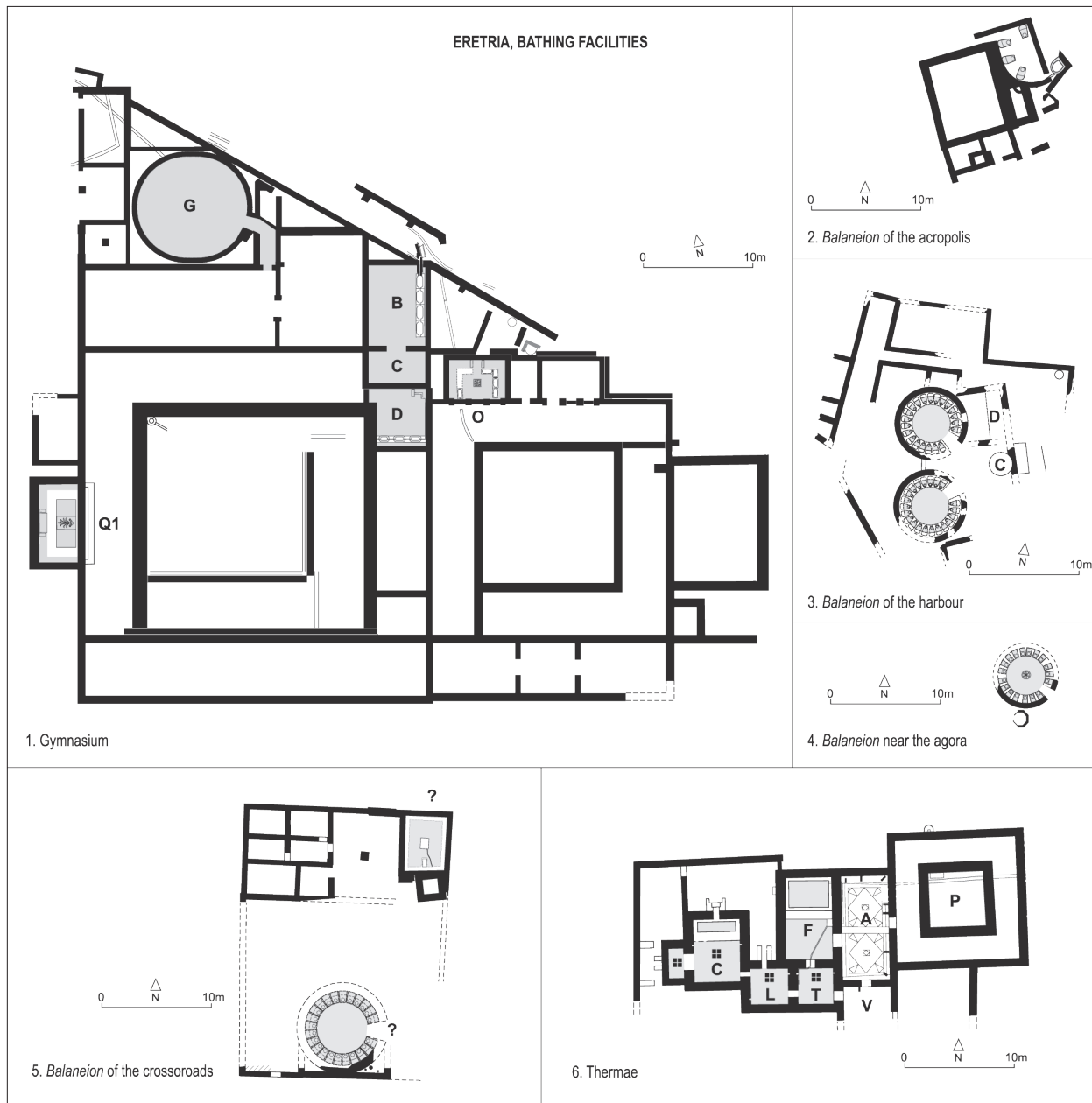


Fig. 3. Plans of the bathing facilities at Eretria: Hellenistic to Roman periods (ESAG).

completed the facilities with three stone basins embedded in the floor for foot baths (*loutron* B–C–D).

At the same time, two *exedrae* (O and Q1) opening on the gallery of the courtyard were added to offer bathing facilities. They both share the same plan and features: a mosaic floor and a bench along three sides, interrupted in the axis of the rear wall by a freestanding structure, probably a basin (Fig. 4). The water flowed from it into a series of stone

basins embedded in the floor in front of the bench. The layout of these two 'bathing *exedrae*' is reminiscent of the *loutron* and they were probably used for shower and foot baths with cold water. They find no close parallel in Greek architecture.

No evidence of heating facilities has been observed in these bathing spaces, yet the gymnasium also provided a steam room. It consisted of a vast near-circular room of some 10 meters in diameter



Fig. 4. *Gymnasium, bathing exedra O; end of the 4th cent. B.C. (ESAG).*

with a floor made of terracotta tiles and probably covered by a dome-shaped roof (G). There is no hypocaust system, but traces of burning at the centre have been interpreted as evidence for a heating system²¹. The absence of any water supply or drainage system indicates that this space was a dry steam room or *pyriaterion*, related to a kind of therapeutic bathing.

The tholos baths

Whereas bathing facilities in gymnasia were essentially related to physical exercises and intended to cleanse with cold water, there were also public buildings with warm/tepid pools/bathing facilities used for relaxing purposes, called *balaneia*²². Four of such buildings are known in Eretria, located throughout the city and dated from the 3rd cent. B.C. (or possibly earlier) to the 1st cent. A.D. (or possibly later). All of them featured hip-bathtubs intended for shower and not for immersion baths, as in the *exedrae* of the gymnasium, except that the water was previously warmed. The most common type is the circular *tholos* bath, well attested throughout the Greek world from South Italy to Egypt²³, but other layouts are also attested. Such is the case of the 2nd cent. B.C. small *balaneion* of the acropolis at Eretria, where at least four hip-bathtubs fitted in an irregularly shaped room associated with a large

cistern, which probably served as a public bath for the inhabitants of the acropolis during the late Hellenistic period (Figs. 1.2, 3.2, and 5).

Among the three *tholos* baths discovered at Eretria, the *balaneion* of the Harbour, first excavated by Konstantinos Kourouniotis in 1900 and then again by Vassileios Petrakos in 1961, is the best known (Figs. 1.3, 3.3 and 6)²⁴. It includes two circular rooms of about 6.4 m. in diameter equipped with twenty-one hip-bathtubs each and the scanty remains of a small round room (C), which probably featured a semi-underground heating system. An adjacent room (D) paved with limestone slabs might have provided a water basin. Unfortunately, no dating material has been preserved. Its construction is generally placed around 300 B.C., but a later date is equally plausible. It remained in use until at least the late Hellenistic period.

More recently, rescue excavation by the Archaeological Service has brought to light a second *tholos* bath building located NE of the agora (Figs. 1.4 and 3.4)²⁵. Only part of the tholos has been excavated, the diameter of which can be estimated to about 5 m. Nine hip-bathtubs were recovered, the number of which originally amounted to twenty. It was floored with a pebble mosaic with a rosette



Fig. 5. *Balaneion of the acropolis equipped with 4 hip-bathtubs and a cistern; 2nd cent. B.C. (Archaeological Society at Athens, no. 4014).*



Fig. 6. *Balaneion* of the harbour with two *tholos* baths; end of the 4th cent. B.C.? (Archaeological Society at Athens, no. 4020).

at its centre. Nothing is known of the surrounding facilities, in particular the heating system. The few finds associated with the building ranges from the end of the 5th cent. B.C. to the mid-3rd cent. B.C., but a later chronology in the Hellenistic period seems more likely.

None of these Hellenistic *tholos* baths included a heating system through hypocaust flooring and *tubuli* walls, but the water used for shower baths was probably heated in an adjoining space, whilst the *tholoi* themselves were warmed up with portable braziers which left no evidence.

The transitional tholos bath of the crossroad

A third *tholos* bath was discovered in 2014 during the last season of excavations in a large sector south of the main crossroad²⁶. This bathing facility, however, differs from the Hellenistic buildings we have seen by its chronology and layout (Figs. 1.5 and 3.5).

Its construction can be securely dated after the middle of the 1st cent. B.C. and it probably remained in use during most of the 1st cent. A.D.²⁷. This is a rather late chronology for this kind of bathing



Fig. 7. *Balaneion* of the crossroads; end of the 1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D. (ESAG).



Fig. 8. Basin N of the balneion of the crossroads; 1st–2nd cent. A.D. (ESAG).

facilities, since the latest tholos baths are usually dated from the 2nd cent. B.C., although Egypt does provide some similarly late occurrences. The tholos bath located at the crossroads in Eretria attests to the persistence of this type of Greek-styled bathing facilities during the early Roman period. Similar cases were also documented in Thessaloniki and Cyrene, where Hellenistic tholos baths were in use throughout the 1st cent. A.D.²⁸

Only a small part of the tholos has been unearthed, but the number of hip-bathtubs can be reconstructed to 22 or 24, carefully built around a circular room of 8.5 m. in diameter. An adjacent space

features a kind of hypocaust system, made of two *tubuli* and a stone pillar dressed vertically (Fig. 7). The exiguity of the trench does not allow us to understand how these two rooms functioned together.

This tholos bath is part of a larger complex featuring basins and water facilities that was interpreted as a workshop for textile-dyeing industry by excavator S.G. Schmid in the late 1990s (Fig. 2)²⁹. However, with the evidence of a nearby contemporary tholos bath, we are inclined to reinterpret these structures as part of a single bathing complex. The partial excavation of this building makes it difficult to apprehend the organisation and functioning of the different spaces, yet it is tempting to identify the large waterproof basin as a cold-water pool for immersion bath (Fig. 8)³⁰.

The bathing complex at the crossroads stands as a milestone in the evolution of public baths, between the Greek-style baths of the Hellenistic period and the so-called Roman-style hypocaust *thermae*³¹.

The thermae of the Middle Roman Empire

Shortly after the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D., at a time when neither the gymnasium nor the nearby *tholos* bath were in use, the Eretrians built a new bathing facility. This construction coincides with the city's last period of prosperity, when Eretria struck a final series of bronze coins under Emperor



Fig. 9. Hypocaust *thermae*, view of the vestibulum (V), apodyterium (A), frigidarium (F) and tepidarium (T); late 2nd–mid-3rd cent. A.D. (ESAG).

Commodus after more than two centuries of interruption³². The *thermae* remained in use until the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D. A hoard of 201 *antoniniani* minted between 219 and 254 A.D., found in the wastewater canalisation of the bath, gives a secure *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the building at a time when the region suffered several incursions from Germanic tribes³³.

The small-scale *thermae* of Eretria conform to the traditional layout and include the characteristic rooms of the Roman bathhouses of the Imperial period (Figs. 1.6, 3.6, and 9)³⁴. A vestibule gave access from the S to the *apodyterium*, equipped with a marble bench. From this vast hall, decorated with a bichrome mosaic of pebbles and marble chips³⁵, the bathers entered the bathing sequence. Although the first room they accessed after leaving the dressing room is the *frigidarium*, it is normally the end of the bathing sequence. The users would go through it without a stop or, if needed, they could pour cold water drawn from a *labrum* for a quick wash. They then proceeded through two poorly preserved hypocausted rooms, which can be identified as the *tepidarium* and possibly the *laconicum*, a dry sweating room, directly heated by a *praefurnium*. From there a door opened into the *caldarium*, which featured two quadrangular bathing places, the *alvei*, directly heated by their *praefurnia*, where the bathers could partially immerse themselves. After immersion in hot water, the bathers would retrace their path back to the *frigidarium* to enter the *piscina*, a stepped pool for a cold plunge-bath, in order to benefit from the healthy thermal shock. Once the bathing sequence was over, the bathers could eventually access a small porticoed courtyard accessible from the dressing room.

In a later phase, several facilities were remodelled: the cold pool of the *frigidarium* was downsized, the hypocaust of the *tepidarium* was filled and one of the two *praefurnia* of the *caldarium* was closed. These works were in all likelihood undertaken to adjust the water and fuel consumption to the attendance rate of the baths, which was apparently

in decline in the first half of the 3rd cent. A.D. (unless the *thermae* were oversized since the outset).

The hypocaust *thermae* from Eretria are characteristic of the so-called Roman-style baths, where a specific bathing sequence based on a subtle variation in temperatures and moisture was made possible by a sophisticated heating system. It has often been assumed that the adoption of hypocaust *thermae* all around the Mediterranean was a landmark of Romanization. What is true for many provinces where no earlier bathing traditions existed can be questioned in the Hellenic world, where sophisticated bathing facilities were widespread since the 4th cent. B.C.

The Romanization of public baths at Eretria

From the Hellenistic *loutron* to the Roman *thermae*, there are significant changes in the architecture and practices related to public bathing: originally conceived as individual shower bath related to athletic activities, it essentially evolved into collective immersion baths for leisure. As such, from the late 2nd cent. A.D. the Eretrians had the same bathing practices and facilities as a great number of communities in the provinces. They also worshiped the Roman Emperors alike³⁶ and soon they would become Roman citizens *de jure*. Hence, they shared several cultural concepts and practices by which Romans identified themselves. This is but one ending of the story yet to be continued, which does not explain how this *Romanitas* was shaped and how it affected in the long term the communities and individuals that lived within (or outside) the boundaries of the Roman Empire. These issues are encapsulated in the notion of Romanization, which is essentially about hegemony and acculturation, universal and constitutive processes whose changing outcomes can be seen at multiple levels in both interacting cultures³⁷. Approaching the Greek society of the first centuries A.D. through the lens of Romanization is enlightening, for it offers a glimpse into the complexity of the processes at stake, and the very nature of *Romanitas* to begin with.

Rome was from the outset a truly acculturated society, for it developed at the intersection of Italic and Greek cultures, and then borrowed traits and commodities of other cultures as it was expanding. Hybridity was a major component of its own culture³⁸, and the Roman *thermae* and their related bathing practices are an illustration of it. Their origin is intimately rooted in the progressive transformation of gymnasia of the Greek cities of Campania into bathing complexes³⁹. The development of heated immersion pools in the cities of Sicily was also influential, whereas the Greek mainland space also experimented heating facilities in tholos baths as early as the beginning of the Hellenistic period and a century later in gymnasia⁴⁰. The hypocaust *thermae* were therefore rooted in the Greek tradition, before they evolved to become a salient feature of the *Romanitas*.

How did the Eretrians adapt under the Roman rule? The city was taken by the legions of Flaminius in 198 B.C. and was probably sacked by Sulla's troops in 86 B.C. However, no evidence of a Roman influence is perceptible during the Late Republic and the Early Principate, except for the introduction of the imperial cult. One could argue, however, that it was not a Roman practice *per se*, but the actualisation of the earlier Greek practice of *isotheoi timai* previously given to Hellenistic kings and to Roman generals. The institution of the gymnasium was still thriving in the 1st cent. A.D., as evidenced by several inscriptions and sculptures, whereas the bath of the crossroad completed the bathing practice of the gymnasium, with improved heating facilities and probably an immersion pool for collective bathing, which were in fashion in the western Mediterranean. As far as material culture is concerned, Italian pottery was imported to Eretria, but it amounted to a small fraction of the whole assemblage, which conserved the Aegean-style repertoire⁴¹.

The second half of the 2nd cent. A.D. in Eretria testifies to a different picture, not only because hypocaust *thermae* were built, but maybe more significantly because the gymnasium, which was con-

stitutive of Greek identity, was probably abandoned at that time. As elsewhere in Greece, the edifice in Eretria was not 'romanized'⁴², because the ephebic institution from which it stemmed was in decline.

Are these changes a testimony of the Romanization of the Eretrian society or are they merely evidence of a modernization of infrastructures not affecting traditional behaviours? Put this way, the terms of the question do not help clarifying the issue. First, because the modernization of communities within or outside the Roman Empire has often been related to the process of Romanization⁴³. Second, how significantly different was the bathing experience in the Roman-style baths compared to that in the Greek-style baths of the crossroads remains a matter of appreciation. It is worth noting, however, that the bath of the crossroads was not upgraded with the enhanced technology of the Roman-style baths; it was abandoned in favour of new facilities built right next to it. The construction *ex novo* of the Roman *thermae* together with the nearby *temenos* remodelled the urban space, but we cannot be sure if it notably affected behaviours. Still, old ways were progressively abandoned in the 2nd cent. A.D. (gymnasium, *ephebeia*, Greek-style baths) in favour of architectural innovations and cultural practices that were in vogue throughout the Mediterranean. To be sure, this evolution was neither superficial, nor radical. The Eretrians did not have the impression of leaving behind their Greek traditions to become Roman, although they probably had a sense of taking part to a wider cultural sphere, in which Greek and Roman traditions were intimately intertwined.

The *thermae* of Eretria were no different from other similar facilities built across the provinces, adapting a standardized and modular architecture to local characteristics. They are one of many examples of a cultural globalization of the Mediterranean at that time. Nevertheless, they somehow kept track of their Greek predecessors. Probably not in the small porticoed courtyard which can hardly be compared to the *palaestra* of the gymnasium, but in

some suggestive details: the marble bench supports from the bathing *exedrae* of the gymnasium were reused in the *apodyterium*, and the pebble mosaic of the same room reproduces motives and outdated techniques similar to the mosaic of the *loutron*. This pragmatic recycling of ancient elements is also paralleled on a symbolic level in the last coinage of Eretria under Commodus, which displays the two main gods of the Eretrian pantheon –Apollo play-

ing the lyre, whose sanctuary at Eretria had already been abandoned for two centuries, and Artemis hunting, who was still revered in the Artemision of Amarynthos. Thus, whereas the Eretrians were adopting the Roman-style baths and a generation before they became Roman citizens, they looked for their own heritage to singularize their identity within the globalized Mediterranean of the Roman era.

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NOTES

1. Auberson – Schefold 1972; see also Schmid 1999a. Historical and epigraphical sources referring to Eretria in the Roman period are practically non-existent; see for instance Γιαννακόπουλος 2012, 317–320.
2. Excavations reports were published in *Prakt* 1974, 34–46; 1975, 36–48; 1976, 69–87; 1977, 32–37; 1978, 18–33; 1980, 79–102; 1981, 141–153; 1982, 163–180; 1983, 131–147; 1984, 212–228; 1985, 27–29.
3. Schmid 2001.
4. Excavations reports were published in *AntK* 53, 2010, 141–146; 54, 2011, 135–142; 55, 2012, 140–151; 56, 2013, 90–100; 57, 2014, 116–126.
5. Farrington 1999; Strobel 2012; Wassenhoven 2012, 99–108; Lucore – Trümper 2013; Müller 2014.
6. Ghilardi et al. 2014. About the unhealthy environments at Eretria, see Diog. Laert., *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* 2. 133.
7. Isler – Ferroni 2007, pl. 28.
8. See A. Χωρέμη, *ADelt* B 27, 1972, 347–349; A. Ψάλτη, *ADelt* B 56–59, 2001–2004, 284–285.
9. The Hellenistic and Roman pottery from Eretria is currently being studied in the frame of two PhD theses by Guy Ackermann (Hellenistic period) and Simone Zurbriggen (Roman period); see Ackermann – Duret 2014 and Zurbriggen 2015. On Roman coins, see Spoerri Butcher 2011. On Roman glass vessels, see Demierre Prikhodkine 2005 and 2015a. On Roman lamps, see Bernstein 2014, 177. 189.
10. Schmid 2000. See also Theurillat et al. 2014, 121 n. 31.
11. On the monumental tomb above the House with the Mosaics and two tombs in sarcophagus E of the ancient agora, see recently Dubosson 2010a and Psalti 2010.
12. There is no evidence so far of any cult practice in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros or the Iseion at Eretria after the 1st cent. B.C. However, recent discoveries in the nearby sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia at Amarynthos show a continuity of cult activities until the 3rd cent. A.D. at least (see *AntK* 2018, forthcoming).
13. Schmid 2001 and Dubosson 2010b. The chronology of the Sebasteion remains uncertain: according to the study of the sculpture, some elements are Augustan or Julio-Claudian, whereas other fragments are dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (V. Di Napoli, pers. comm.). The analysis of the coins does not allow for a finer chronology, whereas a mid–4th cent. A.D. coin is taken as *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the temple.
14. On the southern plot interpreted as dyeing facilities, see Schmid 1999b. It was probably in use since the early 1st cent. A.D. until at least the mid–2nd cent. A.D. (supported by the coin analysis, see Spoerri Butcher 2011, 430–434). On a 1st–2nd cent. A.D. limekiln N of the plot, see Demierre Prikhodkine 2002. About the tholos baths S of this plot, see below. Workshop facilities of the late 1st–early 2nd cent. A.D. were also uncovered above the House of the Mosaics (Ducrey et al. 1993, 49–51) and further E (*ADelt* B 22, 1968, 278–283, and B 23, 1969, 235–242).
15. Ackermann et al. 2016. Several sculpture pieces discovered in the gymnasium date to the Early Imperial period, such as the famous statue of Kleonikos, son of Lysandros, now exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, dated to the Augustan era: see Knoepfler 2009, 205. 238–239.
16. See *op. cit.* n. 2 and especially *Prakt* 1976, 72. Only the eastern part of this building, labelled as a “temenos” by

- P. Themelis, has been uncovered. It displays the features of a quadrangular porticoed courtyard 25 m. large and opening on the main road to the E through two small *propylaea*. On the coins and glass vessels of this area, see respectively Spoerri Butcher 2011, 435–441, and Demierre Prikhodkine 2009. Recent excavations S of this plot unearthed Roman shops (Fachard et al. 2010).
17. See *op. cit.* n. 3 and below.
 18. Θέμελης 1975, 40–44 pls. 17–20.
 19. Demierre Prikhodkine 2015b. See also Spoerri Butcher 2011, 458–462, and Gerousi 2010, 84–85. On the rediscovery of the ancient site and the re-foundation of modern Eretria, see Pajor 2010.
 20. Mango 2003; Arndt et al. 2014; Ackermann et al. 2016 and 2017.
 21. A similar feature was discovered in the centre of the *balneion* of the agora at Thessaloniki (Adam-Veleni 2013, 203).
 22. Trümper 2014a.
 23. Fournet – Redon 2010.
 24. Κουρουγιώτης 1900, 55; Β. Πετράκος, ADelt B17, 1963, 147–148.
 25. Κατσάλη – Βουζαρά 2017.
 26. Ackermann et al. 2015, 140–142.
 27. The tholos bath was constructed above a thick destruction layer of the first half of the 1st cent. B.C., which sealed a semi-public building of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Only a handful of ceramics were found in the destruction layer of the tholos bath, which includes an Eastern sigillata B plate with stamp XAPIΣ (V4878, FK883) and an Italic sigillata fragment with a stamp of Camurius (V4879, FK882), both dated around the middle of the 1st cent. A.D.
 28. Adam-Veleni 2013; Fournet et al. 2013, 301 (Thessaloniki) and 306–307 (Cyrene).
 29. See Schmid 1999b. This identification is mainly based on the discovery of purple shells (crushed and intact) nearby two carefully waterproofed rooms. Large quantities of purple shells have been also found in several limekilns N of the Roman baths, which do not point to a manufacture of purple dye, but to consumption in the nearby baths and possibly to by-product recycled for lime production. The production of purple dye was a notoriously smelly process often set aside from residential and public areas, which seems at odd with the direct proximity of the temple of the Imperial cult at Eretria (see Alberti 2008).
 30. The construction mode of this basin (St23), with floor in bricks set on edge and adjoining low walls made of clay bricks, both covered with a thick layer of hydraulic mortar, is identical in all aspects to that of the *piscina* and *solum* of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. *thermae* close by. More generally, this construction technique is encountered in both bathing and industrial facilities.
 31. For the sake of clarity, we designate this complex as *thermae*. The nomenclature of bathing facilities in the Roman Mediterranean is debated: the mentions of *balneum*, *thermae* or *lavacrum* and their derivatives in Latin texts and inscriptions does not allow a strict distinction between different types of buildings. Although *balneum* tends to define small private baths and *thermae* monumental public baths, large public *balnea* as well as modest *thermae* are attested in ancient sources. Moreover, this distinction has no relevance in English. Thus, we refer here to the Roman-style hypocaust baths as *thermae*, whereas the characteristic rooms they included are labelled according to their Latin names (see Rebuffat 1991, 23).
 32. Spoerri Butcher 2007. Also worth a mention is the existence of an Eretrian *δεκάπρωτος* in the early 3rd cent. A.D. (IG XII 9, 295), an institution rarely attested in Greece which here testifies to the ability of members of the local elite to assume liturgies for the city at that time: Samitz 2013.
 33. Spoerri Butcher – Casoli 2012. On Gothic invasions in central Greece in the mid–3rd cent. A.D., see Martin – Gruskova 2014.
 34. See detailed descriptions in excavations reports: AntK 53, 2010, 141–146; 54, 2011, 135–142; 55, 2012, 140–151; 56, 2013, 90–100; 57, 2014, 116–126.
 35. Schmid 2001; Dubosson 2011.
 36. Evangelidis 2008.
 37. We see no reason here not to use the albeit controversial term of Romanization on two accounts: first and precisely because this charged notion has been much debated, it cannot be referred to nowadays without reflexivity and a balanced appreciation of the cultural interactions and negotiations of power between social groups, contrary to the all too friendly concept of globalization. Second, if there is anything defective about Romanization, it is probably not the concept itself, but our understanding of how hegemony and acculturation operate. For a thoughtful appreciation of this much-debated concept in the Hellenic context, see Alcock 1997; more generally, see Woolf 1994; see recently Versluys 2014 and the following responses in the same volume.
 38. Dupont 2002.
 39. Nielsen 1990, 25–36; Yegül 1992, 48–66; Tsiolis 2013, 89–111; Yegül 2013; Blonski 2014, 185–195; Trümper 2014b.
 40. Ginouvès 1962, 135–140. 204–209; Nielsen 1990, 11–12; Trümper 2009, 142–145. 153–154; Fournet – Redon 2013, 239–240.
 41. See also Rotroff 1997 for a similar pattern in Athens.
 42. Cordier 2005; Wassenhoven 2012, 106; Trümper 2015.
 43. “‘Romanisation’ might be compared to ‘westernisation’ or ‘modernisation’, as concepts denoting a progressive movement through which communities and individuals advanced towards a higher level of civilisation or development, by shedding the least desirable features of ‘traditional’ society”: Woolf 1995, 339. See also Sartre 2014.