

GREEK BATHS AND BATHING CULTURE

NEW DISCOVERIES AND APPROACHES

Edited by

Sandra K. Lucore and Monika Trümper



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The Hellenistic *Balaneion* at the Roman Forum of Thessaloniki

Polyxeni Adam-Veleni

Abstract

This paper discusses the important remains of a Greek public bath building (*balaneion*) at the Roman Forum of Thessaloniki, focusing on its design and bathing program, date, as well as historical, urban, and socio-cultural context. The incompletely excavated bath complex offered a sophisticated bathing program common in Late Hellenistic Greece, including a tholos with hip-bathtubs (δ), a round sweat bath with hypocaust (α), a collective pool with hypocaust for hot immersion bathing (γ), and a cold water immersion pool (ζ). Rich finds from Tholos δ and the adjacent double-storied Room ϵ suggest that bathers could, beyond bathing, also enjoy other carnal and intellectual delights: banquets with manifold culinary and liquid pleasures, performances, and discussions, as well as sexual services. The bath complex was used for about three centuries (ca 200 BCE to the Vespasianic period) during which its function and clientele may have changed. Originally located outside the city walls, in the vicinity of the harbor, and in a former industrial area, the building was incorporated into the expanding city in the 2nd century BCE and may then have been attached to a gymnasium. It was still in use when the Romans chose this area for the forum of their city and gradually filled it with public buildings.*

DISCOVERY OF THE BALANEION

Excavations in the southeastern corner of the archaeological site of Thessaloniki's Imperial Forum¹ revealed in 1996-1997 part of a bath building, which is significant for its typology, function, and location within the ancient city (fig. 1).²

The baths were discovered in strata lower than the buildings of the Roman Forum and are much earlier than these. This is attested by the stratigraphic evidence and by the fact that the walls of the later structures were built on top of the walls of the bath building, ignoring its existence and thus destroying parts of it. The manner in which

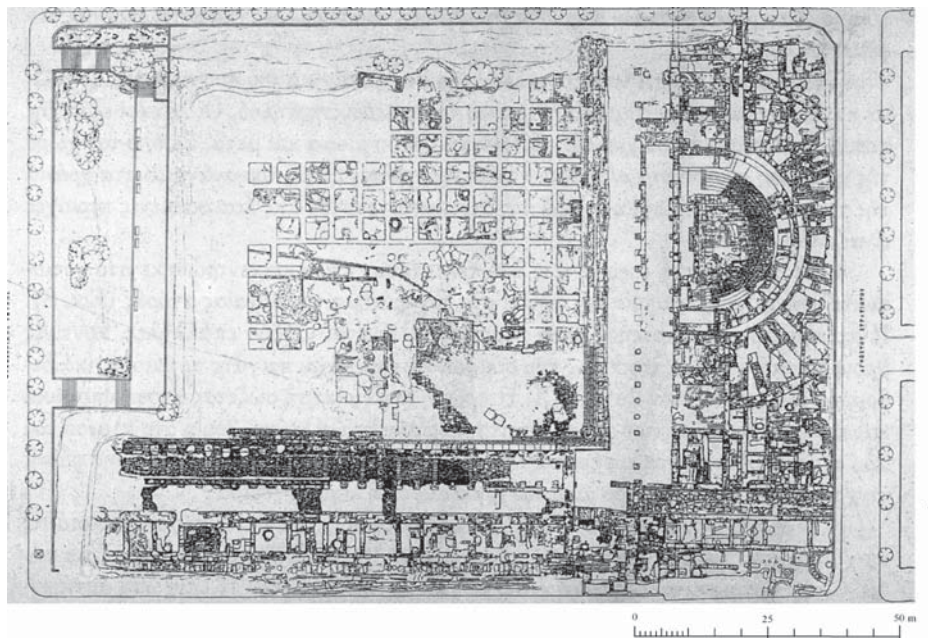


Fig. 1. Thessaloniki, Roman Forum: general plan (Adam-Veleni et al. 1996 (1997) 503 fig. 1).

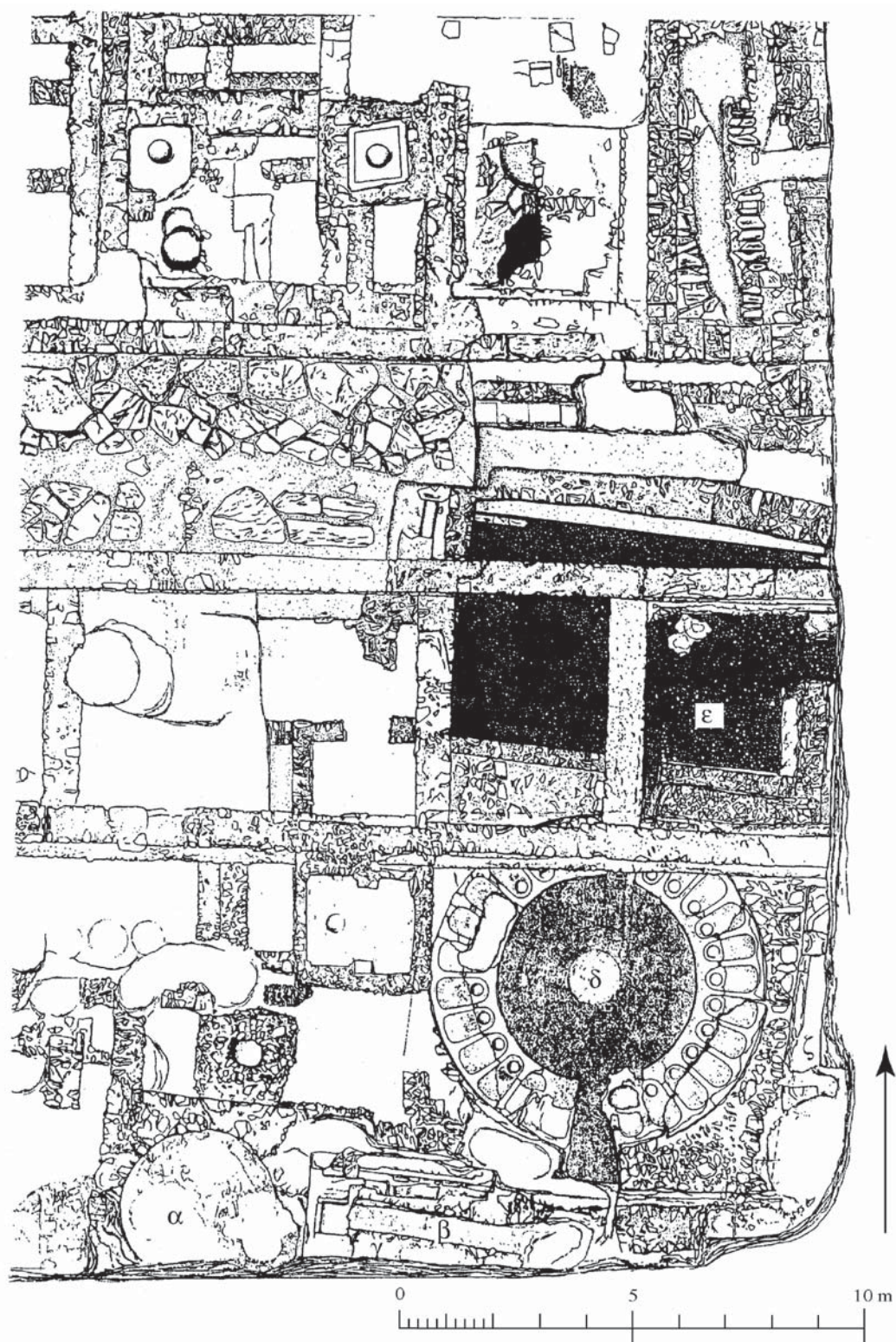


Fig. 2. Thessaloniki, Roman Forum: plan of the southeast corner with the Hellenistic baths (Adam-Veleni 1997 (1999), 352 fig. 1).

the walls of the Imperial era 'cut through' the walls of the baths suggests that the baths were no longer visible in the 2nd century CE when the buildings of the Forum were constructed.

Since the baths are located at the edge of the modern archaeological site, it was not possible to continue excavating beneath the two modern streets that border the site, and thus the baths were not fully revealed. Therefore, the extension and size as well as the design and function of the baths cannot be fully reconstructed. Only some spaces could be completely or partially excavated: two circular Rooms (α , δ), a rectangular Room (ϵ), a heated pool (γ) and a cold water pool (ζ).

DESCRIPTION OF THE BALANEION³

By far the most interesting, the best preserved and the most characteristic space of the bath complex is the large circular Room δ (figs 2-5). It has a diameter of 7.50 m, includes 25 bathtubs, and is inscribed within a trapezoidal shape. A circular construction (1.20 m in diameter) in the center showed traces of burning, suggesting that it may have supported some heating device such as hot stones (fig. 5).

The bathtubs measured 1.10 x 0.45-0.55 m, were made with fired bricks, and were coated with a thick layer of hydraulic mortar.⁴ The form and relatively small size are typical of hip-bathtubs, although the seats that are commonly found in these bathtubs are missing here (figs 5-6). Thus, the bathtubs may have been provided with wooden seats or none at all.

The floor of the bathtubs was originally made of terracotta fragments, laid in hard hydraulic mortar.⁵ In a second phase, the pavement was renewed with small white stone fragments in hydraulic mortar that was rich in crushed tile pieces.⁶ A tightly fitting white marble piece with a hemispherical cavity was inserted at the narrow end of each bathtub, in order to facilitate the collection and evacuation of water, which had to be scooped out by hand (fig. 6).

Room δ was provided with two doors, at the north and south, both of which widened from Room δ to the adjacent Rooms ϵ and γ , respectively (figs 2-4). Room ϵ , measuring 5.35 x 7.60 m, was also connected with a space in the east, which could not be excavated (fig. 7). Its north wall was made of rubble, was almost 0.90 m thick, and included no openings, suggesting that this was the façade of an *insula*. Consequently, the entrance to the bath complex must have been elsewhere.

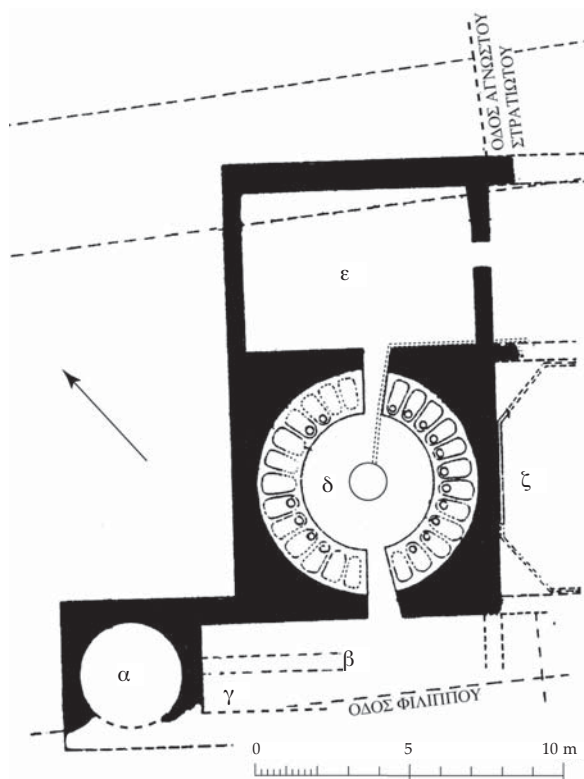


Fig. 3. Thessaloniki, Roman Forum: reconstructed plan of the Hellenistic baths (Adam-Veleni 1997 (1999), 353 fig. 2).

To the north of Room ϵ a narrow ancient street was found, approximately located on the axis of a later street, which was called Philippou Street during the Ottoman era. The ancient street was constructed in the late Hellenistic period and expanded in the mid-Imperial period when it served as one of the major entrances to the Forum. The orientation of the baths and the adjacent northern street corresponds with that of the Hellenistic city, but differs from that of the later Imperial structures in the forum.⁷

Rooms δ and ϵ had similar pavements, made of irregular white marble pieces that were set in gray mortar (fig. 8).⁸ The pavement was laid in concentrically organized zones in Room δ and parallel bands in Room ϵ . In Room δ the pavement as well as the bathtubs rested on a layer of schist slabs that were 0.30 m thick and set into mortar.

The walls of the rooms were constructed of well-aligned brownish-green schist slabs, the characteristic local rock of Thessaloniki, which were bound by mud.⁹ These stones were slightly worked in order to facilitate the connection with adjacent

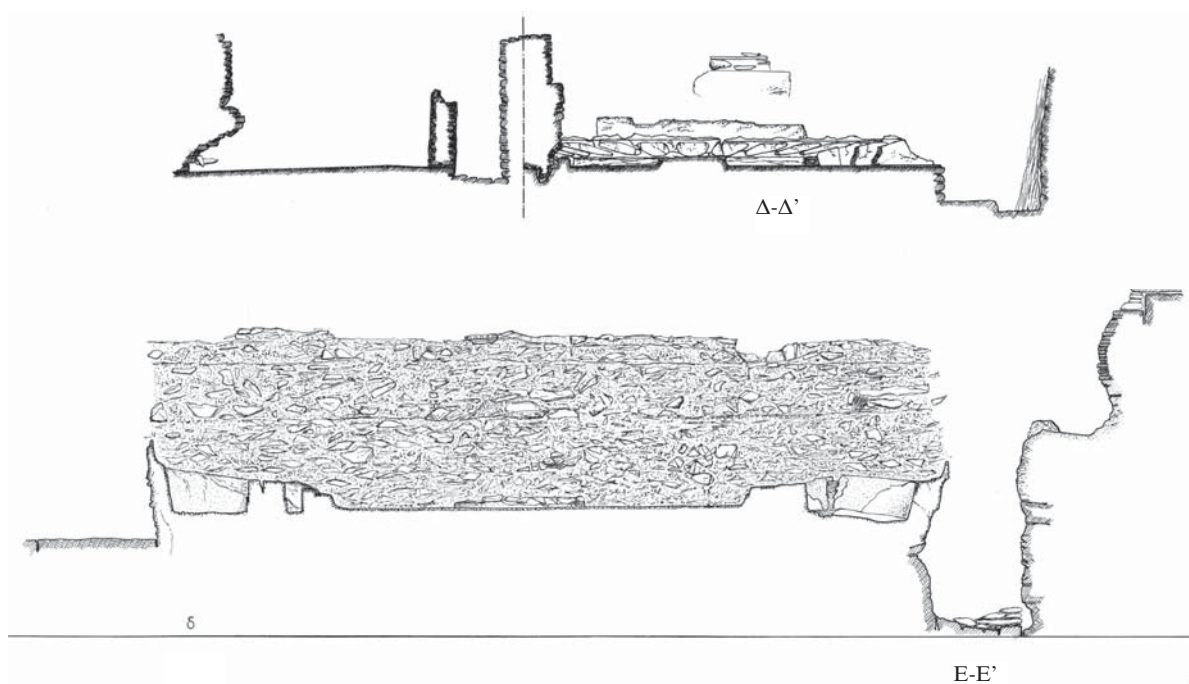


Fig. 4. Thessaloniki, Roman Forum: sections of the Hellenistic baths. Δ - Δ' : north-south section, looking east: Room ϵ , Tholos δ , Room γ . E-E': east-west section of Tholos δ , looking south.



Fig. 5. Thessaloniki, Hellenistic baths: view of Room δ during excavation (before restoration), from west.



Fig. 6. Thessaloniki, Hellenistic baths, Room δ , detail of bathtub.

blocks and the application of stucco on the walls.¹⁰ The interior wall of Room δ was made of fired bricks that were trapezoidal in shape and had a concave side.

An undisturbed destruction stratum with traces of intense burning was found in Rooms δ and ϵ . This was ca 0.40 m thick in Room δ , and included mainly roof tiles, fired bricks from the walls, mortar, burnt wood, ashes, and a significant amount of pottery. By contrast, the destruction debris of

Room ϵ was ca 0.90 m thick (from 17.30 to 16.20 m above sea level), much richer in finds, and included several layers.¹¹ A first layer about 0.20 m deep was followed by a hard, light brown soil that included few sherds and traces of burning, as well as small hard patches that resulted from melted bricks. Below two further successive layers of grey soil with traces of intensive burning found throughout the room, a second destruction stratum was revealed, directly above the pavement. This lowest



Fig. 7. Thessaloniki, Hellenistic baths, view of Room ε, from southeast.



Fig. 8. Thessaloniki, Hellenistic baths, Room δ, detail of pavement, channel that continues in Room ε, from west.

layer contained many broken pots, fragments of white stucco with imprints of reeds, stucco fragments from the walls, and roof tiles, as well as brick fragments that were less abundant here than in upper layers. Thus, the stratigraphy clearly included two distinct destruction layers, one on top of the other, which suggests that Room ε had a second floor: while the upper layer resulted from the collapse of the upper storey with its contents, the lower layer comprised artefacts from the ground floor. Fragments of flat white and red stucco from the walls, as well as fragments of molded stucco decoration from the ceiling were found. Furthermore, the destruction debris yielded parts of the roof and pavement, which consisted again of stone pieces immersed in mortar.

Some stucco fragments had a slightly triangular section at the bottom and were finished on both sides, suggesting that the upper storey of Room ε was subdivided into several smaller rooms. While the precise number of these upper storey rooms cannot be reconstructed, the subdivision of the excavated pottery into five groups may indicate a similar number of rooms.¹²

Originally, a channel ran along the south wall of Room ε and continued into Room δ (fig. 8). At an unknown point in time, this channel was covered by a wall that was built parallel and close to the south wall of Room ε, probably in order to further support the upper storey of this room. The long narrow space, with a width of 0.60-0.80 m, between the two walls may have been used for storage or for a staircase to the upper storey.

To the southwest of Room δ was located another round room (α), whose thick exterior walls formed a square (fig. 9). Immediately adjacent to the north

of Room α, a rubble construction with the centrally-placed circular opening of a well was found. Because of the natural inclination of the terrain, the level of Room α was a little lower than that of Room δ. Room α had originally been interpreted as a furnace because it seemed to be an annex to the bath complex, and its interior and surroundings yielded thick layers of charcoal and burnt wood, but no sherds or other finds. Furthermore, the stratigraphy in the area to the north of Room α was greatly disturbed by the installation of large pits of the Ottoman period, and the area to the south of Room α could not be excavated because this would have endangered the stability of the modern Philippou Street.

Further investigation of Room α suggests, however, that this room may have functioned as a round sweat bath, as suggested by Monika Trüm-



Fig. 9. Thessaloniki, Hellenistic baths, Rooms α and γ with hypocaust channel β, from east (Adam-Veleni et al. 1996 (1997) 526 fig. 8).

per,¹³ for the following reasons. Similar to Room δ , Room α had very thick walls, which would have kept the heat in and the temperature high and constant. Closer examination of the excavation data revealed evidence of a hypocaust. A destroyed rectangular structure of fired bricks (0.40 x 0.30 m) was found in the northern section of Room α , close to the center. Despite its fragmentary state of preservation it was obvious that this structure served as the support for an arch. Thus, Room α obviously had a double floor, the lower consisting of hydraulic mortar, some traces of which remained, while the upper was supported by pillars of fired bricks. The preserved pillar resembles the structures that were found in the small round sweat bath (E) in the baths of Gortys.¹⁴ Furthermore, a similar rectangular construction, made of rectangular bricks, was found in the western curved wall of Room α , creating an opening. Thus, the furnace for the hypocaust of Room α was in the west, at the western border of the bath complex.¹⁵

To the east of Room α was another room (γ) with a heated bathing form whose hypocaust channel (β) must have been connected with the hypocaust system of Room α (figs 9-10). The channel was 0.40 m wide and preserved for a length of 3.70 m and was flanked by two walls of fired bricks (0.60 m thick) that were covered with hydraulic mortar. While the bricks of the southern wall were rectangular and semicircular, those of the northern were only semicircular. The bottom of the hypocaust channel was lined with terracotta slabs that were joined with yellow-red clay. This hypocaust channel most likely heated a pool that had a length (east-west) of about 4.00 m and a maximum width of about 2.70 m, and was constructed of fired bricks covered with hydraulic mortar. In a second phase, the pool was provided with an interior bench along the north side that was made of marble slabs, which decreased the width of the pool. Its size suggests that the pool could accommodate about five to six people at a time.

A second pool (ζ) existed to the east of Room δ (figs 2, 3). The evidence from its uncovered western side and the lack of a hypocaust system suggest that this was a cold water pool of hexagonal shape. Located on a higher level than Room δ , it did not communicate with this room. Its eastern half is hidden under the modern street, and its southern part was destroyed by a pit of the Ottoman period and a modern pipeline. The bottom of the pool was first decorated with a pavement of mortar and white stone pieces that was similar to the pavement of Room δ . In a second phase, this

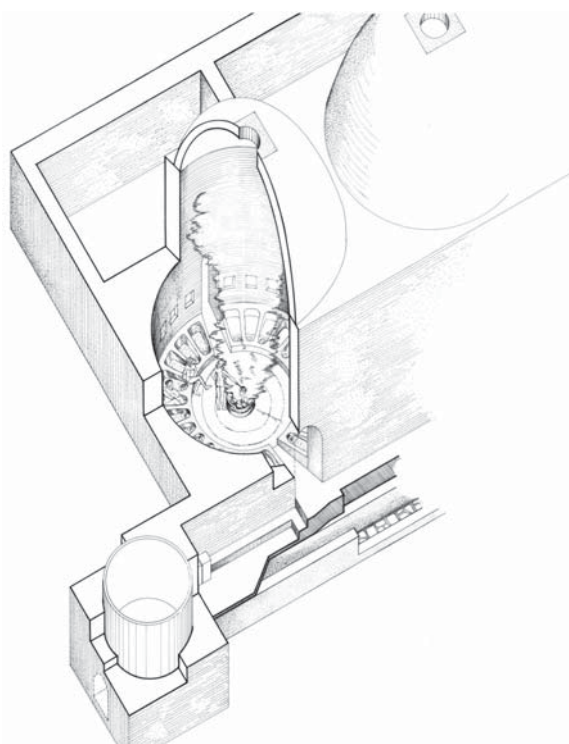


Fig. 10. Thessaloniki, Hellenistic baths, hypothetical reconstruction.

pavement was covered with a thick layer of hard hydraulic mortar, into which were inserted square terracotta slabs.

Since the bath complex was not fully excavated, the circulation pattern and particularly the access to the sweat bath α and the pools γ and ζ cannot be securely reconstructed. They were most likely all accessible from the south, however. Thus, bathers would first have entered Room δ and from there would have proceeded to the warm bathing forms in the south, which would have been located more remotely and thus would have granted a more intimate setting and bathing experience.

The design and decoration of the bath complex clearly identify it as a Greek-type bath, a *balaneion*.¹⁶ Since only the northwestern part of this *balaneion* could be revealed, the existence of further rooms, such as a second round room with hipbathtubs and other multifunctional (changing, waiting, reception) rooms, remains unknown.

DATE OF THE *BALANEION*

Based on finds, notably coins, black-glazed pottery, and West Slope pottery, sherds of which were found beneath the foundation level of the walls,

the bath complex must have been constructed towards the end of the 3rd century BCE. At this time, the area of the later Roman Forum was occupied by pottery workshops, as the remains of terracotta lamps, moulds of lamps and figurines, as well as misfired pottery fragments indicate.¹⁷ This industrial district was probably situated outside the city wall, which was built during the reign of Cassander and was located at the modern Agiou Demetriou Street, about 300 meters to the north of the *balaneion*. The ancient coastline was most likely to the north of the modern one so that the Hellenistic bath complex would have been closer to the sea, and thus easily accessible from the city's harbor. The location of the bath building also indicates the extension of the city and its suburbs in the Hellenistic period. A similar urban location in the vicinity of a harbor can be reconstructed for baths in Pella, Hephaistia on Lemnos, and Oiniadai.¹⁸

Since the baths were built over mining pits that were filled with rubbish (including badly burnt figurine moulds), the industrial district had obviously already declined when the baths were constructed. A change of function of this suburban area is also indicated by the appearance of houses that are dated to the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd centuries BCE. The baths could have been intended for the convenience of the inhabitants of these houses as well as for visitors arriving at the harbor. In the mid-2nd century BCE the city rapidly expanded to the south, either under the control of the last Macedonian king, Philip V, or as an aspect of urban developments after the Romans conquered Macedonia in 168 BCE. As a consequence, the bath complex was now located within the city walls and was probably associated with a nearby *gymnasion*.¹⁹

The abandonment of the *balaneion* can be reconstructed from stratigraphic data, notably a rich destruction stratum with traces of burning (0.40–0.90 m thick) that covered Rooms δ and ε. Although the precise cause remains unknown, the building was obviously destroyed by fire in the Vespasianic period. While large transverse cracks in Room δ pointed to destruction by an earthquake, seismologists have no evidence of major earthquakes in the area during Vespasian's reign. The building was not reused, but was shortly thereafter covered by structures that belonged to the Roman Forum of Thessaloniki, the 'capital' of the province Macedonia.

COMPARISON AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Circular rooms with hip-bathtubs were common in the Greek world, and the circular form was

obviously chosen for its ideal climatic qualities, as indicated later by Vitruvius.²⁰ The circular form can already be found in one of the earliest Greek baths, notably the so-called Dipylon baths in the Kerameikos of Athens, which were built in the first half of the 5th century BCE. While the round rooms of Greek baths mainly served for warm shower baths in hip-bathtubs, the rooms may have been heated additionally with dry heat from hot stones or with steam from a hot water cauldron, thus also promoting perspiration. The circular platform in the center of Room δ in the Thessaloniki baths may give evidence of this practice. According to Vitruvius' ideal proportions for round rooms, the height of Room δ in Thessaloniki would have been equal to its diameter and thus about 8.00 m. Round rooms are commonly identified as *tholoi*, a term that literary and papyrological sources mention in connection with baths.²¹ Apart from this, the terminology of Greek bathing facilities is much debated. The Greek terms *pyriaterion* and *aleipterion* are both associated with round rooms, the former alluding to the use of fire or more generally heat, and the latter to anointment with oil.²² By contrast, the term *laconicum* appears much later than the round rooms of Greek baths, notably in the 1st century BCE when it denoted round sweat rooms. According to Vitruvius, the domes of *laconica* had a central hole that could be closed with a bronze disk to control the heat and evacuation of fumes and steam.²³ A similar installation may have been used in *tholoi* with hip-bathtubs, whose domes were conical, hemispherical, or a combination of the two.

Room δ of the baths in Thessaloniki yielded no evidence that would allow for the reconstruction of its roof (fig. 10). The small number of roof tiles found in the debris may indicate that the roof construction was mainly of wood. While this technique is not excluded by Vitruvius, it would have required double stucco coating in order to protect the wooden parts from humidity. A wooden roof construction may also explain the large amount of burnt timber and the significant amount of stucco fragments that were found in the homogeneous, undisturbed destruction stratum of the building.

While so far few baths of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE have been discovered, numbers increased significantly in the Hellenistic period when baths obviously became a standard feature of cities.²⁴ This was a period of major urbanization and cultural changes throughout the Mediterranean, which certainly promoted the development of a bathing culture that entailed leisure, relaxation, enjoyment,

and multiple social pleasures. Furthermore, large port cities such as Thessaloniki needed an appropriate infrastructure for all kinds of visitors (sailors, merchants, travelers, and military troops). The bath complex at Thessaloniki fits well into this general development of Hellenistic urban culture with its increased focus on baths and bathing.

The *tholos* with hip-bathtubs was still popular in the Hellenistic period, as is obvious from many parallels, such as the baths in Greece (e.g. Eretria), Sicily (e.g. Gela, Megara Hyblaea, Morgantina, Syracuse), Cyprus (e.g. Kition), and Egypt.²⁵ However, the heated bathing forms of the baths in Thessaloniki are typical of baths in the northeastern Mediterranean. The best parallels are provided by the baths of Gortys (late 3rd or 2nd century BCE) and Olympia (second half of 2nd century BCE). So far, only one other bath building has been discovered in Macedonia, notably the bath complex in Pella, whose development is revealing. Built in the last quarter of the 4th century BCE, it was provided with only two rooms with hip-bathtubs (rectangular room 6, round room 4) in its second phase, during the second quarter of the 3rd century BCE. In the last quarter of the 2nd century BCE, the bath building was again remodeled and modernized; the round room with hip-bathtubs (4) was transformed into a round sweat bath without hypocaust, and a second relaxing bathing form (individual bathtub or collective pool for hot immersion baths) with hypocaust was added in room 5.²⁶ Thus, despite the geographical proximity, the baths in Pella and Thessaloniki had different designs and developments, and their bathing programs and standards were only aligned in the Late Hellenistic period.

Rooms δ and above all ε of the Thessaloniki baths yielded a large amount of small finds, most notably pottery, which may shed light on the function of the rooms.²⁷ The huge number of plain ware pots may have been used for dry storage of goods, the protection of dry-salted food and food preparation, but also for toilet needs, heating water, and the transfer of liquids, as well as the cooking and serving of food. Bones of cattle, fish, and birds, various types of eggshells, and large quantities of oyster and seafood shells were found. Various food remains show that the ground floor of Room ε was used for the storage of goods and materials for the preparation of meals. Thus, the remains of both pottery and food reveal that customers obviously enjoyed food at the baths, and which foods they preferred.²⁸

Furthermore, among the numerous pottery sherds were fragments of dozens of braziers,

large and small containers, cauldrons, ladles, jugs, Macedonian amphorae, and *unguentaria*.²⁹ On the ground floor of Room ε they would have been neatly arranged on wooden shelves along the walls, while larger objects would have rested directly on the pavement. Fine ware pottery, also discovered in large numbers, included *lekanides*, plates, and *skyphoi* of all sizes and shapes that belonged to either red-glazed types A and B or came from Italian workshops. Among this material were many lamps, both locally made and imported from large industrial centers in Asia Minor and Italy; these indicate that the baths operated during late hours when there was little or no natural lighting. Some lamps were also elaborately decorated, adopting the shape of a ship or animals, or were enhanced with architectural elements. Finds also included terracotta figurines of philosophers and athletes, and life-size theatrical masks of terracotta,³⁰ as well as terracotta figurines of popular deities, such as Dionysos, Aphrodite, Athena and Zeus. Some finds may indicate that sexual pleasures were also offered at the *balaneion*: a red-glazed *skyphos* with a phallic spout that was decorated with imprinted vines, grapes and insects; a movable part of a phallus that belonged to a talisman; and two ithyphallic terracotta figurines.³¹

Finally, further evidence of banquets that may have taken place at the baths is provided by a large number of glass vessels of widely differing colors and shapes. A rare relief glass cup with the representation of an athlete and the goddess Fortuna holding a cornucopia was possibly the prize of an athlete who had won at the games.³² Two other fragments of glass cups preserved inscriptions: 'εὐφροαίνου ἐφ' ᾧ πάρεῖ'³³ and 'κέρδος καὶ εὐφροσύνη ἐν οἰνοποσίᾳ'.³⁴

The rich finds from Rooms δ and ε suggest that visitors to the baths could enjoy not only cleansing and relaxing baths, but also other carnal and intellectual delights: banquets with manifold culinary and liquid pleasures, performances,³⁵ and discussions, as well as sexual services that were probably provided in the small rooms on the upper story of Room ε.

Since the baths could not be fully excavated, strategies for possible gender differentiation in the use of the baths cannot be securely reconstructed. Thus, it must remain an open question whether the baths included a second *tholos* with hip-bathtubs, like many other Greek baths, or whether the building was provided with different entrances and a double circulation system.³⁶

Few remains survive of Hellenistic Thessaloniki, which was founded by King Cassander.³⁷ The building boom of the 1960s to 1980s left only a few sherds in the deepest strata of the city's blocks and less than 20 sites with architectural remains. While an assessment of the Hellenistic city is thus very difficult, two main orientation systems can be reconstructed from the archaeological evidence: the first belonged to the period before the arrival of the Romans in the 2nd century BCE, whereas the second corresponded with the regular grid system of the Roman Imperial city.³⁸

According to the archaeological evidence, Cassander originally founded a fortified settlement in the most suitable naturally protected area, which is now occupied by the upper town of the modern city. Cassander's ambitious character and politics suggest that a possible extension of the city to the south was planned from the beginning. This extension towards the harbor and leveling of the terrain began during the reign of either Antigonos Gonatas or Philip V. The leveled area of the city yielded few Hellenistic remains, however. Recent investigation of the open square of the city's Roman Forum showed that this area was first used after the middle of the 3rd century BCE by potters and coroplasts, as briefly mentioned above.³⁹ Literary sources and the few surviving inscriptions indicate that the city developed rapidly in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE when the population increased significantly. The first systematic expansion took place either shortly before or after 168 BCE, during the reign of Philip V or after the Roman conquest, respectively. The Macedonian kings maintained close ties with Thessaloniki and often resided there for long periods of time.

Against this background, the unexpected discovery of the Hellenistic *balaneion* requires a reassessment of the city's design and topography. Significant problems and questions remain, such as whether this was an independent *balaneion*, or whether the building belonged to a larger *gymnasion* complex, whose existence is known from an inscription, or whether it was connected with a peristyle courtyard for exercise.⁴⁰ A *gymnasion* would have included various structures, such as a peristyle courtyard surrounded by rooms for the physical and intellectual training of athletes, as well as running tracks.

Since the baths were used for approximately three centuries, their history coherently reflects the urban development of this area. Originally located outside the city walls and in the vicinity of

the harbor, the baths may have served those who lived and worked in the suburban area and frequented the harbor. When the baths were incorporated into the city in the mid-2nd century BCE, their function and clientele may have changed; the baths could have been closely linked to physical exercise and education. The significance of the baths may again have changed when the Romans chose this area for the forum of their city and gradually filled it with public buildings. Prominently located, the *balaneion* may have attracted yet more visitors than ever before, and its utilization and profitability may have increased significantly.

The location of the *balaneion* was obviously carefully chosen, because even to this day this area provides many springs, as was proven during the excavations of the Roman Forum (1989-2009).⁴¹ The abundant water supply was apparently known and systematically exploited in the Hellenistic period. Thus, a building block that is located close to and to the south of the *balaneion* has been identified as the site of the famous '*Stoa Incantadas*', which was associated with the Roman Imperial Baths.⁴² The subterranean water sources were further exploited in the Ottoman era, when the Bey Haman baths, also known as the 'Paradise' baths, were constructed on the modern Egnatia Street and were in use until the 1980s. The unexcavated eastern and southern parts of the Hellenistic *balaneion* extended below the Philippou and Agnostou Stratiotou streets respectively, and may have been associated with a larger *gymnasion* complex that could have extended south up to the modern Egnatia Street. In the same area, during the Imperial period a complex of public Roman baths (possibly the official imperial *thermae*) was built. To this complex may have belonged a fountain structure with a dedication inscription that was found between Philippou and Egnatia streets, a structure which up to today has been wrongly identified as a platform.

The *balaneion* is the earliest archaeologically attested building of Hellenistic Thessaloniki,⁴³ and provides evidence for the orientation of the city's grid network in the 2nd century BCE, which deviated about five degrees from that of the later Imperial Forum and city plan. While the *balaneion* was still in use in the Imperial period, after its destruction in the Vespasianic period the entire area was leveled, and buildings of the Roman Forum were constructed on top of the *balaneion* in the 2nd century CE. Bathing continued to be important in this area, however, because a new, much larger and better appointed Roman-type bath

building was constructed slightly to the south of its Hellenistic predecessor. Thus, the inhabitants of Roman Imperial Thessaloniki finally came to enjoy modern (Roman) bathing standards, which were significantly promoted and endorsed by the local elites.

NOTES

- * All figures, if not indicated otherwise, are by the author and her excavation team.
- ¹ Adam-Veleni 2001b, 1-17.
- ² Velenis 1990-95 (1996); 1996 (1997).
- ³ Adam-Veleni 1997 (1999); Adam-Veleni et al. 1998 (2000).
- ⁴ For details of the construction of the bathtubs, see Kosmides and Safetes 2001.
- ⁵ This pavement type is common in private bathrooms of the Hellenistic period, for example in the houses of Pella and other Macedonian cities. See Makaronas and Giuri 1989; also Trümper 2010, 532.
- ⁶ Adam 1984, 251-256.
- ⁷ Velenis 1996 (1997), 491-499.
- ⁸ This is the earliest example of this pavement type, which was popular in Hellenistic Thessaloniki in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. A mosaic floor of the mid-1st century BCE was made of large white and black *tesserae* and included images of three dolphins; it was excavated in 1989 in the remains of a private house. Adam-Veleni 1989 (1992); Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1998, 158-165.
- ⁹ Kalliga 2001.
- ¹⁰ The excavation of Room δ yielded large fragments of white stucco as well as smaller fragments of red stucco.
- ¹¹ For the strata in the Forum of Thessaloniki, see Georgaki and Zografou 2001; see also Kalavria and Boli 2001.
- ¹² For example, there are two groups of five lamps each, all of which are decorated with the same erotic scene, five lamps depicting the same deed of Hercules (and almost all the deeds of Hercules are represented on lamps), etc.
- ¹³ Trümper 2009, 146.
- ¹⁴ Ginouvès 1959, 72-73 figs 93-97.
- ¹⁵ Trümper (2009, 146) presumes that the furnace would have been located somewhere to the east of Rooms α and γ, which is impossible, however, because there were more rooms for bathers in that area; thus, the furnace could not have been in the east.
- ¹⁶ This bath type was first fully assessed in Ginouvès 1962.
- ¹⁷ Adam-Veleni et al. 2000.
- ¹⁸ Lilimpaki-Akamati 1997 (1999); 2011; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2007 (2010); Vitti in this volume; Trümper in this volume.
- ¹⁹ Thus far, the existence of a gymnasium in Thessaloniki is confirmed only by a list of *ephebes* that was found in the city (IG X, 2, 1, nr 4). See Adam-Veleni 2001b, 131.
- ²⁰ Vitr. *De arch.* 5.10.5
- ²¹ For *tholoi* of baths in textual sources, see Ginouvès 1962, 454 (index); Nielsen 1990, 1:7 n. 26-27; for the *tholos* as a popular building type in Greek architecture, for more than just baths, see Seiler 1986.
- ²² Nielsen 1990, 1:160 (with references and bibliography).
- ²³ Vitr. *De arch.* 5.10.5; Nielsen 1990, 1:158-159.
- ²⁴ For a recent assessment of the development of Greek baths, see Trümper 2009.
- ²⁵ For literature on these baths and a broad typology, see Trümper 2009, 164-168 tables 1-6. See also the articles

in this volume on the baths of Sicily, south Italy and Egypt, and related catalog entries.

- ²⁶ Lilimpaki-Akamati 1997 (1999); 2011; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2007 (2010); here catalog no 26.
- ²⁷ Adam-Veleni et al. 1998 (2000).
- ²⁸ Adam-Veleni and Marki 2004, 86-95.
- ²⁹ Adam-Veleni et al. 1998 (2000).
- ³⁰ Adam-Veleni et al. 2005 (2007); Adam-Veleni 2010, 48-52.
- ³¹ Adam-Veleni 2009. Phalloi may also have had apotropaic function, however; they figure prominently in the decoration of baths particularly of the Roman Imperial period, serving probably to protect bathers from the multiple dangers connected with baths and bathing. Dunbabin 1989, esp. 33-46; pp. 45-46 cites figural decoration in several Greek bathing facilities of the 4th to 2nd centuries BCE that may have had apotropaic function, thus suggesting a long tradition of protective decoration in Greco-Roman baths.
- ³² Mavromichali 2001, 132; Antonaras 2009; Adam-Veleni and Mavromichali 2010.
- ³³ Freely translated: 'Be happy with whatever you can enjoy'; Mavromichali 2001.
- ³⁴ Freely translated: 'Capital and delight are drinking together'; Mavromichali 2001.
- ³⁵ Adam-Veleni 2010, 50.
- ³⁶ For baths with double *tholoi* that were particularly popular in Egypt, and for gender differentiation in Greek baths, see Trümper 2009, 150; 2012a. See also the catalog in this volume for all baths with double *tholoi*.
- ³⁷ Adam-Veleni 2010, 2011.
- ³⁸ Velenis 1990-1995 (1996); 1996 (1997).
- ³⁹ Adam-Veleni 2001a, 17-23.
- ⁴⁰ For the incorporation of a peristyle courtyard or *palais-tra* into a public bath, see the Stabian Baths in Pompeii; Nielsen 1990, 1:8 n. 11; 9 n. 38.
- ⁴¹ Adam-Veleni 2001a.
- ⁴² Mentzos 1997 (1999).
- ⁴³ Velenis 1996 (1997).