

Epirus in the Roman Era

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The knowledge available about the history of Epirus during the Roman period, that is from the 2nd century BC until the years of Late Antiquity, based on limited literary testimonies is quite meagre. Nevertheless, in recent years, archaeological research and historical studies have started filling the gaps, thus, the image of Epirus in the period under investigation becomes much clearer.

The present study aims at presenting the archaeological data in Epirus and particularly in the southern part of Epirus, which is today within the boundaries of the Greek State. These data lead to certain conclusions, the confirmation of which will depend on the findings of future excavations.

A. Historical data¹

Roman presence in Epirus dates from as early as the end of the 3rd century BC, when the Romans – after defeating the Carchedonians – set towards the East in order to conquer the eastern part of the Mediterranean. After the 2nd and 3rd Macedonian wars, the Macedonian kingdom was abolished. The defeat of Perseus at Pydna in 168 BC had devastating consequences for Epirus and especially for its southern part, which had allied with the Macedonians. In 167 BC, 70 cities in Epirus were destroyed and 150,000 people were sold as slaves by the Romans². After the revolution of Philip Andriscos was put down in 148 BC, Macedonia lost its independence and became a Roman province which included Epirus and Illyria.

In the beginning of the 1st century BC, Epirus suffered from a new disaster caused by the Thracian incursions. The subse-

quent civil wars among the Roman commanders as well as the arbitrary acts of the Roman regional governors deteriorated even more the condition in the area³. And yet, as indicated by the archaeological research, the cities seem to have survived even under these circumstances. Excavations in Kassopi, Ammotopos, Gardiki and Kastritsa have shown that the cities suffering from the destruction of 167 BC, continue to be inhabited until the end of the 1st century BC⁴. As is after all known, the *koina* continue to exist, Ambracia and Charadros maintain – at least typically – their independence and in general, it appears that each political community maintains – even under the power of the Roman commander in the Macedonian province – its political institutions⁵. Therefore, the gloomy description of total abandonment, which Strabo gives to Epirus slightly before the founding of Nicopolis, should probably be considered overstated.⁶ Undoubtedly, the constant wars, disasters, seizures and the inhabitants' captivation had caused a demographic reduction of the city's population and a more general regress both in economic and cultural terms. It appears that the foundation of Nicopolis at the coasts of S. Epirus towards the end of the 1st century BC, apart from representing the desire to perpetuate the memory of the historical victory at Actium, aimed at the reconstruction and revival of the area by creating a new urban centre that served expedencies both of an economic and strategic character.⁷

All the cities of Epirus and Akarnania located around the Ambracian gulf, as well as some cities of Aetolia⁸ were forced to participate in the settlement. Because of their dominant position, some of these

cities were not totally abandoned; on the contrary, they survived as *perioikides* of Nicopolis for a few more centuries. This category mainly includes the coastal cities of Akarnania and Ambracia.⁹

The interval between the foundation of Nicopolis and the middle of the 3rd century AD is a period of recovery for Epirus. Especially during the early 2nd century – a period of prosperity for the empire – the emperors showed particular merit to this area. In the beginning of the 2nd century, between the years 103–114 AD, Trajan detached Epirus from the province of Achaia (where it was initially submitted by Augustus in 27 BC) and established it as an independent province, appointing Nicopolis as its seat.¹⁰ The constant minting of coins at Nicopolis in the age of Trajan, indicates the prosperity of the city that declared the emperor as a “Saviour”.¹¹ Hadrian who appears to have visited Nicopolis in 128 AD¹² also showed special merit to Epirus.

The revival and prosperity of the area will not last. In the 3rd century AD, the empire is threatened by internal misrule. The barbaric peoples take advantage of the situation and begin to invade the empire from the west and the east. In 267 AD, the Herouli invade Epirus. The hiding of coinage treasures has been related to this invasion and shows the turmoil caused in the area.¹³

In the end of the 3rd century AD, the rise of the Illyrian dynasty eliminated temporarily the danger of the empire’s abolition. The administrative reforms effected by Diocletian and Constantine, as well as the policies adapted towards the barbaric peoples, restored the internal serenity until around the end of the 4th century. Most likely in the period of Diocletian, Epirus was divided into two administrative provinces, Old Epirus (*Epirus Vetus*) consisting of the area from the Keraneia Mountains to the mouth of Acheeloos with Nicopolis as its seat and New Epirus (*Epirus Nova*) further north, with Dyrrachium as its seat.¹⁴

Julian also showed interest in the area and saw to the execution of building

works in several cities of Epirus and especially to the restoration of the public buildings in Nicopolis which were collapsing.¹⁵ Furthermore, he took a series of economic measures in order to release the inhabitants of Epirus from heavy taxation.

After the death of Julian in 363 AD, Christianity prevailed. The oracle at Dodona stops functioning at the end of the 4th century (possibly in the age of Theodosius I), while slightly later, Dodona is mentioned – according to sources – as an episcopate seat.¹⁶

From the end of the 4th century and for a long period, Epirus suffers Gothic invasions.¹⁷ These invasions will disturb Europe for two centuries. Especially in connection with southern Epirus, there are references to two invasions by Visigoths in 380 and 395 AD, and two invasions from sea by Vandals in 467 and 474 AD.

During the invasion in 474 AD, Nicopolis was ferociously plundered. Old Epirus was conquered by Getes in 517 AD and by Ostrogoths in 551 AD. The final stroke was given by the Slavic invasions, which – according to historical sources – forced the inhabitants to seek refuge in other areas, probably in the neighbouring islands of the Ionian Sea and in the mountainous areas.¹⁸

B. Sites in Epirus with Roman remains

This chapter will refer to the sites of each prefecture where archaeological remains of the Roman period have been traced. More emphasis will be given to the prefectures of Ioannina and Arta, since reference to the prefectures of Thesprotia and Preveza is given in the studies of S. Dakaris “Thesprotia” and “Cassopaia”. His chapters on the Roman period refer analytically to every site traced until the beginning of the 1970’s. It should also be clarified that in most cases, the archaeological finds mentioned has not been systematically published. Nevertheless, the picture given by references to the traced sites facilitates the better comprehension of the area’s history during this particular



period. After all, during the recent years, the excavations conducted in some of these locations, despite their confined extent, provided a considerable amount of new data giving light to this historical period.

B1. Prefecture of Ioannina

Area of Lakka Souli

Sites with Roman-early Christian finds have been located along the plain of Lakka Souli, which was one of the main roads linking the area of Ambracian Gulf with the inland of Epirus since the earlier periods.¹⁹ More specifically, building remains dating to the early Christian times have been traced in the area between Polistafylo and Alepochori.²⁰ In Alepochori two cist graves were found dating to the 2nd century AD,²¹ while in Romano two graves were found dating to the 1st–2nd centuries AD.²² Remains of a Roman bath with a mosaic floor and an early Christian basilica were discovered in Sistrouni.²³ Finally, a grave of the 3rd to 4th century AD was found in Bestia²⁴ and Roman coins were found in Artopoula²⁵ and Anthochori.²⁶

Area of Dodona-Grammeno

Apart from the early Christian basilica found in the area of the sanctuary at Dodona,²⁷ extended remains from a late Roman – early Christian settlement and a basilica were found in the neighbouring Dramesioi.²⁸

Slightly northern, in Lyggos (Mospina) two tombstones were found dating to the Roman period.²⁹ In Grammeno, in the small plain north of the Kastri hill where the surviving remains of a Hellenistic acropolis are located, a temple-like building has been excavated in which, a Roman phase has also been identified.³⁰

Area of the Ioannina basin

In the citadel “Its Kale”, inside the castle of Ioannina, a tombstone, most likely moved over from another area, was found.³¹ Outside the castle, on the lakeshore, a small head of Dionysus was found

made of limestone, dating to the Roman times.³² It is estimated that it had been moved over from another location, due to the fact that it was found in debris.

Foundations of a Roman building have been traced in Katsika³³ and a Roman grave in Loggades.³⁴

Architectural remains as well as a sarcophagus of the 3rd century AD were found in the area between Kranoula and Lycotrichi.³⁵ Two Roman graves were also found in Stavradi.³⁶ Further north, in Rodotopi, a Roman construction phase³⁷ has been recognised in the remains of the Hellenistic temple of Areios Zeus. Two Roman inscriptions and a headless statue of a Roman emperor dating to the 2nd century AD also come from Rodotopi.³⁸ Alongside Rodotopi, on the hill of Gardiki where a fortified Hellenistic city, the ancient Passaron, is located, the excavation of a confined area conducted in 1992 uncovered two Hellenistic buildings, the one of which remains in use during the early Roman period (1st century BC– 1st century AD).³⁹

Of a great interest are the results of the excavation research conducted in 1994 on the hill of Kastritsa, by the southern edge of the lake of Ioannina, where the remains of another fortified Molossian city, probably Tekmon, are preserved.⁴⁰ The excavation uncovered the foundations of two Hellenistic buildings which present an additional second construction phase, in use from the 4th century to the 6th century AD⁴¹. It should be noted that on the northern and southern part of the ancient fortification, repairs have been recognised, which, according to S. Dakaris, date from the years of the Roman ruling, immediately after 167 BC. However, according to F. Wozniak, these restorations should be dated to the late Roman period.⁴² The results of the aforementioned excavation seem to verify the above view.

Area of Parakalamos

Remains of a fort and potsherds of the Roman period have been reported in the site of Petrovouni, at the village Areti (former Gribiani).⁴³

Area of Kalpaki-Doliana

Graves dating to the Roman period and remains of at least two early Christian basilicas have been found in the plain of the Kalpaki-Doliana area.⁴⁴

Area of Pogoni

Roman finds and remains of an early Christian basilica have been traced at the valley of Gormos in Oraiokastro (or Lachanocastro).⁴⁵ Additionally, a tombstone dating to the 2nd - 1st century BC was found in Kastani,⁴⁶ while a late Roman grave has been found in Vasiliko.⁴⁷

Area of Konitsa

Around the plain of Konitsa through which the river Aoos flows, many sites have been traced with remains from the period under investigation.⁴⁸ A building complex of the early Christian times and a cist grave dating to the 1st - 2nd centuries AD was found in Aetopetra. A small pillar of the late Roman period was found in Iliorrachi, while architectural remains dating to the early Christian period were found in the site of Kalivia at Kleidonia.

Nevertheless, most remains are traced in the area of Konitsa. Eight Roman coins and architectural remains were found westwards of the Agricultural School. Architectural remains probably of a Roman farmhouse were discovered on the hill of Palaiogoritsa, on top of which the remains of a large building were also found dating to the early Christian period (probably a basilica). A double cist grave dating to the late Roman times was found between Palaiogoritsa and Konitsa in the site of Elia. The ruins of a fort probably dating to the Justinian age remain on top of a remote rocky hill, above Konitsa.⁴⁹

The density of the remains in the area of Konitsa suggests the existence at this location of an important settlement dating from the Roman years to the early Christian period. As indicated by the archaeological remains, the wider area had always been very favourable for human settlements, as it consisted of a vast plain, a continuous flow of ample water from the river Aoos and its tributaries in combina-

tion with sites suitable for the construction of defence fortification. Additionally, of great importance is the fact that it lies in the beginning of a natural passage, which follows the flow of the river Aoos extending to the area of Apollonia. Apparently, this is the passage Philip V followed in 198 BC on his way to Macedonia when retrieving after his defeat by Flaminius to the narrows of Aoos.⁵⁰ The same passage was a main communication route between Epirus and Albania in recent years. Thus, this passage should probably be identified with the Roman route presented on the map of the 4th century AD (known as Tabula Peutingeriana) as the parallel route to a larger river flowing to Apollonia.⁵¹ This river is probably Aoos, since Genousos is shown on its northern side and the mouth of the river Apsos is shown further down.

On the right edge of the river, right next to a big mountain chain, the site Ilio is set as a station. Anyone who has visited Konitsa must have admired the mountains of Pindos, Smolikas and Tymfi, which rise above the city. Thus, Ilio, which is not mentioned in any other source, may be identified with the remains of the Roman - early Christian settlement in Konitsa. Nevertheless, such an assumption may only be confirmed by archaeological research.⁵²

In the interior uplands of the prefecture of Ioannina, only a few remains of this period have been found: Roman coins, as well as the remains of a fortification, which according to Leake's interpretation must have been a Roman outpost, have been found in Metsovo.⁵³ Roman coins have also been found in Perdika (Moulesi).⁵⁴

B.2 Prefecture of Arta

A Roman building with 4 aligned rooms, probably a storage place for agricultural goods, was discovered near the southwestern cemetery of ancient Ambracia, during the excavations conducted in one section of Arta, where only recently, constructions

have began.⁵⁵ As derives from the finds, the building was constructed in the 1st century AD and was in use until the end of the 3rd – beginning of the 4th century AD. Other architectural remains from Roman period have been traced in the same area, at a site, which has not yet been investigated⁵⁶ and in the southern edge of the river Arachthos near the area of the management building of TEI.⁵⁷ Furthermore, graves dating to the first three centuries AD have been found in the south-western cemetery of ancient Ambracia.⁵⁸ A few occasional finds (coins, lamps) originating from old excavations in the city of Arta date to the 4th century AD, whereas the finds of the 5th century are nearly non-existent.⁵⁹

Both the aforementioned data and the two already known inscriptions from Nicopolis dating to the imperial times and referring to the *demoi* and the *polis* of the Ambraciots, prove that the history of Ambracia doesn't come to an end when its inhabitants settle to Nicopolis at the end of the 1st century BC, and assure that the city is inhabited for a further period of 3 or 4 centuries, even though it loses its former prominence.⁶⁰

In the prefecture of Arta, other sites with Roman remains are traced in the vast plain surrounding the city of Arta: a mosaic floor was found during the 1960's in Kostakioi. In the same area, remains of a church probably dating to the early Christian period⁶¹ were traced a few years ago. Further architectural remains of the Roman or early Christian period exist in Sykies, on the hill of St. Theodora, which have not yet been investigated.⁶² At the north coast of the Ambracian gulf, in the site of Phidokastro, remains of the ancient Ambracia's fortified port indicate later restorations of small stones, bricks and mortar. According to Hammond's estimations, the fortification was restored during the period of the Turkish domination or slightly earlier, whereas P. Soustal relates the more recent restorations with the Arabic invasions during the 9th century AD.⁶³ Nevertheless, from very early it has been claimed that the restorations date to the

Roman times.⁶⁴ After all, architectural parts as well as a tombstone dating to the Roman period have been found in the neighbouring area of Koronisia.⁶⁵

Further architectural remains are preserved in the area of Strongyli, where the remains of a Roman *villa rustica* are known to have existed for a long time. It is a building complex, which apart from the areas of residence, consists of store-rooms, oil-pressing establishment and an octagonal building, probably a bathhouse. The excavation conducted from 1992 to 1994 attested that the villa was in use from the 1st century AD to the 3rd century AD.⁶⁶ Remains of the late Roman and early Christian period have also been traced in another site of Strongyli: on the hill of St. Aikaterine, at the coasts of the Ambracian gulf.⁶⁷

In the mountainous area of the prefecture of Arta, only two sites with Roman finds have been traced: two built graves were found in Pistiana⁶⁸ and a tombstone in Kypseli (Chosepsi).⁶⁹

B.3 Prefecture of Preveza

In the prefecture of Preveza, apart from the extended remains of the Roman and early Christian Nicopolis,⁷⁰ many sites with Roman remains, mentioned in the relevant chapter of S. Dakaris study "Cas-sopaiia", have been traced from very early. The number of these sites has multiplied after the field surveys of recent years.⁷¹

Area of Vathy bay-Margarona-St. Thomas

Sites with finds dating to the Roman period have been traced around the Vathy bay⁷², which used to be one of the two ports of Nicopolis. In Margarona, outside the more recent church, remains of a building are preserved dating to the Roman-early Christian period that have not yet been investigated. Near Margarona, in the chapel of St. Minas, the remains of an early Christian basilica⁷³ are located. Further east, in the area of the Pogonitsa lagoon, sites were traced showing signs of habitation during the Roman period.⁷⁴

Area of Michalitsi -N. Sampsousta-Archangelos

In the village of Nea Sampsousta, NW of the church of St. Apostles, the remains of a building dated to the Roman-early Christian period are located. A tombstone dating to the Roman period⁷⁵ was also found in this site. Finally, Roman pottery was found both in the plain of Grammeno⁷⁶ of the village of Archangelos and in the area of Michalitsi.⁷⁷

Area of Kamarina-Oropos

Remains of a building dating to the 1st century AD as well as cist graves of a later period were found in Kamarina.⁷⁸ Remains of a building with a mosaic floor and a funeral inscription of the 2nd century AD were found in Oropos (previously known as Palioroforo).⁷⁹

Area of Stefani-Nea Kerasounta

In Stefani, the foundations of a early Christian basilica have been traced under the church of St. Barbara.⁸⁰ In Nea Kerasounta, in the fortification of the ancient Vouchetion (castle of Rogoi), later repairs should be dated, according to Dakaris, to the Roman period and particularly immediately after the destruction of the Epirote cities in 167 BC.⁸¹ However, it is more likely that the restorations of the ancient fortification are related to the barbaric invasions of the late Roman times. It seems that such an assumption is confirmed by the late Roman pottery found in the area.

Area of Rizovouni

On the hill of Kastri, the remains of ancient Vatia⁸² are preserved. In the Hellenistic fortification, one can observe repairs which Hammond defines as medieval, Dakaris dates to the early Roman period, i.e. after 167 BC, whereas Wozniak dates to the years of the barbaric invasions.⁸³ The remains of an early Christian basilica are preserved inside the walls, under the church of the *Koimisis tis Theotokou* (Assumption of the Virgin).⁸⁴ Building foundations of the same period have also been traced in the area of the modern village,

both in the church of St. Sofia and in the site of Kouremadi.⁸⁵

Area of Panagia (Voulista)-Kerasona - St. Georgios

Roman pottery and a dedicatory inscription of the 1st century BC⁸⁶ were found in the Louros basin at Panagia. Further south, in St. Georgios, remains of the aqueduct of Nicopolis are preserved. Between the two bridges of the aqueduct, the bridge on the north is the most ancient one, probably dating to the age of Augustus. The southern bridge was constructed after the destruction of the northern one, probably in the years of Hadrian or Julian.⁸⁷ Remains of the aqueduct are also preserved in Rizovouni, Thesprotiko, Stefani, Louros and Archangelos.⁸⁸

Area of Kastrosykia-Riza

Extended architectural remains and a sepulchral monument dating to the Roman period are located in the site of St. Pelagia at Kastrosykia.⁸⁹ The remains of a Roman building complex, probably a farmhouse, are located further north at Riza, in the site of Artolithia or Fragokklisia.⁹⁰

Plain of Acheron

In the plain of the river Acheron, remains from the Roman period have been traced in the area of Nekromanteio, where two cist graves and sherds were found.⁹¹ Signs of habitation were also traced during the recent years in Valanidorrachi.⁹² In Kastri, where the remains of ancient Pandosia are located, one can observe in the fortification of the classical-Hellenistic period a more recent construction phase which Hammond defines as medieval, whereas Dakaris dates it to the Roman period.⁹³

Area of Parga

A male marble statue⁹⁴ was found in St. Kyriaki. Tile graves were found both in Valtos and Anthousa.⁹⁵ In Agia, it is considered possible that a settlement existed, as indicated by the large number of potsherds and a tombstone with a Latin inscription.⁹⁶

Very few sites with finds of the Roman period have been traced in the mountainous areas of the prefecture. Potsherds and coins were found in Trikastro⁹⁷ and a Roman tombstone in Ano Rachi.⁹⁸ A Latin funeral inscription carved on a small column comes from Valanidoussa.⁹⁹

B.4 Prefecture of Thesprotia

As is mentioned in the introduction of chapter B, the sites with finds of the Roman period at the prefecture of Thesprotia, are analysed in the study of S. Dakaris "Thesprotia". Thus, the present paper will be limited to the reference of the basic sites and those that have been traced after the publication of the aforementioned study.

Photiki is undoubtedly the most important site during the period of the Roman domination in Thesprotia, in significance the second Roman City in southern Epirus after Nicopolis. It was founded in the 1st century BC.¹⁰⁰ The extended remains of Photiki are preserved near Paramythia, in the site of Limboni (St. Donatos). Due to the fact that the city was built on a plain and its soil was unsuitable for establishing fortification, Justinian built on the hill above Paramythia a castle serving as a refuge for the city's inhabitants in case of an emergency. The size of the remains, the architectural sections, the inscriptions, the marble sarcophagi, indicate the wealth and prosperity of the city which after the 6th century AD begins to decline, probably due to barbaric invasions.

Evidence of a settlement, graves and remains of an early Christian church are also preserved in Glyki, at the northern bank of Acheron, where the river flows from the gorge of Souli. This site has been identified with Euroia, one of the four cities of southern Epirus known by the literary sources.¹⁰¹

Archaeological remains of the Roman-early Christian period have also been traced in the valley of Kokytos, between Glyki and Paramythia: in Karioti, there are remains of a unfortified settlement. Re-

mains of an early Christian basilica, inscriptions and coins were found in Veliani, whereas Roman graves were discovered at Prodromi.¹⁰²

Latin inscriptions have been found in the small plain of Margariti.¹⁰³ In the site of Koutsi, between the plain of Margariti and the coastal plain of Plataria, on the mountains of Parga, in the north western angle of an ancient fortification, a more recent fort is built in the inner side, probably dating to the Roman or late Roman period.¹⁰⁴ This fort was used for controlling the Plataria bay. Signs of a construction phase of this period also exist in the fortification of ancient Elina, at the coastal site of Dymokastro.¹⁰⁵

In the area of Igoumenitsa, at the sites of Ladochori and Xenia, a settlement and cemeteries of the Roman-early Christian period have been traced, while on the hill where a Turkish castle is located, fortification traces of this era exist.¹⁰⁶ Restorations of the Roman or late Roman period also exist in the ancient fort at Lygia, at the entrance of the Igoumenitsa bay.¹⁰⁷ In New Seleukeia, near the city of Igoumenitsa, the remains of a building that is probably part of a Roman farmhouse were discovered in 1992.¹⁰⁸

In the area of Filiates, north of the Myloi village, a fort exists (known as Kasnetsi) on a remote hill, which was used for controlling the plain of Goumani from the north. According to Dakaris' estimations, this fort probably dates to the Roman period.¹⁰⁹ He also claims that the more recent restorations to be observed in the fortification of the ancient settlement at Doliani,¹¹⁰ which he identifies with ancient Fanoti, date to the Roman period.

C. Conclusions

From the aforementioned sites, it is ascertained that during the period of the Roman domination, the mountainous areas are abandoned and the settlements are gathered at the coasts and the vast plains (like the plains of Arta and Acheron), in smaller plains (such as Konitsa, Kalpaki, basin of Ioannina), the river basins and

across the main roads.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, the lack of archaeological research does not allow the acquisition of further knowledge about these settlements and their development. They must be small unwallled villages of a rural character. The number of urban centres is small. The *Synekdemos* of Hierokles that presents the conditions during the 5th century, even though it was not completed until the years of Justinian, numbers only four cities in the area of South Epirus: Nicopolis, Photiki, Euroia and Dodona, which used to be episcopate seats.¹¹² The earlier urban centers, that is the walled cities of the classical and Hellenistic years built on fortified sites, have been abandoned. Only Ambracia appears to survive until around the 4th century AD. Although it initially maintained a legal status as a city until the 2nd century, as indicated by the two aforementioned inscriptions, it later appeared to suffer total decline, since in *Tabula Peutingeriana* there is no indication of Ambracia on the road leading from Nicopolis to Thessaly.¹¹³

Apart from the cities and the rural settlements, farmhouses appear to be another form of inhabitancy during the Roman period. It is known that from the beginning of the 1st century BC, wealthy Romans settled in Epirus, became owners of large estates especially in coastal areas and undertook agricultural activities.¹¹⁴ The banker Titus Pomponius Atticus was one of these wealthy Romans; he owned properties in the area of Bouthrotum (and a luxurious villa called *Amaltheia*) and on the mouth of the river Thyamis (*Kalamas*). As aforementioned, this type of installation has been found in Strongyli near the mouth of Louros, in the area of Konitsa, in Nea Seleukeia of Thesprotia and possibly in Riza of Preveza. Thus, it appears that in Epirus, the economy of which in this period becomes a purely agricultural one, owners of large properties undertake the exploitation of agricultural production.¹¹⁵ The regime of large ownership (*latifundia*) is valid until the 4th century AD, as becomes known by the historical sources referring to the senator Rogatus, a landowner in the area of Nicopolis.¹¹⁶

The socio-economic structures, which did not change with the prevalence of Christianity, as the higher ranks of the clergy were taken over by wealthy landowners,¹¹⁷ undergo transformation under the pressure of the barbaric invasions, which were about to cause a turmoil in the area for more than two centuries. The great losses in human lives, the damage in the countryside, the settlements, the road network and other community projects such as aqueducts, draining channels etc. must have created a sense of uncertainty and terror.¹¹⁸ Under these circumstances, the lack of security in the unfortified settlements of the plain area became apparent. The abandonment of the villa in Strongyli at the end of the 3rd century, which is possibly connected with the first invasions and particularly with the invasion by Herouli in 267 AD, reflects the ruling of insecurity in the area which will reach its peak within the subsequent centuries. New fortifications are constructed for protection, in areas like Nicopolis and Photiki, while at the same time, many previously abandoned fortifications of the classical-Hellenistic age are restored and used as a refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding areas.¹¹⁹ As already shown, repairs can be observed in the fortification of the ancient Vatia in Rizovouni, of Vouchetion (castle of Rogoi), of Pandosia in Kastri of Acheron, as well as in the ancient fortifications at Koutsis, Dymokastro, Lygia, Doliani (Fanoti), Phidokastro and Kastritsa. According to several postulations, these restorations are dated from the years immediately after 167 BC to the period of the Turkish domination. Undoubtedly, the archaeological research will provide the final answer, however, it is most likely that the repairs date to the years of the barbaric invasions.¹²⁰ The results of the excavation conducted in Kastritsa agree with this point of view, since it has been proven that after a period of abandonment this site was re-inhabited from the 4th century AD to the end of the 6th century AD, i.e. during the invasion period. Thus, it seems that throughout this troublesome period, a fortified site is used as a refuge

for the inhabitants living in unwallled settlements in every small or large plain. This is the reason why, either new fortifications are built, like in Nicopolis, in the area of Photiki, in Igoumenitsa and in Konitsa, or fortifications dating to the classical-Hellenistic period are used after being restored, like the ones aforementioned.

The repairs of the ancient fortification at the port of Ambracia, in Phidokastro, possibly relate to barbaric invasions and particularly the invasions from sea by Vandals in 467 and 474 AD.

All attempts relating to the area's defensive armouring failed to contain the invaders' fury. The inhabitants were often forced to abandon their homes in order to seek refuge in other safer areas. According to historical sources, the inhabitants of

Euroia had to move, in the age of Justinian, to a safer location, which they named after their old homeland.¹²¹ A massive movement of the population possibly occurred in the case of Ambracia, which – according to archaeological evidence – was already abandoned in the 5th century AD. Its inhabitants most likely settled in the area near the modern city of Amfilochia, where in the 9th century AD a town called Amvrakia is mentioned and which later is presented as Amvrakià.¹²² With the exception of Nicopolis, which survives for four more centuries, the settlements and cities are abandoned in the 6th century. The Slavs, the last invaders, settle in the area as indicated by the numerous Slavic place-names replacing the now forgotten old ones.¹²³

Notes

NOTE 1

For the history of Epirus during the Roman period see Oost 1954. Sarikakis 1964. Sarikakis 1966. Hammond 1967, 594 ff. Dakaris 1972, 192–198, Dakaris 1987. Chrysos 1981. Cabanes 1997. Chrysos 1997.

NOTE 2

Polyb. 30. 15; Strab. 7. 7. 3; Liv. 45. 34. 5–6; Plut. *Aem.* 29. 4–5; Plin. *HN* 4. 39. Hammond 1967, 629–635. Dakaris 1972, 192–194. Ziolkowski 1986, 69–80.

NOTE 3

Sarikakis 1964, 110–112 and 114 ff.

NOTE 4

Dakaris 1971, 95. Dakaris 1986. Dakaris 1989. *A. Delt.* 48 (1993) 262–267. *A. Delt.* 1994, in press.

NOTE 5

Cabanes–Andreou 1985. Dakaris 1987. Cabanes 1997, 120–122.

NOTE 6

Strab. 7.7.6 and 7.7.9

NOTE 7

Purcell 1987. Doukellis–Dufaure–Fouache 1995, 229.

NOTE 8

Strab. 7.7.6 and 10.2.2.; Paus. 5.23.3 and 7.18.8–9
Anth. Pal. 9.553; Dio 51.1.3. For the settlement of Nicopolis, see Hoepfner 1987. Kirsten 1987. Purcell 1987.

NOTE 9

Petropoulos 1991. Karatzeni 1999.

NOTE 10

Sarikakis 1966, 195 ff.

NOTE 11

Karamesini–Oikonomidou 1975, 79–80

NOTE 12

Sarikakis 1967, 180. Cabanes 1987.

NOTE 13

Karamesini–Oikonomidou 1967. Karamesini–Oikonomidou 1971.

NOTE 14

Sarikakis 1966, 194, 213–214. Chrysos 1981, 12–13

NOTE 15

Chrysos 1981, 22–27

NOTE 16

Dakaris 1972, 198.

NOTE 17

Dakaris 1972, 197–198. Chrysos 1981, 37 ff. Wozniak 1987, 264 ff.

NOTE 18

Chrysos 1981, 68 ff. Koder 1982, 9 ff.

NOTE 19

For the roads of Epirus during the Roman period, Hammond 1967, 699 ff. Dakaris 1971, 97–98.

NOTE 20

Konstantios 1984, 123

NOTE 21

A. Delt. 17 (1961–2) B¹, 197. *A. Delt.* 23 (1968) B2, 286 ff. Dakaris 1971, 96.

NOTE 22

A. Delt. 16 (1960), 200–201. Dakaris 1971, 96.

NOTE 23

A. Delt. 23 (1968) B2, 292. Dakaris 1971, 96, *A. Delt.* 34 (1979) B1, 260. Konstantios 1984, 142.

NOTE 24

Dakaris 1971, 96.

NOTE 25

A. Delt. 42 (1987) B1, 321.

NOTE 26

A. Delt. 48 (1993) B1, 303.

NOTE 27

Dakaris 1993, 35.

NOTE 28

A. Delt. 34 (1979) B1, 260. Konstantios 1984, 118–123.

NOTE 29

BCH 1953, 223–4. Hammond 1967, 183.

NOTE 30

A. Delt. 27 (1972) B2, 446–8.

NOTE 31

A. Delt. 41 (1986) Chron., 100.

NOTE 32

Vokotopoulou 1973, 95.

NOTE 33

From the Ephorate's archives.

NOTE 34

A. Delt. 40 (1985) Chron. 224.

NOTE 35

BCH 1959, 673.

NOTE 36

BCH 1954 I, 135.

NOTE 37

Evangelidis 1952. Dakaris 1954, 1059–1061.

NOTE 38

Evangelidis 1935, 261.

NOTE 39

A. Delt. 48 (1993) B1, 262–267.

NOTE 40

Dakaris 1951. Dakaris 1956. Hammond 1967, 173–175.

NOTE 41

A. Delt. 1994, in press.

- NOTE 42
Dakaris 1951, 174. Dakaris 1952, 540.
Hammond 1967, 174. Wozniak 1984, 35.
- NOTE 43
From the Ephorate's archives.
- NOTE 44
A. Delt. 19 (1964) B3, 313. *A. Delt.* 23 (1968) B2, 294. Douzougli 1994, 15.
- NOTE 45
Chalkia 1997, 168. Hammond (1967, 270-271) dates the fortification to the Byzantine period.
- NOTE 46
A. Delt. 17 (1961-62) B', 197-198.
- NOTE 47
From the Ephorate's archives.
- NOTE 48
Douzougli 1996, 26 ff. Papadopoulou 1996, 75 ff.
- NOTE 49
Hammond 1967, 273.
- NOTE 50
Hammond 1966. Hammond 1967, 617-619.
- NOTE 51
Hammond 1967, Map 17.
- NOTE 52
Hammond identifies the river with Kalamas and places Ilium at Despotiko (Hammond 1967, 696) where, however, no traces of a Roman settlement have been confirmed. After all, the river cannot be in any case Kalamas, as Kalamas flows further south in Thesprotia. Miller (Hammond 1967, 696 notes 1, 2) locates Ilium near Kalpaki, although there is no relation between Kalpaki and the river Aaos that flows to Apollonia.
- NOTE 53
Hammond 1967, 265. *A. Delt.* 41 (1986) Chron., 114.
- NOTE 54
Hammond 1967, 156.
- NOTE 55
A. Delt. 47 (1992) B1, 243-247.
- NOTE 56
Plot Papanikolaou, *A. Delt.* 1999, in press.
- NOTE 57
A. Delt. 1999, in press.
- NOTE 58
A. Delt. 47 (1992) B1, 262-264.
- NOTE 59
From the Ephorate's archives.
- NOTE 60
Karatzeni 1999.
- NOTE 61
Papadopoulou 1997, 344
- NOTE 62
Dakaris, HE 1955, 455. Hammond 1967, 140. *A. Delt.* 45 (1990) B1, 265-266. Papadopoulou 1997, 344.
- NOTE 63
Hammond 1967, 137 ff. Soustal 1981, 720. Soustal-Koder, 233.
- NOTE 64
Hammond 1967, 137 n.2.
- NOTE 65
A. Delt. 30 (1975), 218. *A. Delt.* 45 (1990) B1, 265. H.X. 1926, 116.
- NOTE 66
AE 1950-51, Chron. 40-41, Hammond 1967, 71, Dakaris 1971, 59, 95. *A. Delt.* 47 (1992) B1, 294-295. *A. Delt.* 48 (1993) B1, 282-285. Douzougli 1998, 74-78.
- NOTE 67
A. Delt. 44 (1989) B2, 285. *A. Delt.* 47 (1992) B1, 295. *A. Delt.* 48 (1993) B1, 303.
- NOTE 68
Dakaris HE 1955, 451-453.
- NOTE 69
Hammond 1967, 152. *A. Delt.* 29 (1973-74) B2, 595-6.
- NOTE 70
For Nicopolis, see Soustal-Koder 1981, 213-14 where all the relevant bibliography until 1981. See also Νικόπολη Α', Πρακτικά του Πρώτου για τη Νικόπολη, 23-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984, Πρέβεζα 1987. Zachos 1994.
- NOTE 71
In the larger section of the prefecture of Preveza, a Greek-American Project was conducted from 1991 to 1995 by the University of Boston, the 12th and the 8th Ephorates of Antiquities; see *A. Delt.* 46 (1991) B1, 245-251. *A. Delt.* 47 (1992) B1, 293 ff. *A. Delt.* 48 (1993) B1, 309 ff. *A. Delt.* 1994, in press. *A. Delt.* 1995, in press.
- NOTE 72
A. Delt. 34 (1979) B1, 246. *A. Delt.* 48 (1993) B1, 309.
- NOTE 73
Soustal-Koder 1981, 270 entry St. Thomas.
- NOTE 74
A. Delt. 48 (1993) B1, 310.
- NOTE 75
A. Delt. 42 (1987) B1, 334.
- NOTE 76
A. Delt. 47 (1992) B1, 295.
- NOTE 77
BCH 118 (1994), 728.
- NOTE 78
A. Delt. 31 (1976) B2, 203-204.

- NOTE 79
A. Delt. 17 (1961-62) B, 194. *A. Delt.* 30 (1975) B2, 219-220
- NOTE 80
 Papadopoulou 1997, 342-344.
- NOTE 81
 Hammond 1967, 57-61. Dakaris 1971, 179 ff. Dakaris 1977, 201ff.
- NOTE 82
 Hammond 1967, 55-56. Dakaris 1971, 183-187.
- NOTE 83
 Hammond 1967, 56. Dakaris 1971, 190. Wozniak 1984, 73.
- NOTE 84
 Wozniak 1984, 73. Papadopoulou 1997, 340.
- NOTE 85
A. Delt. 19 (1964) B3, 309. Konstantios 1984, 148. Papadopoulou 1997, 342.
- NOTE 86
 Vokotopoulou *AAA* 1971, 3, 336-337. Dakaris 1971, 97-98.
- NOTE 87
 Chrysos 1981, 24. Doukellis-Defaure-Fouache 1995, 232-233.
- NOTE 88
 For the course of the aqueduct see *A. Delt.* 17 (1961-62) B', 188 plan 1, 194. Doukellis-Defaure-Fouache 1995.
- NOTE 89
A. Delt. 24 (1969) B2, 253-254. Dakaris 1971, 95. *A. Delt.* 35 (1980) B1, 320-321.
- NOTE 90
 Chrysostomou 1982. *A. Delt.* 47 (1992) B1, 313. *A. Delt.* 48 (1993) B1, 301
- NOTE 91
 Dakaris 1972, 199.
- NOTE 92
A. Delt. 48 (1993) B1, 312.
- NOTE 93
 Hammond 1967, 67-68. Dakaris 1971, 95. Wozniak dates the repairs to the years after the 12th - 13th century (Wozniak 1984, 73-74).
- NOTE 94
 Dakaris 1972, 135, 200.
- NOTE 95
 Dakaris 1972, 100, 136. *A. Delt.* 34 (1979) B1, 246-247.
- NOTE 96
 Dakaris 1972, 136, 200.
- NOTE 97
 Dakaris 1971, 96.
- NOTE 98
 Dakaris 1971, 96.
- NOTE 99
 Dakaris 1971, 96, 216 n. 287.
- NOTE 100
 Dakaris 1972, 201-202. Soustal-Koder 1981, 236-237. Triantafyllopoulos 1984.
- NOTE 101
 Dakaris 1972, 136-137, 200-201. Soustal-Koder 1981, 158. Pallas, 1983.
- NOTE 102
 Dakaris 1972, 201. *A. Delt.* 47 (1992) B1, 349.
- NOTE 103
 Dakaris 1972, 142, 202.
- NOTE 104
 Dakaris 1972, 100-101, 203.
- NOTE 105
 Dakaris 1972, 146, 203.
- NOTE 106
 Dakaris 1972, 204. *A. Delt.* 48 (1993) B1, 318-319.
- NOTE 107
 Dakaris 1972, 105-107.
- NOTE 108
A. Delt. 48 (1992) B1, 347-348.
- NOTE 109
 Dakaris 1972, 205.
- NOTE 110
 Dakaris 1972, 39 ff., 154-155, 206.
- NOTE 111
 Dakaris 1972, 207. This is also observed in the neighboring Aetoloakarnania. See Petropoulos 1991, 119.
- NOTE 112
 Dakaris 1952, 542-543. Chrysos 1981, 13-14.
- NOTE 113
 Hammond 1967, Map 17. For the passing of this route through Arta see Hammond 1967, 695-696 and map 18.
- NOTE 114
 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 1.5, 1.13.1, 1.16. Sarikakis 1964, 112 ff. Sarikakis 1966, 204. Dakaris 1971, 93. Dakaris 1972, 196.
- NOTE 115
 For the farmhouses traced in the neighboring Akarnania, which in this era was part of Epirus, see Petropoulos 1991, 119-121.
- NOTE 116
 Chrysos 1981, 91-93.
- NOTE 117
 Chrysos 1981, 27-30, 91-99.
- NOTE 118
 Chrysos 1981, 37 ff.

NOTE 119

It is known that Justinian particularly provided for the defence of the provinces by restoring old fortifications and by making fewer new constructions. (Procopius, *De Aed.* 4.4). Besides, according to more recent studies, many of these fortifications which Procopius attributes to Justinian, are projects by his predecessors (see Wozniak 1987, 265-266) like for example the early Christian fortification of Nicopolis which, according to Chrysos, was built immediately after the city's seizure by the Vandals in 474 AD (Chrysos 1981, 53). This view is also accepted by other researchers. See Gregory 1987, 253 ff. Hellenkemper 1987, 243 ff.

NOTE 120

For the late Roman fortifications in Epirus see Wozniak 1984 and Wozniak 1987, even though only few of the surviving fortifications dating to this era are investigated and thus, it is assumed that Epirote fortifications of the late Roman period were few.

NOTE 121

According to Procopius (*De Aed.* 4.1. 37-41) Justinian moved the inhabitants of Euroia to a safer site where a new city was founded (Nea Euroia) in order to protect them. Dakaris (1952) identifies the Nea Euroia with the Castle of Ioannina, whereas Pallas (1983) locates it in the ancient Pandosia.

In the beginning of the 7th century the inhabitants of Euroia left their houses once again so as to get away from the Slavs and sought refuge to Kassiope in northern Corfu, see Chrysos 1981, 74-77. Koder 1982, 19.

NOTE 122

Soustal - Koder 1981, 104-113.

NOTE 123

Hammond 1967, 27 n.2. Chrysos 1981, 78. Koder 1982. Wozniak 1987, 267.

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