

The Cults of Apollo in Northwestern Greece

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The purpose of our paper is to present all the sanctuaries of Apollo¹ in the areas of northwestern Greece, to discuss their cult affinities and to point out the existence of the worship of Apollo from Archaic times to the foundation of Nicopolis (31 BC).

The most famous sanctuaries and cults of Apollo can be found not only in the Corinthian colonies of northwestern Greece or in the areas affected by Corinthian influence (Ambracia, Apollonia, Corcyra, Leucas, Anactorium, Thermos, Calydon, Buthrotum, Amantia, Oricum) but also in other Epirotic sites such as Molossian Orrao and Dodona.

One of the main deities who were worshipped in Corinth was Apollo, whose cult is evident from the 7th century BC when a temple was built in honour of the god on the Holy Hill², through the Roman period, when the temple was reconstructed.³

Our information about the antiquity of the cult in Corinth comes from Herodotus (3. 52) and Pindar (Olymp. 13). According to a note of Will,⁴ Apollo played a significant role in the abolition of tyranny in Corinth.

It is plausible that Apollo, originally protector of the tyrants,⁵ might have played a major role in the history of the town as Archegetes and Agyieus,⁶ who led the Corinthians to far-away colonies, and later as Pythios Soter who sent away the tyrants and according to Pindar re-established "Eunomia, Themis, and Dike".

The parallel cult of Apollo as Archegetes, Agyieus and Pythios Soter in the Corinthian colonies of Epirus (Ambracia and Apollonia) and in Corcyra, is one piece of evidence of the very close cult relations between Corinth and her colonies.⁷

In particular, Apollo received a special worship in Ambracia,⁸ the most important colony in Epirus, which always kept up close relations with its mother city.⁹

According to literary evidence and archaeological finds, Apollo was worshipped as Agyieus, that is the god who protects the road.¹⁰

As far as the worship of Apollo in Ambracia is concerned, the reference of Athanadas,¹¹ a historian of the 4th century BC, is very indicative.

Athanadas refers to a quarrel between Apollo, Artemis and Heracles for the possession of the town and the intervention of the local hero Cragaleus. The tradition is also mentioned by Nicander and Antoninus Liberalis (4. 7).¹² Nilsson,¹³ referring to the above passage, believes that Cragaleus was a local hero, who was displaced by Heracles,¹⁴ and that the tradition is based on the worship of baetyl,¹⁵ the symbol of Agyieus in Ambracia.

The frequent depiction of baetyl on the coins and the sealed tiles of the town from the Hellenistic period is evidence that Agyieus was the protector of Ambracia.



Fig. 1. Tile from Ambracia of the 3rd/2nd century BC with the inscription ΠΟΛΙΟΣ and baetyl.



and that this cult played an important role in the town.

The baetyl is found on many coins of Ambracia dating from the second half of the 5th century BC through the Roman period. More specifically, it is represented together with Athena Chalinitis on the back of the silver staters of the town in the years 456/426 B.C and 360/333 BC.¹⁶

After 238 BC, this symbol became the main image on the back of most coins from Ambracia, while the main deities of the town, that is to say Athena, Apollo, and Dione, are depicted alternately on the front.¹⁷

The baetyl of Agyieus also decorates the tiles of the temples and the public buildings of Ambracia and is accompanied by one of two inscriptions, either [Δ]AMO[Σ]IA or ΠΟΛΙΟΣ and the initials of the town AMBP.¹⁸ (Fig. 1).

The postarchaic temple of Arta is asso-

ciated with the cult of Apollo.¹⁹ The identification of the temple with the most important sanctuary of Ambracia, which was dedicated to the cult of Apollo Pythios and Soter, is confirmed by a stele of the 2nd century BC.²⁰

This stele bears an inscription, which concerns a treaty defining of the boundaries between two neighbouring towns, Ambracia and Charadros. The small part of the epilogue of the passage, which has been saved, includes an oath to the gods for the faithful observance of the terms of the treaty, placing special emphasis on the invocation of Soter. This must be Soter Pythios Apollo,²¹ according to the invocation of the god in a passage by Antoninus Liberalis IV. 7: 'Αμβρακιῶται δ'Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν Σωτήρι θύουσι.²²

Archaeological data, however, also supports the attribution of the temple to the cult of Apollo. To be more specific, in the

Fig. 2. The base with trimorous construction from the cella of the post Archaic temple of Apollo in Ambracia.

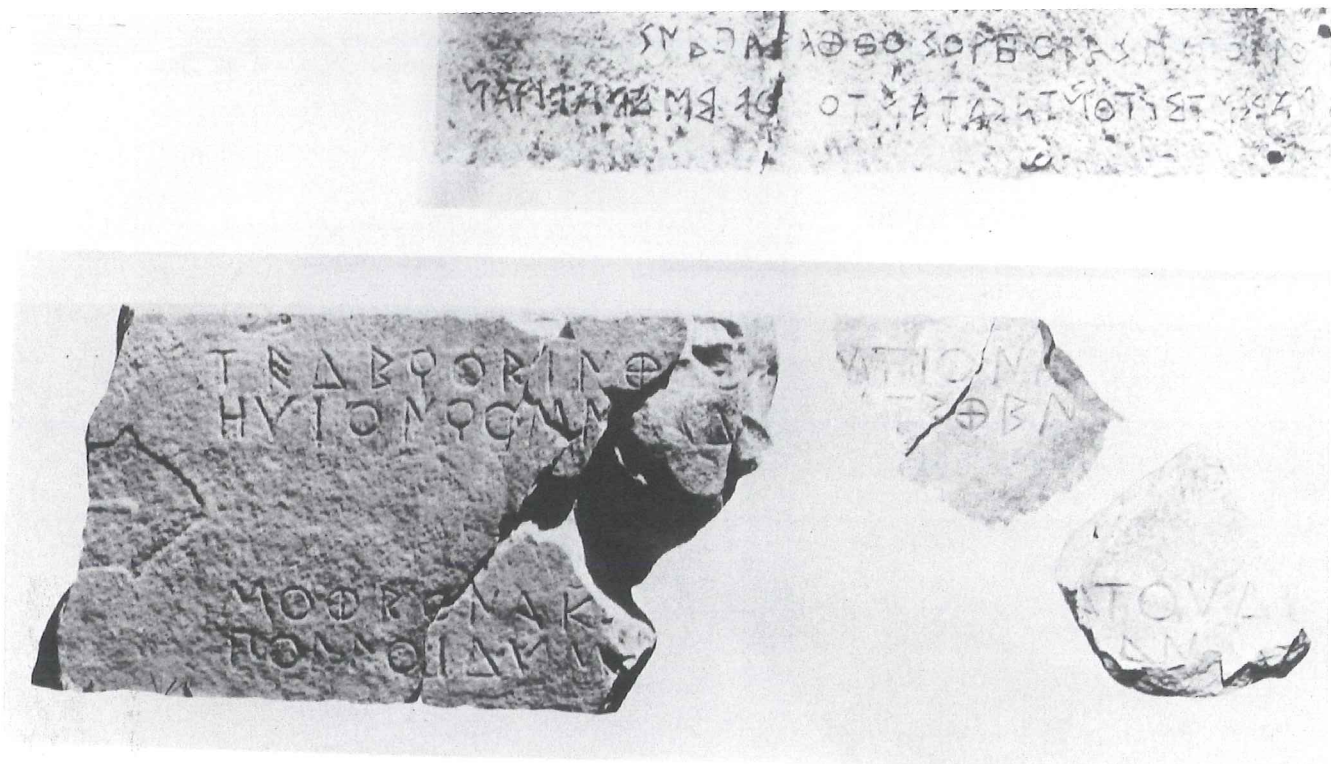


Fig. 3. The inscribed Corinthian Stele of the middle of the 6th century BC with a baetyl in a burial monument in Ambracia.

rear of the cella there is a base with a tripartite construction and incised signs of a circle, which was used for the support of the symbol of the worshipped deity, i.e. Pythios Apollo or Agyieus²³ (Fig. 2). Moreover, the base which supported the baetyl on the silver and bronze coins of Ambracia, is represented in the same way.²⁴

A similar monument was found in Corinth, the metropolis of Ambracia, which supported the baetyl, the symbol of the god who led the colonists to the distant colonies.²⁵ It consists of a large circular pedestal, which is placed on a rectangular foundation near a street.

As the drawings of the architect of Elgin, Ittar, have shown²⁶ the monument consisted of more columns or drums of columns, a fact which allows us to associate it with the baetyl of Apollonia. As well, its dating according to recent archaeological research to the classical period,²⁷ and its position near a street support the attribution of the monument to the cult of Apollo Agyieus. This aspect is also reinforced by the finding of a stone baetyl near the temple of Asklepius in Corinth.²⁸

Another argument, which testifies to

the importance of the Agyieus cult in Corinth and the special significance of the baetyl, is the depiction of a baetyl in a burial stele²⁹ (Fig. 3). This stele has been erected by the Corinthians in a common burial monument (The Polyandron of Ambracia), because they wanted to honour the dead from a naval-battle which took place near the Arachthus river after the mid-6th century BC between Corinthians and Ambracians on one side and Corcyraeans on the other.³⁰

As well the other archaeological finds from Ambracia such as bronze coins from 238/168 BC with a radiate head of Apollo in front and on the other side Apollo naked, radiate, advancing right with bow in left hand and quiver with arrow at his back and in the field the inscription AM/BP, testify the importance of the cult.³¹

Another bronze coin from Ambracia dated to the same period 3rd /2nd century BC shows in its front a radiate or laureate head of Apollo and on the back a naked Zeus advancing right with thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an aegis in his left with the initial AM/BP.³²



Fig. 4. Bronze coin from Athamania, dated to 190 BC, with head of the god laureate depicted on the obverse and bucranium and the inscription ΑΘΑΜΑΝΩΝ on the reverse.

To the same period, 3rd/2nd century BC, belong the inscribed stelai from Ambracia dedicated to many gods and goddesses, among them Apollo.³³

As the archaeological data testify the cult of Apollo spread from Ambracia to the neighbouring areas like Athamania. The bronze coins from Athamania dated to 190 BC depict the head of the god laureate in front and on the back bucranium and the inscription ΑΘΑΜΑΝΩΝ³⁴ (Fig. 4).

The cult of Apollo was also important in Apollonia,³⁵ which was named after the god. In this city there are two stone baetyls. They were the symbol of the town. One of them has been preserved almost intact (Fig. 5) and is found near the Odeum of the town and the temple of Artemis,³⁶ while the other is in pieces and stands on a pedestal in front of the 4th century BC town wall.

The continuous representation of the baetyl on the coins³⁷ of Apollonia from the end of the fifth century BC to the Roman period is of great interest. The archaeological finds lead to the conclusion that Apollo Agyieus was the protector of the Apollonians and that his symbol, the baetyl, was the symbol of the town (Fig. 6).

One of the temples of Apollonia from the Archaic period has been attributed to the cult of Apollo.³⁸ The god was worshipped in Apollonia together with Artemis as in Corinth and the Corinthian colonies (Ambracia, Corcyra, Syracuse, also in Thermos and Calydon), according to philological and epigraphical evidence and

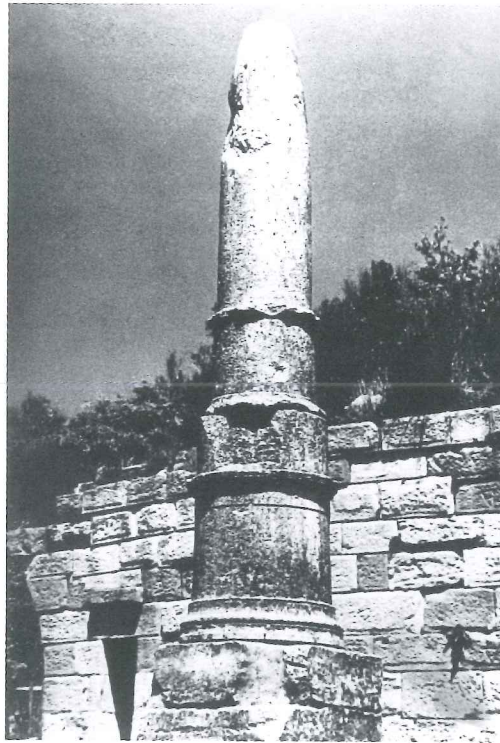


Fig. 5. The stone baetyl of Apollonia.

the archaeological data,³⁹ and his cult was not prior to the period of colonization.⁴⁰

The cult of Apollo spread from Ambracia and Apollonia to the neighbouring areas and it was well accepted by the other Epirote tribes.

Recent discoveries have shown that Agyieus was worshipped in the Molossian settlement Orrao,⁴¹ which was surrounded by walls and which has been recently identified with the ruins of Ammotopos. A piece of a tile which was found in Orrao bears a representation of a baetyl on a bi-concave base and the two letters MO, representing the initial letters of the tribal designation Molossos.⁴²

Ambracia, a neighbouring town where there was considerable worship of the god, is regarded as the most probable place of the origin for this cult.

The cult of Agyieus, based on coin evidence, is attested in Oricum from the 3rd/2nd century BC. The baetyl is represented on a laurel wreath with the inscription ΟΠΙΚΙΩΝ on the back of bronze coins of the 3rd/2nd century BC.⁴³

A baetyl with the inscription ΑΜΑΝΤΩΝ is represented on 2nd century BC bronze coins from the town which bear

Fig. 6. Bronze coin from Apollonia 1st century BC with head of Apollo on the obverse and a baetyl with the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ-ΑΤΑΝ on the reverse.



on the front the head of Artemis. Due to the close and friendly relations between Oricum and Amantia, Apollonia is considered as the most probable place of origin for the cult.⁴⁴

It is probably due to the same reasons that Agyieus was worshipped in Olympi,⁴⁵ which was identified with the ruins of Mavrove, to the northeast of Aulon. The baetyl is represented on the back of 3rd and 2nd century BC bronze coins from the town with the inscription ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ/ΣΤΑΝ, while the front is decorated with the head of Apollo.

It is also to a Corinthian influence that we must attribute the cult of Apollo in Buthrotum,⁴⁶ a region where many proto-corinthian and Corinthian sherds were found, and where the peninsula Examili probably served as a Corinthian base.

Statues⁴⁷ of the god (Fig. 7) were found together with statues of Dionysos in this town. Ugolini dates them to Roman times, but Hammond suggests that these statues are evidence of a most ancient cult to the gods mentioned above in Buthrotum. As well, in Buthrotum, other deities whose cult has been detected in Corinth, were also worshipped.⁴⁸

All the above mentioned data have shown that the cult of Apollo in Epirus is centered in the Corinthian colonies and it is from there that it spread to the neighbouring areas and influenced other tribes in Epirus.

Apollo was particularly worshipped in Dodone, as is certified by the oracular tablets of the 4th century BC, which refer to Themis and Apollo, together with Zeus Naios and Dione Naia:⁴⁹

[Ζεῦ Νάιε καὶ Διώνᾳ να]ῖα, Θέμι καὶ Ἄπολλωνι [σωτ]ηρίας καὶ Τύχας ...].

From the rest of the finds which give

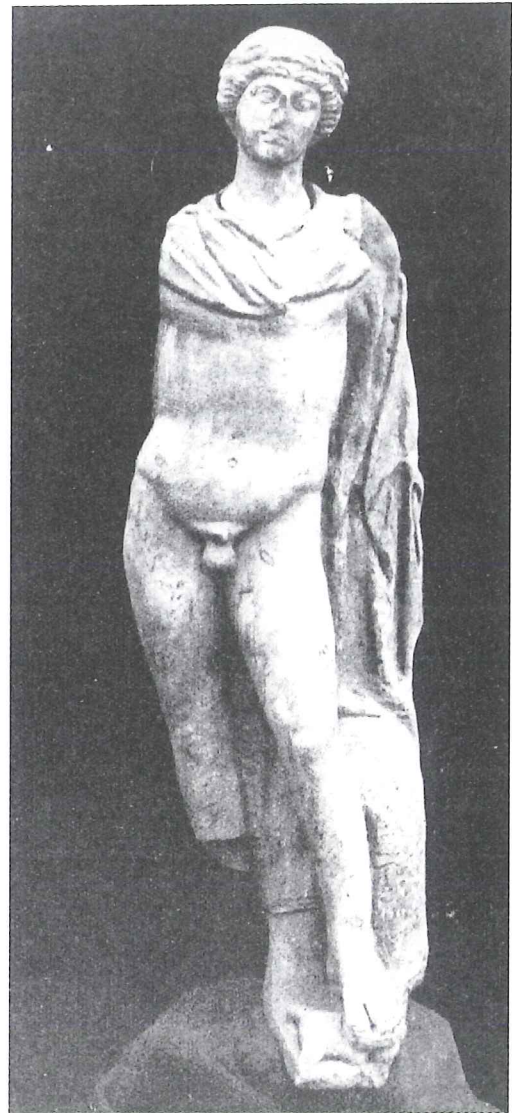


Fig. 7. Statue of Apollo in Buthrotum from the Roman Period.

proof that there was a cult of Apollo in the sanctuary, a bronze statuette of Apollo is of greatest interest.⁵⁰ This statuette is dated to the middle of the 6th century BC and was a dedication to the sanctuary of Dodone by Etymocleidas according to the engraved inscription.⁵¹

The picture of the cult of Apollo at the sanctuary of Dodone is completed by an archaic metal sheet from a cuirass, which has depicted on it the quarrel between Heracles and Apollo for the Delphic tripod.⁵² (Fig. 8)

It is not clear, however, if the cult of Apollo at the sanctuary of Dodone is due to Corinthian influence or if it is due to



Fig. 8. The quarrel between Heracles and Apollo for the Delphic tripod in archaistic sheet, of metal of cuirass from the sanctuary of Dodona.

the nature of the god who is also worshipped in other oracular sanctuaries.⁵³

It is known that Corinth from early times showed interest in northwestern Greece and its foundation myth indicates the relationship between Corinth and the oracle of Dodone.⁵⁴ According to a commentator on Pindar (Nem. 7. 155a) Aletes, who later became king of Corinth, asked for a prophecy from Zeus of Dodone and occupied the town which he named "Corinth of Zeus" in honour of the god who gave him this prophecy.⁵⁵

Regardless of the origin of the cult of Apollo at the sanctuary of Dodone, the god was also worshipped as Molossos.⁵⁶ This adjective proves the significance of the cult in the Molossian tribe to which Dodone belonged.

Returning to the Corinthian colonies in northwestern Greece, where Apollo was especially worshipped, Corcyra,⁵⁷ the biggest and most important colony, should also, and even more so, have honored its protector and founder god. Indeed, according to archaeological data, the god was worshipped from the sixth century

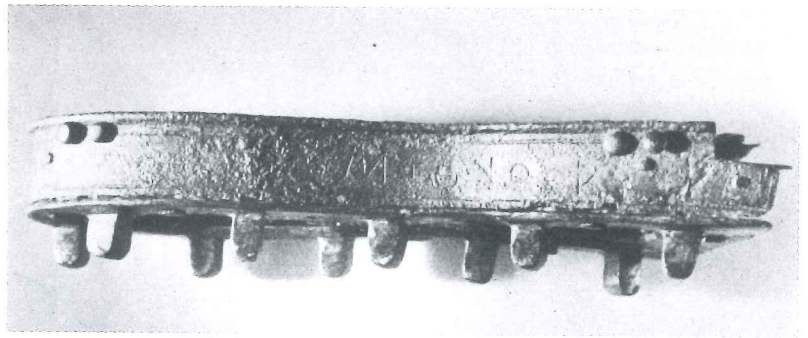


Fig. 9. Bronze base votive shoes with engraving inscription to Apollo Corcyraeus from the temple of Apollo on Mon Repos at Corcyra.

BC until the Roman period. His cult probably took place alongside that of Pythios Apollo in the same sanctuary. Pythios Apollo is the god who helped the Corinthian colonies to throw off the tyranny and restore the democratic regime.

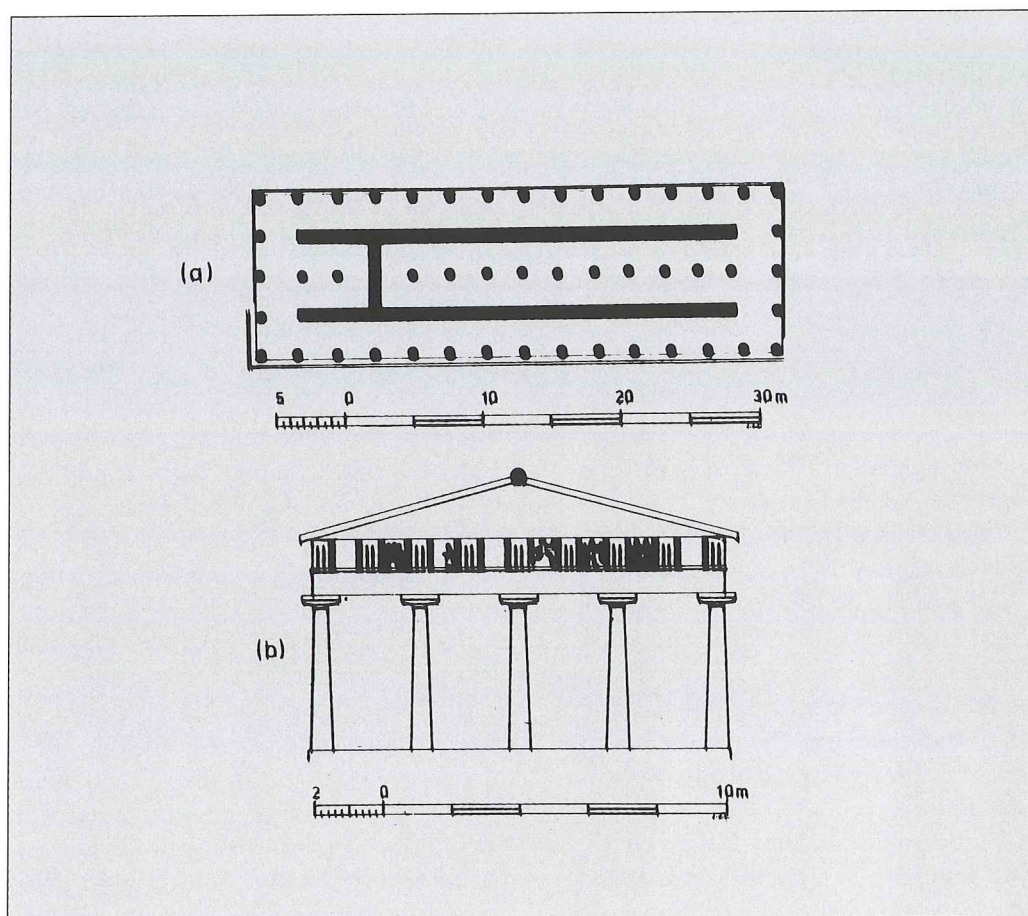
A column of the 7th/6th century BC, triangular in shape with an inscription ΜΥΣ ΜΕ ΙΣΑΤΟ, is connected with the cult of Agyieus as small clay votive shoes show.⁵⁸

However, according to inscriptions, Apollo was worshipped in Corcyra as Corcyraeus. This cult is connected with a small, open-air sanctuary of the 6th/5th century BC on the N.A. side of the hill of Mon-Repos near the large sanctuary of Hera.⁵⁹ The kind of offerings to the god found here testify to his warlike nature.⁶⁰ Among them postarchaic clay bust of the god or priests of the god.⁶¹

From the other votives at the sanctuary a marble *perirrhantirium* with the inscription [ΑΠΙΟΛΛ]ΟΝ is of great interest, while on the rim of a phiale dated from the beginning of the 5th century BC one can read the dedicatory inscription to Apollo Corcyraeus.⁶² The same inscription is engraved on the bronze foot of a tripod and found on another category of offerings as well.⁶³ It concerns bronze shoes: one of them is a micrographic sandal while the other two are bronze coated, normal sized, wooden shoes. On one of them the dedicatory inscription to Apollo Corcyraeus is preserved⁶⁴ (Fig. 9).

Parallel to the warlike character of Apollo, the god was associated in Corcyra with the Nymphs and was worshipped as Nomios Apollo according to Apollonius

Fig. 10. The temple of Apollo of the 7th century BC in Thermos.



Rhodium (4. 1217-1219): Dörpfeld, Rhomaios and Calligas tried to locate the sanctuary.⁶⁵

According to Apollonius Rhodius, 4. 1216 Apollo received an analogous worship in Oricum.⁶⁶

In the study concerning the cult of Apollo in Northwestern Greece we must include two important sanctuaries of the god in Thermos and Calydon, situated in an area which was influenced by Corinth.⁶⁷

The temple of Apollo in Thermos of Aetolia, dated to the last quarter of the 7th century BC (Fig. 10), was built in the place of other buildings of the Mycenaean and Geometric times. It preserves important samples both of the Corinthian and of native art.⁶⁸

The activity of the Corinthian artists in northwestern Greece, during the 7th century BC as well as that of the natives, is demonstrated by the architectural decoration dated to the end of the 7th century

BC, of the small temple of Lyceios Apollo in Thermos, and by that of the temples in Calydon and Corcyra.⁶⁹

Concerning the epithet of the god, Thermius, which is testified by the inscriptions that were found in the sanctuary of Apollo,⁷⁰ several opinions have been expressed: K. Rhomaios' opinion⁷¹ has been predominant and it is indeed accepted by more recent researchers. Relying on the archaeological data, he attributes an inflammatory character to the god. And indeed the excavations that took place at the geometric sanctuary of Apollo in Thermos, gave evidence of the celebration of sacrifices of that kind.⁷²

So it seems that a native cult preexisted the one of Thermius Apollo, which, however, must have come under the influence of Corinth, by the end of the 7th century BC, when Corinth colonizes northwestern Greece.⁷³ This opinion is supported by the archaeological finds which attest to the Corinthian artistic influence on the



Fig. 11. Inscribed plaque of the 6th century BC with the name Apollo Laphrius from Calydon.

regions of Aetolia, as well as by the cult epithet of Apollo, Lyceios.⁷⁴

The surname Lyceios Apollo was found in an inscription from the end of 3rd/beginning of the 2nd century BC, which was found near the large temple in Thermos.⁷⁵ This inscription made it possible to associate the small temple of the Archaic Period, from around 600 BC, on the eastern part of the sanctuary of Apollo, with the worship of Lyceios Apollo.⁷⁶

This surname Lyceios is also connected with Dionysos in Corinth. Here Apollo was worshipped since the Archaic period, and as Pausanias tells us (2. 2. 6), there were wooden statues of Dionysos with the surnames Lyceios and Bacchios at the Agora in Corinth.⁷⁷ The fact that these wooden statues (*xoana*) were placed close to one of Artemis, shows the common origin of the myths and the existence of the same kind of ecstatic cult for both gods.⁷⁸

The god must have been worshipped in a similar way in Thermos, where, near the temple of Lyceios Apollo, there existed a small temple of Artemis from the 6th century BC, as it is clear from its terracotta decoration.⁷⁹

Rhomaïos identifies a bronze statuette from the end of the 7th century BC, which was found in the temple of Apollo, as the goddess Artemis whom he considers as an important deity in Thermos and Aetolia in general.⁸⁰

Relationships between Dionysos and Artemis from the Archaic period up to the Roman one, are also attested in Calydon,⁸¹ next to Thermos. The two main

gods of Calydon, Apollo Laphrius and Artemis Laphria were worshipped together with Dionysos (Paus. 4. 31. 7 and 7. 18. 8) in two temples, from the beginning of the 6th century BC.⁸² The epigraphical evidence and the archaeological finds confirm the identification of the temples.⁸³

In Calydon, together with Artemis, Apollo was already worshipped from the 6th century BC, as an inscribed stele of the 6th century BC, a kind of *horos*, attests. On this appears the name of Apollo Laphrius in the Corinthian alphabet⁸⁴ (Fig. 11). We are also told about the cult of the god by Strabo (10. 2. 21), who refers to the sanctuary as being one of Laphrius Apollo.⁸⁵

The cult of Apollo in Leucas is probably associated with the Corinthian colonists, since Leucas is also Corinthian colony.⁸⁶ According to the literary evidence (Thuc. 39. 4. 2, Strab. 10.2, Greek Anth. 6. 251) and the archaeological data, the god was worshipped from the 5th century BC until the Roman period, with the name Leucatas and a temple was founded in his honour.⁸⁷ The depiction of the god on coins of the 4th and 2nd century BC is due to the particular worship which Apollo received in Leucas.⁸⁸

As well, other cults of Corinthian origin are also testified to in Leucas; one of them is the cult of Athena, which according to a dedicatory inscription from the 6th century BC on a bronze helmet, belongs to the Archaic period.⁸⁹

The silver staters of Leucas representing Pegasus and Athena Chalinitis dated to the end of the 6th century BC show the very strong influence of Corinth.⁹⁰

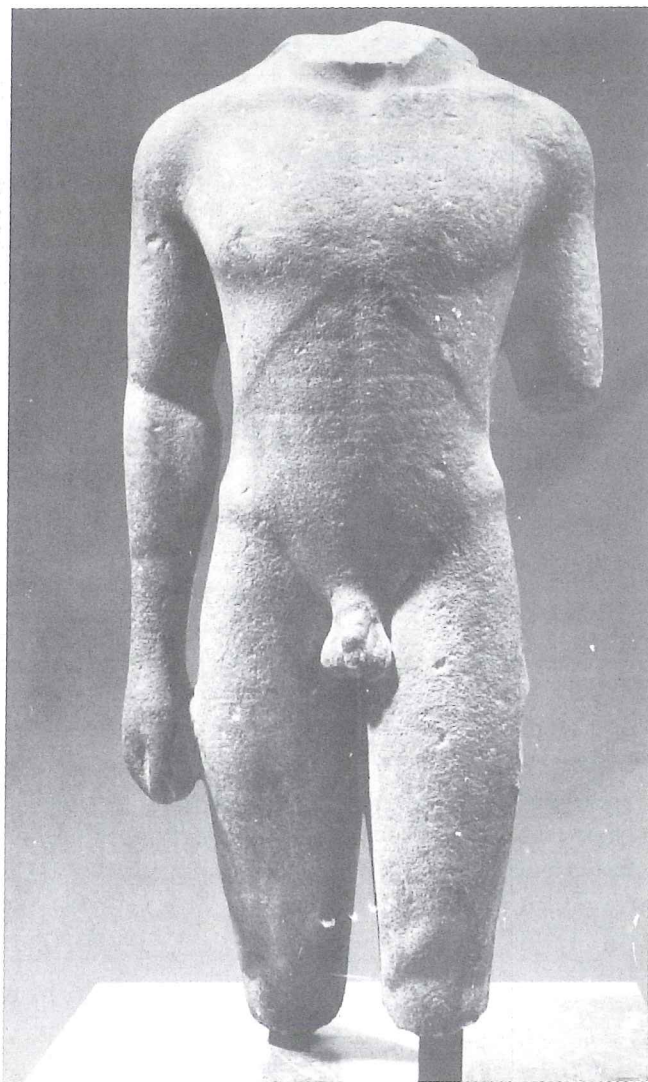
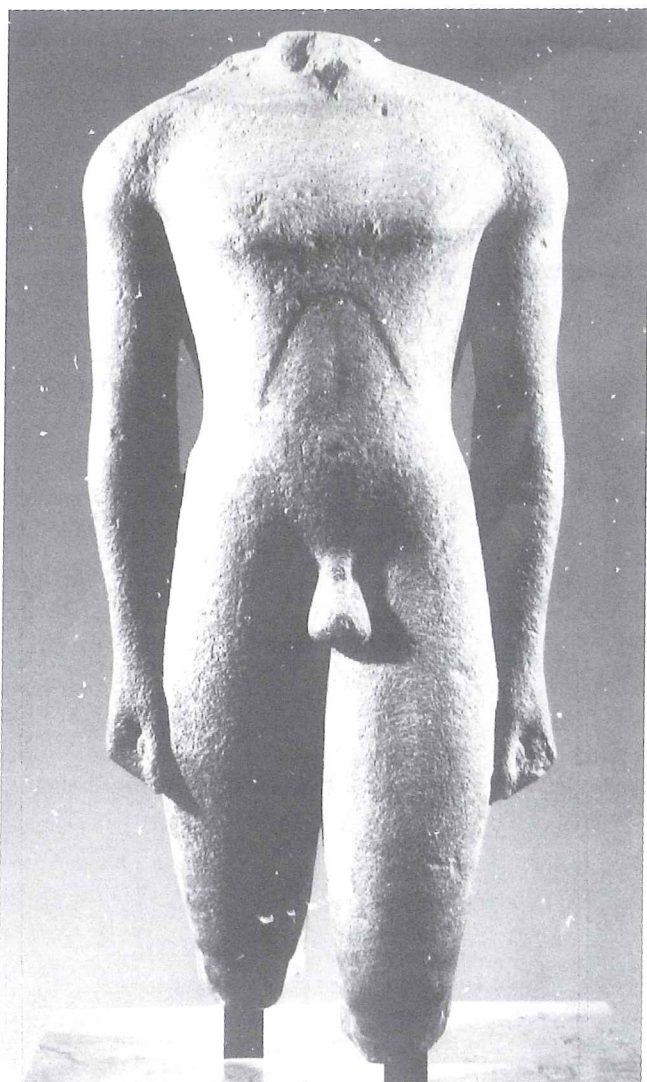


Fig. 12. The Kouroi of the 6th century BC from the temple of Apollo in Anactorium.

The picture of the Corinthian origin of many of the cults in Leucas is completed with the cult of the Nymphs and the other deities, Hermes, Pan, Silenoi and Satyrs as is shown by the study of archaeological material from caves in the island.⁹¹

Another cult of Apollo, is the one of Actius Apollo⁹² which is investigated in Corinth. The god owes his name to the sanctuary in Actium, “the mouth of the Ambracian gulf” according to Strabo (10. 2. 7).⁹³

Actius Apollo, god of navigation, was first worshipped in Anactorium,⁹⁴ a colony that the Corinthians founded around 625 BC, at the side of Ambracian gulf together with other colonies, such as Sollium and Heracleia.

In honour of Apollo the colonists es-

tablished a sanctuary, known to Thucydides (1. 29. 3), who also gives its topography.⁹⁵ The early worship of Actius Apollo is also testified to by archaeological finds and especially by the Kouroi of the first half of the 6th century BC, which belonged to the ancient temple.⁹⁶ (Fig. 12)

The *Actia* were celebrated in honour of Actius Apollo from at least the 4th century BC onwards. From the 3rd century BC, about 216 BC, the Acarnanians undertook the conduct of the games, after an agreement with Anactorium, by which the charge of the sanctuary of the Actius Apollo, was transferred to the Acarnanians.⁹⁷

Moreover, the significance of the cult of Actius Apollo is attested to by the consular inscription of the 2nd century BC which mentions the god's priests, and by

the frequent depiction of Apollo on silver coins of Anactorium from the 4th century BC as well as on bronze ones of the 3rd century to the 2nd century BC.⁹⁸

The cult of Actius Apollo probably spread from Anactorium to the neighbouring areas like Ambracia as the archaeological data testify. In the bronze coins from Ambracia dated to 3rd/2nd century BC the head of young Heracles in a lion's skin is depicted on the front and on the back Apollo Actius is seated with bow in right hand and the initial AM/BP in the field.⁹⁹

Actius Apollo was worshipped also in Thyreium according to the silver coins of the 2nd century BC with the beardless head of Achelous on the obverse and Apollo Actius naked, seated in a throne, on the reverse. The god holds in right hand a string bow and the elbow rests on a support. On the field the inscription ΘΥΡΡΕΙΩΝ.¹⁰⁰

The archaeological data do not testify to Apollo's cult in Cassope.¹⁰¹ This town's close connections with the neighbouring areas like Ambracia, Anactorium and Leukas, where, as we know, Apollo received a special cult, permit us to consider it probable that Apollo was worshipped in Cassope.¹⁰²

On basis of the more ancient bronze coins of Cassope 342/340,¹⁰³ where a snake is depicted on the reverse, Franke,¹⁰⁴ trying to interpret this cult symbol in association with Apollo's cult, draws on Aelian's information (Aelian, *NA*, 11. 2). According to Aelian, during the annual Epirote festival in honour of Apollo a virgin priestess was offering food to snakes. But nothing relates this information to Cassope and to Apollo, especially.

It is also known from the archaeological data and the literary evidences that the cult of Actius Apollo continued until the Roman period in the same sanctuary.¹⁰⁵ However, when Nicopolis was founded by Octavian in 31 BC, Apollo became the city's protector, since Octavian attributed his victory to Actius Apollo.¹⁰⁶

The hill found today in the northern part of the village Smyrtoula, is identical



Fig. 13. Bronze coin of about 28 BC from Nicopolis with Actius Apollo nude on the base with his attribute and on the front head of the town with the inscription *IEPA NIKOΠOΛΙΣ*.

with the hill where Octavian established his headquarters before the naval battle. He dedicated the hill to Apollo after his victory (Strab. 7. 7. 5) and had "a Victory monument" erected. Moreover, he ordered this "Victory monument" decorated with the spoils, the rams of the enemy boats, a statue of Apollo and other dedications (Dio Cassius 51. 1. 3, Suet. *Aug.* 96. 2).¹⁰⁷

At the same time, he reorganized the *Actia*, the local festival of Acarnanians in order to perpetuate the historical victory of Actium.¹⁰⁸

The presence of Actius Apollo on the coins¹⁰⁹ from the beginning up to the end of the functioning of the town's mint, must be due to the great cult that Apollo received in Nicopolis.

On the coins from Nicopolis the god is presented nude, standing, often on a base with a bow in his left hand and a torch or Nike (Victory) in his right hand, while on the Roman coins he is depicted differently as a chitharoedos with a long chiton.

Actius Apollo, who was already engraved on the first coins of the town, coins which were cut immediately after 28 BC, seems to be a copy of an archaic statue or is at least intended as a depiction of an archaic one.¹¹⁰ (Fig. 13)



Fig. 14. Actius Apollo on the bronze coin from Nicopolis, dated to the reign of Caracalla, with branch and arrow and in front head of the town.



Fig. 15. Leucatas Apollo in a bronze coin from Nicopolis, dated to the reign of Traianus, with the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΛΕΥΚΑΤΑΣ.

With slight variations the god is depicted on the coins of the periods of Julia Domna and Caracalla, of Philip the Second, of Gallienus and Saloneina¹¹¹ (Fig. 14). The researchers' opinions, however, differ as to which epithet should be attributed to Apollo on the coin.¹¹²

More specifically Franke¹¹³ claims that it depicts the cult statue of Apollo Leucadius and not the Actian one, as has been accepted by other researchers. He mainly bases his opinion on the depiction of the god on a unique bronze coin from Nicopolis dated from the period of Traianus which bears the inscription Leucatas Apollo¹¹⁴ (Fig. 15). The god is represented on a round base with his head turned to the left and his hair tied and a quiver on his shoulder. In his left hand he holds an arrow and in his right a torch.¹¹⁵

Franke¹¹⁶ also accepts that the worship of Leucadius Apollo was neither replaced nor assimilated to the cult of Actius Apollo, as it had been claimed, but was transferred to Nicopolis, where it survived for a long time, and this is demonstrated by the depiction of the god's cult statue on the coins of the town.

The question then is why did the people of Nicopolis prefer to depict Leucadius Apollo instead of Actius, the god that they mostly worshipped? On the base of Ovid's *Heroides* 15, 165-166 Sutherland accepts as probable the identification of the two cults, Actius's and Leucadius

Apollo's, as the same.¹¹⁷ Because of this, a certain confusion in the representation of their cult statues must be considered as possible. We accept that Leucadius Apollo must have been worshipped in a major way in Nicopolis, as is shown by a coin of Traianus with the inscription *Apollo Leucatas* and also by the literary evidence, which associates Leucadius with the sea battle off Actium, e.g. Propertius 3. 11. 69: *Leucadius versas acies memorabit Apollo*.¹¹⁸ Besides, the god's depiction on the coins of Nicopolis is justified as Leucatas Apollo was worshipped in Leucas which was synoecised with Nicopolis.¹¹⁹

Apollo was probably also worshipped as Agyieus, as is shown by two marble fragments of a baetyl, which were found in Nicopolis.¹²⁰

One of these is preserved under the Number 865 in the Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis and has not been published. Its height is 0,44m and the diameter of its base is 0,11m. The cone, the top of which is missing, comes down to a wider base with two concaves. (Fig. 16) The irregularity of the base shows that it has been detached from a pedestal. This means that the baetyl of Nicopolis matches the usual depiction of Apollo's symbol, as it appears on the coins from the Epirote towns and on the sealed tiles of Ambracia. It also resembles the stone baetyl of Apollonia.

The worship of Apollo Agyieus was

transferred to Nicopolis either from neighbouring Ambracia because of the synoecism or more probably from Apollonia because of Augustus' wishes.¹²¹ It is known that Octavian was introduced to this cult in the towns of northwestern Greece and especially in Apollonia, where he lived for a long period. Since this town was associated with some important events of Octavian's life, it is natural, as Picard-Schmitter¹²² observes, that he adopted the symbol of the town and this symbol was Apollo's baetyl, that is the baetyl of the god with whom he chose to be identified.

We can also say that Octavian's preference for this god is made obvious by the fact that on the Palatine Hill he dedicated a temple to Apollo and decorated it with the god's symbols.¹²³ Among these symbols is the baetyl which became a popular subject in Roman art during imperial times. The worship of Agyieus in Nicopolis must be associated with Actius Apollo.¹²⁴ We are led to this conclusion by H. K uthmann's note which tells us that Actius Apollo, who is depicted on the silver staters and demistaters of the Koinon of the Acarnanians (300–167 BC), rests his left elbow on a column, which he interprets as Agyieus' baetyl.¹²⁵ For this reason, he considers necessary the association of Actius Delphinus–Agyieus Apollo of the coins, comparing them with the coins of Megara, where a mingling of Apollo Agyieus and Delphinus is reported.¹²⁶

As far as we know, however, Agyieus' symbol is not depicted on the coins of Nicopolis. But the existence of two stone baetyls in Nicopolis attests to the significance of the cult, which was well received even in Rome.¹²⁷

Summing up, we would like to suggest that Apollo received a special worship in the region of northwestern Greece and mainly in its Corinthian colonies. His cult spread from these colonies to the neighbouring regions and was well received among the most important tribes. The respective cults of Apollo as Archegetes, Agyieus and Pythios Soter, in Ambracia and Apollonia as well as in Corcyra, proves



Fig. 16. Stone baetyl from Nicopolis. The Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis, (Inv. 865).

the existence of the strong cult ties of between Corinth and these towns. Apollo was the protector of Ambracia as well as of Apollonia and his symbol, the baetyl, was also the symbol of these towns. His cult stems from the Archaic period and is associated with the colonization of both towns. It is worth mentioning that Apollo did not have any other cult epithets of a native origin, either in Ambracia or in Apollonia, in contrast with Corcyra, where he was also worshipped as Corcyraeus.

The same statement can be made about the epithets of the god in the remaining regions of northwestern Greece, which were included in our paper, where the god was worshipped as Actius, Thermius, Laphrius and Leucatas. These names emphasize not only the significance of the cult but also the joint influence of the native peoples

and the colonists. At the same time these names testify that Apollo's cult existed before the arrival of the Corinthian colonies and that it was influenced by Corinth after these colonies were founded.

The spreading of the cult in the Epirote and the Acarnanian towns is due to these towns' proximity with the Corinthian colonies, but also to the nature of Apollo, the god who was associated with prophecy.

When, however, Octavian Augustus compelled most of the inhabitants of Epirus and Aetolo-acarnania to be synoecized into his new city, Nicopolis, the cult

of Apollo took a new dimension. As is to be expected, the inhabitants of the new town took with them the cults of their gods. In that way Apollo, the god of the colonists, became the protector of Octavian, and a contributor to the naval battle of Actium. For this Apollo was awarded by the Emperor himself and was worshipped even in Rome. Octavian founded a temple in honor of Apollo on the Palatine hill and decorated it with the cult symbols of the god, among them the baetyl, which was to become a popular subject in Roman Imperial Art.¹²⁸

Notes

NOTE 1

For the cult of Apollo generally, see Burkert 1985, 143-149 and p. 483 in W. Apollo. See also W. Lambrinudakis, Ph. Bruneau, Ol. Palagia, M. Daumas, G. Kokkorou-Aleuras and El. Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou, "Apollon", LIMC II/1, München 1984, p. 183-327 with older bibliography.

NOTE 2

For the temple of Apollo of the 7th century BC, see Salmon 1984, 59-62, 78-79, 98-99 and for the chronology, Robinson 1976, 217-218. See also Stillwell 1932, 115f, R. Lisle 1955, 28 and Salmon 1984, 180.

NOTE 3

Sakellariou-Faraklas 1971, 143, §538 and Lisle 1955, 28.

NOTE 4

Will 1955, 410-412 and Vokotopoulou, 1975, 410-411.

NOTE 5

See Salmon 1984, 219, who believes that the temple of Apollo was established at the time of Cypselos, tyrant of Corinth for the protector god.

NOTE 6

For the cult of Apollo Archegetes, see Dunbabin 1948, 9, 51, 177, 181, 194, Kalliga 1978-79, 61.

NOTE 7

See Tzouvara-Souli 1987-1988, 99f, *eadem* 1992a, 91-95.

NOTE 8

For Ambracia see recently Tzouvara-Souli 1992b with older bibliography and for the recent excavations in Arta I. Andréou, *ADelt* 42 (1987), 1992, B, *Χρον.*, p. 308-315, Karatzeni *ibidem*, 315-318 and Petropoulou *ibidem*, 318. See also Andréou 1993, 91-101, *idem* 1997, 17-35, A. Douzougli, *ADelt* 47 (1992), 1997, B, *Χρον.* 243-261, Karatzeni - Pliakou, *ibidem*, 262-264, Karatzeni 1994 264-270,

Pliakou, *ibidem*, 271-273 and Sarri, *ibidem*, 273-278. See also Douzougli, *ADelt* 48 (1993), 1998, B, *Χρον.*, p. 268-273, Pliakou, *ibidem*, 274-275, Angeli, *ibidem*, 275-278 and Kontogianni, *ibidem*, 278-281.

NOTE 9

For the relationship between Ambracia and Corinth, see Salmon 1984, 271f., 276f. and 394f. See also Graham 1964, 137f.

NOTE 10

Grammarians and lexicographers define the word Agyieus as an epithet for Apollo, but chiefly as a pointed column or obelisk and altar situated in front of the gates, see Harpocration s.u. Αγυιάς, Sudas s.u. Αγυιαί, Steph. Byzantius s.u. Αγυιά. Hesychios s.u. Αγυιεύς and Etymologicum Magnum 15,29f. See also J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge 1912 (1963), 406, M. Nilsson, *GGr RI*³, München 1967, 203 and note 3.

NOTE 11

For Athanadas, see F. Jacoby, *FGr H IIIb* (Text) (303), Leiden 1955, 10-11.

NOTE 12

For Antoninus Liberalis, see M. Papatheopoulos, Antoninus Liberalis, *Les Métamorphoses*, Paris 1968, XIV.

NOTE 13

M. Nilsson, *Studien zur Geschichte des alten Epeiros*, Lund 1909, 20 and note 1.

NOTE 14

For the cult of Heracles in Ambracia and for his temple, see most recently Karatzeni 1994, 292f, *idem*, 1997, 233f. See also Tzouvara-Souli 2000, 112-118.

NOTE 15

The word baetyl is of unknown etymology, see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Histoire des Mots, Paris 1968 under the word baetyl. According to Zunth, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 8 (1946), 169-219 the term is a Mediterranean religious one equivalent to the Semitic term, bethel,

which means "house of God". See Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi, *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* 8 (1976), 180 note 38. For Agyieus generally see also Fehsentsz, 1993, 126-196, Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi *op.cit.*, 109-191 *idem* "Apollo Agyieus" LIMC, 327-332, and especially for the cult of Agyieus in Epirus, Tzouvara-Souli 1984, 427f.

NOTE 16

For the silver staters of Ambracia which depict Athena Chalinitis with different symbols see B. Head, *Corinth, Colonies of Corinth*, London 1889 (Bologna 1963), 104f, Ravel 1928, 26-34, 109, SNG Cop Epirus-Acarmania 1948, n. 3-10. C. Kraay, "The Earliest issue of Ambracia", *QT* 1977, 35-52, *idem*, "The Coinage of Ambracia and the preliminaries of the Peloponnesian War", *QT* 1979, 37-66 with new evidences and Th. Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece*, Princeton 1985, 239-295. See also Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi *etc.*, *op.cit.*, 127 with reference to the interpretation of the three part construction of the baetyl.

NOTE 17

For the baetyl's representations of these years, see Gardner 1963, 94, n. 1-14, B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, Oxford 1911, 320, 39, SNG Cop n. 21-25, Franke 1961, 324f. See also Tzouvara-Souli 1984, 430-431, M. Oikonomidou, Συμβολή στη μελέτη της κυκλοφορίας των χάλκινων νομισμάτων της Αμβρακίας, Phigios 1994., 282-283 and pl. 286-287 and recently Douzougli, *ADelt*. 47 (1992), 1997, 256, N. 3 and pl. 74a: 2b. These coins came to light from the recent excavations in Arta and from Hellenistic level, Douzougli, *op.cit.*, 253 and note 33.

NOTE 18

For the tiles with baetyl from Ambracia, see P. R. Franke, *op.cit.*, 312 n. 8 (pl. 61 (5), n. 7, pl. 61 (8)). See also D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*, Oxford 1973, 63-64 note 11, I. Vokotopoulou,

ADelt 22 (1969), B₂, p. 342, pl. 247a, and A. Douzougli, *ADelt* 47 (1992), 1997, *op. cit.*, 251, pl. 73d.

NOTE 19

For the temple and its association with Apollo, S. Dakaris, *ADelt* 20 (1965), Xpov. B₂, p. 345, *idem*, *ADelt* 21 (1966), Xpov., 278., Vokotipoulou 1975, 153, *idem*, *ADelt* 32 (1977), Xpov. B₁, 145. For the dedication of the temple to the cult of Apollo Pythios – Agyieus see Tzouvara-Souli 1984, 434–435.

NOTE 20

For the Stele, see P. Cabanes-J. Andréou 1985, 499–544: See also I. and H. Andréou, *ADelt* 41 (1986), Xpov., 101–102.

NOTE 21

For the cult of Soter Pythios Apollo generally in Corinth and Corinthian Colonies, see Will 1955, 410–411. See also Salmon, 1984, 73, 219–220 and for the temple of Pythios Apollo in Corinth, Robinson, 1976), 217–218 and Salmon 1984, 180, Williams, 1978, 88–89.

NOTE 22

See note 21.

NOTE 23

For the pedestal, see Vokotopoulou, *ADelt* 24 (1969), Xpov. B₂, p. 247. See also Tzouvara-Souli 1984, 32–33. For the same construction in Ambracia, connected with the baetyl see recently A. Douzougli, *ADelt* 47(1992), 1997, B₁ Xpov., 253 and note 32.

NOTE 24

For the coins of Ambracia, see Gardner 1963, pl. 18 n.1.

NOTE 25

For the cult of Apollo in Corinth from the Archaic period, Will 1955, 235f., 401f., Lisle, 1955, 25, 28, 82 and 101.

NOTE 26

For the monument, see Sakellariou-Faraklas 1971 143 §538, O. Broneer, “Cults in the Corinthian Agora”, *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 153–154 and R. L. Scranton, Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple, *Corinth* I, 3 (1951), 83.

NOTE 27

Charles K. Williams II – Pamela Russel, “The circular Monument”, *Hesperia* 50 (1981), 20.

NOTE 28

Ch. K. Williams II – P. Russel, *op. cit.*, 20.

NOTE 29

El Adreou, *ADelt* 41 (1986), Xpov. 104–105 and especially I. Andréou, Τα Επιγράμματα του Πολυανοδρίου της Αμβρακίας, *ADelt* 41 (1986), Meletai, p. 426–427.

NOTE 30

For the monument and the inscription, see J. Bousquet, “Deux (pigrammes Grecques”. (Delphes, Ambracie), *BCH* 116 (1992), 596–606. See also Ag. P. Mathaiou, “Αμβρακίας Ελεγεών”, *horos* 8–9 (1990–91), 271–277 and 303–310. Cf. El. and I. Andréou, Τα Επιγράμματα της Αμβρακίας και τα απαράδεκτα μιας ερμηνείας, *ADelt* 43 (1988), Meletai, 110–113.

NOTE 31

For the coins, see Gardner 1963, 95, N. 20–22, pl. 18.4.

NOTE 32

For these coins, see Gardner 1963, 95 N. 23–28 and SNG Cop Epirus-Acarmania (1943), N. 31–34. SNG, Grèce, Collection R. H. Evelpidis, II, p. XLVIII, N. 1777–1780. See also M. Oikonomidou, Phigos 1994, 282 and 288, A. Douzougli, *ADelt* 47 (1992), 1997 *op. cit.*, 255–256 N. 2 and Note 34.

NOTE 33

For the stele, see Tzouvara-Souli 1979, 1979, 19, fig. 8b and p. 44. See also *eadem*. 1992, 162–165.

NOTE 34

For the coins, see P. Franke 1961, 25–26, pl. 2V23–32, P. 26–37 and for the cult of Apollo in Athamania see Tzouvara-Souli 1994, 54–55.

NOTE 35

For Apollonia and the relationship with Apollo, see Scymn. 438 in GGM I, 214, Plinius *HN* 3. 145 and Paus. 5. 22. 34. See Hammond 1967, 426, Will 1955, 518 f., Ceka 1982, *idem*. 1988, 86, Cabanes 1993, 7–20.

NOTE 36

For the baetyls in Apollonia, see A. Kahn, “Apollonia”, *Archaeology* 14 (1961), 162, P. Franke, “Albanien im Altertum”, *Antike Welt* 14 (1983), Sondernummer, 41, fig. 83 and p. 54 fig. 102. For the temples of Artemis, see M. Korkuti, Shquiperia Arkeologike. Tirane 1971, 13 n. 68, fig. 68, Sk. Anamali, “Santuari di Apollonia”, La Magna Grecia e i grandi Santuari della Madrepatria, Atti del Trentunesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 4–8 Ottobre 1991, Taranto 1992, 127 f., See also in the same Atti, 127f: N. Ceka, “Santuari dell’area Illirico-Epirotico”, who says that the temple belongs to the cult of Apollo.

NOTE 37

For the coins, see B. Head, *HN*² (see note 17), 314, Gardner 1963, 59, n. 49–53 (pl. 12 n. 9) and p. 60 n. 50–51, pl. 12 (n. 12). See also David R. Sear, *Greek coins and their values*, London 1966 (1975), n. 1887, Ceka 1972, 62 and p. 105, Collection R. Evelpidis, SNG Grèce, Louvain 1975, p. XLVI, n. 1710, 1714, 1715, 1716.

NOTE 38

See note 36.

NOTE 39

Chr. Tzouvara-Souli 1993, 67-68.

NOTE 40

Cf. Halic Myrto's view, *Konsiderata me Obeliskum e Apolonisē*, *Monumentet* 1 (1988), 81-86 with reference to the illyrian origin of the cult of Agyieus.

NOTE 41

For Orrao see P. Cabanes-J. Andréou 1985, 499f and 753-757. For the ancient settlement in general, see N. G. L. Hammond, *BSA* 48 (1953), 134-140, *idem* 1967, 154-156, Hoepfner - Schwandner 1986, 109-110, fig. 107 and Dakaris 1986, 108-146.

NOTE 42

Dakaris 1986, 413, pl. 41g.

NOTE 43

For Oricum, see N. G. L. Hammond 1967, 129, 385, 419, 494-495 and for the geographical position of Oricum on the sea road towards the Corinthian colonies, see R. Beaumont, Greek influence in the Adriatic sea before the fourth century BC, *JHS* 56 (1936), 165.

For the coins, see Gardner 1963, 99, pl. 31 n. 31, B.V. Head, *HN*² (see note 17), 316. See also R. Évelpidis SNG Grèce, Louvain 1975, p. XLVII, n. 1751 and 1752. For the other cults in Oricum of Corinthian origin see Tzouvara-Souli 1979, 13, 16, 36, 42, 59-60 and 82 f.

NOTE 44

For Amantia generally, see Sh. Gjongecaj, "Le monnayage d'Amantie", *Iliria* VII-VIII, 1977-1978, 83-112 and P. Cabanes, "Recherches Archéologiques en Albanie 1945-1985", *RA* 1986, F1, 126. For the coins Ceka 1972, 129-130 and Sh. Gjongecaj, *op. cit.*, 104f., who observes that Artemis of Amantia was worshipped in a similar way to Apollo, *op. cit.*, p.105.

NOTE 45

For the Greek origin of the town, see F. Papazoglou, "Politarques en Illyrie" *Historia*

35 (1986), 438f and N.G.L. Hammond, "The Illyrian Atintani, the Epirotic Atintanes and the Roman Protectorate", *JRS* 79 (1989), 17.

For the coin, see *L'Arte Albanese nei Secoli: Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini" Piazzale Marconi n. 14. Roma Eur. Febbraio-Aprile 1985, Roma 1985, 72 n. 273,3 and Ceka 1988, 275n 144b.*

NOTE 46

For Buthrotum, see L. Ugolini, *Albania Antica* I, Roma-Milano 1927, 153f, N.G.L. Hammond 1967, 474, 514, 552.

NOTE 47

Encicl. Ital. Append 2 (1938-48), 108, L. Ugolini, *L'Acropoli di Butrinto, Albania Antica* III, Roma 1942, p. 81f and Hammond 1967, 110.

NOTE 48

For the other cults of Corinthian origin from Buthrotum, see Tzouvara-Souli 1979, 11-12, *eadem* 1987-1988, 105 with older bibliography.

NOTE 49

For the inscription on leaden oracular tablet from Dodone, see S. Dakaris, *Prakt.* 1967, 49 n. 57 and J.-L. Robert, *REG* 82 (1969), 473 n. 348, 5, Cabanes 1976, 333, 550 n. 22.

NOTE 50

For the statuette, see Vokotopoulou, 1995, 142, 155, 162, 163 and pl. 53y.

NOTE 51

For the inscription, see L. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, 228-229. See also Tzouvara-Souli 1992, 118-120 with older bibliography.

NOTE 52

For them, see D. Euangelidou, *Prakt.* 1930, 67-68, fig. 10 and for the other similar scenes from Dodone, see C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, Paris 1878, 33, 188 and

Pl. XVI, 1. See also E. Künze, "Archaische Schildbänder", *Olympische Forschungen* II (Berlin 1950), 116-117 and Beil. 9 (2) cf. S. Dakaris, "Το Ιερόν της Λωδώνης", *ADelt* 16 (1960), 7 note 7 who dates them to the 3rd century BC

NOTE 53

For the cult of Apollo in Delphi and other oracular sanctuaries, see Parke - Wormell, 1956, 3f. 51, 286f. 344, 369, 374. See also Parke 1967a, 30f., 68, 95, 97, 137f. See also M. Nilsson, *GGR* RI, München 1967, p. 544-547, Burkert 1985, 115, 117, 144 and Fonterose 1978, 90, 94-100, 151-156, 163-164, 179, 218, 233-234.

NOTE 54

Parke 1967b, 129f., Will 1955, 284-286, who believes that the relationship between Dodona and Corinth is dated from the Prehistoric times. See also Vokotopoulou 1975, 148.

NOTE 55

About the foundation of Doric Corinth and the interpretation of the myth, see Salmon, 1984, 39f., 46, 49 and 52. See also H. W. Parke, 1967b130.

NOTE 56

According to Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 426 "ὅτι δ' Ἀπόλλων ἐν Μολοσσῶν τιμᾶται" (G.M. Mooney), *New York* 1979, 426 (Tzetzes), *Ad Lycophron*, 426. See also Hammond 1967, 798 (Index I). For the cult of Apollo, see Aelian., *NA*, XI.2 and Bickel 1930, 279-303, Hammond, 1967, 400, Franke 1961, 58f. See also Fr. Quantin, *Aspects Épirotes de la vie religieuse antique*, *REG* 112 (1999), 83 and Notes 103-107.

NOTE 57

For the history of Corcyra generally, see Preka-Alexandri 1994, 16f and for the cult of Apollo in Corcyra, Tzouvara-Souli 1993, 68 with older bibliography. See also about the cult of Agyieus Apollo in Corcyra, Tzouvara-Souli 1984, 439-441.

NOTE 58

J. Six, "Der Agyieus des Mys", *AM* 19 (1894), 340f., C. A. Rhomaios, "Les Premières fouilles de Corfou", *BCH* 49 (1925), 130.

NOTE 59

See P. Kalliga, *ADelt.* 23 (1968) B₂ Χρον., 309-313.

NOTE 60

G. Dontas, Οδηγός Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Κερκύρας, Αθήναι 1970, 51, P. Kalliga, *ADelt.* 23 (1968), B₂ Χρον., 309-313 and pl. 249 (MR 1126). For other finds MR 1125, MR 966, 987 and 988. Between them a votive shield pl. 249a and a clay chariot (MR 856).

NOTE 61

P. Kalliga, *ADelt.* 23 (1968), B₂ Χρον., 310-311 (pl. 250 á-â).

NOTE 62

P. Kalliga, *ADelt.* 23 (1968), B₂ Χρον., 311. These finds are in the Archaeological Museum of Corcyra, numbers MR 934, MR 808, MR 685.

NOTE 63

P. Kalliga, *ADelt.* 23 (1968), B₂ Χρον. p. 313 Archaeological Museum of Corcyra, numbers MR 938, 937, (pl. 253a) MR 936 and for the tripod *op. cit.*, 311 pl. 251 γ-δ.

NOTE 64

(MR 936) See Π. Καλλιγά, *op. cit.* in note 63, 313, pl. 253 β, γ.

NOTE 65

P. Kalliga, *op. cit.* in note 63, 312. See also K. Rhomaios, Les Premières fouilles de Corfou, *BCH* 49 (1925), 217.

NOTE 66

See also M. Nilsson, *GGr* RI, München 1967, 536.

NOTE 67

For the Corinthian influence in these areas,

see Tzouvara-Souli 1991, 151f with older bibliography. See also Antonetti 1990, 269.

NOTE 68

For the excavations in Thermos, see G. Sotiriadis, *AEphem* 1900, 171-211, K. Rhomaios, Εκ του προϊστορικού Θέρμου, *ADelt.* 1 (1915), 225f and recently, I. A. Papapostolou, Η Ανασκαφή του Θέρμου, Πρακτικά Α' Αρχαιολογικού και Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου Αιτωλοακαρνανίας, Αγρίνιο, 21-22-23 Οκτωβρίου 1988, Αγρίνιο 1991, 139-143. See also Antonetti 1990, 169f and I. A. Papapostolou, Οι νεώτερες έρευνες στο Μέγαρο Β του Θέρμου, ΔΩΔΩΝΗ, ΚΣΤ' 1 (1997), Μνήμη Σωτήρη Δάκαρη, Ιωάννινα 1997, 328 note 1. For the metopes of the temples see recently Antonetti 1990, 167 and 173f.

NOTE 69

For them, see Will 1955, 580 and note 5 with older bibliography. See also Salmon 1984, 61, 120, 121., Antonetti 1990, 167f.

NOTE 70

For the inscriptions, see G. Sotiriadi, *AEphem* 1905, p. 80 and *Sylloge*, 443, 45. See also K. Rhomaios, Απόλλων Θέρμιος, ΕΕΦΣΑΠΘ 2 *1932), p. 25. For the temple and the inscriptions dedicated to Apollo Thermius, see recently Antonetti 1990, 169f. and 200-204 and for the cult of Apollo in Thermos from the Archaic period until the Hellenistic, Antonetti 1990, 170f and 198f.

NOTE 71

K. Rhomaios, Απόλλων Θέρμιος, *op. cit.* in note 70, 25f.

NOTE 72

About these see K. Rhomaios, *ADelt.* 10 (1926), p. 27f. and *idem* Απόλλων Θέρμιος, *op. cit.* in note 70, 23f. Cf. I. A. Papapostolou, *op. cit.* in note 68, 336-339. See also Antonetti 1990, 209f who connects these sacrifices from the Bronze Age first with Mother Goodess and then with Apollo. The cult of Thermius Apollo continues in the

Classical and Hellenistic periods according to the inscriptions and the games, named *θερμικά*: about these see Antonetti 1990, 197f.

NOTE 73

See Tzouvara-Souli, 1991, 152. Cf. Antonetti 1990, 209-210 and for different opinion about the cultic surname Thermius, see Antonetti 1990, 200f.

NOTE 74

About the temple of Apollo Lyceios. See Antonetti 1990, 185f, and 204f.

NOTE 75

IG, IX, I 1.81. See also G. Soteriadi, Επιγραφαί Θέρμου, *ADelt.* 1 (1915), 56 and K. Rhomaios, Απόλλων Θέρμιος, *op. cit.* in note 70, 25.

NOTE 76

K. Rhomaios, Έρευναι εν Θέρμο, *ADelt.* 2 (1916), 179f. and 186f., *idem*, *Prakt.* 1932, 56. For the cult of Lyceios Apollo in Thermos, see L. V. Borelli, *EAA*, τ. VII, 827 (W. Thermos). For the temple of Lyceios Apollo, see also Cl. Antonetti 1990, 185f and p. 204f and for the cult of Lyceios in other cities like Thebes, Corinth, Sicyon, see Antonetti 1990, 204f with reference to ancient sources and archaeological data.

NOTE 77

For the ancient cult of Dionysos in Corinth, see Lisle 1955, 56 and note 146.

NOTE 78

See Lisle 1955., 20f. Will 1955, 216f.

NOTE 79

K. Rhomaios, Αρχαίον ιερόν παρά τον Ταξιάρχη της Αιτωλίας, *ADelt.* 10 (1926), 32f., C. V. Borrelli *EAA*, τ. VII, 827.

NOTE 80

K. Rhomaios, Εκ του προϊστορικού Θέρμου, *ADelt.* 1 (1915), 271-272, fig. 39 and for the cult of Artemis in Thermos K. Rhomaios, *ADelt.* 10 (1926), 32f.

NOTE 81

For Calydon, see L.V. Borrelli *EAA* 4 (1961), 305–306 (W. Calydon) with older bibliography. For the cults in Calydon see Dyggve-Poulsen 1948, 297 f., 340f. and Simon 1969 (1985), 105. See also Antonetti 1990, 253f.

NOTE 82

K. Rhomaios, Αἱ ἐλληνοδανικαὶ Ἀνασκαφαὶ τῆς Καλυδῶνος, *ADelt* 10 (1926), App., 39f. For the cults in Calydon see also Antonetti 1990, 253f. and for the temples, Antonetti 1990, 245–253.

NOTE 83

K. Rhomaios, *ADelt* 10 (1926), p. 39f. and Dyggve-Poulsen 1948, 335. See also L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, 226, 277 n. 9.

NOTE 84

K. Rhomaios, *ADelt* 10 (1926), Append. p. 39 fig. 14, Dyggve-Poulsen 1948, 340 and fig. 309 and for the inscription L. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 227 n. 5. See also Antonetti 1990, 249, n. 885 and p. 258.

NOTE 85

For the cult of Laphrius Apollo in Calydon, see K. Rhomaios, *ADelt* 10 (1926), Append. p. 39 and Dyggve-Poulsen 1948, 340f. and recently Antonetti 1990, 245f. and 258f. with discussion about the different opinion for the surname Laphrius and Laphria and the origin of the cult in northwestern Greece and mainly in Calydon.

NOTE 86

For the colonization in northwestern Greece, see J. G. O'Neill, *Ancient Corinth*, Baltimore 1930, 148f., Will 1955, 517f., Graham 1964, 118, J. B. Salmon 1984, 209f. I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Köln 1987, 285 n. 104.

NOTE 87

For the cult of Apollo Leucatas, see also Oberhummer 1887, 223f, A. B. Cook, Zeus, I. p. 344–346, Dörpfeld 1965, 271f

and Rodogiannis 1980, 237f., M. Nilsson, GGrRI, 109f, *idem* GGrRI, 475 and Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 1985 (Stuttgart 1977), p. 83 and note 72.

NOTE 88

For the coins, see Gardner 1963, 178 N. 68–76, pl. 28 (11–13) and 186–187 N. 170–191, pl. 29 (5–6).

NOTE 89

For the inscription, see L. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, 227, 229, fig. 44 (N.1) and M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* I, Roma 1967, 293–294, fig. 138.

NOTE 90

B.V. Head, BMC, Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, London 1889 (Bologna 1963), 125–134, pl. 34, N. 180, pl. 35 (1–16), pl. 36 (1–25). See also Graham 1964, 121 and Salmon 1984, 271.

NOTE 91

P. Kalliga, *ADelt* 23 (1968), B2, p. 321 and recently, Tzouvara-Souli 1998, 371–436.

NOTE 92

For the cult of Actius Apollo, see recently Tzouvara-Souli 1998–99, 169f.

NOTE 93

J. B. Salmon 1984, 209f. and for the name of the temple Polyb. 4. 63. 4.

NOTE 94

For the Anactorium, a Corinthian colony, see Salmon 1984, 209f. and for Sollium and Heracleia Salmon 1984, 213 and Pharakla 1991, 221–227.

NOTE 95

For the sanctuary, see Habicht 1957, 98f., 501–504, and W. M. Murray 1982, 266f. See also J. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions Grecques, Textes, traductions et notes*, Paris 1960, 108 N. 29, I. G. IX I², 2, 583.

NOTE 96

For the Kouroi M. Collignon, “Torses archaïques en marbre provenant d’Actium” *GA* 11 (1886), 234–243, pl. 29 and for the date of Kouroi E. Buschor, Frühgriechische Jünglinge, 1950, 43f, Habicht 1957, 100 and note 1, G. M. Richter, *Kouroi, Archaic Greek Youths*, London 1960, 60, 66 n. 40, fig. 154–156, pp. 85–86, fig. 255–257 and Kl. Wallenstein, *Korinthische Plastik des 7 und 6 Jahrhunderts vor Chr.*, Bonn 1971, 147 n. 34 (Paris, Louvre, MNB 766), Cf. G. Dontas 1997, 121–130.

NOTE 97

For the ancient Actia, see Sarikakis 1965, 146 and notes 1–5. See also Habicht 1957, 109. See also IG IX. F, 2, 563.

NOTE 98

For the consular inscription, see G. Klaffenbach, IG IX, 1, II, N. 208, 209, 1–4 and for the silver coins, see F. Imhoof-Blumer, “Die Münzen Akarnaniens”, Wien 1878, 58–63, B.V. Head, BMC, “Corinth Colonies of Corinth” London 1889 (Bologna 1963), 115, n. 5, and pl. 31 (n. 5), *idem*, p. 116, N. 8 and pl. 31 (N. 8). See also C. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, London 1976, 125f. For the bronze coins, see P. Gardner, BMC Thessaly to Aetolia, *op. c.*, p. 171 N. 3, pl. 27 (N. 11).

NOTE 99

For the coins with Acarnanian types, see Gardner 1963, 95 n. 15–17 and pl. 18 (N. 3), SNG Cop 30. SNG, Grèce, II, *op. cit.*, p. XLVIII N. 1773–1775, M. Oikonomidou, *Phigios* 1994, 282, 286 and A. Douzougli, *ADelt* 47 (1992) 1997, *op. cit.*, 256 N 4, Note 35 and pl. 74d.3b.

NOTE 100

For the coins, see Gardner 1963, 193, N. 12, 13, pl. 30 (N. 1).

NOTE 101

See Tzouvara-Souli 1994, 122 and Dakaris. 1971, p. 86 § 319.

NOTE 102

For the cults in Cassope generally, see Tzouvara-Souli 1994, 107-135 and for the cult of Apollo in Cassope *ibidem* 112-113 and 122.

NOTE 103

For the coins, see Gardner 1963, 98 n. 1, Franke 1961, 69, pl. 5 V 1-3, R. 1-4 and Dakaris 1971 56 § 204 and p. 65 § 237.

NOTE 104

P. Franke 1961, 58f.

NOTE 105

For the rule of Apollo in Actium, see Propertius 4. 6.29f., Verg. *Aen.* 8.698f. See also Gag , 1955, 499f., Sarikakis 1965, 146 and note 6, D. Kienast, Augustus, Prinzeps und Monarch, Darmstadt 1982, 375 f. and note 93, Jucker 1982, 82 and note 2. See recently Isager, 1998, 399-411.

NOTE 106

For the cult of Apollo in Nicopolis, see Tzouvara-Souli 1987, 170f.

NOTE 107

For the hill and the monument, see A. Philadelphus, *Ανασκαφαί Νικοπόλεως*, *AEphem* 1913, 235, Gag , 1936, 53-54, D. Kienast, *op. cit.* in note 105, p. 354 and Murray-Petsas, 1989, 62-85. For the inscription, see H. Oliver, "Octavian's inscription at Nicopolis" *AJPh* 90 (1969), 178-182 and Murray-Petsas 1989, 62-85; cf. Zachos in this volume.

NOTE 108

For them Sarikakis 1965, 147 and Oikonomidou-Karame sine 1975, 42-43 with older bibliography.

NOTE 109

For the coins Oikonomidou-Karame sine 1975, 46f., 57, 87-88.

NOTE 110

Oikonomidou-Karame sine 1975, 46 and 63, pl. 1. See also L. Lacroix, *Les reproduc-*

tions de Statue sur les monnaies grecques, Li ge 1949, 64, fig. 11 (N. 14).

NOTE 111

For the copies, see Oikonomidou-Karame sine 1975, 46, 47, 106, 117, 119, 120, 160, 164-165, pl. 37, 54 and 63.

NOTE 112

About this, see Tzouvara-Souli 1987, 176-177 with older discussion.

NOTE 113

Franke 1976, 159-163. Cf. Oikonomidou-Karame sine 1975, 46, who connects it with Actius Apollo.

NOTE 114

For the coin with the inscription *ΑΕΥΚΑΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*, see F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, Paris-Leipzig 1883, 141, Franke 1976, 160 note 10. See also Karame sine-Oikonomidou 1975, 47 and 80, pl. 13 (N. 21).

NOTE 115

See above note 114.

NOTE 116

Franke 1976, 162.

NOTE 117

C.H.V. Sutherland, "Octavian's Gold and Silver Coinage from 32 to 27 BC", *Quaderni Ticinesi* 5 (1976), 151. See also Gag  1936, 48.

NOTE 118

See above notes 105-106 and for the connection of Leucadius with Actium see Isager 1998, 399-411.

NOTE 119

For the cult of Apollo Leucatas in Leucas see (Thuc. 39. 4. 2. and Strab. 10. 9). See also Oberhammer 1887, 223f. and 254. K. Kraft, *Zur M nzspr gung des Augustus*, Sitzungsber. der Wiss. Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universit t Frankfurt/Mainz, Band 7 (1968), Nr. 5.216

and H. Pr ckner, "Das Budapest Aktium-Relief", *Forschungen und Funde: Festschrift Bernhard Neutsch* (Innsbruck 1980), 360.

NOTE 120

For the cult of Apollo Agyieus in Epirus, see Tzouvara-Souli 1984, 427-442 and for the baetyls from Nicopolis see these with Numbers 762 and 865 of the Archaeological Museum of Nicopolis.

NOTE 121

For them, see Tzouvara-Souli 1987, 177-178.

NOTE 122

Picard-Schmitter 1971, 76f.

NOTE 123

For the temple, see Picard-Schmitter 1971, 77 and for his decoration G. Caretoni, "Terracotte "Campana" dallo scavo del Tempio di Apollo Palatino": *Rend Pont Acc.* 44 (1971/72), 123f. and *idem*, "Nuova Serie di Grandi Lastre Fittili, "Campana"," *Bd A Ser. V*, vol. 58 (1972), I, 75-78. About this see also E. Simon, *Augustus*, M nchen 1986, 128f and 253-254, pl. 6-7.

NOTE 124

About this, see Tzouvara-Souli 1987, 178 with older bibliography.

NOTE 125

H. K thmann, *Actiaca: Jbz Mus Mainz* 4 (1957), 78.

NOTE 126

For the coins from Megara B.V. Head, HN, 393, L. Anson, *Numismata Graeca*, p. V, London 1914, p. 15, pl. III, N. 96 and H. K thmann, "Actiaca", *op. cit.*, in note 125, 76-78, pl. 12, N. 6.

NOTE 127

See above notes 122-123.

NOTE 128

See above note 122-123.

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