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The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis: interim report

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Note to the reader:

This article comprises a translation of large parts of the author's guidebook *To Μνημείο του Οκταβιανού Αυγούστου στη Νικόπολη* (Athens 2001), adding more recent information taken from the author's lecture "The power of images in the age of Augustus: the *tropaeum* of Actium at Nikopolis" delivered at the J. Paul Getty Museum in February 2003, itself based upon a presentation given by the author and his colleagues at the Second International Symposium on Nikopolis held in September 2002 at Preveza.

Introduction

On September 2, 31 B.C., the heir to Julius Caesar's political legacy defeated the joint naval forces of Antony and Cleopatra off the coast of NW Greece (fig. 1), marking the commencement of a new era.¹ In his *Life of Augustus* (18.2) Suetonius recorded his work at Nikopolis as follows:

Quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebrator et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit, ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et, ampliato vetere Apollonis templo, locus castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.

And to exalt the fame of his Actian victory and to perpetuate its memory, he founded the city of Nikopolis near Actium and established quinquennial games there. He enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo and adorned the area where he had set up his camp with naval trophies and consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

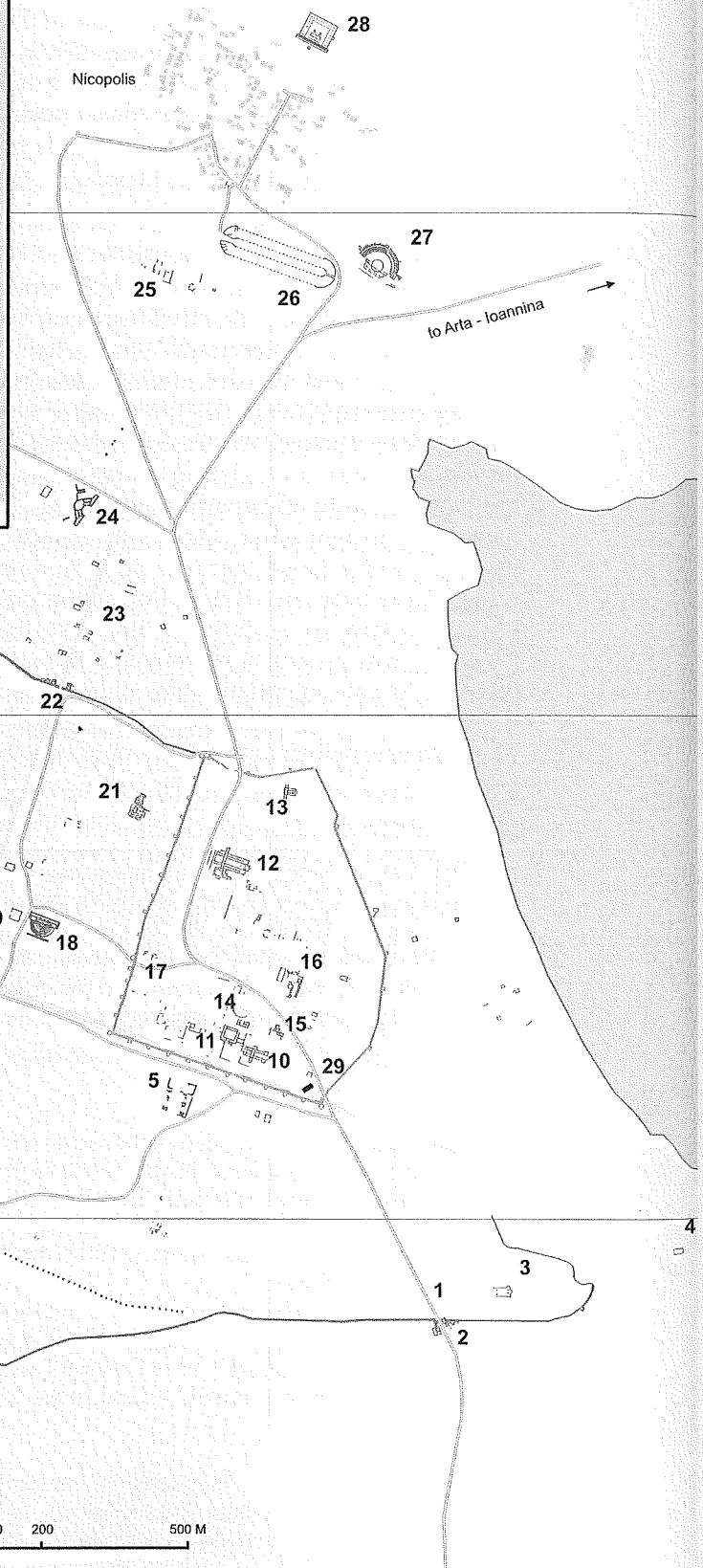
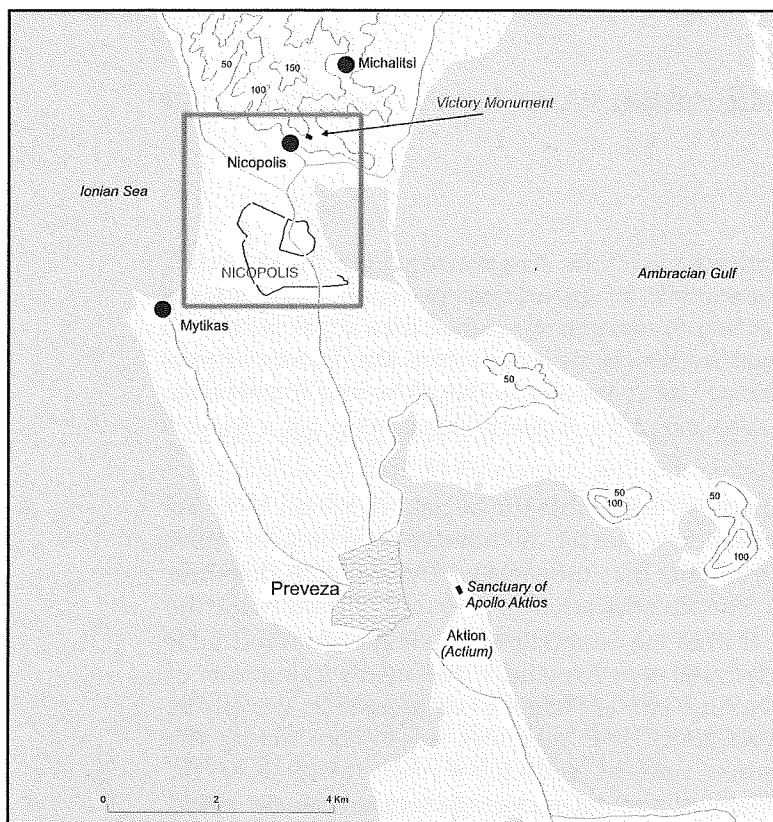
The new city was created from a synoecism of neighbouring city-states such as Ambrakia, Anaktorion, Leukas and others, and received the status of a *civitas libera*. Soon it became the political, economic and social centre of NW Greece, and the Actian games were held every four years in a sacred precinct to the north of the city.

Close to the site of the naval battle stood the sanctuary of Apollo Actius, a venerable shrine of the Akarnanians. Underlining his piety and his gratitude to his patron god, and perhaps to try to win over the local population which was not particularly friendly to Caesar's heir, Octavian enlarged and renovated the ancient sanctuary, and in arsenals located close by the sanctuary he dedicated the *principia* of the spoils of the sea-battle in the form of 10 whole war ships, a *dekanaia* that represented one from each category of ships that participated in the battle, from the smallest, the "ones", to the "tens" (*monokrotoi* to *dekereis*). Strabo (7.7.6) reports that a few years after the dedication both ships and arsenals were destroyed in a fire.

Secondly, in the Michalitsi hills north of Nikopolis, on the spot where he had pitched his tent before the battle and where the leaders of Antony's decimated army had come to declare their submission, he erected a magnificent trophy monument (*tropaeum*) with 36 bronze *rostra* on its façade in an open-air sanctuary dedicated to his protector gods Mars, Neptune and Apollo. The complex of structures which made up this open-air sanctuary was both a symbol of Octavian's victory and power and also a monument of political and religious propaganda. His dominance was by the will of the gods who had assisted him in the victory and in creating the new order of things, bringing peace on land and sea, as is confidently inscribed — doubtless on the victor's orders — on the monument's votive inscription.

From the side of this hill overlooking the Preveza peninsula one can see (fig. 3) the coastline of the Ionian sea and the shores of the Ambracian Gulf, and on a clear day one can plainly see the promontory of Actium and the mountains of Akarnania and Leukas. Below the hill in the plain, in the neck of the Preveza promontory, lie the ruins of the city of Nikopolis (fig. 2),

¹ See R. A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus. The politics and emotions of civil war* (Ann Arbor 1995), with review by W. M. Murray, *JRA* 10 (1998) 372-76.



1. South Gate of the Roman Walls
2. South Cemetery
3. Basilica
4. Basilica "Ascension"
5. Building of unknown function
6. West Gate of the Roman Walls
7. Nymphaea
8. West Cemetery
9. Building probably used for commercial purposes
10. Basilica A (Basilica of Doumetios)
11. "Bishop's Mansion"
12. Basilica B (Basilica of Alkison)
13. Basilica F
14. Water Cisterns ("Vayenia")
15. "Bathhouse of Cleopatra"
16. Central Thermae
17. West Gate of the Early Christian Walls ("Arapoporta")
18. Odeum
19. Building of unknown function
20. "Basilica of the Apostle Paul"
21. House of Manius Antoninus
22. Northwest Gate of the Roman Walls
23. North Cemetery
24. North Thermae
25. Area of the Gymnasium
26. Stadium
27. Theatre
28. Victory Monument
29. Museum

Fig. 1 (top left). Map of the Preveza peninsula and the cape of Actium.
Fig. 2. Nikopolis, the major monuments.



Fig. 3. View of the peninsula of Preveza from the monument, with the area of Actium in the background and the mountains of A
a new city built on Greek soil according to Roman principles of town-planning and Roman technology.² The present article will concentrate on the victory monument, which, dating to 29-27 B.C. even before he took the title 'Augustus', was probably the first major public monument of the newly founded city and served to inaugurate that city.

Brief history of earlier research

W. M. Leake was the first to recognize the location of the monument as he roamed through the ruins in 1805. The monument was first partly excavated in 1913 by A. Philadelphus.³ The exact positions of his trenches are not known but it can be inferred that his main focus was the area of the front of the façade of the platform (the second supporting wall). However, traces of old trenches on the upper terrace that were visible at the start of the recent work also probably belonged to him. Because of the discovery of a Corinthian capital, he interpreted the ruins as those of a large Corinthian-style temple. In 1921 he continued the excavations and revised the dimensions of the supposed temple. In 1925 K. Romaios, studying the written sources and the portions of the Latin inscription which had been uncovered, offered a different interpretation,⁴ that it was a *temenos* or open-air sanctuary that included a *crepis* upon which were placed the bronze rams of the fleet of Antony and Cleopatra, and at least two statues. In 1926 G. Miliadis excavated the area in front of the façade of the second retaining wall and brought to light 12 new pieces of the inscription, but he did not publish his work and it is known only through the later catalogue by J. Gagé of the known fragments of the inscription.⁵

In 1974 a new investigation of the site was begun by P. M. Petsas. He excavated briefly on the upper terrace, but work was stopped because of events related to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.⁶ In 1986 W. M. Murray in collaboration with P. M. Petsas carried out large-scale cleaning and drawing up of the still-visible remains. The results of their investigations, along with discussion of the ancient sources and other pertinent comments, were published in their joint monograph in 1989.⁷

2 For earlier work on Nikopolis, see E. Chrysos (ed.), *Νικόπολις Α'. Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικοπόλη*, 23-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984 (Preveza 1987).

3 A. Philadelphus, *AE* 1913, 235; id., *Praktika* 1913, 85-91 with pls. 3-4; id., *Praktika* 1921, 11-12 and 44.

4 K. Romaios, *ADelt* 9 (1922-25) Παράρτημα, 1-4.

5 J. Gagé, "Actiaca," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 53 (1936) 37-100.

6 P. Petsas, *Praktika* 1974, 79-88, pls. 60-70; id., *Ergon* 1974, 50-53.

7 W. M. Murray and P. M. Petsas, *Octavian's campsite memorial for the Actian War* (Trans. Am. Phil. Soc. 79.4, Philadelphia 1989). For a slightly earlier study, see T. Hölscher, "Denkmäler der Schlacht von Actium," *Klio* 67 (1985) 81-102.



f Acarnania and Leucas.

The earlier work had thereby brought to light a large part of the façade of the platform which carried anchor-shaped cuttings to hold the bronze rams of the ships, as well as scattered architectural pieces and 27 fragments of the Latin inscription. It had also uncovered the stylobate of the N wing of the Π-shaped stoa on the upper terrace, as well as scattered architectural pieces that originally belonged to it.

The monument has suffered both large-scale plundering of its materials since antiquity and other kinds of damage. According to local inhabitants but also according to the report of the committee for the registration of the effects on monuments caused by the Second World War,⁸ the Italian occupation forces carried out plundering and destruction of the large blocks of the monument and of pieces of the inscription that had been uncovered by Philadelphus and Miliadis. These destructive operations were perpetrated through the use of forced labour, for the purpose of constructing fortifications on the Mikhalitsi range. Near the SW corner of the monument was found a kiln the construction of which resulted in the destruction of the W part of the second retaining wall. The kiln was probably used to turn large quantities of ancient masonry into lime. Other damage came from soil removal from the area and the opening up of new country roads. To these man-made depredations must be added the damage inflicted on the ruins by landslides and collapses.

In view of the historical significance of the monument and its poor condition as a result of the above factors, an extensive programme of excavation, research and conservation was initiated in 1995 by the 12th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Ioannina under my supervision, with the goal of completing the excavation and conservation of the monument. This work is still ongoing.⁹

The victory monument (figs. 4-5)

The monument was built on two terraces as a kind of open-air sanctuary. The visitor approaching from the south saw on the first terrace a massive retaining wall of *opus caementicium*. Above it is the façade of the platform (the second retaining wall), the end walls of which return at right-angles into the hillside. The façade, facing south, preserves cuttings to

8 Υπουργείον Θρησκευμάτων και Εθνικής Παιδείας, Διεύθυνση Αρχαιοτήτων και Ιστορικών Μνημείων, Ζημίες των αρχαιοτήτων εκ του πολέμου και των στρατών κατοχής (Athens 1946).

9 For interim reports, see K. Zachos, *ADelt*, *Chronika* for 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000, and id., "Excavations at the Actian Tropaeum at Nikopolis. A preliminary report," in J. Isager (ed.), *Foundation and destruction. Nikopolis and northwestern Greece* (Monog. 3, Danish Inst. Athens 2001) 29-41. A review of that volume appears later in this issue of *JRA*.



Fig. 4. Octavian's *tropaeum*, present state. **Lower terrace:** 1. The first retaining wall. 2. Ruins of naiskos. 3. Second retaining podium wall. 4. W and E sides of the platform. **Upper terrace:** 5. Stoa. 6. Pedestals. 7. Monumental altar. 8. Pipe for drainage.

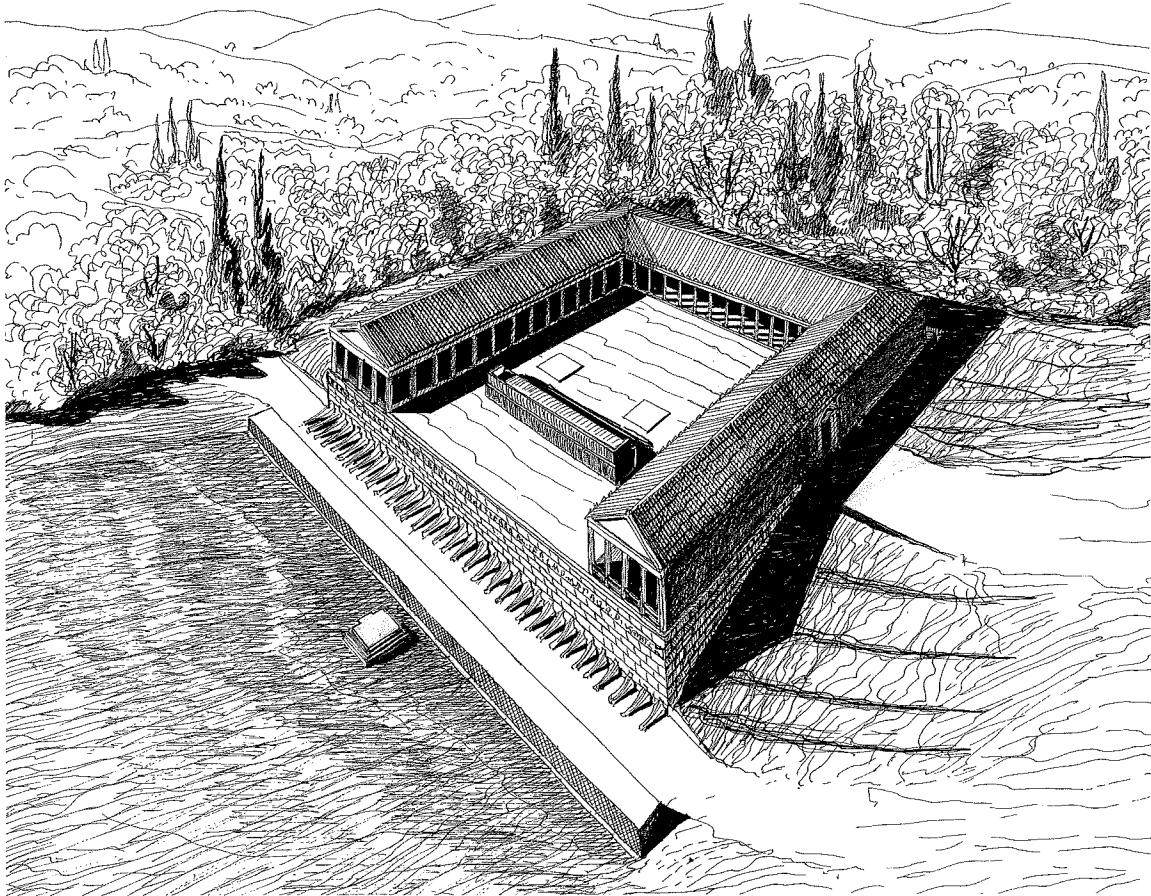


Fig. 5. Provisional reconstruction of the monument.

hold the bronze rams of the defeated fleet. On top of this wall there was a second, much broader terrace, along three sides of which stood a Π-shaped stoa, open to the south. The main N wing of this stoa marks the N limit of the terrace, while its side wings run south up to the rear of the second retaining wall. The wings, which may have supported covered colonnades, created an inner court (peristyle) measuring 38 x 38 m. This space contained the monumental altar and three pedestals probably for over-lifesize statues.

The design of the monument in stepped terraces flanked by arcades follows the layout of the Asclepieion at Kos (Late Hellenistic) and also Late Republican sanctuaries in Italy (e.g., Tibur and Praeneste), where the architecture reshaped the landscape. The monument also seems to have influenced the plan of the new city (fig. 2) since a central N-S street, probably the *cardo maximus*, led, according to the evidence of recent surveys, directly to the W end of the memorial: this avenue began at a south gate in the Roman walls, continued through the N gate, crossed the north necropolis, passed between the stadium and the gymnasium in the 'Proasteion', and ended at the monument. Apollo's sacred hill and the monument were already visible from the city's N gate. As the visitor reached the W end of the monument, he saw first the bronze rams and then could move the full length of the second retaining wall in front of the rams, reading the votive inscription. Then, following the slope of the hill at the E side, he could enter by a gate into the open area of the upper terrace, where his eyes would have fallen upon the statues and the altar.

The area of the monument consists of a clay substratum overlain by gravel. These two different formations cause a sliding effect, which is exacerbated by underground waters which emerge at the junction between them. Nevertheless, this site was chosen for the monument as the spot where Octavian had camped before the battle. Dio (51.1.3) wrote:

τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπιδώσε καὶ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἰδρυσάμενος.



Fig. 6. Monument, view to the N, with the ruins of the naiskos, the first retaining wall, the façade with the anchor-shaped socle

On the spot where he had pitched his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with captured ships' rams, and established on it a kind of open-air dwelling-place of Apollo (Loeb transl.).

Because the subsoil of the hill was inherently unsuitable for supporting the foundations of such massive constructions, inventive solutions were required of the architects.

The lower terrace on the S side (fig. 6)

The first retaining wall

A retaining wall of *opus caementicium* (2.6 m thick and c.71 m in length) runs parallel to and c.3.7 m in front of the main façade of the monument. The *opus caementicium* uses irregular pieces of sandstone and mortar. The top of the wall was probably covered with stone slabs. The retaining wall survives to a height of c.2.1 m; its foundations are 1.2 m deep and include a step 40-60 cm in width. Excavation of the wall foundations produced Arretine pottery, and from the lowest layer of the foundations came two curved bronze pins (*fibulae*) dating to the 1st c. B.C. The same area also produced a few fragments of terracotta 'Campana' reliefs.

The face of the wall is covered with small square stones (limestone) arranged with irregular joints in *opus quasi reticulatum*. They show concretions created by water flowing over them, as well as traces of a lime mortar resulting from repair works. Near the E and W ends were cylindrical clay pipes running N-S, intended to carry water that collected behind the wall into a brick channel of rectangular section. The wall is poorly preserved, portions having collapsed and the entire structure (particularly at its E end) having slipped from its foundations towards the south. This caused damage also to the walls of the platform above, which were pushed some distance south of their original position.

A structure (naiskos?) in front of the first retaining wall (figs. 7-8)

Some 2 m south of the first retaining wall and half way along its length is the *crepis* of a rectangular structure with a square projection in the centre of its long W side. It is made of well-cut limestone slabs, and has at least three steps, joined by Π-shaped clamps, some still in position and covered with lead. The interior of the structure was filled with successive layers



for the bronze rams, and, on the upper terrace, the foundations of the altar and the sides of the stoa.

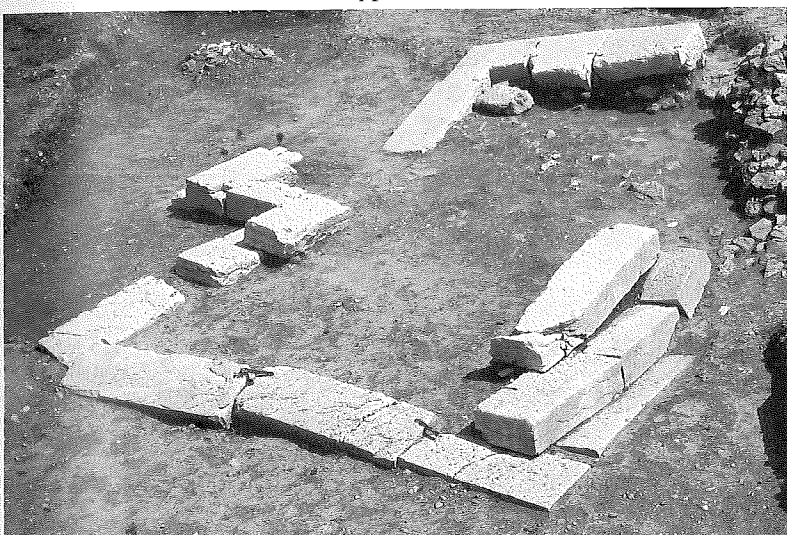


Fig. 7. Crepis of the naiskos, view to N.

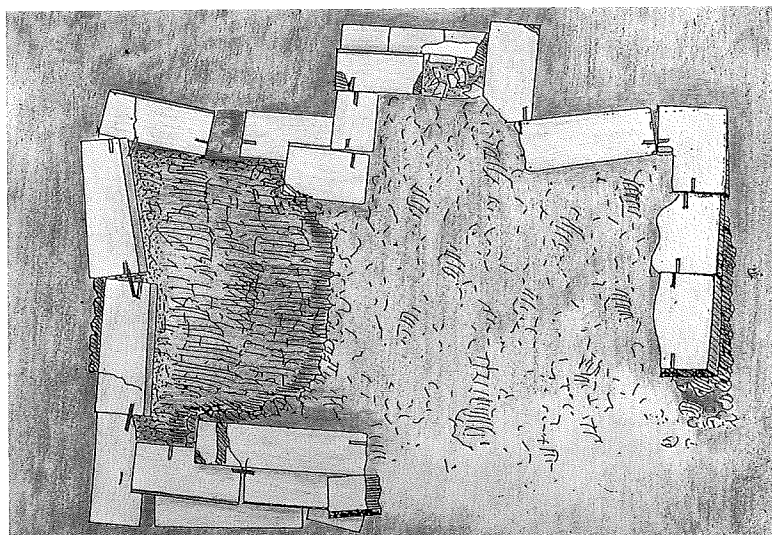


Fig. 8. Plan of the crepis of the naiskos.

of irregular stones and fragments of bricks and roof-tiles. It was entered from the E side. Presumably it formed a small *cella* or naiskos with a niche for a votive statue.

Whereas the foundations of all the structures of the initial building programme are uniform, comprising layers of local sandstone slabs joined with mortar of varying thickness, the foundations of this temple-like building use small irregular chunks of limestone. The dressing of the stones of the *crepis* is more sophisticated than the squared stones of the upper buildings, which suggests that this building was erected after the completion of the main monument. No pottery or other datable finds were recovered, but in the first layer of tiles and bricks inside were found two fragments of palmette antefixes. One of these is of the type with a Gorgoneion in relief at the center, and probably derives from an earlier phase of the roof revetments of the Π -shaped stoa on the upper terrace. The other, which has a palmette pattern with 9 leaves which grow around a main stem, is unparalleled elsewhere in the monument.

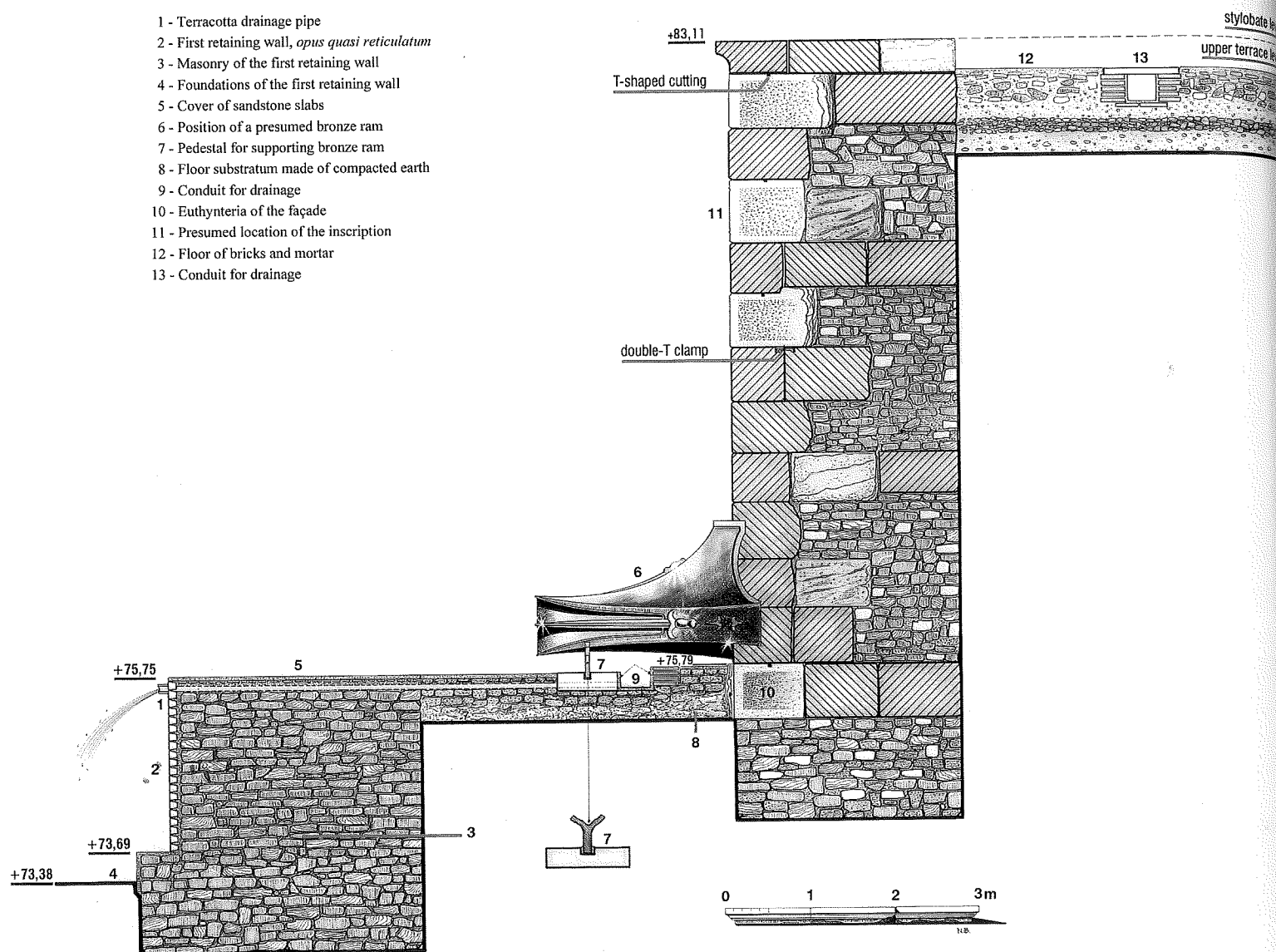


Fig. 9. Provisional reconstruction of a section of the S part of the monument, showing retaining walls, façade, conduits for drains, and placement of bronze rams.

The second retaining wall with the façade containing the rams and the inscription (fig. 9)

This, the best preserved part of the monument, is built of large limestone blocks in the shape of a Π , having returns running into the hillside at the E and W ends. The original length of the façade was c.63 m (fig. 10). It was founded on the clay subsoil of the hill, which is compact and not particularly permeable, at least on the W side.

The foundations consist of rows of flat sandstone slabs (15 cm thick) mixed with limestones and irregular conglomerate and joined by a strong mortar. The sandstone seems to have been extracted from the nearby hills. On this foundation were set limestone blocks c.50 cm high having roughly-worked outer faces, forming a euthynteria which projects slightly in front of the superstructure.

The superstructure is of isodomic blocks, with headers set at irregular intervals. Each course has two rows of blocks (inner and outer). The inner row is much less regular than the outer, being composed of limestone and poros limestone blocks (also laid as headers and stretchers) with occasional gaps between blocks where concrete (with large sandstone inclusions) is poured between and behind the constituent blocks, creating a massive whole. The blocks were joined with



Fig. 10. The E part of the façade retaining wall during excavation.



Fig. 11. Part of the façade with the anchor-shaped sockets, view to E.

iron double-T clamps. Swallow-tail clamps and Π -shaped cuttings in irregular positions on several blocks show that blocks were re-used (see below), which caused a certain lack of uniformity in appearance. The W part of the façade is the best preserved (3 courses survive above the euthynteria, and occasionally blocks of the inner row's fourth course). The wall is 2.5 m wide.

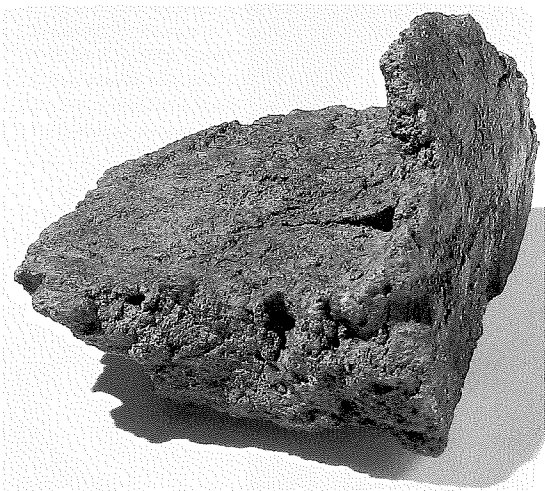


Fig. 12. Fragment of the bronze ram of a ship.

the wall masonry. Some blocks containing anchor-shaped cuttings do not seem to belong to the three lowest courses of the façade; possibly there was an additional row of rams elsewhere on this façade or in another part of the monument.

Despite their good fit, the weight of the protruding rams required additional support. Some 1 m from the wall, just in front of each ram, are rectangular foundations made of irregular sandstone pieces set in mortar; they range in size from 60 to 90 cm by 80 to 125 cm and supported finished limestone blocks that were 30 cm thick. Five of these foundations still support portions of their capstones and three preserve dowel cuttings in their upper surfaces. These cuttings held metal brackets which in turn supported the rams. The last two pillars at the E end show a different technique, with re-used bricks and tiles in a thick mortar covering the slabs. Elsewhere at the E end of the façade there is evidence for major repairs in antiquity, characterized by a stronger mortar or concrete (see below).

The only remains of the bronze rams that we have found are one massive and compact fragment (6 kg in weight) (fig. 12) and several smaller fragments.

To the upper part of the façade belonged a number of large rectangular limestone blocks which carry a long Latin inscription (fig. 13). They were discovered at various periods collapsed or moved in front of the façade. The presence on their upper surface of cuttings for pry bars and dowel holes suggests that the inscription must not have constituted the highest course of blocks in the wall, where it would have been difficult to read from the level of the rams. A total of 27 blocks was found prior to 1995 (9 by A. Philadelphus, 5 by K. Romaïos, 12 by G. Miliadis, and 1 by P. M. Petsas). Ten of them are now lost (probably either destroyed during the

10 The rams were described in an epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 236) by Philip of Salonika (1st c. A.D.):

Ἐμβολα χαλκογένεια, φιλόπλοα τεύχεα νηῶν,
ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου κείμενα μαρτύρια·
ἦνίδε συμβλέυει κηρότροφα δῶρα μελισσῶν,
ἔσμφ' βομβητῇ κυλκóσε βριθόμενα.
Καίσαρος εὐνομίης χρηστὴ χάρις; ὅπλα γὰρ ἐχθρῶν
καρπὸς εἰρήνης ἀντεδίδαξε τρέφειν.

Rams from the sea-battle of Actium were also placed by Augustus in front of the temple of Julius Caesar in the Roman Forum (Rostra Aedis Divi Iulii).

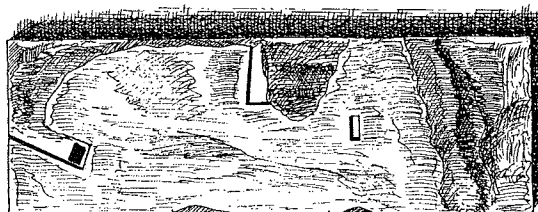
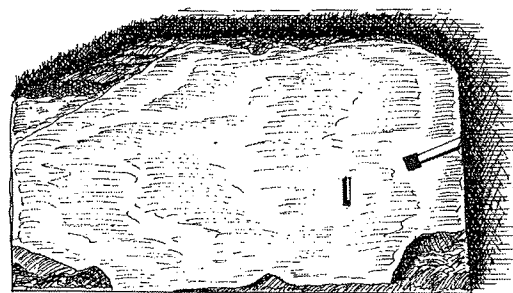
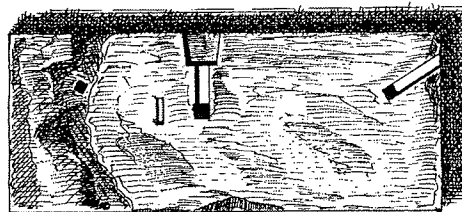
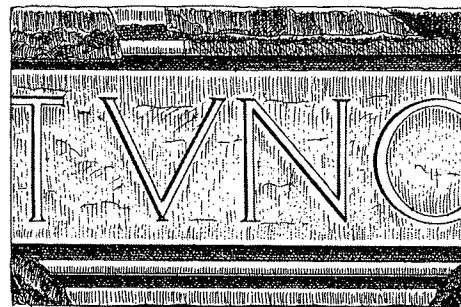
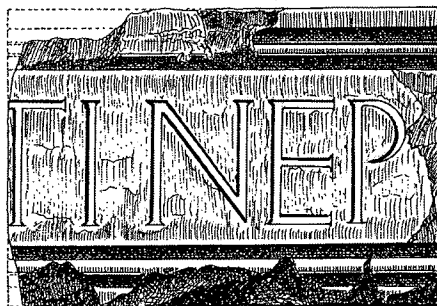
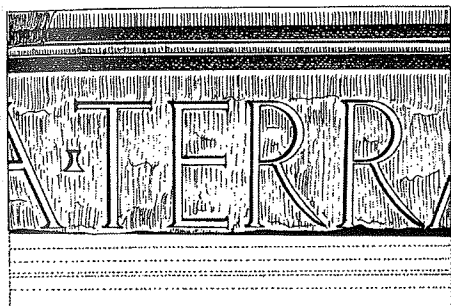
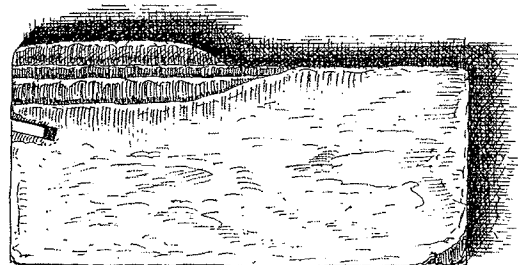
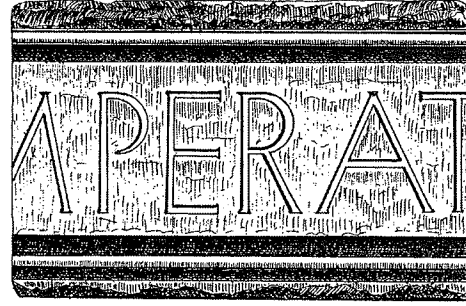
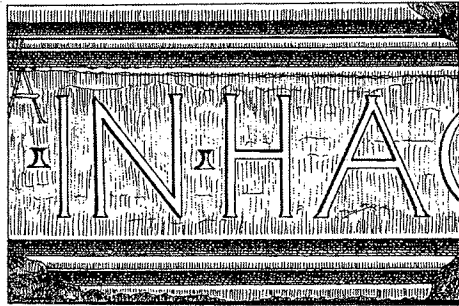
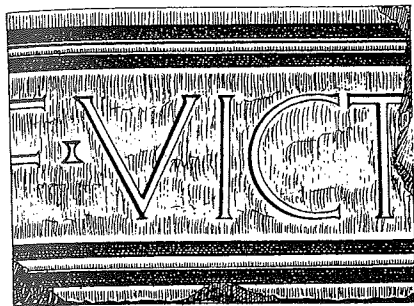


Fig. 13. Blocks of the Latin inscription.

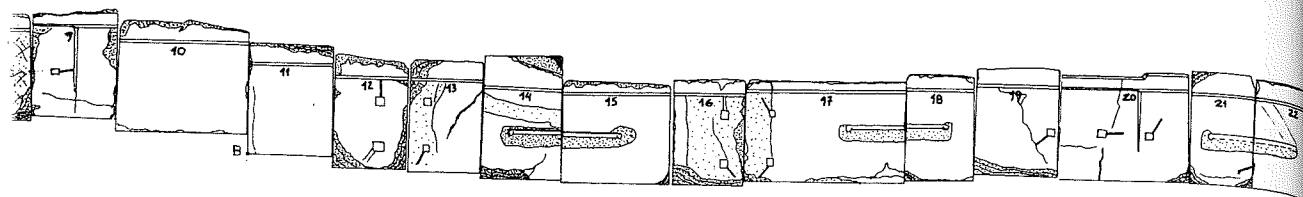


Fig. 14. Plan of blocks of the stylobate in the N stoa.

Second World War or used as building material). Our work has found 6 new blocks (two of them are uninscribed but one belongs to the beginning of the inscription since it contains the *tabula ansata*). The text of the inscription was reliably restored by Murray and Petsas as follows:

vacat Imp · Caesa[r] · Div[i · Iuli ·] f; vict[oriam · consecutus · bell]o · quod · pro [· r]e[·]-
p[ublica] · ges[si]t · in · hac · region[e · consul [· quintum · i]mperat[or · se]ptimum · pace [·]
parta · terra [· marique · Nep]tuno [· et · Ma]rt[i · c]astra [· ex ·] quibu[s · ad · hostem
in]sequ[endum egr]essu[s · est · navalibus · spoli]is [· exorna]ta · c[onsacravit *vacat*

Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Julius, following the victory in the war which he waged on behalf of the Republic in this region when he was consul for the fifth time and commander-in-chief for the seventh time, after peace had been secured on land and sea, consecrated to Neptune and Mars the camp from which he set forth to attack the enemy, which is now ornamented with naval spoils.

The new fragments are still being studied. One new block has the letters TI · NEP, probably to be restored as [MAR]TI · NEPTUNO · [QUE], and indicating that the name of Mars should be placed before that of Neptune.

The phrase *pace parta terra marique* has been considered to mark a *terminus post quem* for the construction (it refers to the closing of the Temple of Janus on January 11, 29 B.C.), while the absence of the title Augustus should date it before January 16, 27 B.C.¹¹

On the upper terrace, 5.50 m behind the façade wall and running parallel to it, a brick water channel has been found which is rectangular in section (45 cm in width at the top, c.30 cm in depth). The channel is built of fire bricks surrounded by concrete; the bottom has a layer of tile fragments. To judge by its masonry, it dates to the Late Empire. It has suffered major distortions due to the effect of landslides.

At each end of the façade, walls run at right-angles, penetrating the hillside. Again they consist of two parallel rows of rectangular blocks joined with mortared masonry which sometimes takes the place of the headers or stretchers of the inner row. It differs from the façade in that the squared blocks do not occupy the full height — the courses are reduced gradually from south to north to match the slope — and they rest on a concrete core in the lower parts of the wall. It is clear that the soil pressures were greater at the SW and SE corners of the structure, so careful clamping was more necessary here than in other sections of the retaining walls. The blocks of the walls running at right-angles display dowels and pry-holes, double-T and swallow-tail clamp cuttings which are here in re-use. Some blocks display a cutting on their upper surface for fastening stretchers. The faces of the blocks are roughly finished.

The western end wall is preserved for 20 m and displays 8 courses of blocks. The first 17 m is of cut stone, while the last 3 m is of concrete masonry. Erosion caused by a nearby torrent has destroyed the wall towards the north. The eastern return wall seems to be less steep than the western one, and shows a more sophisticated construction. Some faces of blocks here are unfinished in their lower part, which allows one to calculate the ancient ground surface in the area that served as the main route of access to the upper terrace. Here again some blocks have a cutting on their upper surfaces to receive stretchers, and display a variety of other cuttings from an earlier period of use — swallow-tailed, double-T, and Π-shaped. The excavations at this

11 Cf. Murray and Petsas (supra n. 7) and T. Schäfer, "Zur Datierung des Siegesdenkmals von Actium," *AthMitt* vol. 108 (1993) 239-48.

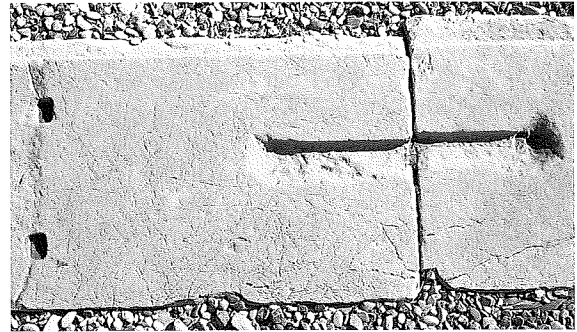
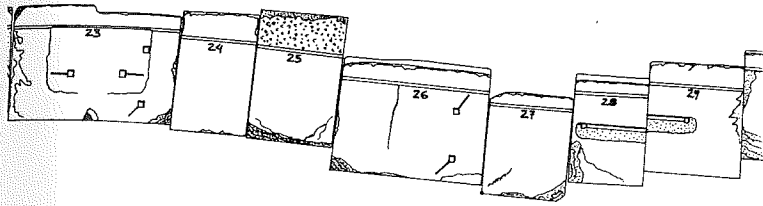


Fig. 15. Stylobate block with square and elongated cuttings.

eastern return wall provided new information on the principles of construction adopted for the whole monument. Towards its S end, behind the façade, there is a wall of sandstone slabs and loose mortar which formed the basis for successive layers of concrete using stronger mortar and tile fragments. These layers begin at the fourth course and continue to the north. The ashlar blocks run for 23 m; then the rest of the wall up to the toichobate of the N stoa is made of concrete. It would seem that the limestone blocks of both return walls terminated at the point where they were no longer visible and where the pressures exerted upon them were less than those upon the façade.

The blocks re-used in the monument may have derived from one or more monumental buildings of a nearby town, whose inhabitants were displaced and forced to settle in Nikopolis. Re-use of material from older buildings is confirmed as well by a number of blocks which bear inscriptions in the Corinthian alphabet. One possible source is Ambrakia, a Corinthian colony which later became the capital of Pyrrhus. Blocks might have been brought via the river Arachthos which was navigable in antiquity up to the Gulf of Ambrakia.

The upper terrace

The stoa

The upper terrace measures c.62 x 50 m. It is enclosed on the N, E and W sides by a Π-shaped stoa which has been partly excavated. The N wing preserves 50 limestone blocks of the stylobate (40.30 m in length; fig. 14) with no step and with no clamps joining adjacent blocks. The upper surfaces of the blocks exhibit dowel-sockets, pry-holes, lead pour-channels and setting lines. Dowel-cuttings and pour-channels indicate the presence of 15 columns. In the gaps between the columns (the 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th and 10th spaces, counting from the east end) are 5 long cuttings (fig. 15) which were perhaps to hold metal or marble parapets. The blocks were re-used, to judge from half of a swallow-tail cutting on the back of the third slab from the east.

Some 5 m to the north, the foundations of a second (inner) stylobate of sandstone blocks mixed with loose mortar have been partly excavated. On the foundations rest limestone blocks. They also contain cuttings and pour channels on their surface, indicating that they held a second colonnade, more sparsely preserved than the first stylobate. No foundations run vertically to these foundations, suggesting that this stoa (and the other two) had parallel continuous corridors and was covered by a double-pitched roof.

Further north again, the toichobate of the stoa's back wall (60 cm wide) made of *opus caementicium* has been found, resting on sandstone and clay foundations (1.5 m wide). Close to this wall is a dense destruction layer containing roof-tiles; a similar destruction layer was found in the E wing. A brick-lined channel lined with hydraulic mortar and set in concrete ran outside the back wall of the stoa.

Of the E and W wings of the stoa only the foundations are preserved. In the W wing parts of two parallel walls, 0.85 m wide and 4.6 m apart, have been found, made of irregular slabs roughly hewn on their outer face only and with loose mortar between them. The sandstone foundations go to a depth of at least 3.3 m. Near the middle of the W wing a transverse wall runs between the two stylobates; it is made of small, irregular stones, pieces of terracotta from the monument, and is not properly connected to the stylobates, so it must be a late addition. The retaining walls of the two right-angled returns of the façade served as foundations for the back

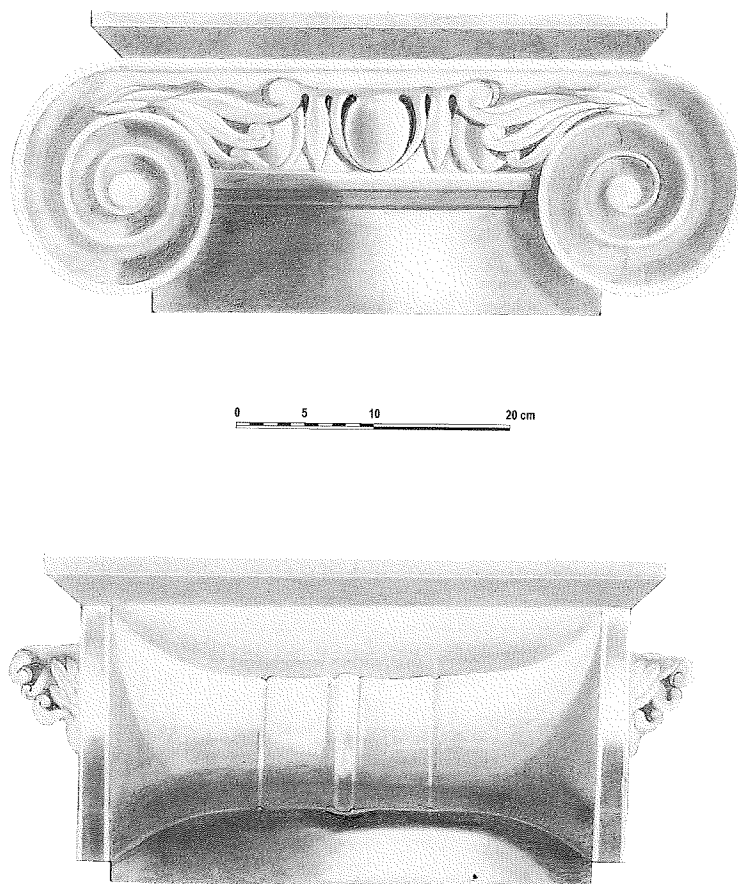


Fig. 16. Ionic marble capital.

walls of the E and W wings of the stoa.

Slumping of the hillside detached the foundations of the E wing from the rear of the main façade. This is clear because the frontal or exterior stylobate shows a different method of construction. On top of sandstone slabs set at a great depth is a wall (1.5 m high) of concrete with a facing of triangular bricks (*opus testaceum*). It must belong to a later repair of this SE corner of the monument, following severe damage from slippage. Fallen fluted column drums lie on either side.

Rebuilding can also be seen at the E end of the façade which cracked over a distance of about 17 m. To prevent it collapsing, on the back of the façade a wall (2.1 m thick) was built of *opus caementicium*, faced on its N side with square bricks bearing diagonal markings. These reinforcing walls of brick are found also in front of the façade's ashlar blocks to help retain the platform, as well as on the pillar bases (see above) that supported the rams (in one base an early stamped tile was re-used).

Architectural elements attributed to the stoa include 2 column bases, 2 Doric capitals, 2 limestone Corinthian capitals, 2 Ionic capitals (fig. 16), 22 column drums (11 fluted and 11 not, made of poros stone that was originally stuccoed and which sometimes preserve masons' marks on their setting surfaces; figs. 17-18), and the drum of a half-column. The two Corinthian capitals most probably are later than the Augustan period and may belong to one of the restoration projects mentioned above.

One restoration of the monument may be attributed to Julian. According to a panegyric (*Pan. Lat.* 11. 9) delivered on January 1, 362 by the prefect of Illyricum, Claudius Mamertinus, Nikopolis benefitted from the emperor Julian who re-organized the Actian games and contributed to the repairs of the collapsed private and public buildings of the city. These surely included the Tropaeum. Since the monument was central to the Actian games, it could not have been left out of a reconstruction programme if it had been judged in need of repair. Eventually, however, the

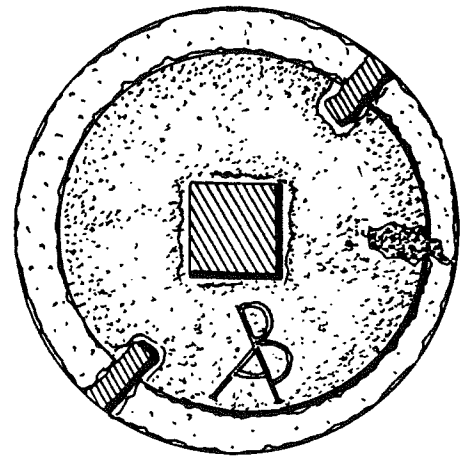
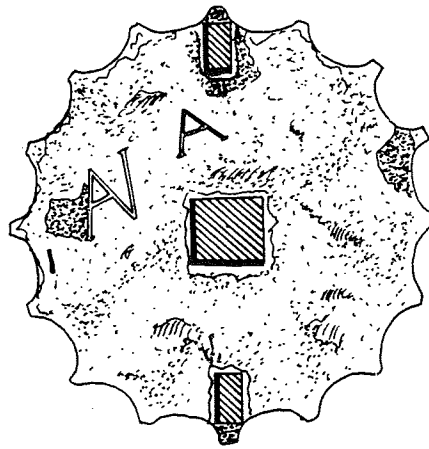
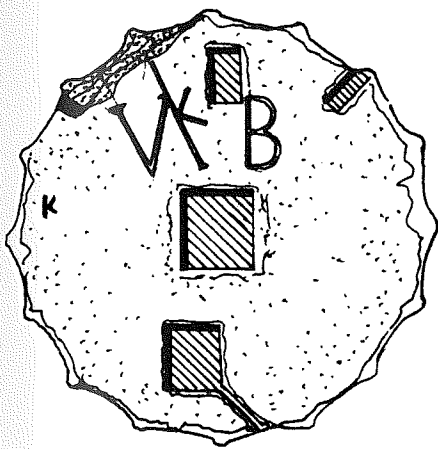


Fig. 17. Two column drums with inscribed masons' marks. Fig. 18. Diameter of unfluted column drum.

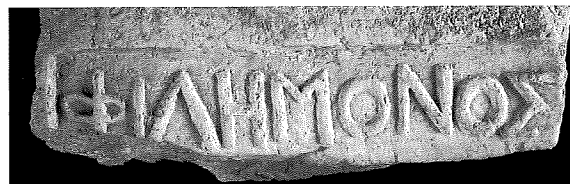
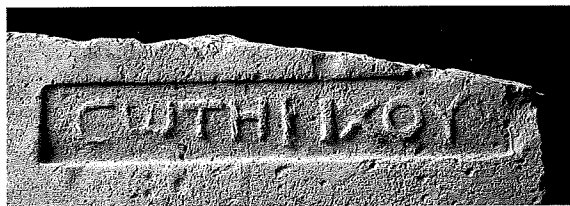


Fig. 19. Stamped tiles of Corinthian type.

the story that Octavian first planned to take the name Romulus.¹² To the second group belongs the sima with decoration of dolphins with raised tails, swimming on either side of a spout shaped like a dolphin's head (figs. 21a-b). Dolphins also became part of the new iconographic repertoire that alluded to Actium and the rôle of Neptune, to whom, with Mars, the Tropaeum is dedicated according to the inscription above the rams.

The finds also include a large number of terracotta palmette antefixes, which belong to two types. The first type, which is the most numerous, contains a Gorgoneion at the centre, from

building materials were systematically plundered, to judge by the very few architectural blocks of the stoas that have been recovered and by the general absence of stone chips that would have derived from deliberate fragmentation of blocks.

Fragments of Corinthian style roof-tiles were found all over the excavated area on the lower and upper terraces but especially in the destruction layer of the N wing of the stoa and in the courtyard there. Most probably derive from there since there is no evidence that any of the other excavated structures was roofed, except for the possible naiskos. Many roof-tiles were stamped, and there are at least 9 types with whole names or abbreviations (fig. 19). In descending order of frequency the stamps read: NIKOMAX[ΟΥ] ΑΒΑ, ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΥ, ΦΙΛΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΚΟΚ, ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, ΘΡΑΣΩΝΟΣ, ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ, ΑΝΔΡ, ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗ[], and ΤΙΜΟΘ.

The stoa's terracotta simas (gutters) fall into two groups. To the first belongs the lateral sima with depictions of the wolf and twins (figs. 20a-b). On the right side of the water-spout the wolf faces left with head turned back towards the suckling twins below; other fragments from the left side of the spout show the wolf facing right. The scene implies connections between Romulus, Rome's founder and first *triumphator*, and Augustus. We recall

12 K. Scott, "The identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus," *TAPA* 56 (1925) 82-105.

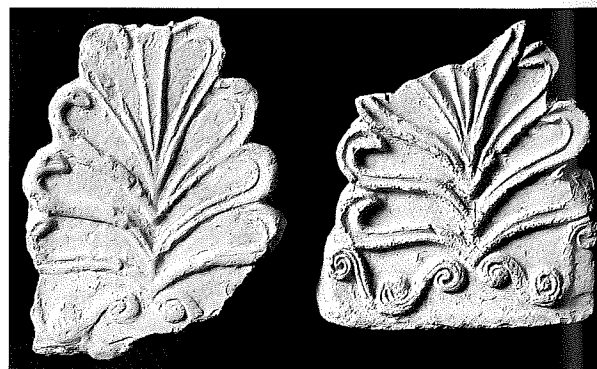
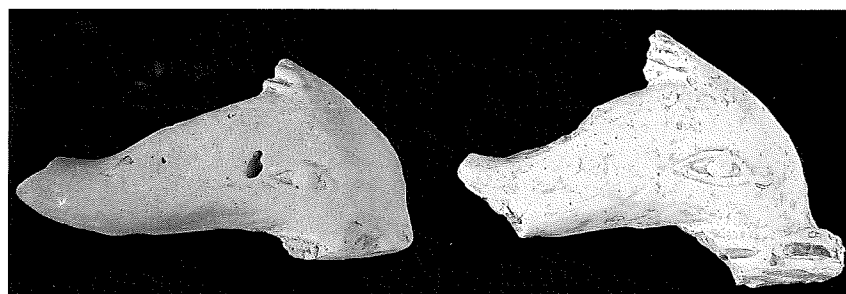
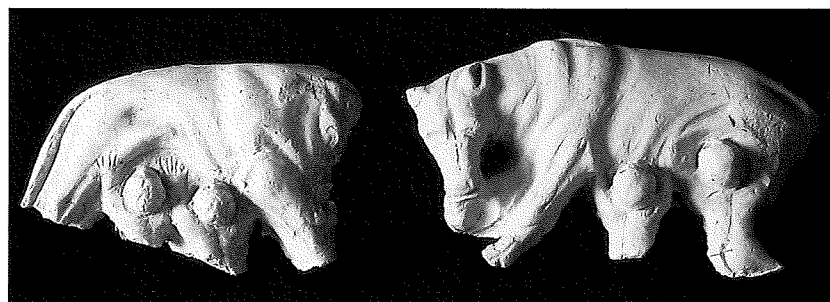


Fig. 20a (top) and 20b (left). Fragments of terracotta simas of type A, showing wolf suckling the twins Romulus and Remus.

Fig. 21a-b (lower left). Terracotta simas of type B, showing two dolphins in relief and at left traces of the drainpipe in the shape of a dolphin's head.

Fig. 22-23 (right). Terracotta simas of types A and B, palmette antefix tiles.



Fig. 24. Terracotta flower-pots.



Fig. 25. Western pedestal on the upper terrace, view to NE.

which grow 9 broad and rather inflexible leaves tightly tied together (fig. 22). The lower part of the palmette ends in a ridge which is attached to the central figure and parallel with the lower leaves. The second type has a flame-shaped palmette and S-shaped tendrils on the bottom (fig. 23). The palmette pattern consists of 8 lateral leaves which grow in groups of 4 on either side of the central lance-shaped leaf. Below are tendrils which terminate in spirals.

The area inside the court formed by the stoas

Close to the stylobates were found simple terracotta flower-pots with pierced bases (fig. 24), similar to those from the courtyard garden of the Hephestaeum in Athens or those from gardens at Pompeii. They suggest that the open area enclosed by the stoas was transformed into a garden.

Statue bases

The foundations of two rectangular (3.6 x 3.55 m) sandstone structures with cobbles and clay were found in the central part of the court, 15 m from the stylobate of the N wing and 11 m from the E and W wings (fig. 25). They probably served as pedestals for statues. Various marble fragments with mouldings were gathered from this area. It is possible that the bronze statues of Eutychos and Nikon (a man driving an ass) stood on one or both of these pedestals. Plutarch mentions that Octavian met the pair the night before the battle, took their names as a propitious omen, and set up statues in their honour after the victory.¹³

13 Plut., *Ant.* 65.3: Καίσαρι δὲ λέγεται μὲν ἔτι σκότους ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κύκλῳ περιϊόντι πρὸς τὰς ναῦς



Fig. 26. Stereobate of the altar, view to SE.

* The foundations of a third statue-base, connected to the NE side of the one to the east, was added later, to judge by the masonry and by its asymmetric position. It too probably held a bronze statue, to judge by a bronze fragment of drapery with folds that was found close by.

The monumental altar

South of the statue bases are the foundations of a long rectangular (22 x 6.5 m) construction made of a similar sandstones (fig. 26). Its long sides are parallel to the N wing of the stoa; the short ends are c.8.2 m from the outer stylobate of the E and W wings. Several well-worked limestone blocks with double T-shaped clamps, excavated on top and in front of the foundations, belong to the *crepis*.

Its central position in the open air on the upper terrace suggests that it formed the monumental altar. This Π-shaped type of altar is similar to the altar of Dionysus at Kos, that of the Nymphs at Knidos, and that of Hera Epilimenia at Thasos. The altar must have been dedicated to Apollo since the hill on which the monument was erected is referred to by Strabo (7.7.6) as the hill sacred to Apollo.¹⁴ The altar is located at the spot where Octavian had pitched his

ἄνθρωπος ἐλαύνων ὄνον ἀπαντῆσαι, πυθόμενω δὲ τοῦνομα γνωρίσας αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν. "Ἐμοὶ μὲν Εὐτυχὸς ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ ὄνι Νίκων". Διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐκβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν ὕστερον ἔστησε χαλκοῦν ὄνον καὶ ἄνθρωπον. Zonaras (10.30) repeated the story and added that these statues were carried off to Constantinople and set up in the hippodrome. According to Nicetas Chroniates (Περὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 6), the bronze statues of Eutychus and Nikon were destroyed in 1204 at the time of the capture of Constantinople.

14 Strabo 7.7.6: 'Ἡ μὲν οὖν Νικόπολις εὐανδρεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπίδοσιν, χώραν τε ἔχουσα πολλὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων κόσμον, τό τε κατασκευασθὲν τέμενος ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πεντετηρικὸν ἐν ἄλλει ἔχοντι γυμνάσιον τε καὶ σταδίων, τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ τοῦ ἄλλους ἱερῷ λόφῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

'Nikopolis is populous, and its numbers are increasing daily, since it has not only a considerable

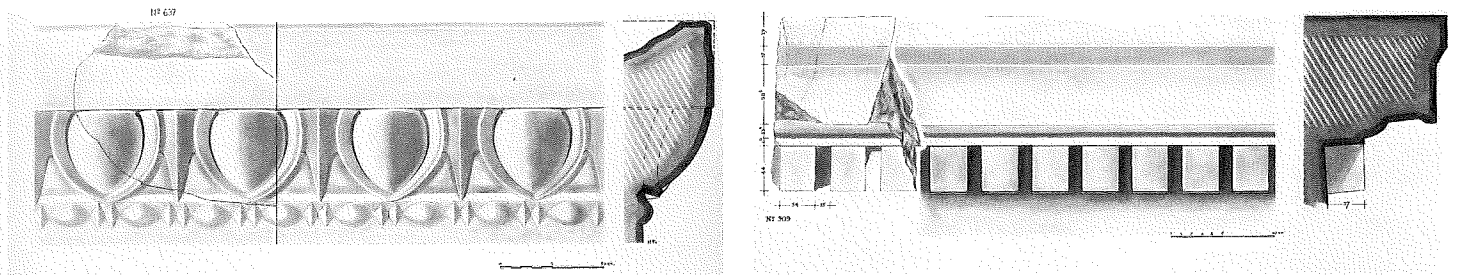


Fig. 27. Altar, marble cornice.

tent, and brings to mind Octavian's house on the Palatine adjacent to the Temple of Apollo.

The monument's design may have been intended to provide graduated references, arranged almost hierarchically, for the approaching visitor. The lower terrace with its rams glittering in the sun was dedicated to the gods of violence and domination, Mars and Neptune, while the upper terrace, the site of Octavian's tent, was dedicated to Apollo, the saviour and pacifier. As the centrepiece of the monument, the altar is connected to the local cult of Apollo and the events of the naval battle. The central axis of the altar directs one's gaze to the site of the sea battle off Actium and to the Akarnanian shore with its sanctuary of Apollo Actius. On a clear day the mountains of Leukas, where Apollo's cult was also strong (he had a temple on the prominent Cape Ducato-Leukatas on the island's southwest peninsula) were visible on the horizon.

In the layers (which showed evidence of burning) above and around the foundation were found numerous smashed marble fragments, including a variety of mouldings (fig. 27a-b) and fragments of relief sculptures from the altar's decoration. In some cases, particularly on the S side, the fragments were found in piles, which suggests deliberate dismantlement, rather than abandonment and natural decay. So far more than 21,000 fragments, ranging in size from a couple of centimeters up to 40 or 50 cm in length, have been recovered. Of this total most are undecorated, but 1129 have relief decoration. The marble relief fragments with motifs in classicizing style which were found scattered over the excavated area of the altar up to the collapsed part of the façade must derive from friezes adorning the altar. Their fragmentary condition makes reconstruction difficult, but we can recognize specific themes that relate directly or metaphorically to the battle and the events that followed it. Although the work is still in its preliminary stages, and the process of studying and joining fragments of the smashed and dispersed sculptures will be both difficult and time-consuming, we can initially group the pieces according to the following themes:

1. *Ships* (fig. 28). Some fragments show ships or accessories of ships such as bows, steering-oars, rostra, and stern ornaments (ἄφλαστα). On two fragments human figures stand in front of a ship's bow. Clearly the sculptures made reference to the famous battle, yet the actual battle seems not to have been depicted. The enemy is present but remains unnamed. The theme is one of ships and their accessories as symbols of the victory, such as we see on Hellenistic coin-types and in reliefs in Rome and on the arch at Orange.
2. *Amazonomachy(?)* (fig. 29). One fragment from the altar shows a bent knee of an Amazon(?) wearing a short tunic, in front of a cylindrical object. Two other fragments of thin marble slabs with finished backs do not belong to the friezes of the altar but to another decoration. One of them shows a pair of feet wearing elaborately decorated boots; one of the legs stands above or steps on a helmet. It may come from an Amazonomachy,¹⁵ but it could also belong to a scene

territory and the adornment taken from the spoils of the battle, but it also has in its suburbs the thoroughly equipped sacred precinct, one part of it being in a sacred grove that contains a gymnasium and a stadium for the celebration of the quinquennial games, the other part lying above the grove on the hill that is sacred to Apollo.'

See also Dio 51.1.3, who mentions the ἔδος, the abode or throne of the god Apollo.

15 Amazonomachies symbolize the conflict of the Greeks under the leadership of Hercules and Theseus (who was much admired by democratic Athens) against eastern barbarians. Cf. E. La Rocca, *Amazonomachia: le sculture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano* (Rome 1985) 89.

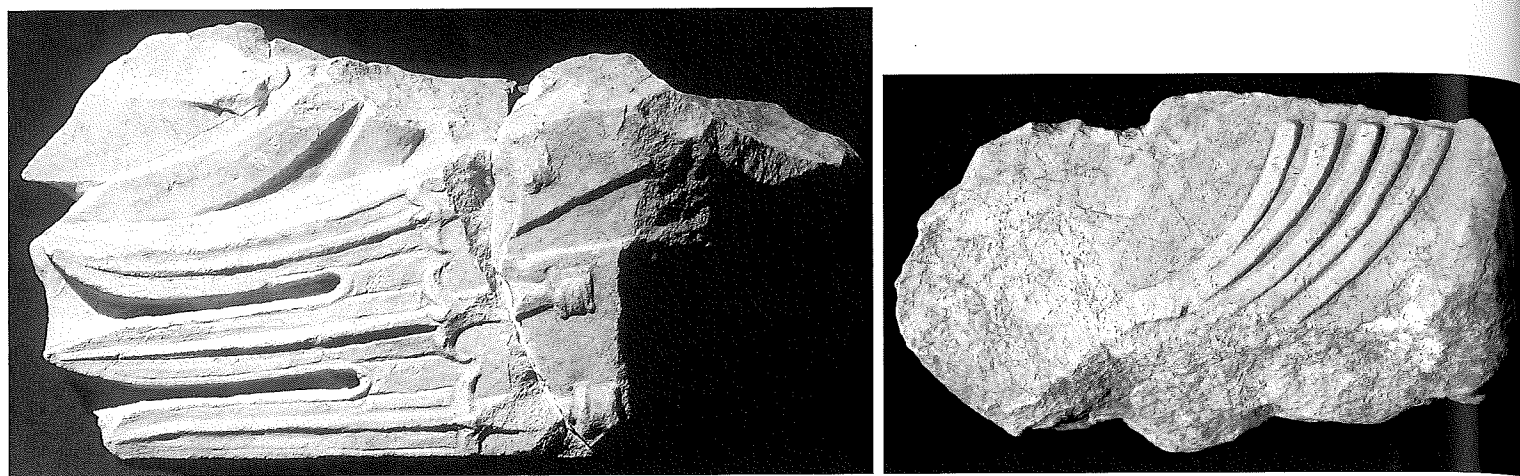


Fig. 28. Marble fragments from altar frieze: ram of a warship and stern ornament (*aphlaston*).

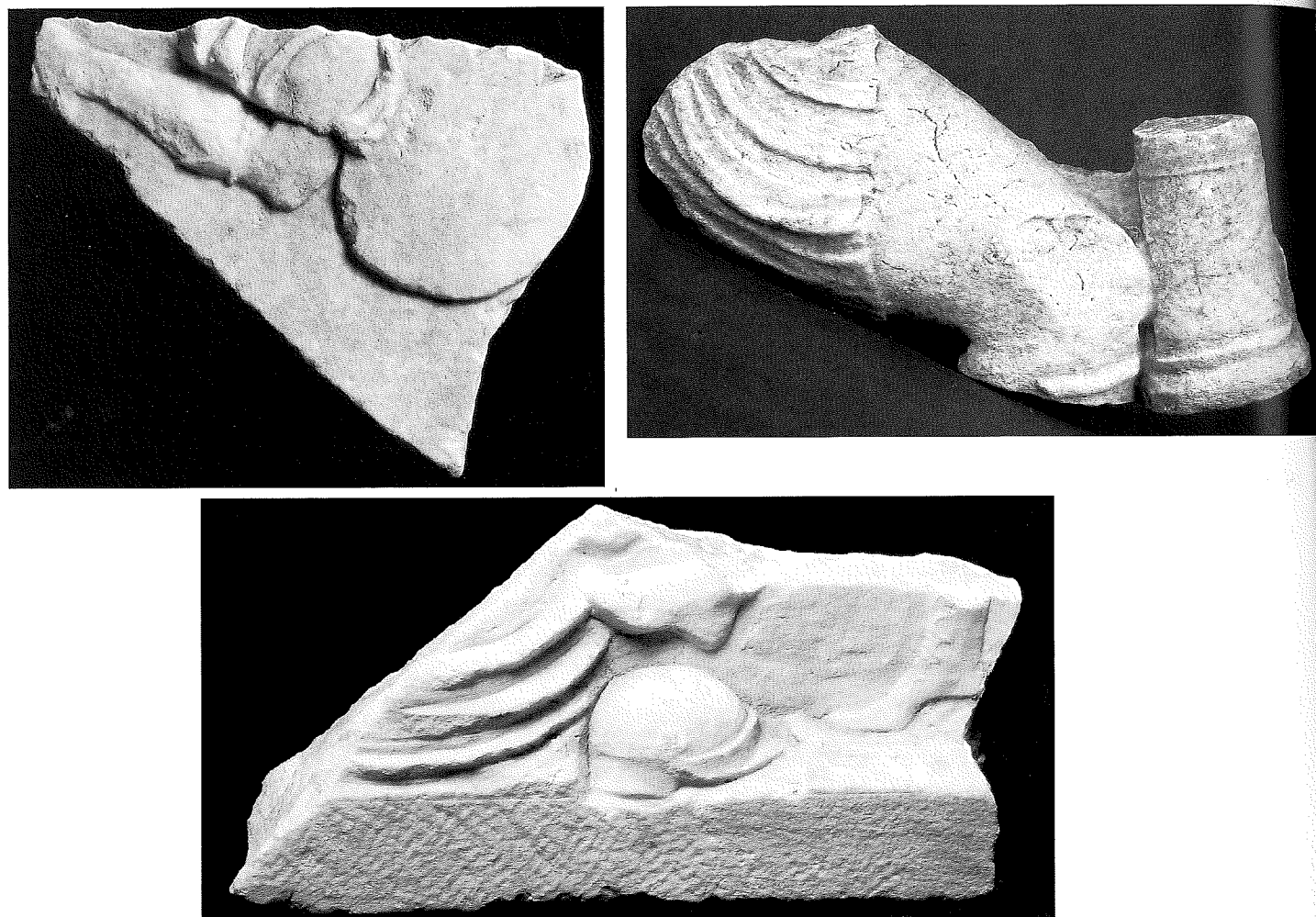


Fig. 29. Marble fragments from altar frieze: detail of Amazonomachy(?); bent knee of Amazon(?) wearing a short tunic, in front of a cylindrical object; helmet and pair of feet wearing decorated boots.

with the goddess Roma who often wears similar boots and sits on weapons. We may note that Amazonomachy scenes are depicted on a cylindrical marble statue base, of uncertain date, which was re-used in the Early Christian Basilica B at Nikopolis and is now in the Museum. It has been variously suggested to be Augustan and to have supported a statue of him, or to have been 2nd c. in date and to have held a statue of Neptune.

3. *Armour* (figs. 30-31). Two groups of weapons and trophies, the symbols of victory, may be distinguished by their size. In the first, weapons are shown hanging on tree trunks. In the second,

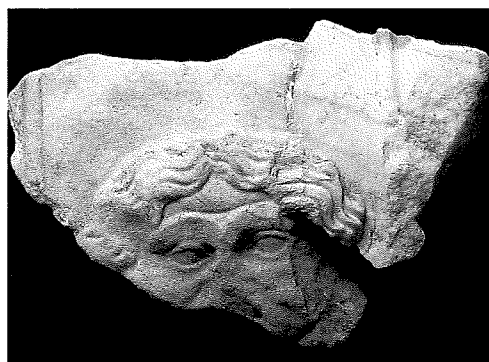


Fig. 30. Marble fragments from altar frieze: Corinthian helmet; round shield with spiral episema; two joining fragments of cuirass with *gorgoneion*; female figure on shield facing left; spear points; two fragments of trophies.

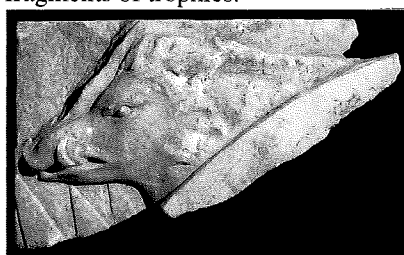


Fig. 31. Boar's head above spear points.

heaps of weapons (shields, helmets, spears and cuirasses) are shown. Both may not have been part of the same composition: some may come from specific battle scenes or processions, while shields may have been decorative elements symbolizing victory. The second, larger group may have belonged to a frieze set beneath the procession. The compositions with piles of weapons may ultimately be inspired by Pergamon's Athena sanctuary.

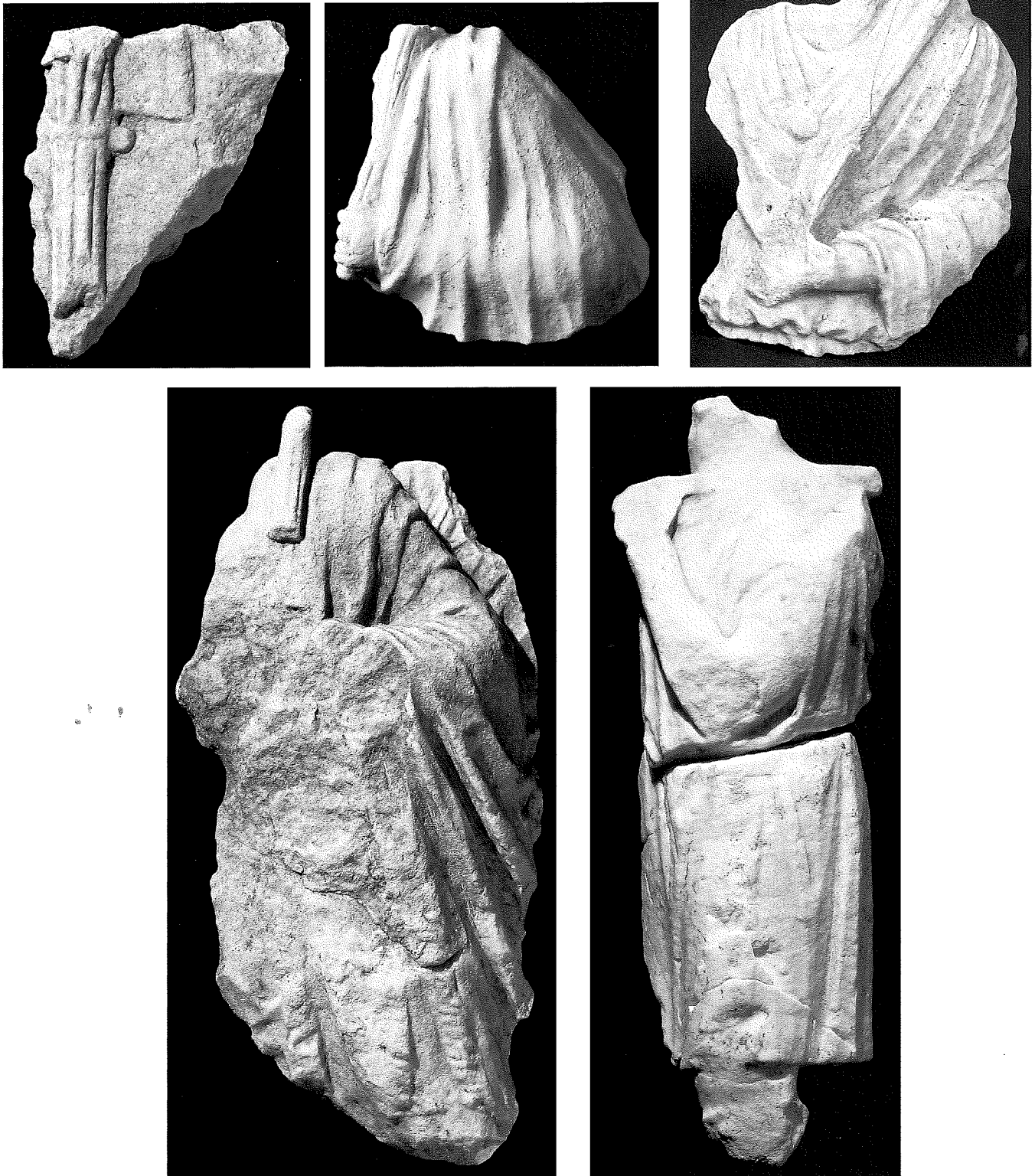


Fig. 32. Marble fragments from altar frieze: *fasces* from which protrudes an axe, lictor with *fasces* facing left, frontal young man wearing a toga, carrying *fasces*, and wearing a *bulla*; lictor wearing fur-trimmed clothing; lictor with raised and bent arm, facing left.

4. *Procession* (figs. 32-33). Some fragments belong to a procession moving towards the left. The figures are set on two levels: the most important figures are in the foreground and secondary ones are in shallow relief in the background. Among the figures are lictors with *fasces* on their shoulders (fig. 32). A young person is shown with a *bulla* on his chest, like the young togate

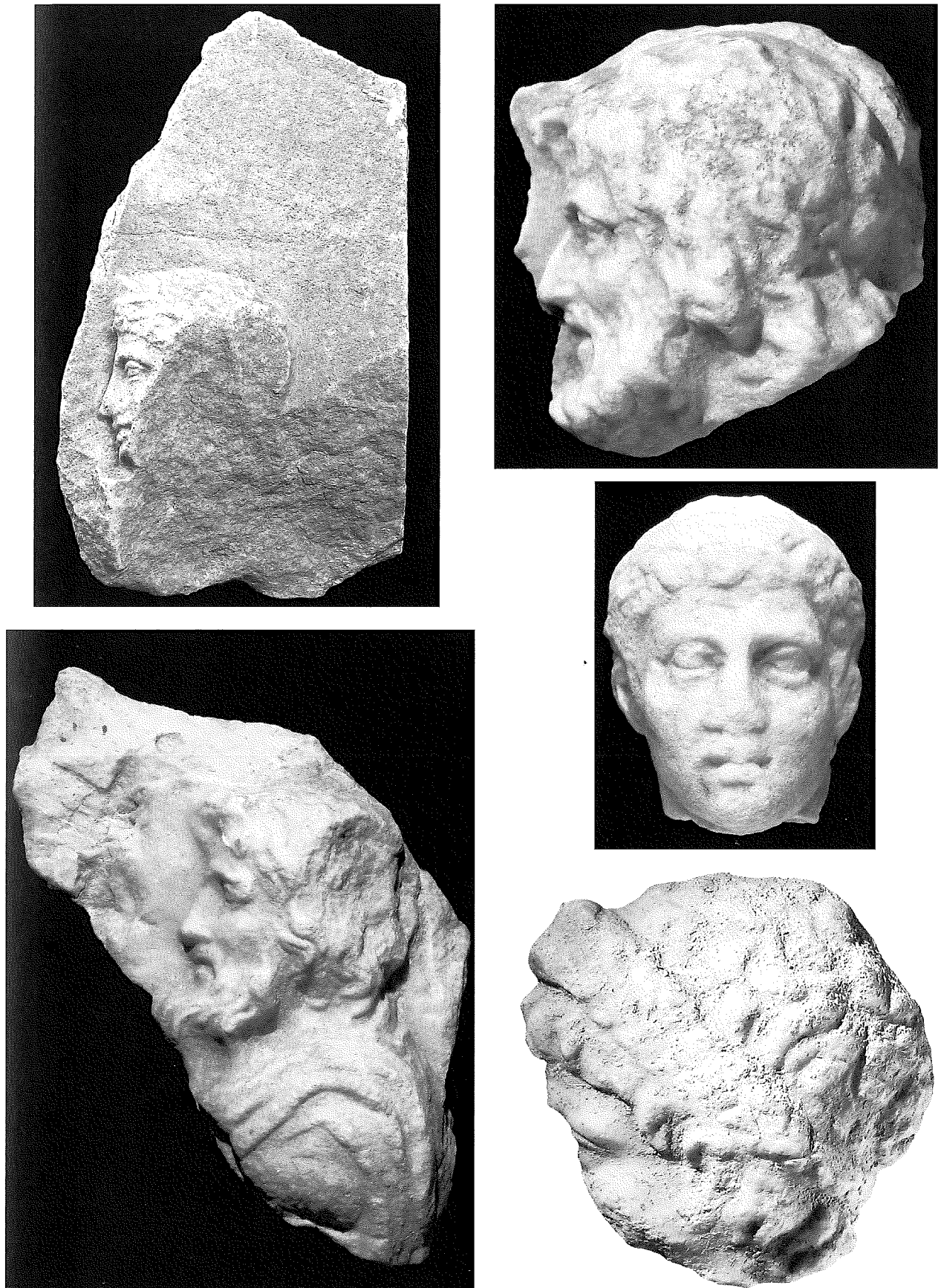


Fig. 33. Marble fragments from altar frieze: head of young man in shallow relief, facing left and wearing laurel wreath; bearded male facing left; bearded male facing left; frontal young man; young man with laurel wreath facing left.



Fig. 34. Marble fragment from altar frieze: ram's head, probably from a sacrificial scene.

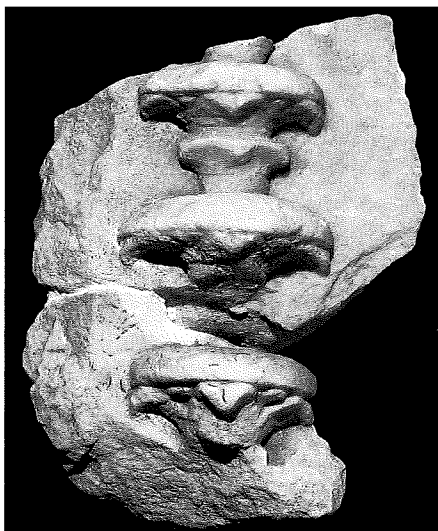


Fig. 35. Marble fragments from altar frieze's vegetal decoration: floral scroll, rosettes, flower and acanthus leaves, candelabrum.

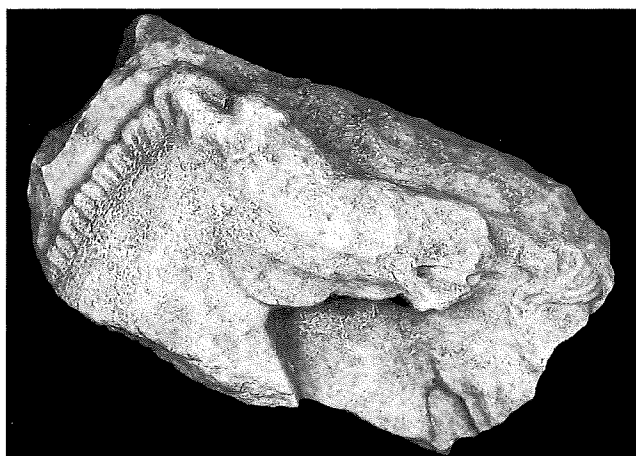


Fig. 36. Marble fragments from the altar frieze: horse's head with part of a second; wing of a griffin.

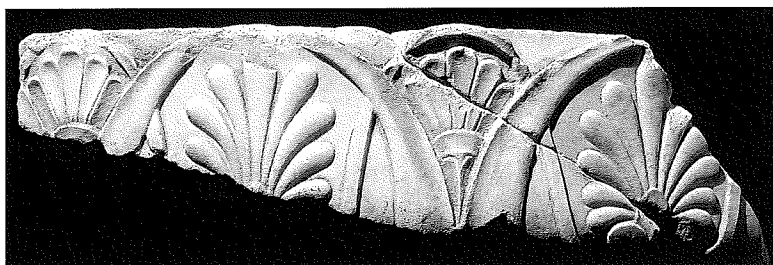


Fig. 37. Two joined fragments from the crown probably of a semicircular pedestal, with palmette and lotus flowers in archaic style.

princes Germanicus and Domitius Ahenobarbus in the procession on the Ara Pacis. Our young figure, whose head is missing, may belong to Augustus's family circle. As on the Ara Pacis, the heads of some figures are crowned with laurel wreaths. Two separate fragments of a ram (fig. 34) and a bull probably derive from a sacrificial scene (*suovetaurilia*) with human participants. The procession in question should be one of the triumphal processions of Augustus (see further below).

Other fragments, not yet classified but some possibly belonging to the procession, include two very fine bearded older men, their facial features showing their reverent emotions (fig. 33, top right and bottom left).

5. *Floral decoration* (fig. 35). A small number of fragments have a rich floral decoration that has strong parallels with the decoration on the Ara Pacis, although their exact position and relationship to the figured fragments is as yet not clear. They include floral scrolls which enclose flowers emerging out of acanthus leaves and which spiral upwards. Two joined fragments belong to a candelabrum.

Many symbolic representations in Augustan art generally referred to the sea-battle of Actium. They serve to promote the victory as the will of the gods. These symbols were not limited to public monuments but spilled over into everyday life, appearing on seals, lamps, tiles, and even burial monuments. Favourite subjects are winged victories in various compositions, griffins (creatures associated with Apollo; fig. 36), sea-creatures such as dolphins, sea-horses and tritons, warships and particularly their individual accessories such as anchors, helms, curved poops with ornaments, bows, and above all the rams (*rostra*).¹⁶

In 2001, some large fragments were discovered (cf. figs. 38-39) which contribute in a major way towards the restoration and interpretation of the smaller fragments.

A. A large semicircular marble base (0.71 m height, 0.99 m diameter), preserved in a single piece. It is decorated with reliefs in a highly manneristic archaizing style. The upper part of the base is crowned with a lotus-palmette frieze, the lower part with a guilloche moulding. The main composition depicts 10 gods and heroes of the Greek pantheon. Seven of the figures walk towards the right, three towards the left. The first group begins with the Apolline triad: Apollo holds the lyre and *plektron*, his sister Artemis holds a bow in her left hand and the front legs of a deer in her right, while their mother Leto, wearing a crown, faces them. Beside her comes Hermes accompanied by the Three Graces, who hold hands and walk to the right, although the last one faces back, as if to introduce the next group. Their manneristic movement is like that of similar archaistic reliefs of this period. At the head of the next group is probably Hebe or Hera, who is crowned and wears a long *himation* and elaborate girdle. Next to her is the bearded Hercules, walking to the left but turning his head back towards the goddess. The scene is completed by an elegant Athena, holding a spear in her right hand and an Attic helmet in her left. On the upper surface of the base is a mason's mark, the letter A.

A second base probably stood in a corresponding location, to judge from the discovery of two large joining fragments of a crowning lotus-palmette frieze (fig. 37), as well as small low-relief fragments in the same archaizing style.

16 T. Hölscher, "Denkmäler der Schlacht von Actium. Propaganda und Resonanz," *Klio* 67 (1985) 81-102.



Fig. 38. Semicircular marble base during the course of excavation.

B. Five joining fragments of a marble relief from the altar frieze create a slab (max. thickness 43 cm) almost 3 m in length and almost 1 m in height. From right to left are depicted a procession with 9 male *togati*, wearing the *toga exigua* rather than the typical Augustan toga, and crowned with laurel wreaths. They walk in a formal slow processional style. Their faces are serious and idealized. The first man, at the head of this group, touches the rear of a four-horse chariot with his right hand. The chariot is lavishly decorated with acanthus-leaf vines between columns carrying Corinthian capitals. The charioteer is also crowned and holds a branch of laurel in his extended right hand. In front of him, inside the chariot, stand two children, a female and a male (only the upper parts of their bodies are shown). The four vibrant horses move forward at a slow trot, the reins held by a slave who faces back towards the charioteer. Next come two bearded horsemen also moving at a slow trot. They too are crowned but their dress shows that they are not Romans. They wear the characteristic barbarian trousers. The front horseman wears a leather cuirass above his trousers. The rear of the first horse is covered by a saddlecloth with a polygonal border. In front of them march two noble Greeks wearing Boeotian helmets.

These figures show that the scene is part of a triumph. We know that on August 13, 14 and 15 of the year 29 B.C. Octavian celebrated his triple triumph. The first day celebrated Octavian's victories in Illyria, where more than 28 tribes and peoples were defeated. The second day was the triumph for the Actian victory. We would not expect there to have been reference to Antony



Fig. 39. Marble slab depicting a procession during the course of excavation.

and his supporters, absent also from the monumental inscription on the monument. Rather, he referred to the eastern kings who had supported Antony with troops at Actium, many of whom were eventually pardoned and restored by Octavian. The third day focused on the conquest of Egypt and her queen.

Dio reports (51.21.9) that Augustus did everything in the customary manner except that he permitted his fellow-consul and the other magistrates, contrary to precedent, to follow him, along with the senators who had participated in the victory — it was usual for such officials to march in advance and for only the senators to follow. In our relief, the *togati* following the chariot must be the senators who participated in the Actian victory, together with other magistrates of the city of Rome. The charioteer must be Octavian himself, wearing the *toga picta* worn by generals in triumphs. Above his shoulder there seems to have been some kind of symbol (now largely lost), perhaps an eagle or a flying victory. The characteristic features of Octavian's profile — thin neck with visible, though slight, rendering of an Adam's apple; strong cheekbones; sharply protruding nose; and penetrating glance — give him an imposing and austere dignity. His profile is similar to that on a number of coin types which are thought to have commemorated Actium, and it will be a very important document for understanding the early development of his idealized, youthful portrait style.

The two children inside his triumphal chariot may be children of Antony and Cleopatra. Their three children had been sent to Rome where they were looked after by Octavia,

Octavian's half-sister and Antony's fourth wife and widow. According to the sources, the twins of Antony and Cleopatra, Alexandros Helios and Cleopatra Selene, had been paraded along the Via Sacra in the triumph of Octavian. The face of the boy in the chariot is marked by a thick neck and fleshy chins, appropriate for an 11-year-old. The female child would be his sister Cleopatra Selene. Dio (51.21.8) described the two children marching on the third day of the triumph, following the effigy of their dead mother upon a couch. The Nikopolis frieze probably represents the second day, the Actian triumph. Octavian's subsequent favourable treatment of the children and the absence of personal animosity shown towards Antony in the triumphs accords well with what the Nikopolis frieze seems to show.

In his *Res Gestae* (4.3) Augustus records that in his triumphs 9 kings or children of kings were led before his chariot. We know the names of two of the kings likely to have participated in Octavian's Actian triumph — Adiatorix, king of the Galatians, and Alexander of Emesa, king of one of the Arabian tribes.¹⁷ It is conceivable that the two bearded horsemen in front of the chariot are these two barbarian kings. The identity of the two walking figures remains to be determined, but they are probably Greeks.

On the basis of the Nikopolis reliefs a new chapter on the beginnings of Augustan art, from almost the first day of the Empire, will be written. The artists responsible for this work belong to the creative traditions of the Hellenistic age, yet they were thoroughly familiar with Roman iconography, to the evolution of which they clearly contributed. The study of these sculptures will shed light not only on the workshops of Greece and Asia Minor (masons's marks in Greek on fragments of the frieze suggest that the carvers belong to a Greek workshop), but on the iconography of the period, harnessed in the service of political propaganda and functioning through symbols and concepts as these affected the upper classes. The Nikopolis altar will be shown to be a worthy precursor of the Ara Pacis itself.

The later history of the monument

The monument survived the raids of the Heruli in 267, the effects of which on the city are confirmed by recent finds, for hasty repairs were carried out at various points on the fortification walls, using materials taken from damaged or destroyed buildings.

Evidence for the repairs which the monument received over the centuries comes from the variety of tiles incorporated in different constructions, as well as from different kinds of masonry work. In the foundations of the toichobate of the E wing of the stoa we found a coin of Constantine I, which might suggest that the monument remained in operation at least until then. To this general period or to the reign of Julian may belong the repair at the SE corner (see above), where landslides necessitated a consolidation. Certainly it is likely that repairs were effected under Julian. The city was plundered under Zeno (474-491) by the Vandals who during negotiations with Zeno made a surprise attack on Nikopolis, captured it, and took its inhabitants prisoner to Carthage. Later, under the threat of Totila's Goths, Justinian reinforced the walls of Nikopolis, but, like many other cities of Epirus, it did not escape plundering in 551. The exact date of the final destruction of the sanctuary, which probably included the fire in front of the altar that has been attested by the excavations, as well as the deliberate smashing of sculptures, remains to be determined. The latter may have been linked to an atmosphere of religious fanaticism.

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17 Dio 51.2.2, Strabo 12.3.35, with Gurval (*supra* n.1) 28-29.