

Arja Karivieri

Creating Contacts: Trade and Exchange along the Via Egnatia from the Roman to the Early Byzantine Period

In this paper I aim to discuss the new evidence for trade and exchange along the Via Egnatia from the Roman to the Early Byzantine period, concentrating on the area between Thessalonica and ancient Philippi. The bulk of evidence for this study is provided by the latest excavations of Greek archaeologists, along and adjacent to the ancient Via Egnatia, as well as from the Finnish excavations of the Early Byzantine church at Arethousa, located north of the Lake Bolbe and the Via Egnatia in a fertile mountain valley that connected the Via Egnatia with the highlands towards north.

When Macedonia was converted into a Roman province in 146 BC, a road was constructed to enable the movement of the Roman troops from Italy towards east Macedonia with its fruitful river valleys, mountains and hills with forests and metal resources, as well as rivers, lakes and the sea providing fish became an important province for the Roman interests. Roman aristocrats were given fertile land properties in Macedonia and Roman families settled in Macedonia. Roman legions moving through the province created a continuous need for the local market and the development of cities and settlements along the route.

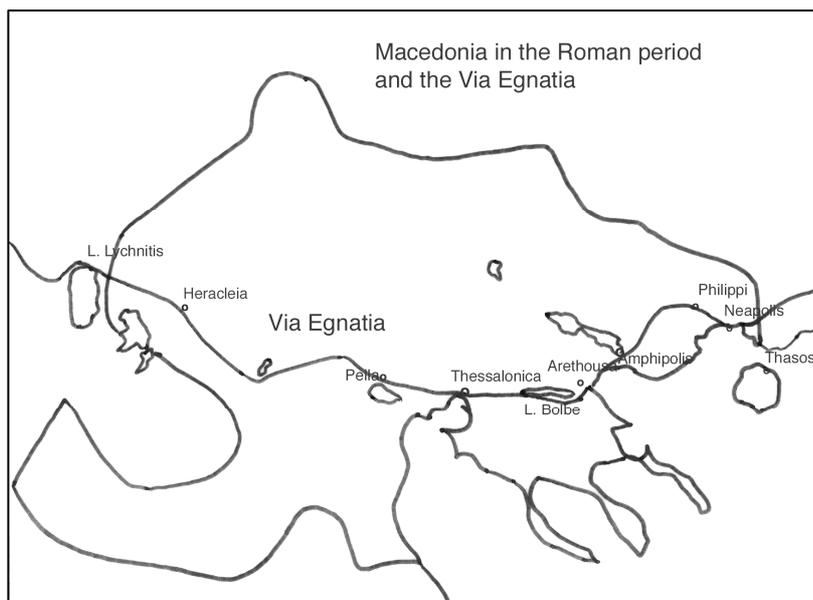


Fig. 1 - Macedonia in the Roman period and the Via Egnatia (adapted from TOURATSOGLU 1996, fig. 35).

Merchants from various parts of the ancient world surrounding Macedonia moved their goods along the new road and new centres, such as Dyrrachium, Heracleia Lyncestis and Philippi, were founded (fig. 1). The new road, the Via Egnatia, that was created to serve the needs of the Roman army and increased trade, was built to connect the Adriatic Sea with the Bosporos through the strategic points and cities, from Dyrrachium through Heracleia Lyncestis, Pella, Amphipolis, Philippi and Neapolis, to enable the movement of people and goods through the landscape, from Thrace to Illyria and vice versa. The

road was constructed following the existing roads constructed by the Macedonian rulers, sometime between 146-118 BC, generally attributed to the proconsul Gnaeus Egnatius¹. The road had a central role in Roman history, both because of its strategic position as a link to Roman colonies in the East, as well as an important trade route.

Strabo, who utilised an earlier text of Polybius for his description, describes the route of the Via Egnatia². Other descriptions can be found in the texts of, for example, Cicero, Ammianus Marcellinus, Procopius and later Byzantine writers³. *Itinerarium Antonini* and later itineraria, like *Tabula Peutingeriana*, give names of several road inns, *mansio*, along the road⁴. Recent excavations during the construction of the modern Via Egnatia near Asprovalta, west of Amphipolis, have revealed a building complex from the late 3rd to the early 6th century AD, which can plausibly be connected with one of the stations, the *mutatio Pennana* on the Via Egnatia⁵. Milestones - *miliaria* - have been found in many spots along the road, giving evidence for the construction and repairs of the road in different periods, as for example for one of the reconstruction periods that took place during Trajan's rule⁶.

The Romans wanted to have a new central city for the province and instead of Pella, that was plundered after the victory, they moved the provincial centre to Thessalonica that was better located in a strategic position. After the Roman peace, Thessalonica became a free city, *liberae conditionis*, and the metropolis of Macedonia. The production of own coins started in 31 BC and with the Principate, the economy of the city was revived. Thessalonica became an important centre for the Romans, located in the centre of the Via Egnatia, with a large harbour. The Greek language continued in use as an official language, which also explains the existence of numerous bilingual inscriptions found in the area. The city became an international centre that received immigrants from all parts of the Roman world, as well as a Jewish minority⁷. There were several associations for the representatives of various groups of merchants and *thiasoi* for various cults and nationalities, like for those from Asia Minor, Bithynia or Ephesos⁸. In Thessalonica, Greek, Roman and Eastern gods were venerated, among them should be mentioned the divinized son of Marcus Aurelius, the Egyptian gods Osiris, Isis and Sarapis, and, in the late 3rd to 4th century AD, the Celtic goddess Epona⁹. There is an abundance of epigraphic evidence for the cults of the Roman period, as well as sculpture deriving from the sanctuaries that were located in the western part of the city¹⁰.

Thessalonica had good contacts with the imperial administration, as is also attested by the sanctuaries for the Imperial cult found in the city. In the early 3rd century AD, the city received the title *neokoros* from Rome, due to the Imperial cult of Gordian AD 238-244 and the sanctuaries of the Imperial cult¹¹. Between AD 259-268, the mint of Thessalonica that had been in function since 27 BC, was closed¹², but it was reopened during the Tetrarchy. During the period 32/31BC to AD 268, two series of coins circulated in Thessalonica, the ones with images of the emperor and his family members and other ones, "pseudoautonomous" coins emphasizing the autonomy of Thessalonica (with representations of Tyche of the city, Kabeiros, Nike, a horse, Pan, etc.). The minting of coins started again AD 292 and continued until the Ottoman period, but autonomous coins were no longer made¹³.

Minor objects, like *instrumentum domesticum* provide important evidence for trade and exchange at Thessalonica. The excavations in the Agora of Thessalonica, the administrative centre of the Roman city,

¹ See FASOLO 2003, 97–9; for the discussion concerning the date of construction, FASOLO 2003, 103–8.

² STRAB. VII, 7, 3–4, C 322–323. See FASOLO 2003, 58–61.

³ Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 2,4; Cic. *Att.* III, 14, 2. FASOLO 2003, 56–7.

⁴ See FASOLO 2003, 65–85.

⁵ ADAM-VELENI 2003, 109–114.

⁶ COLLART 1935.

⁷ TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986a, 41.

⁸ SISMANIDES 1986a, 44–5.

⁹ SISMANIDES 1986b, 46; AULONITOU-TSIBIDOU 1986b, 144.

¹⁰ TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986b, 61–2.

¹¹ TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986a, 41; Touratsoglou and Veleni 1986, 146.

¹² TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986a, 42.

¹³ TOURATSOGLU 1986, 43; TOURATSOGLU, VELENI 1986, 145–46.

have provided finds from the 3rd century BC onwards. The site was first used for workshops. Later, in the mid-2nd century BC, private houses were built in the area, and then, in the 1st century AD, the site was changed over to public use. The Agora was abandoned in the 5th century AD and another phase of workshops has been documented from this final phase¹⁴. The characteristic find group of the Hellenistic period is the West Slope ware, both Attic and locally made¹⁵. The Megarian pottery has been found in the layers from the mid-3rd to the 1st century BC, imported mostly from Delos, but also from Athens, Boeotia, Ephesos, etc¹⁶.

In the centre of the Agora, there are remains of workshops from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD. Among the finds from the 1st c. BC can be mentioned vessels of Eastern Sigillata A ware, Roman amphorae and Ephesian lamps¹⁷. Among the amphorae, a Rhodian type of the late 3rd to early 2nd century BC was noted¹⁸. Lamps of the mid-2nd century BC, one lamp of the Ephesian type of the mid-1st century BC, Attic pottery and pottery of the "West Slope ware" type from Pergamon of the 2nd century BC were found in a building in the south-eastern part of the Agora¹⁹. Moulded ware seems to include both local Macedonian production and Delian imports from the mid-2nd to early 1st century BC. The local workshop produced pottery with a Nike-motif on the surface; a mould with a similar motif and other examples of comparable moulds have been found in Pella²⁰. In conclusion, the imported goods from the Late Hellenistic period came from Southern Greece, Delos, Rhodes and the centres of the Western Asia Minor, like Pergamon and Ephesus.

During the Early Roman period, both Italian terra sigillata, Arretine ware, and terra sigillata from Asia Minor were imported to Thessalonica²¹. One Italian bowl preserved the stamp Ateius²². Çandarlı ware continued the tradition of the Arretine ware from the 1st century until the early 3rd century AD when the North African Red Slip ware gained in popularity. After the import of Ephesian lamps until the 1st century BC, Roman lamp types, such as Firmalampen and volute lamps, arrived at Thessalonica in the 1st century AD and in the 2nd century AD lamps that imitate metal prototypes. In the 3rd century AD, Athenian lamps of Broneer Type XXVII were imported to Thessalonica, and there are examples decorated with an erotic symplegma or a venator staving off bear on the disk²³.

The uppermost layers above the Agora come from 4th and 5th centuries AD²⁴. The layers deriving from the 4th to 6th century AD activities give a completely different picture of the contacts of Thessalonica. Characteristic tableware of the period is local Macedonian terra sigillata that is usually grey in colour and has stamped decoration. Imported wares include Late Roman C ware (Phocaeen Red Slip ware), Late Roman D ware from Cyprus and African Red Slip ware²⁵. In conclusion, the imports of the Late Roman period came from Asia Minor, Cyprus and North Africa.

In the 4th century and the early 5th century, Athenian oil lamps were popular in Thessalonica, and examples decorated with a crescent or a bear on the disk are presented in the archaeological museum²⁶. 5th and 6th century lamps include Asia Minor types with globule decoration on the sloping shoulder, as well as North African red glazed lamps of Hayes Type II²⁷. The change in the provenance of imported products

¹⁴ ADAM-VELENI 2001, 30–1, 323–24.

¹⁵ GEORGAKI, ZOGRAFOU 2001, 68–9. Athenian "West Slope ware" of the late 3rd to early 2nd century BC, both *skyphoi* and *kantharoi* come from the old excavations of 1970-73, cf. KARAGIANNI 2001, 149, fig. 4.

¹⁶ AULONITOU-TSIBIDOU 1986a, 111.

¹⁷ GEORGAKI, ZOGRAFOU 2001, 66.

¹⁸ GEORGAKI, ZOGRAFOU 2001, 69.

¹⁹ GEORGAKI, ZOGRAFOU 2001, 72.

²⁰ GEORGAKI, ZOGRAFOU 2001, 72–3, 76.

²¹ KARAGIANNI 2001, 149–51.

²² KALAVRIA, BOLI 2001, 54.

²³ KARAGIANNI 2001, 152; for examples in detail, see TRAKOSPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986e, 152, 154 and fig. 160.

²⁴ GEORGAKI, ZOGRAFOU 2001, 67.

²⁵ BOLI, SKIADARETIS 2001, 91–4, figs. 22, 24b-g. See also KARAGIANNI 2001, 151, fig. 10, for a Macedonian TS plate with faceted rim. For imported wares, see TRAKOSPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986e, 148, 152.

²⁶ KARAGIANNI 2001, 153, fig. 16.

²⁷ KARAGIANNI 2001, 154–55.

shows also the shift in trade contacts from the 4th to the 6th century; Athens lost its importance as producer and Asia Minor and North African centres gained in popularity.

The rich glass finds from the Roman baths in the Agora of Thessalonica include vessels from Italy, the Orient and from the local workshops, like *aryballoi*, relief *skyphoi* and objects produced with the *millefiori* technique. There are some unique objects, like a drinking glass with Tyche, deriving from Pergamon, Rhodes or Italy. The glass finds show contacts from the Black Sea to Southern Gaul, and from Syrian workshops, like Sidon. Some of the glass vessels are imitations of Eastern terra sigillata of the 1st century AD, from Asia Minor, Samaria, Antioch and Tarsos²⁸. The glass oinochoe types come from Central and North Italy and *kantharoi* from workshops of the East or North Italy from the second half of the 1st century AD²⁹. However, local glassmakers produced the beautiful glass birds that have been found in the graves of the Roman period. The technique for the local glass production was adopted from Italy in the Augustan period and imitated pottery forms³⁰, but the glassmakers created also their own characteristic forms, such as the birds in various colours.

The graveyards outside the west and east walls of Thessalonica have provided a great amount of grave goods that tell us about the foreign connections as well as local production from the Roman to the Early Byzantine period. Many Attic sarcophagi of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, decorated with mythic themes, have been found³¹. The grave *stelae* and monuments with inscriptions give evidence for the origin, family, history and cults in Thessalonica, and for the contacts with the centres of the Mediterranean world. And yet, the abundant material shows that local craftsmen continued with old traditions; i.e. there are objects from Asia Minor, North Africa and Italy, but also from local workshops. Workshops have been found adjacent to the graveyards outside the city walls; for example, a lamp workshop has been found in the eastern necropolis and pottery kilns near the western city walls³².

Country houses and rural villas were built near the Via Egnatia in Macedonia, many of them owned by the veterans of the Roman army. Several country houses were excavated during the construction of the

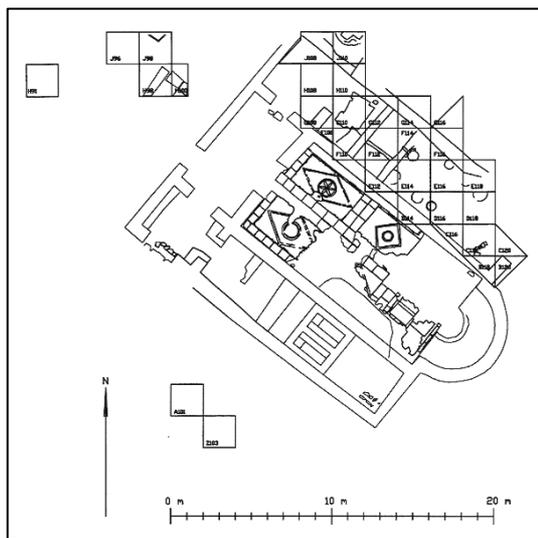


Fig. 2 - Arethousa, Paliambela. Plan of the excavations 2002 (plan: Timo Iipponen and Carita Tulkki).

modern Via Egnatia and they have provided important evidence for the life and activities in the countryside during the Roman period. Ancient authors and inscriptions attest that there were large rural estates managed by the Romans or the local society in the plain of the Koroneia and Bolbe lakes, north and east of Thessalonica³³. Finds show trade contacts with Southern Greece, Italy, Asia Minor and North Africa, but also efficient local production of pottery, glass and metal objects is attested.

The Finnish excavations of the Early Byzantine church in Paliambela at Arethousa³⁴, located north of the Lake Bolbe and the Via Egnatia in a fertile mountain valley that connected the Via Egnatia with the highlands towards north, have provided a rich amount of finds from the Hellenistic period to the late 6th - early 7th century AD, when the site was abandoned, possibly after the Slavic raids in the Balkans in AD 582/583. The church complex (fig. 2) also included an area for wine production and food

²⁸ MAVROMIHALI 2001, 131, 134–35, 139.

²⁹ MAVROMIHALI 2001, 141.

³⁰ TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986d, 125, figs. 120, 123–25.

³¹ TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986c, 68–69, fig. 41.

³² TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 1986c, 70.

³³ TZANAVARI 2003, 77.

³⁴ For excavation reports and preliminary studies, see see KARIVIERI 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2008.



Fig. 3 - Arethousa, Paliambela. Area for food storage and wine production, including two treading floors and several pithoi, from southeast (photograph author 2002).

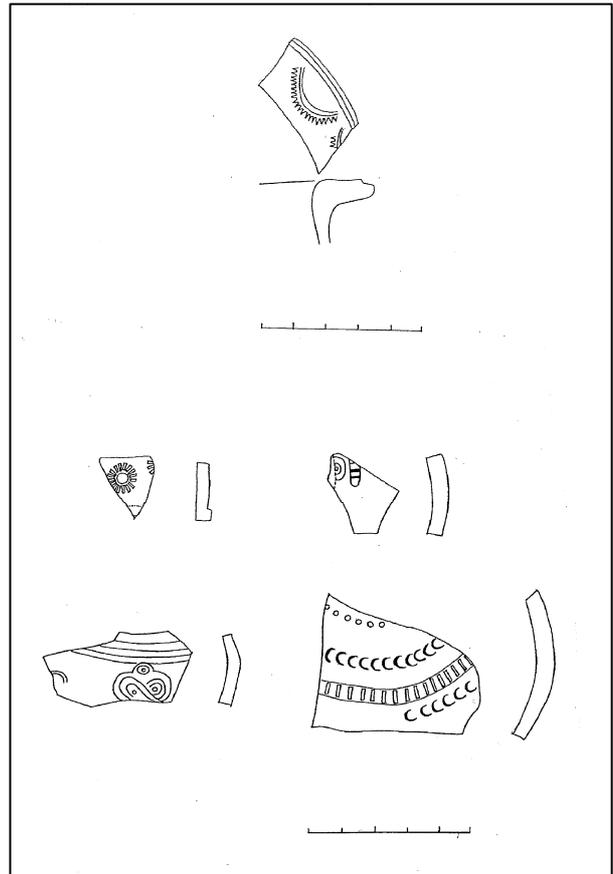


Fig. 4 - Arethousa, Paliambela. Fragments of Macedonian Grey ware, decorated with various stamps (drawing: Carita Tulkki).

storage in its northern part, a multifunctional area for the use of the local community (fig. 3). When the church was built, spolia from the area were used in the construction, like fragments of inscriptions, a statue base and a Totenmahl grave relief that was placed upside down in the outer wall of the entrance hall in the church. The Totenmahl relief represents local Macedonian type of grave reliefs, provincial Totenmahl reliefs that Peter Stewart discussed in the AIAC conference. Pottery finds include local products but also Athenian and Asia Minor lamps, Italian terra sigillata, thin-walled ware, Phocaeian red slip ware and Macedonian Grey ware (fig. 4). The technique and iconography of the mosaics and *opus sectile* floors in the church (fig. 5) have direct comparisons in Amphipolis, Thessalonica and further away along the Via Egnatia, in Heracleia Lyncestis and especially in Byllis in Albania, where a similar hierarchical system for placing the heraldic pairs of deer and peacocks can be seen in the Basilicas A, C and D, where the heraldic pairs flank the symbolic representations of the Tree of Life and the Fountain of Life. Thus, it is possible to conclude that not only objects and materials reached various centres along the Via Egnatia, but architects, artists and craftsmen as well distributed architectonic models, artistic impulses and ideas further in the area between Illyria and Thrace.

Marble was transported along the Via Egnatia and the seaways. For example, the white marble of Thasos was used in many building projects along the city centres of the Via Egnatia: marble from Aliki was used for the Corinthian capitals of the stoas built in the Agora of Thessalonica in the late 2nd to mid-3rd century AD³⁵. Marble from Thasos was moved through Neapolis to the cities along the Via Egnatia. Neapolis lost its importance during the Roman period, but it had a central role as the seaport of Philippi. In the Late

³⁵ Cf. SKIADARETIS, CHATZIDAKIS 2001, 249.



Fig. 5 - Arethousa, Paliambela. General view of the Early Christian church with pavements, from northwest (photo: author 2000).

Roman period, Philippi became an Early Christian centre with three large basilicas. It has also been suggested that St Paul died in Philippi, making the city a place of pilgrimage, demanding the construction of churches and a *martyrion* on the Via Egnatia, to accommodate the pious tourists coming from all over the Roman world³⁶. In Philippi, as well as in the other Early Byzantine centres along the Via Egnatia, like Thessalonica, Amphipolis and Arethousa, Proconnesian marble and other precious coloured marbles from Asia Minor, various parts of Greece and North Africa were used to decorate the new churches. The sanctuaries of the new religion, of Christianity, mark the cultural change of Late Antiquity, when Christianity became the multinational religion that connected people from the whole Mediterranean world and gave the impulses to create a new material culture, with a variety of new architectural forms, various forms of objects for the rituals, but most of all, new Christian iconography and symbolism.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Greek Ministry of Culture and the local authorities, namely the 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Thessalonica, that have enabled in the best possible way the realisation of the archaeological field project of the Finnish Institute at Athens in the location of Arethousa since the year 1999. The first results of this project are under way, to be published in the series Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, and these results have also given the main inspiration for the present paper. I also wish to thank The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities for a generous travel award for participation at the XVII International Congress of Classical Archaeology at Rome.

Arja Karivieri

Stockholm University, Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies

E-mail: arja.karivieri@antiken.su.se

³⁶ Cf. BAKIRTZIS 1998, 37–48; CALLAHAN 1998, 83.

Bibliography

- ADAM-VELENI P., 2001. I dekhroni poreia ergasion stin Arkhaia Agora Thessalonikis 1989-1999, The Work in the Ancient Agora in Thessaloniki in the Last Ten Years. In P. ADAM-VELENI (ed), *Arkhaia Agora Thessalonikis 1. Praktika Diemeridas gia tis ergasies ton eton 1989-1999*. Thessaloniki, 15-38, 323–326.
- ADAM-VELENI P., 2003. Mygdonia – Gulf of Strymon. In P. ADAM-VELENI, E. POULAKI, K. TZANAVARI, *Ancient Country Houses on Modern Roads. Central Macedonia*. Athens, 91–114.
- AULONITOU-TZIBIDOU M., 1986a. Khoros B. Ellinistiki Thessaloniki. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 102–121.
- AULONITOU-TSIBIDOU M., 1986b. Khoros D. Sarapeio-Latreies. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 140–144.
- BAKIRTZIS C., 1998. Paul and Philippi: The Archaeological Evidence. In C. BAKIRTZIS, H. KOESTER (eds), *Philippi at the Time of Paul and after His Death*. Harrisburg, 37–48.
- BOLI A., SKIADARETIS G., 2001. I stromatografia sti notia pleura. The Stratification of the South Wing. In P. ADAM-VELENI (ed), *Arkhaia Agora Thessalonikis 1. Praktika Diemeridas gia tis ergasies ton eton 1989-1999*. Thessaloniki, 87-104, 328–329.
- CALLAHAN A. D., 1998. Dead Paul: The Apostle as Martyr in Philippi. In C. BAKIRTZIS, H. KOESTER (eds), *Philippi at the Time of Paul and after His Death*. Harrisburg, 67–84.
- COLLART P., 1935. Une réfection de la 'Via Egnatia' sous Trajan. *BCH* 59, 395–415.
- FASOLO M., 2003. *La Via Egnatia I. Da Apollonia e Dyrrachium ad Herakleia Lynkestidis (Viae Publicae Romanae 1)*. Rome.
- GEORGAKI P., ZOGRAFOU E., 2001. I stromatografia tis plateias kai tou notioanatolikou tomea, The Stratification of the Square and the South-east Sector. In P. ADAM-VELENI (ed), *Arkhaia Agora Thessalonikis 1. Praktika Diemeridas gia tis ergasies ton eton 1989-1999*. Thessaloniki, 65-86, 327–328.
- KALAVRIA V., BOLI A., 2001. I stromatografia stin anatoliki pteruga, The Stratigraphy of the East Wing. In P. ADAM-VELENI (ed), *Arkhaia Agora Thessalonikis 1. Praktika Diemeridas gia tis ergasies ton eton 1989-1999*. Thessaloniki, 39-64, 326–327.
- KARAGIANNI F., 2001. Kinita eurimata protis anaskafikis periodou: to deigma ton eton 1970-1973, Movable finds from the First Excavational Period: A Sample from 1970-1973. In P. ADAM-VELENI (ed), *Arkhaia Agora Thessalonikis 1. Praktika Diemeridas gia tis ergasies ton eton 1989-1999*. Thessaloniki, 147-158, 331–332.
- KARIVIERI A., 2001a. Oi nees archaiologikes ereunes sta Paliambela Arethousas. *To Arhaiologiko Ergo stin Makedonia ke Thraki* 13, 117–121.
- KARIVIERI A., 2001b. Arethousa. In D. J. BLACKMAN, *Archaeology in Greece 2000-2001. Archaeological Reports* 47, 187–188.
- KARIVIERI A., 2002a. Anaskafi stin Arethousa to 2000. *To Arhaiologiko Ergo stin Makedonia kai Thraki* 14, 117–124.
- KARIVIERI A., 2002b. Arethousa. In D. J. BLACKMAN, *Archaeology in Greece 2001-2002. Archaeological Reports* 48, 70–71.
- KARIVIERI A., 2003a. Anaskafi stin Arethousa to 2001. *To Arhaiologiko Ergo stin Makedonia kai Thraki* 15, 181–186.
- KARIVIERI A., 2003b. Paliambela, Arethousa. In J. WHITLEY, *Archaeology in Greece 2002-2003. Archaeological Reports* 49, 66–67.
- KARIVIERI A., 2004. Anaskafi stin Arethousa to 2002. *To Arhaiologiko Ergo stin Makedonia kai Thraki* 16, 191–195.
- KARIVIERI A., 2005a. Arethousa 2003. *To Arhaiologiko Ergo stin Makedonia kai Thraki* 17, 139–142.

- KARIVIERI A., 2005b. Floor mosaics in the Early Christian basilica in Arethousa (Central Macedonia). In H. MORLIER (ed), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine IX. Actes du IXe Colloque international pour l'Étude de la mosaïque antique et médiévale organisé à Rome, 5-10 novembre 2001* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 352), vol. 1. Rome, 371–378.
- KARIVIERI A., 2005c. Floor mosaics in the Early Christian basilica in Arethousa: Conservation, maintenance and presentation. In Ch. BAKIRTZIS (ed), *VIIIth Conference of the International Committee for the Conservation of the Mosaics (ICCM), Wall and Floor Mosaics: Conservation, Maintenance, Presentation, Thessaloniki 29 October - 3 November 2002*. Thessaloniki, 191–202.
- KARIVIERI A., 2008. Mosaics and *sectilia pavimenta* in the Early Christian church of Paliambela at Arethousa in Northern Greece. *Musiva & sectilia*, 2/3, 191–208.
- MAVROMIHALI A., 2001. Ta gualina eurimata tou valaneiou, Glass Vessels from the Balneary. In P. ADAM-VELENI (ed), *Arkhaia Agora Thessalonikis 1. Praktika Diemeridas gia tis ergasies ton eton 1989-1999*. Thessaloniki, 131-145, 330–331.
- SISMANIDES K., 1986a. Koinonikoi thesmoi. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 44–45.
- SISMANIDES K., 1986b. Latreies kata tin ellenistiki kai ti romaiki periodo. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 45–46.
- SKIADARETIS G., KHATZIDAKIS N., 2001. Arkhitektonika meli apo tis stoes, Architectural members from the Stoas. In P. ADAM-VELENI (ed.), *Arkhaia Agora Thessalonikis 1. Praktika Diemeridas gia tis ergasies ton eton 1989-1999*. Thessaloniki, 243-260, 337.
- TOURATSOGLU I., 1986. Nomismatokopia (187 p. Kh.-286 m. Kh.). In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 42–44.
- TOURATSOGLU I., 1996. *Macedonia. History - Monuments – Museums*. Athens.
- TOURATSOGLU I., VELENI P., 1986. Khoros E, Demosios bios, Vitrina 21. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 145–146.
- TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU E., 1986a. Istoriki anadromi. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 40–42.
- TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU E., 1986b. Dimosia ktiria. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 51–64.
- TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU E., 1986c. Ta nekrotafia. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 66–75.
- TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU E., 1986d. Ysteroellinistiki-romaiki Thessaloniki. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 122–139.
- TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU E., 1986e. I idiotiki katoikia sti romaiki periodo. In *Odigos tis ekthesis. Thessaloniki apo ta proistorika mekhri ta khristianika khronia*. Athens, 148–155.
- TZANAVARI K., 2003. Lete, A City in Ancient Mygdonia. In P. ADAM-VELENI, E. POULAKI, K. TZANAVARI, *Ancient Country Houses on Modern Roads. Central Macedonia*. Athens, 71–89.