

# New Honorific Inscriptions from Amphipolis

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**I**N THIS ARTICLE we publish four honorific inscriptions found in Amphipolis that relate to important moments in the city's history. These texts will be included in the corpus on the city that has been developing in recent years under the direction of Prof. Pantelis Nigdelis.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio

Despite having been commented on by eminent scholars, the oldest of the inscriptions presented here has remained only partially published since its discovery three decades ago. The inscription's importance lies in the information it provides about both the political history of Amphipolis after the fall of the Macedonian Kingdom in 168 B.C. and the city's institutional development during the ensuing years of transition.

Museum of Amphipolis, inv. no. E17. The stone was discovered in the summer of 1984 in the area of the northern portico of the gymnasium, close to the spot where the stele inscribed with the ephedarchic law was found.<sup>2</sup> Statue base of white, fine-grained marble, broken into rather minute fragments. A large number (over thirty) of these have been recovered, allowing Kalliopi D. Lazaridi to almost completely reconstruct the left side of the base and a large part of the (inscribed) front. The inscribed side consists of eight frag-

<sup>1</sup> Since 2012 this project has been part of the THALES programme "Edition of epigraphic sources and documentation of the history of Ancient Macedonia" of the Ionian University, funded by the European Union (<http://excellence.minedu.gov.gr/thales/en/thalesprojects/380257>).

<sup>2</sup> The text of the ephedarchic law is now available: K. D. Lazaridi, "Ἐφεδ-  
αρχικὸς νόμος ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀμφίπολη," *ArchEph* 2015, 1–48.

ments. Traces of a rectangular dowel hole are preserved on the upper side, as well as a *cymatium* at the bottom of the left side. Dimensions: h. 0.635 m., w. 0.758, th. 0.347. Height of the letters 0.014–0.022, interspace 0.013–0.018.

Lines 1–2: K. D. Lazaridi, “Ανασκαφή Γυμνασίου Ἀμφιπόλεως,” *Prakt* 139 (1984) [1988] 38 no. 3, pl. 46a [G. Touchais, *BCH* 109 (1985) 824; M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Bull. épigr.* 1990, 485]; Lazaridi, *Ergon* 1985, 24 [H. W. Catling, *AR* 31 (1984/5, 48)]; Lazaridi, “Το Γυμνάσιο της Ἀμφιπόλης,” in Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and O. Picard (eds.), *Μνήμη Δημητρίου Λαζαρίδη. Πόλις και χώρα στην Αρχαία Μακεδονία και Θράκη* (Thessalonike 1990) 253–254 [*SEG* XL 522c]; Lazaridi, “Το Γυμνάσιο της Αρχαίας Ἀμφιπόλης,” *AEMΘ* 1 (1987) [1988] 316; N. Kazakidi, *Εἰκόνες ἐν γυμνασίῳ. Ἔργα Γλυπτικής στο Ἑλληνιστικό Γυμνάσιο* (diss. Thessalonike 2015) 150 and 258 no. 37 E5. *Figures* 1–2.

Cf. D. Lazaridis, *Ἀμφίπολις* (Athens 1993) 67; J. Ma, “Honorific Statues and Hellenistic History,” in C. Smith and L. M. Yarrow (eds.), *Imperialism, Cultural Politics, and Polybius* (Oxford 2012) 234–237, and *Statues and Cities. Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 2013) 90.



Figure 1



Figure 2

[Π]όπλιον Κορνήλιο[ν] Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνα  
 [ό] δ ἦ μ ο ς ό Ἄ μ φ [ι] π ο λ ι τ ῶ ν.

vacat

γυμν[ασιαρ]χοῦντος Νικ[----- ca. 18 -----]  
 4 ἐπὶ πολει[τ]αρχῶ[v ----- ca. 25 -----]  
 Ἰάσονος τ[οῦ? -----]

The letters in the first two lines are considerably larger than those in the following lines. 1–2: reconstructed by Hatzopoulos (*Bull.épigr.*), based on the photograph published by K. D. Lazaridi. 3–5: unpublished.

The inscription is carefully carved and the letters are decorated with small apices. All triangular letters form a right angle at the top. *Omicron* and *omega* are of about the same height as the rest of the letters. The *alpha* with a broken middle bar, *epsilon* with a middle horizontal stroke shorter than the ones above and below, and *kappa* with short diagonal strokes are the most characteristic letters. Similar forms can be found in Macedonian inscriptions dating from around the second quarter of

the second century B.C. onwards.<sup>3</sup> But the most notable feature of the script is the form letter *pi*, whose right vertical stroke is considerably shorter than the left one. That letter-form ceases to be used in Macedonian inscriptions in about the last quarter of the second century B.C.<sup>4</sup> Taking into account the form of the letters (especially *pi*), the inscription should be dated to the middle of the second century B.C.<sup>5</sup>

The text is in two parts separated by vacant space. In the upper part, the name of the honoree is given in the accusative, preceding the authority that decided on the erection of the statue, the *demos* of Amphipolis, in the nominative. The second part of the text contains the names of three magistrates. The name of the gymnasiarch responsible for carrying out the *demos*' decision was almost certainly followed by his patronym, but neither name can be restored with any degree of certainty. The last two lines were reserved for the politarchs,<sup>6</sup> of whom there could not have been more than two, if we accept that each name would have been followed by a patronym. It is noteworthy that the name of the gymnasiarch is introduced in a slightly different way than those of the politarchs, which are introduced by a prepositional phrase (γυμνασιαρχοῦντος τοῦ δεῖνος ... ἐπὶ πολιταρχῶν etc). The phrase ἐπὶ πολιταρχῶν strongly resembles the use of eponymous officials in the city's inscriptions prior to the introduction of the politarchate (ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ etc.), confirming the eponymous func-

<sup>3</sup> *IG* X.2.2 347 (Derriopos, 173 B.C.); *EKM* I 1 (mid 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C.); *ILGR* 246 (area of Thessalonike, ca. 130 B.C.).

<sup>4</sup> To our knowledge *EKM* I 134 (dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> B.C.) is the latest in which this form of *pi* is attested.

<sup>5</sup> The variant πολιταρχῶν instead of πολιταρχῶν is of no chronological significance, since the shift from ι to ει is epigraphically attested from the end of the third century B.C. onwards. See A. Panayotou, *La langue des inscriptions grecques de Macédoine* (diss. Nancy 1990) 197–198 and 228.

<sup>6</sup> Although colleges of politarchs are mentioned in numerous inscriptions from Macedonia, the phrase ἐπὶ πολιταρχῶν is attested here for the first time.

tion of the politarchs in Amphipolis.<sup>7</sup>

The name Ἰάσων is well known in Macedonia, but it is not attested in other published inscriptions from Amphipolis. An unpublished inscription, which cannot be dated with certainty, records a gymnasiarch -άσων Τηλέφου, but to suggest that the two inscriptions commemorate the same person would be an unwarranted assumption.

The identity of the honoree is a question that previous researchers have tried to resolve. According to one view, initially advocated by K. D. Lazaridi and M. B. Hatzopoulos, the statue was erected in the aftermath of Pydna in honor of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, who at a later stage of his life attained remarkable prominence as a public figure in Rome (cos. 147 and 134 B.C.).<sup>8</sup> He was the second son of L. Aemilius Paullus from his first marriage, adopted at an early age by a son of the famous Scipio Africanus without ever being alienated from his natural father. He fought at Pydna under the command of Paullus, and, despite his young age,<sup>9</sup> managed to distinguish himself by engaging the enemy in a relentless pursuit. He participated in the small retinue that accompanied Paullus on his tour of various Greek cities before the settlement of 167 and the official end of the Third Macedonian War. It is also reported that he received the library of the former Macedonian king as spoils of war.

Although no compelling argument can be made against the view presented above, J. Ma has recently focused attention on

<sup>7</sup> R. Sherk, "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities II. Mainland Greece and the Adjacent Islands," *ZPE* 84 (1990) 249, hesitates to accept the eponymy of the politarchs in Amphipolis and other Macedonian cities. G. H. R. Horsley, "The Politarchs in Macedonia, and Beyond," *MeditArch* 7 (1994) 177, seems to share this view.

<sup>8</sup> On Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (Numantinus), the victor of the Third Carthaginian War, see A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford 1967).

<sup>9</sup> According to Livy 44.44.3 he was seventeen years old, but the issue is more complicated. See Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* 245 ff.

another important statesman, who also participated in the Third Macedonian War and was a prominent figure of his time: Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum (cos. 162 and 155), son of Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica.<sup>10</sup> The younger Nasica had married Aemilius Paullus' niece Cornelia, the oldest daughter of Scipio Africanus, thus becoming the adoptive uncle of the aforementioned Scipio Aemilianus. He also distinguished himself during the last phase of the war against Perseus as a senior military officer under Paullus' command, managing to defeat the Macedonian garrison stationed at Pythium. What is of utmost importance for the subsequent history of Amphipolis is that Nasica was sent with a small contingent to the city right after the battle of Pydna, in order to "lay waste to Sintice" and to inhibit Perseus from making counterattacks on the Romans.

Of these two Cornelii, both had some involvement in Macedonian affairs and reportedly visited Amphipolis, and either could be identified with the honoree attested in the statue base. No other namesake need be taken into consideration.<sup>11</sup> Despite the attractiveness of Lazaridi's proposal, it is difficult to ascertain what led to the bestowal of such a prestigious honor upon the young Aemilianus. Ma conjectures that some kind of reconciliation could have taken place between Paullus and Amphipolis through the intercession of Aemilianus, but the latter lacked any sort of military authority to play such a role and so there is no evidence to support that view.<sup>12</sup> He rightly rejects the possibility that Aemilianus was honored on the oc-

<sup>10</sup> J. Ma, in *Imperialism* 234–237, where both possibilities are considered equally probable. In a brief re-examination of the issue in 2013 (*Statues and Cities* 90), he seems to favour the second solution.

<sup>11</sup> For the least likely possibilities see Ma, in *Imperialism* 235; in n.13 he mentions the consul of 16 B.C., formerly identified with the *quaestor pro praetore* of Achaea attested in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4120 and 4121 (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1438). This governor of Achaea can no longer be identified with the consul of 16 because of the evidence now provided by *AE* 1967, 458.

<sup>12</sup> Ma, in *Imperialism* 235.

casation of his embassy in the East in 144/3 on the grounds that no official title held by the honoree is mentioned in the inscription.<sup>13</sup> It is also possible that Aemilianus participated in the games organized by his father in Amphipolis, but even for a winning athlete, the erection of a statue in the gymnasium would seem a rather extravagant prize.

On the other hand, literary sources provide more tangible evidence about the relationship between Scipio Nasica and Amphipolis, which was less ephemeral than is generally assumed. According to Livy, Nasica was sent to Amphipolis when Paullus was still at his camp in Pydna and before it became known that Perseus had fled the city.<sup>14</sup> At that point, all that Paullus could have known was that Perseus had fled the battlefield, heading in the direction of Amphipolis. Unlike the citizens of Beroea and Thessalonike, who immediately after the battle surrendered to the Romans, the citizens of Amphipolis had opened their gates to the fleeing monarch, putting themselves in a potentially dangerous position. The specific orders that Nasica received from the consul, notably to lay waste to Sintice, suggest that at the time the land around the Strymon was still beyond Roman control and capable of providing the Macedonian king with enough resources to afford him a last stand. After Nasica was sent in pursuit of Perseus, Paullus moved his camp from Pydna to Pella and stayed there for an unspecified number of days (*aliquot dies*, Liv. 44.46.4). While in Pella, he was informed that Perseus had fled to Samothrace, so he moved his army and reached Amphipolis in four days. Although it is not explicitly stated, it is reasonable to assume that the message informing the consul about the whereabouts of the fleeing king was sent by Nasica himself. That was precisely when Paullus should have been informed that the citizens

<sup>13</sup> As we shall see, any date after 149 for the erection of the statue is unlikely.

<sup>14</sup> Liv. 44.46.2: *P. Nasicam, ignarus fugae regis, Amphipolim misit cum modica peditum equitumque manu, simul ut Sinticen evastaret et ad omnes conatus regi impedimento esset.*

of Amphipolis had refused to provide assistance to their former king, leaving him no other option but to flee the city. The undeniable fact is that Amphipolis was not subjected to reprisal, even if Nasica had received direct orders by Paullus to ravage the region; it would therefore not be inappropriate at all if the citizens of Amphipolis, reasonably at its pro-Roman party's suggestion, decided to honor the Roman officer out of gratitude for the role he had played in effecting the peaceful surrender of the city to Roman rule in 168. In any case, the identification of the honoree with Nasica seems less problematic.<sup>15</sup>

If the find-spot of the remnants of the honorific monument is the place where the statue was originally erected (the northern portico), then it was situated in a prominent part of the gymnasium, close to where the ephedarchic law was displayed. The dowel hole still visible on the upper side was probably used to secure the base to a nearby wall. In contrast to other material that belongs to the early (Hellenistic) phase of the gymnasium and was reused in its later phase, Cornelius Scipio's statue base was shattered into pieces never to be used again. Only a small fraction of the original base survives, and one cannot help but wonder what caused the apparently violent mutilation of the monument. If the mutilation is to be connected with the Andriskos uprising (149 B.C.),<sup>16</sup> then it is noteworthy that it was Scipio Nasica who was dispatched to Macedonia as a legate to deal with the situation.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> After Paullus reached Amphipolis, he did not change his strategy towards Sintice and moved his army northwards to Siris. Unfortunately, Livy does not inform us who was head of the garrison stationed in Amphipolis.

<sup>16</sup> For the self-proclaimed king of Macedon and the events of 149–148 see J. M. Hellesen, *Andriscus and the Revolt of Macedonians* (Madison 1968); P. A. MacKay, *Studies in the History of the Republican Macedonia* (Berkeley 1964), with a detailed study of the numismatic evidence.

<sup>17</sup> Zonaras 9.28: οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεφρόνουν μὲν πρότερον τοῦ Ἀνδρίσκου, εἶτα τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικῶν ἔπεμψαν εἰρηνικῶς πῶς τὰ ἐκεῖ διοικήσοντα. ὃς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔλθὼν καὶ μαθὼν τὰ γενόμενα, τοῖς μὲν

As stated above, the chief importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it offers rare new evidence about the institutional history of Amphipolis in the period after the fall of the Macedonian kingdom in 168 B.C. and before the establishment of the Roman province of Macedonia in 148. Of the seventy-two references to the institution of the politarchs conveniently gathered by G. Horsley,<sup>18</sup> three are in inscriptions of Amphipolis: the honorific inscription for Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus,<sup>19</sup> the two independent dedications of Perseus and the *demos* of Amphipolis to Artemis Tauropolos,<sup>20</sup> and a fragmentary honorific or dedicatory inscription.<sup>21</sup> To these attestations can now be added the two that are published here for the first time: the honorific inscription for M. Licinius Crassus (below) and, of course, that for P. Cornelius Scipio.

The first three documents, mentioning five, two, and three politarchs respectively, present rather perplexing information on how many of these magistrates were in power in Amphipolis, giving the impression that over a brief period of time their number fluctuated wildly.<sup>22</sup> Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki once postulated that there were two politarchs in pre-Roman times, as attested in the dedication to Tauropolos, which she dated to 179–171, but that their number was increased to five after the Romans became involved in Macedonian affairs, as reflected in the inscription for Ahenobarbus, which is usually dated to

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Ῥωμαίοις δηλῶν ταῦτα ἐπέστειλε, δύναμιν δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ συμμάχων ἀθροίσας ἔργου εἶχετο, καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι Μακεδονίας. Both Broughton (*MRR* I 499) and Walbank (*HCP* III 670) identify this *legatus* with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

<sup>18</sup> G. H. R. Horsley, “The Politarchs in Macedonia, and Beyond,” *MedArch* 7 (1994) 102–110.

<sup>19</sup> G. B. Kaftantzis, *Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Σερρών καὶ τῆς περιφέρειας τῆς* (Athens 1967) no. 615.

<sup>20</sup> M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* II (Athens 1996) no. 29.

<sup>21</sup> *SEG* XXVII 248; *fig.* 3 below.

<sup>22</sup> Their perplexing nature is stressed by Horsley, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 118.

167.<sup>23</sup> E. Voutyras, following earlier scholars, maintained that when the institution of the politarchs was introduced in Amphipolis after the settlement of 167, they were initially two in number but were later increased to five. It is beyond the scope of the present study to reopen the question concerning the time when the institution was introduced in Macedonia and the development it underwent later, but it must be stressed that the new inscription seems to confirm Voutyras' conclusion, as it lists only two politarchs and can safely be dated immediately after the battle of Pydna in 168.

The apparent ambiguity of the sources concerning the number of politarchs in Amphipolis cannot be clarified until two other issues have been addressed. First, there is one fragmentary inscription from Amphipolis that seems to attest three politarchs instead of two or five.<sup>24</sup> Second, the inscription for Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus mentions five politarchs, even though it is usually dated ca. 167.<sup>25</sup> As regards the first inscription, the argument that it attests a board of three magistrates cannot be sustained, since the stele has not been preserved intact and the original text could easily have commemorated up to five magistrates (see *fig. 3*). The identification of Domitius Ahenobarbus, however, poses greater difficulties that cannot be dealt with in the present article. For now, it suffices to recall that P. Perdrizet, the only person who actually examined the stone, deemed the chronology now accepted by most scholars

<sup>23</sup> Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, "Politarchs on a New Inscription from Amphipolis," in H. J. Dell (ed.), *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Thessalonike 1981) 240–241, followed by Sherk, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 249, and elaborated by Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions I* 134–138.

<sup>24</sup> *SEG* XXVII 248, listed by Horsley, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 102, no. 3.

<sup>25</sup> In favour of a date in the early 160s are C. Schuler, "The Macedonian Politarchs," *CP* 55 (1960) 96, and J. Carlsey, *The Rise and Fall of a Roman Noble Family: The Domitii Ahenobarbi* (Odense 2006) 149. For a different view see P. Perdrizet, "Voyage dans la Macédoine première," *BCH* 18 (1894) 419–429, and A. Stein apud J. Papastavru, *Amphipolis. Geschichte und Prosopographie* (Leipzig 1936) 83–84 and 149–150.

as too early on palaeographical grounds.<sup>26</sup>

To sum up, the inscription from 168 B.C. constitutes the earliest attestation of the politarchs in Macedonia to date and, taken together with older and more recent finds, sheds light on the development this institution underwent in Amphipolis from the second century B.C. onwards. Even the reference to the *demos* is something that should not be overlooked, since it clearly demonstrates that—during the period in which Macedonia was becoming a Roman protectorate—the citizen body remained active in Amphipolis.

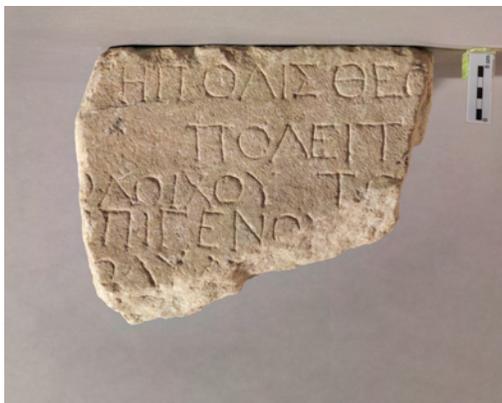


Figure 3: SEG XXVII 248

## 2. Marcus Licinius Crassus

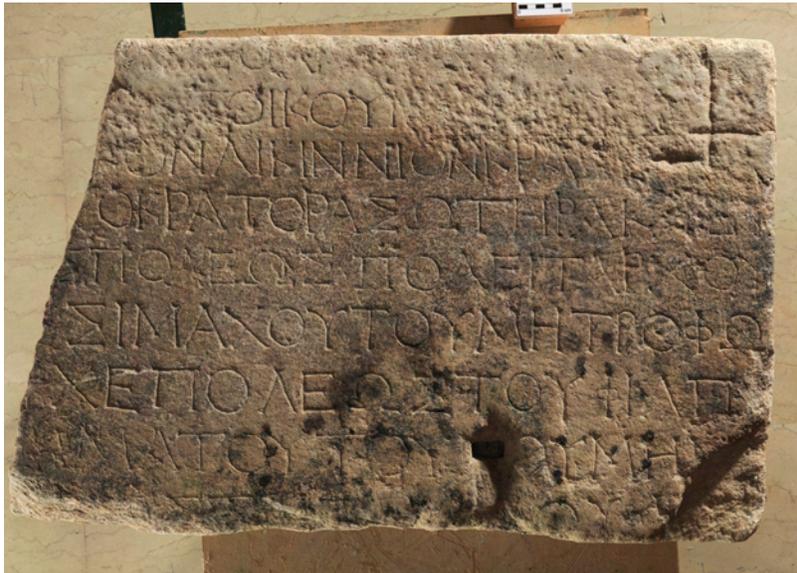
The inscription is on the revetment of the pedestal of a statue that was set up, probably in the gymnasium,<sup>27</sup> in honor of Marcus Licinius Crassus (cos. 30 B.C.), the last governor of the

<sup>26</sup> Perdrizet, *BCH* 18 (1894) 419–429, no. 2 [*SEG* XXIV 580]. Neither we nor the scholars who came before us (Edson, Lazaridis, Voutyras) were able to find it.

<sup>27</sup> According to verbal testimony (from Alexandros Kochliaridis, former Chief Warder of Amphipolis Museum and a close colleague of D. Lazaridis), the stone comes from the place known as ‘Koundoura ormi’ (the bed of the Koundoura stream), located in front of the ancient gymnasium.

province of Macedonia in the form it took in the Republican period. The stone is broken on the upper left side, and was cut down on the other three sides when it was reused. In the reconstruction we suggest, the number of letters missing from the left edge of the inscription has been calculated on the basis of the first four lines, which can be completed with certainty.

Fragment of a marble inscription, given to the Amphipolis Museum (inv. A 529) on 7 Nov. 1990 by Mr. Antonios Tsalis, a resident of the village of Palaiokomi, Serres. The inscription had been built into the oven of the Leptokarydis house in the same village, as was evident from the fact that the greater part of it was covered with a thick layer of soot. A small quadrilateral hole in the obverse (the inscribed side) of the slab and an irregular indentation on the reverse were also made when it was reused. Dimensions: h. 0.57 m.; w. max. 0.84, min. w. 0.74; th. 0.12. The letters have apices; their height varies: in the first line 0.035 m., in the last three bigger, from 0.043 to 0.050. Interspace 0.015–0.020. *Figure 4.*



*Figure 4*

[. . . .] ΣΟΑΜ[- - - - -]  
 [. . . .] ΤΟΙΚΟΥΝ[- - - - -]  
 [Μᾶρ]κον Λικίννιον Κρά[σσον]  
 4 [. . .] οκράτορα, σωτήρα καὶ εὐ[- -]  
 [. . .]ς πόλεως πολιταρχου[- - - -]  
 [. .]υσιμάχου τοῦ Μητροφω[- - - -]  
 [. .]χεπόλεως τοῦ Φιλίπ[- - - - -]  
 8 [. .]μματος τοῦ [. .]ουμην[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]ΟΥΜ[- - - - -]  
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In 2 the right half of a *tau* can be made out. Of the final extant letter the vertical stroke and the cross-bar of a *nu* have survived.

1: The remains of the extant letters allow us to restore: [ὁ δῆμος]ς ὁ Ἀμ[φιπολ(ε)ιτῶν], “the *demos* of the Amphipolitans.” This phrase appears in a dedicatory inscription made by the *demos* to Artemis Tauropolos,<sup>28</sup> in the honorific inscription (found in Thessalonike) for Iulius C. f. Optatus, probably a *procurator Augusti* for the province of Macedonia in the time of Claudius,<sup>29</sup> and in the similarly honorific inscription for Cn. Domitius Cn. f. Ahenobarbus.<sup>30</sup>

2: The participle, which can be restored with certainty, shows that the ecclesia of the *demos* of Amphipolis and the Romans living there, [οἱ κα]τουκοῦν[τες Ῥωμαῖοι], erected this monument after a vote. The phrase refers to the Roman community of Amphipolis (*conventus civium Romanorum*). Its use for the first time in Macedonia, rather than the more usual συμ-πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι that describes these communities in

<sup>28</sup> *SEG XXXI* 614 = Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II no. 29: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀμφιπολιτῶν Ἀρτέμιδι Ταυροπόλῳ πολιταρχούντων Τιμωνίδου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου, Μεστ[ύλου] τοῦ Μητροδώρου.

<sup>29</sup> *IG X* 2.1 136: [ὁ δῆ]μος Ἀμφιπολι[τῶ]ν [- -] Ἰούλιον Γ. υἱὸν Ὀπτᾶτον etc. Edson in his commentary suggested that it might refer to a *procurator* of the imperial estates.

<sup>30</sup> Perdritzet, *BCH* 18 (1894) 419, published the first line of the inscription as δῆμος Ἀμφιπολιτῶ[ν]; *SEG XXIV* 580 gives [ὁ] δῆμος Ἀμφιπολιτῶ[ν].

provincial cities,<sup>31</sup> is not surprising. Similar epigraphic examples, dated from the first century A.D. onwards, are known from many Greek cities. A typical example is from Achaea, where ca. A.D. 31 the city of the Pellenians and its Roman inhabitants (ἡ πόλις τῶν Πελληνέων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κ[α]τοικοῦντες) honor the *procurator provinciae* Publius Caninius Agrippa as their ancestral benefactor (ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργέτην: *SEG XI* 1269). The same expression is found in cities in Asia Minor, e.g. Pergamum, where ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κ[α]τοικοῦν[τες] Ῥωμαῖοι set up a statue of Augustus (*I.Perg.* VIII.2 383); Aramea (Phrygia), where between 66 and 69 the council and the *demos* and the Roman inhabitants (ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος] καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι) erected a statue of Vespasian (*MAMA VI* 177); and Tralles, where sometime after 129 [the council and the people and] the Romans living in Tralles ([ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ ἐν Τράλλεσι] <κ>α<τ>οι<κ>ο[ῦ]ν-τες Ῥωμαῖοι) honored an eminent official (*I. Tralleis* 80).

3: The honoree is named using an onomastic formula without filiation, as in a similar inscription for Crassus from Thespieae, ὁ δῆμος Μάρκον Λικίνιον Κράσσον αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας θεοῖς.<sup>32</sup>

4: Here as in the inscription from Thespieae and one on the Athenian Acropolis<sup>33</sup> for Crassus, the honoree is called αὐτοκράτωρ. Here and at Thespieae there is no mention of his office; but the title σωτήρ confirms that the statue was erected in his honor during his proconsulship, i.e. in 29 or 28, when he was

<sup>31</sup> See the citations in nn.46–51 below. The honorific inscription *EKM I* 59 that οἱ Βεροιαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι set up between 57 and 55 is an exception.

<sup>32</sup> A. Plassart, “Fouilles de Thespies et de l’hiéron des Muses de l’Hélicon,” *BCH* 50 (1926) 441, no. 78 = Roesch no. 403.

<sup>33</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4118: ὁ δῆμος Μάρκον Λικίνιον Μάρκου υἱὸν Κράσσον ἀνθύπατον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν κ[α]ὶ εὐνοίας. Kirchner gives the date as ca. 27; M. J. Payne, *APETAΣ ENEKEN: Honors to Romans and Italians in Greece from 260 to 27 B.C.* (diss. U. Michigan 1984) 333, dates this inscription and the one from Thespieae to between 30 and 28.

proclaimed *imperator* by his legions. Accepting a similar honor after his period of office as *proconsul*, when he seems to have fallen into disfavour, would be strange. The question remains open whether or not the Senate finally awarded him the title of αὐτοκράτωρ, since Augustus was granted the powers of *imperium maius proconsulare*.<sup>34</sup>

What is especially interesting is that the Amphipolitans gave him the title σωτήρ, which, as far as we had known, was only once ever given to a Roman Republican official in Macedonia, Quintus Caecilius Metellus.<sup>35</sup> Granting it to Licinius Crassus most probably reflects that the inhabitants of Amphipolis, Greeks and Romans, believed that, thanks to his military successes against the Bastarnae and neighboring Thracian tribes (on which see below), he had saved them from the devastating consequences that an invasion of Macedonia through the Strymon valley would have had on their lives. The title εὐεργέτης (benefactor) is more common and was granted in other honorific inscriptions in cities of the province to its Roman officials, e.g. M. Minucius Rufus (cos. 110 B.C.), or C. Caecilius Rufus, *legatus* ca. 52.<sup>36</sup> The three titles (αὐτοκράτωρ, σωτήρ,

<sup>34</sup> See Cassius Dio 51.25: οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα, ὡς γέ τινές φασι, ἔλαβεν (sc. ὁ Κράσσοις), ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ μόνος αὐτὸ προσέθετο. The issue is comprehensively discussed in M. Tarpin, “M. Licinius Crassus *Imperator*, et les dépouilles opimes de la République,” *RevPhil* 77 (2003) 275–311.

<sup>35</sup> *IG X.2.1* 134: Κόιντον Καικέ[λιον Κοίντου Μέτελλον] στρατηγὸν ἀ[νθύπατον Ῥωμαίων] τὸν αὐτῆς σω[τήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην] ἢ π[όλις]. On epigraphic evidence for awarding the title to Republican officials, especially provincial governors, see D. Erkelenz, “Keine Konkurrenz zum Kaiser. Zur Verleihung der Titel Κτίστης und Σωτήρ in der römischen Kaiserzeit,” *SCI* 21 (2002) 72–75.

<sup>36</sup> *SEG XLI* 570: [Μάαρκον Μινύκιον] Κοίντου υἱὸν [Ῥ]οῦ[φ]ον σ[τ]ρατηγὸν [ὑ]πατ[ῶ]ν Ῥωμαίων νικήσαντα τὸ[ν] πρὸς Γαλάτας Σκορδί[στας] καὶ Βέσσους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Θράκικας πόλεμον [τὸν αὐτῶν] εὐεργέτην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας Εὐρωπαϊῶν ἢ πόλις; *Polemon* 1 (1929) 201, 424a: Δημητριεῖς Γάιον Καίλιον Γαίου υἱὸν Ῥοῦφον, πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον, ἀποδεδειγμένον δὲ καὶ δήμαρχον · τὸν ἑατῶν εὐεργέτην · ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑατούς.

εὐεργέτης) were used in combination in Greek inscriptions to honor important Roman generals of the Republican period, such as Sulla and Caesar.<sup>37</sup>

6–9: Of the names of the politarchs in the year in which the statue was erected only three can be filled in with certainty. The name of a fourth has been preserved in a very fragmentary condition; on the basis of what we know about the number of politarchs in the city from other inscriptions of this period and the fact that the stone has also been cut off at the bottom, a fifth name must also have been mentioned.<sup>38</sup> The names and patronyms of the first three, who are otherwise unknown, can be completed: [Λ]υσίμαχος, Μητροφῶ[ν], [Ἀρ]χέπολις, Φιλίπ[πος], [ . . ]μμάτος, and [Ν]ουμήν[ιος]. Of these the names, Lysimachus, Numenius, and Philippus are already attested in inscriptions from Amphipolis. Archepolis is mentioned for the first time, though known in Macedonia from Thessalonike and Styberra, likewise Metrophon, associated with Thracian cities (e.g. Maroneia, Pistiros, and perhaps Stryme). Completing the name of the third politarch, of which the letters -μματος have been preserved, is impossible. In the onomastics not just of the city but also of Macedonia, there is no trace of a name with this

<sup>37</sup> E.g. *Deltion* 23A (1968) 293–294: [ἡ] πόλις [Α]κραφιτέ[ω]ν Λεύκιο[ν] Κορήλιον Λευκίου υἱὸν Σύλλαν ἱμπεράτορα τ[ὸν] ἐαυτῆς σωτήρα] καὶ εὐεργέτην (87–85 B.C.); *IG XII.5* 556: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρθαίων Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Γάϊου υἱὸν Καίσαρα τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα γεγονότα δὲ σωτήρα [καὶ] εὐεργέτην καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως (48 B.C.).

<sup>38</sup> As in the (now lost) inscription in honor of Cn. Domitius Cn. F. Ahenobarbus, Perdrizet, *BCH* 18 (1894) 419, no. 2 [*SEG XXIV* 580]: [ὁ] δῆμος Ἀμφιπολειτῶν Γ[ναῖο]ν Δο[μί]τιον Γναῖο[υ] [υἱὸ]ν Αἰνόβαρβον τὸν εὐεργέτην, πολεितταρχούντων [Φιλ]οκράτους τοῦ Φιλοκράτους, [Ε]πικράτους τοῦ Σερ[ . . ]ου, [Θε]οδῶ τοῦ [δεῖνος], Ἐρμοίου τ[τ]οῦ Ἀρπάλου, Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Σαρα[–]. On the various dates suggested for this inscription see Horsley, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 102 and 114–115. Given that the earliest mention of politarchs at Amphipolis (no. 1 above) and the combined dedication to Tauropolos from Perseus and the *demos* mention only two politarchs, the appearance of five in the Licinius Crassus inscription makes the date 167, suggested by a number of scholars, problematic.

ending and the same number of letters.<sup>39</sup>

On the basis of the foregoing the inscription must be completed as follows:

29 or 28 B.C.

[ὁ δῆμο]ς ὁ Ἄμ[φιπολ(ε)ιτῶν καὶ]  
 [οἱ κα]τοικοῦν[τες Ῥωμαῖοι]  
 [Μᾶρ]κον Λικίννιον Κρά[σσον]  
 4 [αὐτ]οκράτορα, σωτήρα καὶ εὐ[εργέτην]  
 [τῆ]ς πόλεως, πολειταρχοῦ[ντων]  
 [Λ]υσιμάχου τοῦ Μητροφῶ[ντος]  
 [Ἄρ]χεπόλεως τοῦ Φιλίπ[που]  
 8 [ . ]μματος τοῦ [Ν]ουμην[ίου]  
 [- - - - - τ]οῦ Μ[- - - - -]  
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As the titles αὐτοκράτωρ and σωτήρ allow us to deduce, the inscription is associated with the military successes of Marcus Licinius Crassus during his campaigns as governor of Macedonia in the Balkans in 29–28 B.C.<sup>40</sup> We owe the most comprehensive description to Cassius Dio Book 51, in which he informs us that, early in 29,<sup>41</sup> Crassus drove the Bastarnae from the territory of the (Thracian) Denthelitae, who lived on the borders of the province of Macedonia (along the upper part of the Strymon). The Bastarnae, a German tribe from the Dan-

<sup>39</sup> Research based on *LGPV* IV.

<sup>40</sup> Liv. *Per.* 134–135; Florus 2.26; Zonar. 10.32; and above all Cassius Dio 51.23–27. From among the extensive literature: E. Groag, “Licinius 58,” *RE* 13 (1926) 272–273; M. P. Charlesworth, *CAH* X (1934) 117–118; Th. C. Sarikakis, *Ρωμαῖοι Ἄρχοντες της Επαρχίας Μακεδονίας* (Thessalonike 1971) I 147–150; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 186; M. Šašel Kos, “The Military Role of Macedonia from the Civil Wars to the Establishment of the Moesian Limes,” in J. Fitz (ed.), *Limes. Akten des XI. Internationalen Limeskongresses* (Budapest 1977) 282–284 (with detailed bibliography); and F. Papazoglou, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times* (Amsterdam 1978) 414–415.

<sup>41</sup> On the starting point of the hostilities in 29 see the discussion in Groag, *RE* 13 (1926) 272–273; cf. Charlesworth, *CAH* X 117–118; Papazoglou, *The Central Balkan Tribes* 417.

ube region, had occupied the area. Crassus subsequently vanquished them in a battle near what is now Cibrica, in the vicinity of the Kedros River, a tributary of the Danube, and in fact killed their king, Deldo. According to the same account hostilities against the Bastarnae were resumed in 28: Crassus extended the range of his campaigns, subduing Thracian tribes such as the Maedi, the Serdi, and the Bessi. That same year after provocation by some of his allies he turned on the Getae in the Danube region, where he defeated the kings, Dapyx and Zyraexes, and his legates subdued the rebellious Moesi once and for all. It was these successes of his over the Thracians and the Getae, as stated in the *Fasti Triumphales (exs Traecia et [Get]is*, July of 27),<sup>42</sup> that laid the foundations of Roman rule north of the province of Macedonia and opened the way for creating the provinces of Moesia and Thrace. Consequently the new inscription must be dated to 29 or 28.

This new testimony offers no significant information on the hostilities in those years. At best it strengthens the likely hypothesis that the four or five legions Crassus led invaded Thrace through the Strymon valley. It is also possible that some of them were permanently garrisoned there.<sup>43</sup> Contributory factors in the choice of route must have been the location of the enemy and the fact that the river was at least partly navigable.<sup>44</sup>

What is more important is the information that the decision

<sup>42</sup> *I. Ital.* XIII.1 p.345. On the interpretation of this—at first sight—strange phrase, because neither the Bastarnae nor the Moesi against whom Crassus had been battling are mentioned, see Papazoglou, *The Central Balkan Tribes* 324, and Šašel Kos, in *Limes* 284–285.

<sup>43</sup> See Šašel Kos, in *Limes* 282, and most recently B. Kreiler, “Zur Datierung eines Volkesbeschlusses von Thasos und zum makedonischen Statthaltersitz im 2. Jh. v.Chr.,” *ZPE* 174 (2010) 109–112. Kreiler theorized that Amphipolis was the most suitable place for garrisoning the Roman legions of the province in the second half of the second century B.C., because of the repeated attacks on Macedonia by the Skordiski and Gauls.

<sup>44</sup> On this see S. Le Bohec, “Les fleuves de Macédoine dans l’antiquité,” in: Fr. Piquet (ed.), *Le fleuve et ses métamorphose* (Paris 2000) 99.

to erect a statue of Crassus was made by the ecclesia of the *demos* and the Roman community of the city following a process which is not clear from the wording of the inscription. Though we suspected the existence of this community from the well-known passage of Caesar describing the flight of Pompey after his defeat at Pharsalus in 48,<sup>45</sup> hitherto we have had no epigraphic evidence to confirm it. This testimony can be added to the others we have on Romans organizing themselves in similar ways in other cities of Macedonia, e.g. Thessalonike,<sup>46</sup> Beroea,<sup>47</sup> Edessa,<sup>48</sup> Acanthus,<sup>49</sup> Idomene,<sup>50</sup> and Styberra.<sup>51</sup> The fact that this community made the decision to award honors to the provincial governor together with the city's *demos* shows not only that it had influence over the local community but also that the number of its members was such as to make it a significant factor in the public life of Amphipolis.

This new witness is also interesting for the history of the city itself: it shows that, whatever the economic and social consequences of the two great Roman civil wars of the second half of the first century B.C. on Macedonian soil, it would be wrong to describe Amphipolis at the end of the thirties as “an uninhabited site,” as is sometimes said or implied in the literature.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *BC* 3.102.2–4: *erat edictum Pompei nomine Amphipoli propositum uti omnes eius provinciae iuniores, Graeci civesque Romani, iurandi causa convenirent ... ipse ad ancoram una nocte constitit. et vocatis ad se Amphipoli hospitibus et pecunia ad necessarios sumptus corrogata cognito Caesaris adventu ex eo loco discessit.*

<sup>46</sup> *IG* X.2.1 32 and 33 (1<sup>st</sup> cent. A.D.); *SEG* XLVI 812 (Augustan).

<sup>47</sup> *EKM* I 59 (57–55 B.C.).

<sup>48</sup> *EKM* II 180 (1<sup>st</sup> cent. A.D.).

<sup>49</sup> *SEG* I 282 (Augustan).

<sup>50</sup> *SEG* XIX 438 (41–44).

<sup>51</sup> *IG* X.2.2 330 (1<sup>st</sup> cent. A.D.).

<sup>52</sup> For example, C. Schuler, “The Macedonian Politarchs,” *CP* 55 (1960) 90–100, esp. 96, on the basis of a poem of Antipater of Thessalonike (*Anth. Gr.* 7.705); more recently, V. Malamidou, *Roman Pottery in Context: Fine and Coarse Wares from Five Sites in North-Eastern Greece* (diss. Birmingham 2000) 33–34, and Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, “Amphipolis,” in R. Lane Fox (ed.),

### 3. Augustus and Lucius Calpurnius Piso Pontifex

In 1979 D. Lazaridis discovered one of Amphipolis' gates, known as Gate Δ and thought to be the main gate of the city.<sup>53</sup> This gate, at the southernmost point of the walls and about 1 km. in a direct line from the current site of the Lion Monument, has been preserved in excellent condition. It measures 10 m. × 10.5, has an external fortified courtyard 6.80 m. long and 4.70 wide and an inner, paved space that belonged to the bed of the road that passed through it. The walls of the courtyard have survived to a height of 3.70 m. at one point and 4.40 at another. The width of the entry is 3.38 m. Outside, in front of the south wall of the courtyard, on either side of the entrance and at a height of ca. 2 m. above the original level of the courtyard, two inscribed bases for bronze statues were discovered in situ. The one on the left has been preserved intact with a few abrasions, while from the one on the right the impost block is missing. The two pedestals are placed symmetrically in relation to the entrance to the gate (*fig. 5*).<sup>54</sup>

*Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* (Leiden 2011) 428–429.

<sup>53</sup> Lazaridis, *Αμφίπολις* 44–46, who posited that, as at Philippi, the Via Egnatia entered the city through this gate. By contrast M. Otatzis, *Εγνατία Οδός: από την Αμφίπολη στους Φιλίππους* (M.A. thesis Thessalonike 1993) 29–30, holds that the road skirted round the eastern wall and followed a route to the north of Pangaeon. G. Lolos, *Εγνατία Οδός* (Athens 2008), does not discuss this.

<sup>54</sup> On pedestals and their inscriptions see D. Lazaridis, “Ανασκαφές και έρευνες Αμφιπόλεως,” *Prakt* 1979, 75; *Ergon* 1979, 13; “Δύο Τιμητικά Ενεπίγραφα Μνημεία της Αμφίπολης,” in A. G. Kalogeropoulou (ed.), *Πρακτικά του Η' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής και Λατινικής Επιγραφικής* (Athens 1984) 21; and *Αμφίπολις* 44. Cf. Payne, *APETAS ENEKEN* 292 and nn.139 and 398; J.-L. Ferrary, “De l'évergétisme hellénistique à l'évergétisme romain,” in *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'épigraphie* (Paris 1997) 225; I. K. Xydopoulos, “Ο Θεσμός της Πατρωνίας στη Μακεδονία,” in *Ancient Macedonia* VI.2 (Thessalonike 1999) 1374–1375; F. Canali de Rossi, *Il ruolo dei patroni nelle relazioni politiche fra il mondo greco e Roma* (Munich/Leipzig 2001) 12 and 141, no. 21; C. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* (Oxford 2002) 206, no. C28; and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, in *Brill's Companion* 429–430.



*Figure 5*

Both pedestals are of white coarse-grained marble with greyish veining. Their orthostats taper slightly towards the top on all sides, and consist of two upright cornerstones laid widthwise, well fitted together and set on a system of moldings (concave below and convex above), standing on a stylobate. However, there are some small differences between them, mainly in the fashioning of the moldings on the base but also in the upper part of the front, which curves noticeably outwards only on the pedestal on the viewer's right.

Left pedestal: It has survived together with its monolithic, tripartite dossier. The lower and upper parts of the dossier, which are undecorated and are almost rectangular in section and taper slightly towards the bottom, are separated by a cornice-style group of moldings—bead and reel, convex, and cyma recta (from bottom to top). On the upper surface of the dossier are two mortices (left  $0.16 \times 0.10$  m., right  $0.08 \times 0.08$ ) for attaching an over-life-size bronze statue. The inscription attests that it is was an imperial statue. As can

be deduced from the location and the shape of the mortices, the statue was installed leaning to the left. The left leg was the engaged (weight-bearing) leg, with the sole of the foot firmly rooted on the base, as the large trapezoidal mortice under the sole and the ellipsoid one under the heel show. The figure had its free, right, leg distinctly out to the right and slightly back, touching the surface only with the front part of the foot and slightly lifting the heel. Thus the torso was turning noticeably to the left. Dimensions: dossier h. 0.32 m., w. 0.73, th. 0.69. Orthostat: h. 0.785, w. 0.72 (above)–0.73 (below); th. 0.69 (above)–0.715 (below). Upper part of the base: h. 0.13, w. 0.81, th. 0.77. *Figure 6.*



*Figure 6*

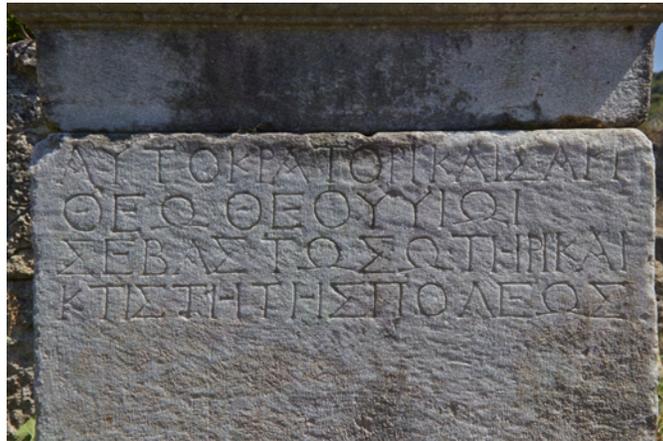


*Figure 7*

Right pedestal. On the top of the orthostat there are II-shaped mortices for attaching the two cornerstones placed widthwise. The left-hand one ( $0.20 \times 0.065$  m., th. 0.035) was placed on a rectangular indentation, while the right-hand one ( $0.25 \times 0.065$ , th. 0.035) was set in an axe-shaped indentation. Another four rectangular mortices can be identified with the corresponding pour channels for molten lead close to the corners of the orthostat. These were intended to take the tenons that attached the orthostat to the dossier, which is now lost. For reasons of stability, however, these four mortices were set with two in one direction and two in another: the one located at the front left corner and the one diagonally opposite were made parallel to the narrow side of the cornerstones while the other two, which are more elongated, follow the diagonal that crosses the ortho-

stat from back left to front right. In the mortice at back left and part of the corresponding pour channel a significant chunk of lead has been preserved. Dimensions of the pedestal: orthostat h. 0.94 m., w. 0.73 (above)–0.79 m. (below), th. 0.67 (above)–0.72 (below). Upper part of the base: h. 0.13, w. 0.92, th. 0.90. *Figure 7*.

As is seen from the above description, the statue on the left, which was of Augustus as its inscription shows, was clearly turned towards the opening in the propylon and the statue on the other side of that opening. As to the statue on the right we can reasonably posit that it also would have been set at an angle on its pedestal, and was also turning its torso towards the propylon, i.e. to its right and towards the emperor, with the right leg engaged and the left free, given the symmetrical placement of the two pedestals on either side of the gateway. Consequently, the two statues would have formed a group, thus emphasizing the relationship between them.<sup>55</sup>



*Figure 8*

<sup>55</sup> We are most grateful to our friend Dr. Chrysoula Ioakeimidou for the description of the pedestals and the suggested interpretation of their poses.

The inscription on the left pedestal (line h. 0.04 m., interlinear space 0.01–0.015; *fig. 8*):

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι  
θεῶ θεοῦ υἱῶ  
Σεβαστῶ σωτῆρι καὶ  
4 κτίστη τῆς πόλεως.

The inscription on the right pedestal (line h. 0.03–0.04 m., interlinear space 0.02–0.025; *fig. 9*):



*Figure 9*

Λευκίῳ Καλπορνίῳ  
Πείσωνι πάτρωνι  
καὶ εὐεργέτη τῆς πόλεως.

Not only are the two pedestals constructed and worked in the same way: some of the characteristics of the lettering and the general impression of the script are identical,<sup>56</sup> so there is no

<sup>56</sup> Typical letters with the same form are: *alpha* (with broken middle bar), *epsilon* (with the three horizontal strokes of equal length and the middle one not touching the upright hasta), *eta* (with middle bar not touching the two hastas), *kappa* (with short side strokes), *pi* (with horizontal stroke projecting slightly beyond the two hastas), *rho* (with a small bowl), *sigma* (with horizontal strokes parallel), and open *omega* (with the strokes at the bottom sometimes

doubt that the two monuments were constructed at the same time and were part of a single program. Thus the statue on the right pedestal belonged to L. Calpurnius Piso, known as Pontifex (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 289), and not to his father L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus who was governor of Macedonia in 57–55, as has been suggested on the basis of the initial mention of this discovery.<sup>57</sup> L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex's activities in the Balkans are well known from the literary sources, above all Dio. According to these Piso was sent by Augustus from Pamphylia to Thrace, because a general revolt of the Thracian tribes had been reported, in which the Bessi played a leading role under Vologases, a priest of Dionysos. In the meantime the king of the Odryssians, Rhescuporis, had been murdered and Rhoe-metalces I, king of the Sappaeans, had fled to the Thracian Chersonese (Dio 54.34.5–7). This uprising also affected Macedonia when the Sialetae, a tribe in western Thrace or at its north-eastern edge between the Haemos and the coastal region,<sup>58</sup> invaded the province and laid it waste.<sup>59</sup> Piso's mis-

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slanting and sometimes almost touching the engraver's guideline). The lettering is carefully executed apart from the last two letters in the Calpurnius inscription, which the stone carver has made smaller and closer together on account of misjudging the space available. The letters are squared off and have small apices. Having no photos of the two inscriptions at his disposal, F. Daubner, "Macedonian Small Towns and their Use of Augustus," *Religion in the Roman Empire* 2 (2016) 391–414, erroneously argues that "they cannot have been erected together, as a group, because the letter forms are very different from each other" (399).

<sup>57</sup> Lazaridis, in *Πρακτικά του Η' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου* 21, and *Prakt* 1979, 75, followed by Payne, *ΑΡΕΤΑΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ* 292; Ferrary, *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> congrès* 225; Canali de Rossi, *Il ruolo* 12 and 141; Xydopoulos, *Ancient Macedonia* VI 1374–1375; Eilers, *Roman Patrons* 150 and 206, who nevertheless does not exclude the possibility that it might be Piso the Pontifex. By contrast Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, in *Brill's Companion* 429–430, recognizes that it is Pontifex, but still accepts him as governor of Macedonia.

<sup>58</sup> On the area inhabited by the Sialetae see C. Partsch, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa (SitzWien 1933.1)* 89 and n.1, and E. Oberhammer, "Selleiteike," *RE* 2A (1923) 1320, and "Sialetae" 2067.

<sup>59</sup> Dio 54.34.6: ὡς οὖν αὐτὸς (sc. Οὐαλαγαίσης) τε ταῦτ' ἐποίει καὶ οἱ

sion lasted three years.<sup>60</sup> Various dates have been proposed for the year he spent in Thrace and Macedonia, where he recruited troops. In our opinion the most convincing is the one that would have the mission lasting from 11 to 9 B.C.<sup>61</sup> The two monuments must be dated to this period.

The new witness is the first known inscription in which a Macedonian city honors Piso, and so it raises once again the question to what extent he was directing military campaigns not only as Augustus' legate but also as governor of Macedonia, as some scholars assert.<sup>62</sup> The new inscription cannot answer this question once and for all, but the fact that the Amphipolitans did not honor him as *proconsul* reinforces the view, previously expressed,<sup>63</sup> that he was operating in Thrace as Augustus' legate in Macedonia (*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Macedoniae*), just as a few years before him L. Tarius Rufus had done when he subjugated the Sauromatians/Sarmatians who had invaded Thrace.<sup>64</sup> Evidently Augustus, wishing to control Thrace militarily himself and not through

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Σιαλέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἑκακούργουν.

<sup>60</sup> Vell. Pat. 2.98.2: *quippe legatus Caesaris triennio cum his bellavit*. Cf. Sen. Ep. 83.14: *huic [L. Pisoni] et divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, cum illum praeponeret Thraciae, quam perdomuit*.

<sup>61</sup> For a critical appraisal of all opinions see G. Alföldy, “Un celebre frammento epigrafico tiburtino anonimo (P. Sulpicius Quirinius?),” in I. di Stefano Manzella (ed.), *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano* (Vatican City 1997) 199–208, here 204–205. The alternative dates that have been proposed are 13–11 and 12–10.

<sup>62</sup> See Alföldy, in *Le iscrizioni* 206. To the bibliography cited there add Sarikakis, *Ρωμαίοι Ἄρχοντες* II 34–37.

<sup>63</sup> See A. Aichinger, “Die Reichsbeamten der römischen Macedonia der Prinzipatepoche,” *AArchSlov* 30 (1979) 609, and Alföldy, in *Le iscrizioni* 206. According to Alföldy we must exclude the possibility that Piso was governor of Macedonia in these years, because immediately thereafter he took on the province of Asia, and two consecutive periods of office by a senator is inconceivable in the Augustan period.

<sup>64</sup> *AE* 1936, 18: *Imp(erator) Caesare Divi filio Aug(usto) L(ucio) Tario Ruf(o) pro praetore legionis X fret(ensis) pontem fecit*.

the governors of Macedonia appointed by the Senate, sent people he could trust on special military missions, whenever Thrace, part of the province, revolted. This close relationship between Augustus and Piso is made clear in Amphipolis by the fact that their statues formed a single statuary group, erected at the main entrance of a city in a senatorial province.<sup>65</sup>

As in many other Greek cities Augustus is honored in the new inscription with the title “saviour” (σωτήρ) which confirms the “soteriological” character of the honors bestowed on him by the Greeks.<sup>66</sup> Beyond the general idea that he saved them from the effects of civil wars, it is reasonable to assume that Amphipolitans honor Augustus as “saviour” at this very moment for the further reason that he and his legate had saved them from the actions of the Sioletae and the damage that future attacks by the rebellious Thracian tribes could have inflicted on their city. As to the title of *patronus* (πάτρων) given to Piso, this confirms the tendency among Greek cities in the first century B.C. to award it to Roman officials more often than had been the case in the past,<sup>67</sup> though we do not know what led the Amphipolitans to choose to do so.

The most interesting honorific title in the two inscriptions is undoubtedly κτίστης τῆς πόλεως (lit. “builder” or “founder” of the city) given to Augustus, found for the first time in Macedonia in this period. It is difficult to say exactly what the Amphipolitans meant by this title. Judging by its usual meaning in relation to the building activity of both local benefactors and emperors,<sup>68</sup> one might propose that Augustus, probably on ac-

<sup>65</sup> Their relationship would be made even clearer if they were both depicted in military dress.

<sup>66</sup> On this issue see M. Kantiréa, *Les dieux et les dieux Augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens* (Athens 2007) 41–45.

<sup>67</sup> See Eilers, *Roman Patrons* 145–160. On the *patroni* of Macedonia in the Republican period see Eilers 206 and J. V. Empeur and A. Samossi, “Inscriptions du port de Thasos,” *BCH* 118 (1994) 412, no. 3.

<sup>68</sup> On the use and the significance of this title in Greek cities in the Imperial period see J. H. M. Strubbe, “Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte:

count of his particular ties to the city (see below), funded the restoration or construction of one or several buildings there, as he did in other Greek cities where he is honored with the title, and sometimes in combination with the title σωτήρ.<sup>69</sup> Indeed it has recently been argued that there was an Augustan building program in Amphipolis related to the gymnasium and the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence proposed to back up the hypothesis about the destruction of these buildings in Amphipolis is problematic as regards dating.<sup>71</sup> Another version of events would be that Augustus funded the restoration or reconstruction of the temple of Artemis Tauropolos, the emblematic temple of the

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Fiktion und Relalität,” *AncSoc* 15–17 (1984–1986) 253–304, esp. 289–304. On the awarding of the title to emperors who constructed or restored buildings, Strubbe 291 and n.229; more specifically on Hadrian see S. Follet, “Hadrien *ktistès* kai *oikistès*: lexicographie et *realia*,” in F. Létoublon (ed.), *La langue et les textes en grec ancien* (Amsterdam 1992) 241–254.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. *IG XII.6* 1205 (from the island of Korassiai), *I. Tralles* 35, *IGR IV* 314 (Amisos). On the financial support Augustus gave to Greek cities so that they could repair or construct public buildings see the survey by D. Kienast, *Augustus Prinzeps und Monarch* (Darmstadt 1982) 353–360.

<sup>70</sup> See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, in *Brill’s Companion* 433, who—following Lazaridi and Samartzidou (see next note)—accepts that these buildings had been destroyed and speaks of the “rebuilding program of Augustus.”

<sup>71</sup> The excavator of the gymnasium, Lazaridi, in *Μνήμη Δημητρίου Λαζαρίδη* 257–258, and *Prakt* 139 (1984) 316, believes that the gymnasium was destroyed in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C. in the attacks on Macedonia by Thracian tribes. In this she follows G. Bakalakis, “Θρακικά χαράγματα εκ του παρά την Αμφίπολιν φράγματος του Στρυμόνος,” *Θρακικά* 13 (1940) 5–32, i.e. that Thracians at that time destroyed buildings in the city. This is attested, according to Bakalakis, by some Thracian names carved on architectural members of these buildings. Despite referring to levels of destruction in the gymnasium, Lazaridi does not date them. The argument is repeated in S. Samartzidou, “Στοιχεία από τη λατρεία των αιγυπτιακών θεοτήτων στην Αμφίπολη,” *Νάματα. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Δημήτριο Παντερμαλή* (Thessalonike 2011) 58. But the dating of these graffiti has been challenged by G. Mihailov, “Epigraphica Thracica I: Noms thraces d’Amphipolis,” *Epigraphica* 17 (1975) 25–35, who rightly dates them to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. on palaeographical grounds.

city, in which Alexander the Great had shown an interest (Diod. 18.4.5), based on the statement of Antipater of Thessalonike that in his day the temple had been completely destroyed.<sup>72</sup> However, in that case there is always a risk that we are dealing with poetic hyperbole or a literary topos.<sup>73</sup>

Yet building activity is not the only possible interpretation. The title κτίστης, as happens elsewhere, could be used metaphorically in the sense of “founder,”<sup>74</sup> referring to the new privileged status of “free city” (*civitas libera*) that Augustus and Antony had granted Amphipolis probably soon after 42,<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Anth.Gr.* 7.705; cf. Gow/Page, *Garland of Philip* I 42 and 58–59.

<sup>73</sup> For the topos of the destruction of once-powerful cities, including Amphipolis, see A. Harder, “Epigram and the Heritage of Epic,” in P. Bing and J. Steffen Bruss (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* (Leiden/Boston 2007) 419 and n.31.

<sup>74</sup> On the metaphorical meaning of the title, given to emperors and Roman officials as well as to citizens who had intervened to ensure that the cities of their birth were awarded privileges, such as that of *civitas libera*, or had them confirmed, see Strubbe, *AncSoc* 15–17 (1984–1986) 292–298, who speaks of its “konstitutionelle Sinn.” Recently R. Veymiers, “Le basileion, les reines et Actium,” in L. Bricault and M. J. Versluys (eds.), *Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis* (Leiden 2014) 195–236, here 222, recognizes in giving both titles to Augustus a local tradition followed by Amphipolitans in the cases of Brasidas and Philip II, while Daubner, *Religion in the Roman Empire* 2 (2016) 399, seems to believe that “it is not the beneficence of the Augustus that is commemorated in Amphipolis’ monuments but the assessment of him by the community.”

<sup>75</sup> See Plin *HN* 4.38: *Amphipolis liberum (oppidum)*. His description relates to the Augustan period: see O. Cuntz, “Agrippa und Augustus als Quellenschriftsteller des Plinius,” *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* Suppl. 17 (1890) 511–512, 522–523; R. Bernhardt, *Imperium und Eleutheria. Die römische Politik gegenüber den freien Städten des griechischen Ostens* (Hamburg 1971) 89 n.6; Kreiler, *ZPE* 174 (2010) 112. The exact date of the conferral of this status has not come down to us. J. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessalonike in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1988) 7 n.10, dates it soon after the battle of Philippi on the basis of Amphipolitan coins which he believes commemorate the event, because they display the same iconography as similar commemorative mintings from Thessalonike relating to being awarded the status of a free city; see also F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l’époque romaine* (*BCH*

because before the battle of Philippi the city was the supply station for their army and the base of one of their auxiliary legions (App. *BC* 4.107). This interpretation would also fit the bill if this status had been conferred on the city by Augustus alone or had been confirmed by him after Actium.

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Suppl. 16 [1988] 394, and I. Touratsoglou, "Macedonia," in A. M. Burnett and M. H. Crawford (eds.), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic* (Oxford 1987) 57.