

ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

RESEARCH CENTRE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

3

M. B. HATZOPOULOS
L. D. LOUKOPOULOU

TWO STUDIES
IN ANCIENT MACEDONIAN TOPOGRAPHY

ATHENS 1987

DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD - 11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS

© Κέντρον Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀρχαιότητος
τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Ἰδρύματος Ἑρευνῶν.
Β. Κωνσταντίνου 48, 11635 Ἀθήνα, τηλ. 7210351

Ἐξώφυλλο καὶ καλλιτεχνικὴ ἐπιμέλεια
Ραχήλ Μισδραχὴ-Καπόν

Ἐπεξεργασία ἀσπρόμαυρων-Ἐκτύπωση
Ἐκδοτικὴ Ἑλλάδος Α.Ε.

Στοιχειοθεσία
Φ. Παναγόπουλος & Σία Ο.Ε.

M. B. HATZOPOULOS
L. D. LOUKOPOULOU

**TWO STUDIES
IN ANCIENT MACEDONIAN TOPOGRAPHY**

ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

RESEARCH CENTRE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

3

DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD - 11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS

M. B. HATZOPOULOS
L. D. LOUKOPOULOU

TWO STUDIES
IN ANCIENT MACEDONIAN TOPOGRAPHY

ATHENS 1987

to N.G.L. Hammond

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	10
LIST OF PLATES	15
LIST OF MAPS	16
I. STREPSA: A RECONSIDERATION, OR NEW EVIDENCE ON THE ROAD SYSTEM OF LOWER MACEDONIA (by M. B. Hatzopoulos)	17
A. THE LOCATION OF STREPSA	21
B. THE ROAD SYSTEM OF THE CENTRAL PLAIN	22
C. STREPSA IN THUCYDIDES (1.61.4)	54
II. <i>PROVINCIAE MACEDONIAE FINIS ORIENTALIS</i> : THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EASTERN FRONTIER (by L. D. Loukopoulou)	61
APPENDIX: THE <i>FOEDUS DE MARONEA</i> AND THE LE- GAL STATUS OF THE GREEK CITIES OF THRACE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE II ND CENTURY B.C.	101
PLATES	111

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Alexander J. A. Alexander, "Thucydides and the Expedition of Callias against Potidaea, 432 B.C.", *AJP* 82 (1962) 265-87.
- Alexander, Potidaea J.A. Alexander, *Potidaea* (Athens, Georgia 1963).
- ATL R. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I (Harvard 1939).
- Babelon J. Babelon, Catalogue de la collection de Luynes, *Monnaies grecques II* (Paris 1925).
- Bengtson H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*² (Munich 1964-1967).
- Bintliff J. Bintliff, "The Plain of Western Macedonia and the Neolithic Site of Nea Nikomedeia", *ProcPrehSoc* 42 (1976) 241-62.
- Cousinéry M.E.M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, I (Paris 1831).
- Cunz O. Cunz, *Itineraria Romana* (Leipzig 1929).
- Danov, ANRW Chr. M. Danov, "Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan", *ANRW* II 7. 1 (Berlin 1979) 21-185.
- Delacoulonche A. Delacoulonche, "Le berceau de la puissance macédonienne des bords de l'Haliacmon et ceux de l'Axios", *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* 8 (1859) 67-288.
- Detschew D. Detschew, *Die thrakische Sprachreste*² (Vienna 1976).
- Diamantourou D. Papakonstantinou - Diamantourou, *Pella*, I (Athens 1971).

- Dumont-Homolle A. Dumont, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'épigraphie, réunis par Th. Homolle* (Paris 1892).
- Edson, "Strepsa" Ch. Edson, "Strepsa (Thucydides 1.61.4)", *CP* 50 (1955) 169-90.
- French D.H. French, *Index of Prehistoric Sites in Central Macedonia and Catalogue of Sherd Material in the University of Thessaloniki*. (Athens 1967).
- Gawantka,
Konkordanzen W. Gawantka, *Konkordanzen zu Dittenbergers Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones und zur Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Hildesheim - New York 1977).
- Gerov, ANRW B. Gerov, "Die Grenzen der römischen Provinz Thracia bis zur Gründung des aurelianischen Dakien", *ANRW II* 7. 1 (Berlin 1979) 212-40.
- Geyer F. Geyer, *Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II* (Munich - Berlin 1930).
- Gomme A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I (Oxford 1945).
- Gouнарopoulos-
Hatzopoulos L. Gouнарopoulos and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* ("Meletemata" 1; Athens 1985).
- Hammond N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia*, I (Oxford 1972).
- Hansen Hansen, E., *The Attalids of Pergamon*² (London 1971).
- Hatzopoulos M. B. Hatzopoulos, "Les politarques de Philippopolis", *III. Internationaler thrakologischer Kongress, Vienna 1980* (Sofia 1984) 137-49.
- Hatzopoulos,
"Béotie" M.B. Hatzopoulos, "La Béotie et la Macédoine à l'époque de l'hégémonie thébaine: le point de

- vue macédonien", *La Béotie antique* (Paris 1985) 247-57.
- Heuzey L. A. Heuzey and H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* (Paris 1876).
- Hopp J. Hopp, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden* ("Vestigia" 25; Munich 1977).
- IK *Inchriften griechischer Städte Kleinasiens*, Komm. für d. Archäolog. Erforschung Kleinasien bei d. Österreich. Akad. d. Wiss.; Inst. für Altertumskunde d. Univ. Köln (Bonn 1972-).
- Jones A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² (Oxford 1971).
- Kahrstedt U. Kahrstedt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte de thrakischen Chersones* (Baden-Baden 1954).
- Krebber B. Krebber, «Ναυστολόγοι bei Strabon: ein neues Papyrusfragment», *ZPE* 9 (1972) 204-221.
- Leake W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, III (London 1835).
- Magie D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950).
- Meloni P. Meloni, *Perseo e la fine della monarchia Macedone* (Cagliari 1953).
- Miller K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart 1916).
- Moretti L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* (Florence 1967-1976).
- Papazoglou F. Papazoglou, *Les cités macédoniennes à l'époque romaine* (Skopje 1957; in Serbian with a summary in French).
- Papazoglou, ANRW F. Papazoglou, "Quelques aspects de la province de Macédoine", *ANRW* II 7. 1 (Berlin 1979) 302-369.

- Patsch C. Patsch, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa V.1", *SBWien* 214. 1 (1933).
- Petsas Ph. Petsas, "Πολιτιστικές επιδράσεις στο μυχὸ τοῦ Θερμαϊκοῦ κόλπου", *Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη μεταξύ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως* (Thessalonike 1982) 59-68.
- Picard Ch. Picard, "Les recherches archéologiques de l'armée française en Macédoine 1916-1919", *BSA* 23 (1918-1919) 1-9.
- Plassart A. Plassart, "Liste delphique de théorodoques", *BCH* 45 (1921) 1-85.
- Pouqueville F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, III (Paris 1832).
- Rey L. Rey, "Observations sur les premiers habitats de la Macédoine", *BCH* 41-43 (1917-1919) 1-175.
- Robert, *Etudes* L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938).
- Robert, *Villes* L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (Paris 1962).
- Sarikakis Th. Sarikakis, *Ρωμαῖοι ἄρχοντες τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μακεδονίας* (Thessalonike 1971-1977).
- Šašel-Kos M. Šašel-Kos, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia repertae, additamenta ad CIL III*, "Epigrafia e Antichità, studi a cura dell' Istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Bologna 5 (Faenza 1979).
- Sherk R.K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore 1969).
- Stein A. Stein, *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia* (Sarajevo 1920).
- Struck A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten I. Die makedonischen Niederlande* (Sarajevo 1908).

- Sullivan, *ANRW* R.D., Sullivan, "Thrace in the Eastern Dynastic Network", *ANRW* II 7. 1 (Berlin 1979) 186-211.
- Sylogos* Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος.
- Taşliklioğlu 1961 Z. Taşliklioğlu, *Trakya'da epigrafya araştırmaları*, I (Istanbul 1961).
- Taşliklioğlu 1971 Z. Taşliklioğlu, *Trakya'da epigrafya araştırmaları*, II (Istanbul 1971).
- Triantaphyllos Δ. Τριαντάφυλλος, "Συμμαχία Ρωμαίων καὶ Μαρωνιτῶν", *Thrakike Epeteris* 4 (1983) 419-46.
- Walbank, "Via" F.W. Walbank, "Via illa nostra militaris: some thoughts on the via Egnatia", *Althistorische Studien H. Bengtson... dargebracht*, (*Historia*, Einzelschrift 40; 1983) 131-47.
- Will E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, II² (Nancy 1982).
- Youroukova Yordanka Youroukova, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians* ("BAR Supplement Series" 4; Oxford 1976).
- Zahrnt M. Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier* (Munich 1971).

LIST OF PLATES

- I. Milestone no 2 (Beroia Museum no 110).
- II. Milestone no 3 (Beroia Museum no 111).
- III. Milestone no 4 (Beroia Museum no 113).
- IV. Milestone no 6 (Beroia Museum no 114).
- V. Milestone no 7 (Beroia Museum no 542).
- VI. Milestone no 8 (Beroia Museum no 649).
- VII. Milestone no 9 (Thessalonike Museum no 6933).
- VIII-IX. Roman bridge on the Edessaïos by Sebastiana.
- X. The King's Mound (ancient Aloros) at Kypsele.
- XI. Blocks from the precinct-wall of Aloros.
- XII-XIII. Early Iron Age pottery from Aloros.
- XIV. Geometric pottery from Aloros.
- XV-XIX. Ceramic finds from the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Aloros.
- XX. Remains of the causeway near Platy.
- XXI. The *foedus de Maronea* (Komotini Museum no 1712).

LIST OF MAPS

- I. The Central Macedonian Plain (redrawn by Anastasia Voutsina and Angelos Moretis on the basis of the 1/200.000 map of the National Statistics Service).
- II. Macedonia and Thrace in the Age of Augustus (redrawn by Anastasia Voutsina and Angelos Moretis).

PROVENANCE OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Plates I-VII and X-XX: Archives of the Centre for Greek and Roman Studies.

Plates VIII-IX: Konstantinos Tsakiridis, Edessa.

Plate XX: Archives of Professor Ph. Petsas.

M.B. HATZOPOULOS

STREPSA : A RECONSIDERATION
OR
NEW EVIDENCE ON THE ROAD SYSTEM
OF LOWER MACEDONIA

NOTE

The present study, like two previous joint papers with Professor N.G.L. Hammond ("The Routes through Lynceus and Eordaea in Western Macedonia" (AJAH 7[1982] 128-149) and "The Via Egnatia from mutatio ad Duodecimum to civitas Edessa" (AJAH 8 [1983] 48-53 and a third one written in collaboration with the Epimeletria at the Museum of Pella, Miss L. Gounaropoulou (Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique ["Melete-mata" 1; Athens 1985]), is a byproduct of a joint effort for the collection and publication of the epigraphic material of this area, undertaken within the Macedonian Programme of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity of the National Hellenic Research Foundation in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture. Nevertheless, these studies would not have been possible without the pioneering contributions which Professor Ch. Edson made in the field of Macedonian topography, while he was preparing the X 2 volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

The writer particularly wishes to express his gratitude also to the other great pioneer of Macedonian topography, Professor N.G.L. Hammond, who not only repeatedly advised and encouraged him by word and letter and read and improved a draft of this paper, but also most generously accepted to join him in many of his Macedonian peregrinations, sharing freely with him an incomparable expertise in field topography. The value of the lessons received cannot be overstated.

The writing of this paper under ideal conditions was made possible thanks to the hospitality generously extended by the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton during the academic year 1983-1984. Its main conclusions were presented there in the series of the Colloquia in Classical Studies ("The Road System of the Central Macedonian Plain: an Epigraphic Inquiry"). I wish to thank Professor Chr. Habicht, who organised the seminar, and all my colleagues and

friends who attended to it for their valuable advice and constructive comment.

The writer's thanks are also due to the Ephor J. Touratsoglou and to the Epimeletes P. Pantos for giving him kind permission to study and cite unpublished epigraphic material, to Professor Ph. Petsas for providing him with details and a unique photograph of the remains of the Hellenistic causeway near lake Loudiake, to Chr. Giavanides for bringing to his attention and finally sending to him photographs of a now destroyed bridge near Sebastiana and to Professor W.R. Connor of Princeton University for helping him through the labyrinth of Thucydides' vocabulary.

In 1965, Charles F. Edson published a brilliant study in which he concluded that the city of “Strepsa was located at the northern end of the Thermaic Gulf to the West of Salonica”¹. This conclusion met with immediate and practically universal acceptance², and rightly so, for it was based on an intimate knowledge of the ancient authors and on a first hand experience of Macedonian topography. But “the validity of any formulation is directly related to the contemporary state of knowledge”³. It is precisely this change in “the state of knowledge” in the last thirty years and not any fault with Edson’s scholarship or reasoning that has rendered necessary a reconsideration of his conclusions. The attentive reader shall not fail to notice to what extent this attempted revision is indebted to Edson’s pioneer work.

Edson’s paper was divided in three parts: in the first⁴ he considered “all the evidence to the location of Strepsa exclusive of Thucydides 1.61.4”⁵; in the second⁶ he proceeded to a minute investigation of “the evidence for the main south to north route of communication through south-central Macedonia with particular attention to the Pydna-Beroea sequence”⁷, and in the third⁸ he reexamined the famous passage of Thucydides (1.61.4) and Puygers’ controversial emendation.

1. Edson, “Strepsa” 184.

2. Zahrnt 244; Hammond, *Macedonia* 183-84; cf. E. Meyer, s.v. “Strepsa”, *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968) 1258; Ph. Petsas, «Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά 1966-1967», *Μακεδονικά* 9 (1969) 164-67; Petsas 62-63; cf. Hatzopoulos, “Béotie” 251. Dissenting opinions continued to be upheld, but without any new valid arguments, by Alexander, 265-87 (cf. eiusdem, *Potidaea* 68) and H.B. Mattingly, “Athenian Imperialism and the Foundation of Brea”, *CQ* 16 (1966) 172-92.

3. F.W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge 1940) XI.

4. Edson, “Strepsa” 170-73.

5. Edson, “Strepsa” 169-73.

6. Edson, “Strepsa” 173-82.

7. Edson, “Strepsa” 170.

8. Edson, “Strepsa” 183-85.

A. The Location of Strepsa

No one would challenge the general conclusions of the first part, although reserves may be expressed on points of detail. The Athenian Tribute Lists provide indeed evidence that Strepsa participated in the Chalcidian revolt⁹. It is also probable that Hellanikos mentioned Strepsa in connection with Xerxes' invasion¹⁰. This and the fact that lexicographers refer to it both as a city of Thrace and as a city of Macedonia do locate the city beyond the Axios, whether on the Chalcidic peninsula or on the mainland¹¹. Aischines' enumeration of Anthemous, Therma, Strepsa, in that order, as conquests of the pretender Pausanias in 370 B.C., seems at first sight to provide a base for a more precise location of the city, or at least for the determination of its relative position, since the author was apparently following an east to west order. But, as Edson himself wisely cautioned his readers, "such precision of statement on the part of a political orator cannot be assumed"¹². In fact, only "the general area within which the site of Strepsa is to be sought may be regarded as established"¹³. But this (actually the whole western half of the Chalkidike and Mygdonia) is so extensive as to be hopelessly imprecise¹⁴.

9. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 170. However, one might add that this revolt affected mainly the Chalcidians and the Bottiaean (Zahrnt 42-57 with Map II; cf. Edson. "Strepsa" 171). No city beyond Aineia (which remained loyal to the Athenians) in the northwest is reported to have joined it.

10. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 171.

11. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 170-71.

12. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 171-73 and also Gomme 218.

13. Edson, "Strepsa" 173.

14. However, as we shall see below, the area which best meets the requirements both of the Tribute Lists and of the Aeschines passage is the western part of the Chalkidike peninsula; cf. Gomme 216-17; Alexander 269.

B. The road system of the central plain

Edson's most original contribution lay elsewhere: in the investigation of the road system of the Central Macedonian Plain. And it is precisely this part of his work that has been most affected by recent archaeological discoveries. But even before these had become known, a first reconsideration of the question was attempted by N.G.L. Hammond in the first volume of his monumental work on ancient Macedonia¹⁵. These two interpretations of the ancient evidence will be examined jointly in the following pages.

For someone travelling today from Athens to Salonica the modern national highway, which follows the coastline on the edge of the Central Plain from Tempe to the Macedonian capital, seems the most obvious, indeed the only natural route. This, far from having been always the case, is a very recent development. Until only a quarter of a century ago communications between Athens and Salonica followed a much longer route. To describe only its Macedonian section, traffic from Larissa would have to proceed to Tyrnavos and Elasson, enter Macedonia through the Sarantaporos pass, reach Kozani and then cross the Bermion range at an altitude of 1360 m through the Kastanea pass, descend to Beroia and only then cross the Central Plain and join the Monastir-Salonica road (the ancient Via Egnatia) at Nea Chalkedon: a total of 295 instead of 154 km along the modern national highway Larissa-Thessalonike. The cause of this apparent geographical absurdity is not hard to detect. Until the thirties most of the Central Macedonian Plain was occupied by a very extensive lake or rather swamp (ἡ Λίμνη or ὁ Βάλτος) and in modern times there had been no road bridges spanning near their estuaries the great Macedonian rivers, the Haliakmon, the Loudias and the Axios. The lowest bridge on the Axios was at Gephyra (Topsin), on the Loudias at the homonymous village between Arachos and Mikron Monasterion (Zorbas) and on the Haliakmon at Servia. It is true that during the last years of the Ottoman rule a railroad bridge had been built on the Haliakmon at Neselli and that just before the last war the Greek government had constructed another one farther

15. Hammond, *Macedonia* 126-35.

upstream near Beroia and was beginning to build a modern road along the Pierian mountains, which would have reduced the distance between Larissa and Salonica by nearly 65 km. However, the war not only stopped the construction of the road, but also destroyed the bridges and several years elapsed before they were rebuilt, the second one a little farther downstream.

This, however, was only one aspect of the situation. To understand the extraordinary regression suffered by the road system of the Central Macedonian Plain in modern times, one has to compare it with the legacy of Antiquity. (See Table I with the evidence of the Roman itineraries and related geographical works). According to Edson's conclusions¹⁶, there had been (1) a "long" Hellenistic road, which from the Macedonian exit of the Tempe pass ran to Herakleion, Dion and Pydna along the coast of the Thermaic Gulf, thence continued westwards following the northern foothills of the Pierian mountains, reached the Haliakmon gorge and turned northwards along the eastern slopes of Mt. Bermion to Beroia, Mieza and Edessa, where it joined the east-west axis (the Via Egnatia of the Romans) to Pella and beyond, to Thessalonike and the head of the Thermaic Gulf¹⁷; and two shorter Roman roads which the Roman itineraries have conflated: (2) an earlier one, which in its first part followed the same route as the Hellenistic road and ran from Dion to Pydna, continued northward until it approached the Haliakmon, then turned westward along the northern foothills of the Pierian range, crossed the Haliakmon, approached Beroia, but thence ran along the *western* and *northern* shore of lake Loudiake to a point on the Via Egnatia to the west and near Pella and then continued eastward toward the Axios; (3) a late Roman road, which continuing from Dion and Pydna crossed the Haliakmon near its mouth and ran along the northern shores of the Thermaic Gulf directly to Thessalonike. (See Table II).

16. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 182, where, however, he seems to confuse the *theorodokoi* road with the one described by the *Itinerarium Antoninum*.

17. Edson does not discuss in any comparable detail the section of the Via Egnatia which runs along the northern edge of the plain. I too shall refer to it (and also to the northward continuation of the south-north axis) only incidentally; for I have already devoted to it an extensive part of another study (Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 40-71).

T A B L E I

Peutinger Table	Geogr.Rav. 194.14	Geogr.Rav. 373.16	Guido 536.2
Thessalonica XXVII	Thessalonici	Thessalonici	Thessalonici
Pella XXX	Pella	Pella	Pella
Beroea XII	Beroea	Beroea	Beroea
Acerdos XV	Acerdos	Acerdos	Archelos
Arulos XX	Arulos	-----	Arulos
Bada VII	Bata	Bada	Bada
Anamo XII	Anamo	Anamon	Anamo
Hatera XII	Imera	Imera	Imera
Dium	Diume	Dium	Dium
Itinerarium Antoninum 328.2			
Dio	-----		
Pudaia	XVIII		
Berea	XVII		
Thessalia	LI		

Edson used two kinds of evidence to establish the existence of the late coastal road from Pydna to Thessalonike: the discrepancies of the entries in the relevant section of the Peutinger Table, the Ravennate Cosmographer and Guido's *Geographica*, which he interpreted as the result of conflation¹⁸ of the earlier inland road with a more recent coastal one, and the existence of a Late Roman bridge some 200 m long near Kleidi, between the estuary of the Haliakmon and that of the Axios¹⁹. Subsequent archaeological discoveries, including remains of the road itself²⁰ and possibly of a second bridge²¹, have vindicated Edson's contention about the existence of such a road in Late Roman times. His argument, however, based on the alleged conflation of the Peutinger Table and the related geographical works was rightly rejected by Hammond, who very aptly observed: "in a road map which is designed for use and is in use, a conflated road cannot survive"²².

Hammond, although he challenged Edson's theory of a "conflated road", emended distances and located Aloros south of the Haliakmon, he accepted the existence of the two main Roman roads postulated by the American scholar and added to them two others: a military road across the Pierian mountains, leading directly from Dion to Beroia through Elaphina, and a shorter Roman road from Beroia to Thessalonike, following the *southern* shore of lake Loudiake and joining the Via Egnatia east of Pella at Nea Chalkedon. (See Table III).

In fact, recent epigraphic evidence requires a revision of both attempted interpretations. In this section of the present study it will be

18. For an earlier attempt to explain the inconsistencies of the Peutinger Table by alleging conflation, see Miller 573-75.

19. Delacoulonche 128-30; Struck 17; Bintliff 251.

20. M. Siganiidou, *Deltion* 18 (1963) *Chronika* 233-34.

21. C. Romiopoulou, "Un nouveau milliaire de la Via Egnatia", *BCH* 98 (1974) 816 n. 14. Since Egnatius' milestone was not found *in situ*, but well to the south of its original position, the Late Roman bridge mentioned by its editor cannot be connected with any "southern" alternative route of the Via Egnatia, but must belong to an altogether different road, presumably Edson's coastal Late Roman road; cf. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 66 n.6.

22. Hammond, *Macedonia* 131.

TABLE II

COASTAL ROAD

Peutinger Table Geogr.Rav. 194.14 Geogr.Rav. 373.16 Guido 536.2

Thessalonica*	Thessalonici	Thessalonici	Thessalonici	Station between Alorus and Thessalonica
Acerdos*	Acerdos	Acerdos	Archelos	Between the Haliacmon and the Loudias
Arulos*	Arulos	-----	Arulos	Haliacmon; at the Kamara bridge
Anamo*	Anamo	Anamon	Anamo	

INLAND ROAD

Thessalonica XXXVII	Thessalonici	Thessalonici	Thessalonici	Edson would emend as LVII "along the western shore of L. Loudias"
Pella XXX	Pella	Pella	Pella	
Beroea*	Beroea	Beroea	Beroea	Edson would emend as XXVII =Balla=Palatitsia-Vergina?
Bada*	Bata	Bada	Bada	

It.Ant. 328

Thessalia LI

Berea XVII

CONTINUATION OF BOTH ROADS ALONG THE PIERIAN COAST

Hatera*	Imera	Imera	Imera	=Pudna=Makrygialos
Dium	Diume	Dium	Dium	
			Dio	=Baphyras=Mavroneri

			Pudaia XVIII	

* The breaking up of the itinerary into two entirely different roads retracts all pertinence from these figures of the Peutinger Table, which are, therefore, omitted.

argued (1) that there never was a main Roman road along the *northwestern* shore of lake Loudiake but that the main Roman road ran along the *south* and the *east* shore of the same lake; (2) that there never was a main Roman road recorded in the *Itineraria* across the Pierians through Elaphina, continuing an Hellenistic *via militaris*, but that a relatively late short-cut was developed across the northern prong of this range, from Aiginion to Neokastron through Livadi. Furthermore, two new identifications will be proposed: (1) that of Acerdos-Archelos with the Vergina palace and (2) that of Arulos-Aloros with the "table" of Kypsele (Neochorion).

Since the time Edson and Hammond completed their studies no less than nine and possibly ten milestones have been found in this general area, unfortunately not all of them published. Another unfortunate circumstance is that most of them were not found *in situ*, but in second use in Beroia itself. Nevertheless, enough have secure proveniences as to give a fairly good idea of the road system of this area in Roman times:

(1) Beroia Museum no 109: badly damaged milestone with dedications to Gordianus (238-44) and to Honorius and Theodosius (408-432), without provenience; unpublished.

(2) Beroia Museum no 110: complete milestone with dedication to Antoninus Pius (141) and an indication of XVIII *m.p.*, found in Beroia, whither it had been transported from an unrecorded site (Plate I)

Šašel-Kos no 239, with bibliography.

(3) Beroia Museum no 111: upper fragment of milestone with dedications to Gordianus (238-44), to Maximianus (239-311) and to Jovianus (363-64), found built in at the church of St. Blasios in Beroia (Plate II)

Šašel-Kos no 242, with bibliography.

T A B L E I I I

LONG ROAD

Peutinger Table	Geogr. Rav. 194.14	Geogr. Rav. 373.16	Guido 536.2
Thessalonica XXVII	Thessalonici	Thessalonici	Thessalonici
Pella XXX	Pella	Pella	Pella
Beroea XII	Beroea	Beroea	Beroea
Acerdos XV	Acerdos	Acerdos	Archelos
Arulos XX	Arulos	-----	Arulos
Bada VII	Bata	Bada	Bada
Anamo XII	Anamo	Anamon	Anamo
Hatera XII	Imera	Imera	Imera
Dium	Diume	Dium	Dium

SHORT ROAD

It. Ant. 328

Thessalia LI

Berea XVII

Pudata XVIII

Dio

"across the plain to Nea Khalkedon" (p. 126).

"over the ridge of the Pierian mountains" (p. 127).

No identification proposed; on map 12, in the vicinity of Palaion Keramidion

"via Esovalta, Yimma, Yannitsa and Tourkokhori to Beroea" (p. 132).

=Ascordus, "the river of Palatitsa" (p. 129).
 =Alorus, at Trikala, at that time south of the Haliakmon (p. 133).

=Roman Pycna, at Alonia (p. 134).

= "Gannokhora on the Jamali river"; distance emended as X (p. 134).

=Karitsa, distance emended as II (p. 134).

(4) Beroia museum no 113: milestone with traces of second use possibly in a byzantine church and dedications probably to Gordianus (238-44), to the Second Tetrarchy (305-306), to Constantine and Licinius (314-17) partly erased, to Constans (335-50), to Julian (361-63) and to Valentinian and Valens (364-67), found in the church of St. George in Beroia. Formely part of the archaeological collection of the Old Metropolis; previous location unknown (Plate II).

Šašel-Kos, No 240, with bibliography.

(5) Beroia Museum no 114: milestone with successive dedications to Gordianus (238-44), to Maximianus (293-311), to the Second Tetrarchy (305-306), perhaps to Constantine, Licinius and their sons (317-24), to Julian (361-63) and to Valentinianus and Valens (364-67), indicating a distance of 9 (Θ) *m.p.*, found at the village of Stavros (Plate IV).

Šašel-Kos No 241, with bibliography.

(6) Beroia Museum no 478: milestone with dedication of Caracalla (213-17), indicating a distance of I *m.p.*, found at the village Lazochori.

J. Touratsoglou, *Deltion* 25 (1970) *Chronika* 388.

(7) Beroia Museum no 542: small fragment of a milestone with a IIIrd century dedication probably to the First Tetrarchy, found at the village of Nesi (Plate V).

Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 22 (1967) *Chronika* 413.

(8) Beroia Museum no 649: milestone with dedication to Gordianus (239), found in the city of Beroia, abandoned in a vacant lot (Plate VI).

P. Pantos, *Deltion* 32 (1977) *Chronika* 227-28, pl. 136 γ-δ.

(9) Thessalonike Museum no 6933: Hellenistic grave stele reused as a milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius (314-17), found at the village Livadi in Pieria (Plate VII).

Aik. Romiopoulou, "New Inscriptions in the Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki", *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Thessalonike 1981) 303-304, no 10.

(10) Ph. Petsas reports that in 1964 he transported to the Beroia Museum a column similar to the Stavros milestone with successive Greek and Latin inscriptions, which he had found at a site some 750 m north of Alexandria (Gidas)²³. I have been unable to find such a column in that museum.

In spite of several uncertainties of the evidence it is possible to draw a number of conclusions:

I. Nos 5, 7 and 10 (?) form a very clear pattern. The number of miles (Θ=9) combined with the actual distance between Beroia and Stavros (13 km) guarantee that no 5 was found somewhere very close to the school of the village, where Petsas first saw it, *i.e.* practically *in situ*. The archaeological context of its discovery makes this equally certain for no 7 too and such seems also to be the case for no 10, if it was indeed a milestone. We are thus assured of the existence of a Roman road starting from Beroia and running across the Central Plain in a northeastern direction, exactly as the modern national road Beroia-Nea Chalkedon does. An almost continuous chain of ancient remains found along its course at Makrochorion, Kavasila, Skyllitsi, Nesi

23. Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 19 (1964) *Chronika* 319; *eiusdem*, *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* 434; cf. *eiusdem*, "Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά 1966-1967", *Makedonika* 9 (1969) 198, no 170; *eiusdem*, "Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά 1968-1970", *Makedonika* 15 (1975) 192, no 170; G. Daux, "Chronique des Fouilles 1967", *BCH* 92 (1968) 895-96 (neither of the milestones figuring there is the one from Alexandria; they are in fact our no 4 from Beroia and no 5 from Stavros); cf. the captions of pl. 491 α and β in *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika*.

(including Roman baths) and Schoinas²⁴ bear witness to its importance. The sites of discovery of nos 7 and 10 (?) make it probable that this road followed a parallel but slightly more northern route than the modern one, a possible indication of the lesser extent of the swamps and of the better control of the rivers in Antiquity.

II. Milestone no 6 clearly belongs to another road. Lazochori is the northernmost settlement of the municipality of Beroia and its fields border the railway line from almost the outskirts of Beroia to the latitude of the village Patris. This is the area where the milestone was found and taken to the house of Symeon Petrides, whence it was transported to the Museum. This provenience combined with the distance of I (*m.p.*) marked on the stone leaves no doubt that it was found *in situ* and that it indicated the first mile in a northerly direction from Beroia. Its dedication by Caracalla, unique among the milestones of the whole area, is an additional argument towards the conclusion that it belongs to a different section of the Roman road system.

III. The absolutely secure provenience of no 9, found at the site of Gidomandra, exactly 1.5 km east of Livadi, on the very course of the road that the Greek government was building when the last war broke out, makes it certain that it belongs to yet another section, which from Beroia lead to Pieria.

24. There is an ancient cemetery at Kavasila. Several remains including two inscribed funerary monuments have been found at Makrochori: A. Andreiomenou, *Deltion* 23 (1968) *Chronika* 349 and pl. 292 δ; cf. J. and L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1970, 356; the other unpublished (Beroia Museum no 665) and possibly another fragmentary inscription, A. Struck, "Inchriften aus Makedonien", *AM* 27 (1902) 316, no 37. The very extensive remains of Nesi cannot be fully described here. Most of them are mentioned by A. Andreiomenou, «'Ανασκαφή ρωμαϊκού λουτρῶνος παρὰ τὸ Νησι 'Αλεξανδρείας», *Praktika* 1968, 60-64. They comprise, among other things, the foundations of a monumental building, Roman baths with mosaic floors and two other inscriptions besides the milestone. Two inscriptions come from Skyllitsi: a funerary monument published by A. Keramopoulos, *Ἐθνικὸς Ὁδηγὸς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος* 4 (1919) 116 and another still unpublished (Beroia Museum no 552). The remains of a monumental building discovered at Schoinas have been described by Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 19 (1964) *Chronika* 359.

These conclusions are beyond doubt, but perhaps some further deductions are possible: no 4 has four and possibly five identical dedications with the Stavros milestone, making it highly probable that they belong to the same section; no 3 too shares two of its three dedications with the Stavros stone, rendering the same conclusion equally probable. The earliest dedication to Gordianus, which they all have in common, is a fairly strong indication that nos 3, 1 and 8 belong to the same group. I am inclined to think that no 2, although it bears a unique dedication to Antoninus Pius, belongs to the same stretch of the road. The place where it had been transported – it was collected from the northern outskirts of Beroia – in conjunction with the conditions of the road systems in modern times make it highly improbable that it should belong to the southern section of the Roman road and that it should have been transported over nearly 27 km across the bridgeless Haliakmon. In fact the choice is only between the northern and the northeastern road. However, from our previous study of the milestones of the Via Egnatia we know that, in Macedonia at least, in all recorded cases local communities erected milestones counting distances from their urban centre only within the limits of their own territory²⁵. Now, Beroia's territory could not have extended over a distance of 17 *m.p.* north of the city's urban centre, even if we suppose that in Roman times it had annexed Mieza and its civic territory²⁶. Skydra in fact remained an independent city until well into Roman times²⁷ and its territory began far to the south of the point indicated on the milestone, which would be somewhere near *modern* Skydra and thus nearly 6 km to the *north* of the ancient urban centre of the same name²⁸. Along the northeastern road,

25. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 74-75.

26. On the status of Mieza in Roman times, cf. Papazoglou 119-20. The use of the expression ἐν Μιέζοις τόποις (instead of ἐν Μιέζῳ) in a IIIrd century inscription from Leukopetra would provide an additional argument for the loss of the city's autonomy.

27. Cf. the use of the ethnic Σκυδραῖος in a IIIrd (?) century A.D. inscription from Arseni first published by Delacoulonche (89-91 and 245, no 30); cf. *SEG* 24 (1969) 530 with subsequent bibliography; also Papazoglou 119.

28. The ancient site of Skydra was at "Toumba Zlata" by Arseni (Delacoulonche 27; cf. French 10 with bibliography).

however, 27 km would bring us to the vicinity of Alexandria, which can have belonged to the territory of no other city but Beroia.

It remains to be seen how the evidence of the milestones fits with that of the Roman itineraries and the other related documents.

The distance between Thessalonike and Beroia along the main Roman road transmitted by the *Itinerarium Antoninum* as LI *m.p.* corresponds exactly to that of the modern national road through Nea Chalkedon (78 km), which both in its "Egnatian" part and in the stretch that we examined above was either identical or closely parallel to it. Delacoulonche on the evidence of three funerary tumuli had already identified this northeastern route with the Beroia to Pella section of the Peutinger Table²⁹. The figure transmitted by this document for the distance between Thessalonike and Beroia through Pella (XXVII+XXX+LVII *m.p.*) is indeed somewhat different from that of the *Itinerarium Antoninum*. Is this, however, sufficient reason to ignore the evidence of the milestones ranging from the IInd to the Vth century and to postulate another, otherwise unattested, road along the western and northern shore of lake Loudiake³⁰? Two roads between Thessalonike and Beroia across the plain would constitute an extravagant luxury, even for great road builders such as the Romans. One might object that the Lazochori milestone points to the existence of such a road, and that, anyway, the two routes would not be equivalent, since the road of the Peutinger Table would serve also Pella, through which it passed. This last point is well taken and would precisely explain the discrepancy between the distances of the Table and the *Itinerarium Antoninum* (unless it is due to the carelessness of

29. Delacoulonche 113.

30. Ph. Petsas (‘Ο τάφος τῶν Λευκαδίων [Athens 1966] 16) argues that the disposition of the tombs around Leukadia and Kopanos points to a route from Mieza to Pella across the plain along the northern shore of lake Loudiake. However, what one clearly sees in the inserted topographical plan is a sequence of tombs disposed along a south-north axis from Kopanos to Leukadia and beyond, obviously on the south-north Hellenistic route discussed below. The only remains of a Hellenistic road which were actually seen and accurately reported by Ph. Petsas three years after the publication of his previous work (Ph. Petsas, "Χρονικά ἀρχαιολογικά 1968-1970", *Makedonika* 14[1974] 240-41, no 5) have nothing to do with a direct road from Mieza to Pella (cf. *infra*).

some copyist); for in order to serve Pella, the main road previously described had only to make a bypass: coming from Beroia, after the crossing of the Loudias, it would head – for about the same distance that it requires to reach Nea Chalkedon – due north instead of north-east and would arrive at Pella. The difference of VI *m.p.* corresponds exactly to the distance between Nea Chalkedon (Allante) and Nea Pella (Roman Pella), by which the road was inevitably lengthened. In fact the Peutinger Table seems to describe the road of the Early Imperial period, before the decline of Roman Pella made more popular the short-cut through Nea Chalkedon reflected in the more recent Antonine Itinerary. Such an interpretation is more economical than the hypothesis of an entirely different (and unattested) road along the northern and western shore of Lake Loudiake. As to the Lazochori milestone, it is evidence not for the hypothetical “northwestern route”, but for the continued parallel existence of another road which did not cross the plain at all, but followed the eastern foothills of Mt. Bermion, in order to provide easy communication between the main urban centres of the western edge of the Central Plain: Beroia, Mieza, Skydra and Edessa. For its existence in Roman times, which common sense, geography, archaeology³¹, history, all require, we have evidence in the form of a Roman bridge which until very recently spanned the Edessaos river near Sebastiana (Plates VIII-IX). However, this was a secondary road of local interest only, and for this reason it did not figure in the imperial itineraries and maps.

The Livadi milestone (no 9) brings us to the problem of the road from Beroia to Pieria, to which it evidently belongs. The figure XVII *m.p.* of the Antonine Itinerary for the distance between “Berea” and “Pudaia” is clearly incompatible with the locations usually ascribed to these stations (Beroia and Pydna). The question is whether we should retain the figure but discard the obvious identification of “Pudaia” with Pydna³² or retain the identification and emend the distance³³. The

31. Cf. besides the file of tombs between Leukadia and Kopanos mentioned in the previous note, the row of funerary tumuli south of Beroia along a road leading to the ford and ferry of the Haliakmon (Delacoulonche 113).

32. As Hammond, *Macedonia* 126 suggests.

33. As Edson, “Strepsa” 175, and Cunz 328. 4 (*non vidi*) before him, had done.

second solution is by far more economical, as it dispenses us from inventing an entirely unattested station on an entirely unattested road. The Livadi milestone points unquestionably to a Roman road through Pydna; the building of a second road through the Pierian mountains would be again an improbable and extravagant luxury. Moreover, the figure of XVIII *m.p.* of the Antonine Itinerary for the distance between "Dio" and "Pudaia" corresponds to the expected distance of a direct road from Dion to Pydna (airline distance 27 km³⁴). It would indeed be too much of a coincidence if the distance between Dion and an unknown Pudaia was exactly equal to the distance from the former city to the well known Pydna; not to add that it is highly improbable that the Antonine Itinerary, which is extremely succinct and records as a rule only major cities (Thessalonike, Beroia, Dion), would suddenly choose to mention an otherwise unknown and obviously unimportant station.

Consequently we must emend the figure XVII. Edson proposed XXVII³⁵, but this too is clearly still insufficient. Cuntz's emendation to XLII³⁶ is certainly much closer to reality. It corresponds roughly to the distance of a road, closely parallel to the modern one, which follows the northern foothills of the Pierians and through Vergina, Palatitsia, Angathia, Kypsele, Aiginion and Nea Agathoupolis leads to the site of ancient Pydna, south of Makrygialos (\pm 57 km). The difference of some 5 km is due to recent bridge and road buildings, which, as we shall see in more detail below, have reduced the length of the modern road since the last war. However, the evidence of the Livadi milestone points to another possibility: the short-cut whose construction was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II would have made this road some 7 km shorter (the actual variant which was eventually built, but not entirely finished, is only 6 km shorter,

34. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 175, locating Pydna at Makrygialos. For the exact location of ancient Pydna at Palaion Kitros, 2.5 km south of Makrygialos, see now N.G.L. Hammond, "The battle of Pydna" *JHS* 104 (1984) 31-32. These 2.5 km cover the expected difference between an airline distance and that of an actual road, however direct.

35. Edson, "Strepsa" 175.

36. Cuntz 328.4.

because it makes a detour, in order to pass through the village of Paliambelon, which the original plans avoided). The milestone with the dedication to Constantine and Licinius found on it proves that such a short-cut was already in existence in Later Roman times. Thus, the relevant figure of the Antonine Itinerary should be read XXXVII, an emendation as plausible as XLII of the reading of the manuscripts (XVII). As with the section across the plain (describing a direct route to Allante without a detour through Pella) the Antonine Itinerary, here too, seems to reflect a simplification of the road system corresponding to requirements of greater rapidity but also the loss of importance of some old urban centres³⁷. In this respect the Peutinger Table and its related lists, to which we shall turn presently, depict an older state of things. Both Edson – at least partly – and Hammond agree that these documents describe a road from Beroia to Dion which followed the Pierian foothills first in an east-west and then in a north-south direction; they differ however widely on the identification of most of the stations. It is more convenient to begin from the stations on whose identification they both agree. Nobody indeed has ever doubted that “Arulos” is anything else but a corrupted form of Aloros, the well known Macedonian city³⁸, but on the other hand practically nobody agrees on its location. Aloros in fact has been universally located on the left bank of the Haliakmon but at different sites: Leake, followed by Miller, would put it at Palaiochora³⁹; Delacoulonche between Kaliani (now officially Aloros) and Kleidi, near the Late Roman bridge⁴⁰; Struck at Prasinada (Mega Alamboron)⁴¹; Edson between the Haliakmon and the Loudias⁴²; Hammond at Trikala⁴³. Hammond’s solution, however, was only superficially similar to that of his predecessors; for after a penetrating reexamination of the ancient testimonia he concluded that in

37. Cf. Edson’s arguments for the building of the coastal road (“Strepsa” 180).

38. Cf. Edson, “Strepsa” 178.

39. Leake 436; Miller 574.

40. Delacoulonche 130-31.

41. Struck 20 n. 3.

42. Edson, “Strepsa” 178.

43. Hammond, *Macedonia* 132-33.

Antiquity Aloros was not on the *left* but on the *right* bank of the Haliakmon, whose estuary was at the time, according to him, some 20 km to the north of its present course.

The importance of the conclusion that Aloros was on the south bank of the Haliakmon – which is the only compatible with Pliny's description⁴⁴ – needs hardly to be stressed. It removes Edson's main argument for the "conflation theory", which he had understandably elaborated, for indeed, "it seems, to say the least, odd that the Roman road as depicted in the Table should have gone to the trouble of crossing the Haliacmon before turning west to Beroea"⁴⁵. There is, however, a major difficulty with Hammond's location of Aloros at Trikala – as with all other proposed locations – the absence of any ancient remains corresponding to the antiquity and to the importance of the city⁴⁶. For this reason, with the assistance first of the XVIIth Ephoria (August 1983) and then of Professor Hammond himself (September 1983), I undertook a systematic research of a site corresponding to such requirements. My attention was very soon drawn to the Βασιλιᾶ Τοῦμπα at Kypsele (formerly Neochorion), which has been (little) known as a prehistoric site since the First World War.

At a distance of about 1 km to the south-east of the village of Kypsele there is a "table" formed by one of the numerous natural terraces of the Pierian foothills (Plate X). On its top there are three elevations, along a south - north axis, the northernmost of which is the most clearly defined, the biggest ($\pm 150 \times 75$ m) and the highest (± 15 m), visibly a partly human creation⁴⁷. This typical "tomba" is the one that the villagers call the "King's mound". Remains of a circuit wall of poros blocks some 1,000 m long surround the two northern elevations. On the summit of the southern elevation outside this wall we saw important vestiges of a Roman construction built with large bricks and mortar. It is within the circuit wall that sherds and remains of shell fish are most abundant. On the top of the

44. Pliny *HN* 4.34.

45. Edson, "Strepsa" 178.

46. The architectural members found at Trikala (Aloros) had been transported thither from the palace of Vergina (J. Touratsoglou, *Deltion* 30 [1975] *Chronika* 261).

47. Rey 54-55 (Alabor); Picard 4; French 25 (Neokhori) with references.

“toumba” big poros blocks lay everywhere and some, apparently from a perimeter wall, had rolled down to its foot (Plate XI). This was obviously the acropolis of the city. It commands a superb view of the Beroia-Katerini road and the Haliakmon running practically at its feet, of the whole Central Plain as far as Pella and of the Thermaic Gulf⁴⁸. Pottery ranging from prehistoric times to the late Roman period, coins Classical, Hellenistic and Roman, reliefs and an inscription are among the chance finds that are kept at the local collection of the village school and the Beroia Museum or adorn rich houses of the neighbouring villages⁴⁹. (Plates XII-XIX). A system of clay pipes, which is still functioning, brought water to the site.

It must be stressed that this is not just one among many, but the *unique* known ancient site between Vergina and the sea and south of the road across the plain, that we discussed previously. It is needless to repeat Hammond’s brilliant demonstration based on pseudo-Skylax, Pliny and Strabo (in Stephanus Byzantius), by which he established beyond dispute that Aloros lay on the southern bank of the Haliakmon, on the westernmost of the Thermaic Gulf⁵⁰. We shall limit ourselves to examining whether the distances transmitted by Strabo⁵¹, who is our main authority on the city’s⁵² position in connexion with Pydna and Methone, are compatible with the site at Kypsele. Strabo writes that Methone was 40 stades distant from Pydna and 70 from Aloros. The remains of Methone have not been excavated yet, but its most likely location is at Nea Agathoupolis⁵³, where chance finds have come to light from time to time⁵⁴. This location is confirmed by the

48. Cf. Rey 54-55.

49. Cf. French 63; J. Touratsoglou, *Deltion* 29 (1973-1974) *Chronika* 725; G. Touchais, “Chronique des Fouilles en 1980”, *BCH* 105 (1981) 823 and Beroia Museum no 691.

50. Hammond, *Macedonia* 132-33.

51. Strabo 7 frg. 20: μέση δὲ οὖσα ἡ Μεθώνη τῆς μὲν Πύδνης ὄσον τετταράκοντα σταδίων ἀπέχει, τῆς Ἀλώρου δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα; frg. 23: ἀπέχει δ’ ἡ Μεθώνη τῆς μὲν Πύδνης στάδια τετταράκοντα, τῆς Ἀλώρου δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα στάδια. These distances are probably measured by sea. But since at that time all these cities were on the coast, this does not make any practical difference.

52. For the Arulos-Bada distance on the Peutinger Table, cf. *infra*.

53. Cf. Hammond, *Macedonia* 129.

54. As the *epimeletes* M. Bessios, whom I wish to thank for his interest, had the kindness to inform me.

fact that a distance of 40 stades (± 8 km) separates it from the site of Pydna south of Makrygialos. But whether we calculate 70 stades (± 14 km) from the presumed site of Methone at Nea Agathoupolis or 110 stades (± 22 km) from the certain site of Pydna we obtain the *exact* distance to Kypsele (8 and 22 km respectively) according to the modern automobile maps. We conclude therefore that the "table" by Kypsele is the site of ancient Aloros.

Having gained a firmly identified point along the road, we can now go back to the Peutinger Table and the other related lists.

The first station after Beroia is "Acerdos" or "Archelos" at a distance of 12 *m.p.* from the "very splendid metropolis of Macedonia"⁵⁵. Hammond calculated that distance along the modern road and identified this station with the river Ascordus⁵⁶ mentioned once by Livy⁵⁷, which in its turn he equated with "the river of Palatitza". The modern road and the modern bridge, however, which were built after the last war, have shortened the previous distance by 3.5 km, mainly because the older bridge, which had succeeded to the ferry and the ford of the Ottoman times, was farther upstream, at a place where the narrowing of the gorge made the spanning of the river easier with the technical means available at the time⁵⁸. So 12 *m.p.* would bring us not at "the river of Palatitza", but midway between Vergina and Palatitsia, at the height of the ancient palace. Edson's traditional equation of Vergina-Palatitsia with "Bada-Balla"⁵⁹ was challenged by Hammond's identification of this site with Aigeai⁶⁰, which was so spectacularly vindicated by M. Andronicos' recent discoveries⁶¹. We know that Aigeai, probably no longer as an

55. Cf. J. Touratsoglou, «Δύο νέαι επιγραφικαί μαρτυρίαι περί τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων», *Ancient Macedonia I* (Thessalonike 1970) 282, lines 12-13: ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων πόλει.

56. Hammond, *Macedonia* 129 and 133.

57. Livy 44. 7.5-6.

58. The distance between Beroia and the village of Vergina before the last war was 17 km (K.A. Romaios, 'Ο Μακεδονικὸς τάφος τῆς Βεργίνας [Athens 1951] 5).

59. Edson, "Strepsa" 181-82.

60. First suggested by N.G.L. Hammond, "The Archaeological Background of the Macedonian Kingdom", *Ancient Macedonia I* (Thessalonike 1970) 64 and in greater detail Hammond, *Macedonia* 156-58.

61. First acceptance of Hammond's identification in M. Andronicos, "The Excavations of the Great Tumulus at Vergina", *AAA* 9 (1976) 123-30.

autonomous city but as a *kome* of Beroia, continued its existence throughout the Roman period⁶². “Bada”, like “Pudáia”, as Hammond has suggested⁶³, is simply a corrupt form of Pydna. Edson wrote that “one is to resist the temptation to associate Guido’s variant *Archelos* with the Argead personal name Archelaus”⁶⁴. The reason he gives is that it is not confirmed by the Ravennate Cosmographer and the Peutinger Table, which both have the reading “Acerdos”. However, “the Ravennate Cosmographer... copied his lists of names from an earlier version of the map now represented by the Table”⁶⁵ and, as Hammond has rightly pointed out⁶⁶, the differences between the Ravenna Cosmographer’s lists, which are not limited to spelling, make it probable that he had used more than one versions of that map. Thus it cannot be excluded *a priori* that Guido, who preserves “a transcript of a part of an earlier copy of the Cosmographer than is represented by the extant manuscripts”⁶⁷, may have transmitted a list copied from yet another version of that map and may have retained a more authentic form than the unintelligible and corrupt “Acerdos”, which has to be emended *in any case*. It is true that there was no reason to associate an “Argead personal name” with a station somewhere “on the coastal road between Alorus and Thessalonica”⁶⁸, where Edson would locate Acerdos-Archelos. But one has to be a most determined believer in historical coincidences in order to dismiss as purely fortuitous its association with the very place where a king of precisely that same name had his residence and palace, even if he is commonly credited with the building of a new one in Pella.

62. Cf. M.B. Hatzopoulos, “The Olevni Inscription and the Dates of Philip II’s Reign” in W.L.Adams and E.N. Borza (edd.), *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage* (Washington 1982) 41 n. 91, and now Ph. Petsas, «Μήτηρ Θεῶν αὐτόχθων», *Ancient Macedonia III (Thessalonike 1984)* 238; *eiusdem*, «Οἱ χρονολογημένες ἐπιγραφές ἀπὸ τῆ Λευκόπετρα», *Πρακτικά του Η΄ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Ἐπιγραφικῆς I* (Athens 1984) 305-306.

63. Hammond, *Macedonia* 133-34.

64. Edson, “Strepsa” 190 n. 156.

65. Edson, “Strepsa” 178.

66. Hammond, *Macedonia* 132 n. 1.

67. Edson, “Strepsa” 178.

68. Edson, “Strepsa” 182.

It is indeed generally assumed that Archelaos transferred his capital to Pella⁶⁹, where he had his famous *oikia* decorated by Zeuxis⁷⁰. However there is not the slightest evidence in support of that contention⁷¹. The only secure *terminus post quem* that we have for the transfer of the habitual royal residence is provided by Demosthenes⁷² information that Philip II had grown up in Pella⁷³. On the other hand it has very aptly been pointed out that this transfer can only have taken place later – and we should add significantly so – than the production of Euripides' tragedy *Archelaos* under the auspices of the homonymous king, whose ancestral and divinely sanctioned links with Aigeai it celebrated⁷⁴.

A place name recorded by Procopius Βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου,⁷⁵ “palace, royal residence of Amyntas” – obviously as opposed to the palace of some other king – which has been rightly identified with the acropolis of Pella⁷⁶, can provide an additional argument in favour of the conclusion that the transfer of the capital took place not under Archelaos but during the reign of Philip's father, Amyntas III, who is the only king of such a name that can come into question. We know of only two royal residences in Macedonia, that of Aigeai and that of Pella. It is certain on archaeological grounds that no phase of the

69. Cf. among many others D. Kanatsoulis, Ὁ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ αἱ μεταρρυθμίσεις τοῦ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (Thessalonike 1948) 77-82; Ch. Edson, “Early Macedonia”, *Ancient Macedonia I* (Thessalonike 1970) 36; N.G.L. Hammond in N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia II* (Oxford 1979) 139-40 and 150.

70. Ael. *VH* 14.17.

71. Cf. Diamantourou 84-85 and U. Köhler, “Makedonien unter König Archelaos”, *SBBerl* 11 (1893) 498 n. 3.

72. Dem. 16.68: ὡς τῷ μὲν (Φιλίππῳ) ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρὶφ ἀδόξῳ τότε γ' ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ; cf. the new Parygus fragment of Strabo (Krebbler, 207, col. I, l. 21-24): ἠὔξησε δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μικρᾶς Φιλίππος τραφεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ, καθάπερ καὶ Δημοσθένης|[φη]σί.

73. Cf. also Strabo 7 frg. 20: ἠὔξησε τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μικρᾶς Φίλιππος, τραφεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ; frg. 23: ὅτι τὴν Πέλλαν μικρὰν πρότερον, Φίλιππος εἰς μῆκος ἠὔξησε, τραφεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ; cf. also *Demosthenis vita* 2 (ed. C. Müller II 526) and Cousinéry 91: “Strabon nous apprend qu' Amyntas établit sa cour à Pella, et que son fils Philippe y fut élevé”.

74. N.G.L. Hammond in N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia II* (Oxford 1979) 5; cf. H.W. Parke and D.E. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1963) I, 63-64; II 92-93, n. 226.

75. Procop. *Aed.* 4.4.39.

76. Diamantourou 93-94.

Vergina palace can be connected with Amyntas, whereas Philip's father is, according to our unique relevant source previously discussed⁷⁷, our most likely candidate for the establishment of a new royal residence at Pella⁷⁸. It is not astonishing that the new palace – as opposed to the old one at Aigeai – should have been popularly named after the king who first built it and that this name should have survived subsequent modifications, aggrandisements and reconstructions⁷⁹. When in Early Byzantine times the site of Roman Pella, which had inherited the name of the destroyed Macedonian capital, was in its turn deserted by its inhabitants, archaeological and epigraphic evidence shows that there remained only a small settlement on the old acropolis⁸⁰, where recent excavations have confirmed that the royal palace had once stood⁸¹. It is only natural that this small settlement, refortified under Justinian, should figure in Procopius' list under its popular name of Βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου, since the old name of Pella had been transferred to the site of Roman Pella⁸², to which it

77. Cf. Strabo 16.2.10 C 752: τὴν δὲ Πέλλαν ὥσπερ μητρόπολιν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὴν Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατρίδα.

78. Moreover, he is the most likely one on general historical grounds. The transfer may be connected with the difficulties he was facing during the early years of his reign. Aigeai in fact was too eccentric for conducting efficiently military operations against either of his major enemies, the Chalkidians and the Illyrians. It is also significant that in 360 the pretender Argaios started his bid for the throne at Aigeai, as if he considered that disaffection for the reigning family was the strongest there (whether it had been the cause or the consequence of the transfer of the capital to Pella).

79. The phases that the recent excavations have uncovered belong to the reigns of Philip II and Philip V; cf. G. Mylonas, *Ergon* 1983, 36 and *eiusdem*, *Ergon* 1984, 38.

80. Chr. Makaronas, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ Πέλλης 1957-1960», *Deltion* 16 (1960) 81.

81. It was Ph. Petsas' particular merit to have identified the architectural complex of the acropolis as a palace ("Ten years at Pella", *Archaeology* 17 (1964) 84; *eiusdem*, «Αἰγαί, Πέλλα, Θεσσαλονίκη», *Ancient Macedonia* I (1970) 220-21. His thesis was vindicated by the recent excavations. Cf. M. Siganiδου, «Ἀνασκαφὴ Πέλλας», *Praktika*, 1981, 51-53; *eiusdem*, *Praktika* 1982, 61-62 and 531-35; G. Mylonas, *Ergon* 1982, 20-21; *eiusdem*, *Ergon* 1983, 35-36; *eiusdem*, *Ergon* 1984, 38-39.

82. Ph. Petsas, "Pella, Literary Tradition and Archaeological Research", *BSt* 1 (1960) 123; *eiusdem*, "Ten Years at Pella", *Archaeology* 17 (1964) 75-84; *eiusdem*, s.v. "Pella", *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* (Rome 1965) 19; Diamantourou 90 n. 4; cf. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 52.

remained exclusively attached until the beginning of this century⁸³. Meanwhile the old palace at Aigeai, whose oldest remains date to the Vth-IVth century⁸⁴ and should therefore most likely be identified with the famous palace built and decorated under the auspices of Archelaos⁸⁵, would have not surprisingly come to be popularly called – as opposed to the more recent βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου – βασιλικὰ Ἀρχελάου, “Archelos-Acerdos” in the incomplete and corrupt form of the Peutinger Table and the related lists. This name, despite modifications and rebuilding by subsequent kings as in Pella, may well have outlived the name of Aigeai, when in Roman times the old capital probably ceased to be an autonomous city and fell in the same decadence as the new one⁸⁶. Palatitsia, “the little palaces”, would then be nothing else but the mediaeval and modern continuation of the same name, which the latter-day village owes to the original palace of Archelaos and of which the Roman geographic documents would provide the earliest evidence.

The distance between Vergina and the “King’s mound” at Kypsele along the modern road is ± 20 km. This is some 2 km shorter than the distance (XV *m.p.*) indicated by the Peutinger Table. The explanation of the difference is to be sought in the recent shortening of the road⁸⁷ which instead of following the sinuosities of the Pierian

83. Cf. Pouqueville 453; Leake 261; Delacoulonche 184; Struck 85. It is not impossible that the small community at Macedonian Pella may have retained a name ultimately derived from βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου until the early modern times. There is a persistent and consistent tradition among early travellers that the site of Macedonian Pella was called Palatia or Palatitzia (Abbé Belley, “Observations sur l’histoire et sur les 121 monuments de la ville Thessalonique”, *MAI* 38 (1777) 122; Meletios, *Γεωγραφία Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα* (Venice 1807) 473; Pouqueville 451-52. Cousinéry (92) first and L. Heuzey (*Le Mont Olympe et l’Acarmanie* [Paris 1860] 189-90) after him have attributed it to a confusion with the palace of Palatitsia-Vergina. But it need not have been so; both Macedonian royal residences may well have retained their traditional name connected with their most prominent feature until the early modern times. (The buildings on the acropolis of Pella were still visible at the time of Pouqueville [453]).

84. M. Andronikos, Ch. Makaronas, N. Moutsopoulos, G. Bakalakis, *Τὸ ἀνάκτορο τῆς Βεργίνας* (Athens 1961) 15 and pl. XXV.

85. Ael. *VH* 14.17.

86. Papazoglou 111-12; cf. supra n. 62. Early Christian remains, including a basilica, were uncovered between Vergina and Palatitsia north of the modern road in 1984.

87. The remains of the ancient road and an ancient bridge between Vergina and Palatitsia and north of the modern road have been described by Heuzey (180).

T A B L E I V

Peutingar Table	Geogr.Rav. 194.14	Geogr.Rav. 373.16	Guido 536.2	It.Ant. 328	
Thessalonica XXVII	Thessalonici	Thessalonici	Thessalonici	Thessalia LI	The road of <i>It. Ant.</i> ran directly from Allante to Beroia, avoiding Pella.
Pella XXX	Pella	Pella	Pella		
Beroea XII	Beroea	Beroea	Beroea	Berea XVII	<i>It. Ant.</i> to be emended as XLII or XXXVII.
Acerdos XV	Acerdos	Acerdos	Archelos		Vergina palace
Arulos XX	Arulos	-----	Arulos		Aloros = "King's mound" by Kypsele.
Bada VII	Bata	Bada	Bada	Pudaia XVIII	Peut. Table XX to be emended as XV; Bada = Pudaia = Pydna is to be located 2-3 km south of Makrygialos.
Anamo XII	Anamo	Anamon	Anamo		
Hatera XII	Imera	Imera	Imera		
Dium	Diume	Dium	Dium	Dio	

foothills and going through Neokastron, as it did at least until the beginning of this century, cuts now directly across the narrow alluvial plain of the right bank of the Haliakmon.

The next entry of the Peutinger Table XX *m.p.* from Arulos-Aloros to Bada-Pydna is by far too long, the actual distance being \pm 22 km. Since there is not the slightest trace of other independent evidence requiring a reconsideration of the location of either site, XV *m.p.* is the obvious emendation. The other entries too between Pydna and Dion, as it has long been known, are corrupt and would demand reexamination. But this stretch of the road through Pieria is outside the scope of the present study, which is concerned only with the road system of the Central Macedonian Plain (See Table IV). Instead we shall return to consider whether the network that has emerged at the end of this section of the study is a Roman innovation or continues an older one.

Edson was the first to draw attention to the Hellenistic epigraphic evidence relative to the road system of the Central Macedonian Plain. He pointed out that the Delphic *thearodokoi* list of the early second century followed a sequence along Macedonian roads⁸⁸. The relevant section⁸⁹ after recording the *thearodokoi* at Herakleion, Leibeithra and Dion in Pieria, continues with the names of the *thearodokoi* of the following cities: Pydna, Beroia, Mieza⁹⁰, Edessa, Pella, Europos⁹¹, Ichnai, Allante⁹², Thessalonike. Indeed, there can be no doubt that, although Aloros and – even more unexpectedly – Aigeai are omitted, the *thearoi* were supposed to follow the main road along the northern foothills of the Pierians described above, between Pydna and Beroia. Thence they must have continued on the secondary road along the Bermion range, indicated by the latter-day Lazochori milestone, to Beroia, Mieza (by Naoussa)⁹³ and Edessa. From there they could

88. Edson, "Strepsa" 173-75.

89. Plassart 17.

90. Spelt Μέζα.

91. Spelt Ὠρωπός. On the identity of Εὐρωπός-᾽Ωρωπός see now Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 59 n. 4.

92. Spelt Ἀλλάντειον.

93. A series of tombs probably indicates the direction of the local road that joined the city to this south-north axis; cf. Ph. Petsas, Ὁ τάφος τῶν Λευκαδίων (Athens 1966), inserted topographical plan between pp. 16-17.

follow the predecessor of the Via Egnatia to Pella. In another study dealing with the milestones of this road we have described the short-cut that they must have taken in order to reach Europos on the Axios valley and their return through Ichnai (by Kouphalia) to Allante, which we were able to identify with the “table” of Nea Chalkedon at the intersection of the main east-west and north-south axis⁹⁴. From there they proceeded to Thessalonike.

There is, however, as L. Robert has pointed out⁹⁵, another early Hellenistic list of the last decade of the century, the Argos donations catalogue⁹⁶, which despite its fragmentary condition shows a similar geographical sequence: after Gonnoi, in the Tempe defile, we can recognise the name of Aigai, then, after a *lacuna* – where one should probably restore the name of Beroia – that of Edessa, of Allante and of Europos followed by several missing entries, after which we read the beginning of the name of Kassandreia and finally that of Philippi. This catalogue, besides providing evidence for the high antiquity of the route of the Delphic *thearodokoi*, confirms the position of Aigai on this itinerary. Another, yet unpublished, Hellenistic catalogue, the Nemean *thearodokoi* list⁹⁷, which should be dated to the penultimate decade of the fourth century and which mentions *thearodokoi* from Allante and probably Pella, after those of Amphipolis and Lete, confirms the antiquity of the eastern section of this route.

However, it would be a mistake to consider that these early lists, which all follow the same sequence, constitute evidence against the existence of a shorter route from Allante or Pella to Beroia across the plain, along the eastern and the southern shore of lake Loudiake; for clearly the Delphic *thearodokoi* or the envoys from Argos were not interested in short-cuts along a marshy and sparsely inhabited plain, but in visiting the greatest possible number of urban centres, which in the Central Macedonian Plain are all situated not on the plain itself but on the foothills of the surrounding mountains: the Pierians, Mt.

94. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 59.

95. L. Robert, *Etudes de numismatique grecque* (Paris 1951) 190 n. 4.

96. *IG* IV 617; cf. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 57-60.

97. Cf. S. Miller, “Excavations at Nemea 1978”, *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 77-81 and pl. c.I. 85; cf. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 58-59.

Bermion, Mt. Nitze and Mt. Paikon⁹⁸. Moreover, there is positive evidence for the existence of this shorter route in Hellenistic times.

At about five in the afternoon of 22 June 168 B.C., after the defeat of the Macedonian army by the Romans, king Perseus pursued by enemy cavalry fled from Pydna in the direction of Pella⁹⁹. First he followed the *via militaris*, arriving by dusk at the "Pierian forest". There the king with a few trusted men, left the main road and followed a path across the forest. Perseus, delayed by the difficulties of this rarely trodden route, did not reach Pella before midnight. He had been preceded there by some cavalymen who had not deviated from the *recta et expedita* main military road. "At the fourth watch of the night" Perseus left his capital, crossed the Axios before dawn and hastened to Amphipolis, where he arrived on the 24th of June¹⁰⁰. On the 25th Aemilius Paullus "set out from Pydna with his whole army and on the second day he reached Pella", where he pitched camp at a distance of one mile from the city¹⁰¹. The obvious questions concern the routes followed by the Macedonian king and the Roman consul respectively.

This evidence too has been examined by Edson¹⁰². The American scholar, however, refused to take into consideration the account of Perseus' flight, because of the perturbing factor of the remounts which may have been available for the king¹⁰³, while his discussion of Aemilius Paullus' march suffers from a miscalculation of the distances covered¹⁰⁴.

98. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 174-75.

99. Livy 44.43.1-2 with commentary by P. Jal in the *Collection des Universités de France* edition of Livy, vol. 32 (Paris 1976) 208 n. 11. In fact it might well have been later, since dusk was already falling when he had covered less than 20 km, a matter of not much more than an hour for someone fleeing for his life along a straight military road (cf. Livy 44.43.1-2). Night cannot be said that was "drawing near" (*nox adpropinquabat*) before 7 p.m. at this time of the year.

100. Livy 44.46.10.

101. Livy 44.46.4. For the dates, cf. Meloni 467.

102. Edson, "Strepsa" 177.

103. Edson, "Strepsa" 188 n. 104.

104. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 177. The distance between Pydna and Beroia along the ancient road was not 27 *m.p.* but 37 or 42 *m.p.*; the distance along the modern road is not "40 to 45 kilometers" but 56 km; cf. *infra* p. 50.

Hammond, who is the last one to have discussed these movements in some detail, thinks that Perseus and Aemilius Paullus followed the much later Roman road of the Antonine Itinerary, which, according to his interpretation, lead through Elaphina to Beroia and thence proceeded to Pella¹⁰⁵. But, as we have seen, such a Roman road is unattested. Naturally, this does not necessarily preclude its existence in earlier times; it only makes it less likely. What seems incompatible with Hammond's interpretation is Livy's clear distinction between the *via militaris recta et expedita* followed by the Macedonian horsemen (and presumably by Aemilius Paullus and his army) and the *semitae* across the Pierian forest taken by the King when he had left the main road (*via devertit*)¹⁰⁶. Plutarch's parallel passage (ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρέκκλινε τὸν ἵππον) leaves no doubt about it¹⁰⁷.

We have still to determine the route followed by the Macedonian king and the Roman consul. Fortunately our sources have preserved an important clue, timing: it took Perseus no more than seven hours¹⁰⁸ (and some of his men even less) to cover the distance between Pydna and Pella on horseback; it took the Roman army no more than two days to cover the same distance on foot¹⁰⁹. Now, the "thearodokoi route" from Pydna to Pella is some 127 km or 85 *m.p.* long¹¹⁰. Even if we do not take into consideration Perseus' delay in the forest¹¹¹, it is a

105. Hammond, *Macedonia* 138.

106. Livy 44.43.1-3: *Perseus ad Pieriam silvam via militari frequenti agmine equitum et regis comitatu fugit. Simul in silvam ventum est, ubi plures diversae semitae erant, et nox adpropinquabat, cum perpaucis maxime fidis via devertit. Equites sine duce relictis alii alia, in civitates suas dilapsi sunt; perpauci inde Pellam celerius quam ipse Perseus, quia recta et expedita via ierant, pervenerunt.* Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 188 n. 104: "I note that the *recta et expedita via* of Livy 44.43.3 is mentioned in contrast to the detour from the *via militaris* taken by Perseus".

107. Plut. *Aem.* 23.2.

108. And probably less; cf. *supra* n. 99.

109. Livy 44.46.4: *Consul a Pydna profectus cum toto exercitu die altero Pellam pervenit.*

110. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 177: "it is clear that the military road run westward from the coast along the base of the mountains through the forest, precisely the route which the *thearodokoi* list and the Antonine Itinerary have already revealed".

111. Cf. Livy 44.43.4: *Rex ad mediam fere noctem errore et variis difficultatibus viae est vexatus.*

feat that even a king fleeing for his life and riding to death horse after horse could not perform. Arrian records as one of Alexander's great achievements that in 330 B.C. he covered in hot pursuit of Dareios 400 stades (± 74 km or 50 *m.p.*) from dusk to dawn"¹¹². As this occurred at about the same time of the year as the battle of Pydna, that would mean in this case too eight hours. The same conclusion is drawn from Aemilius Paullus' march: it took him four days to cover the ± 146 km or 98 *m.p.* from Pella to Amphipolis¹¹³ at an average of 36 km or 24 *m.p.* a day. This is in agreement with Kubitchek's¹¹⁴ conclusion that 20 *m.p.* was the normal day's march of the Roman imperial army¹¹⁵. These figures are such as to exclude the long *thearodokoi* route either for Perseus' flight or Aemilius Paullus' advance.

Edson¹¹⁶, who used the evidence from the consul's advance (but not of the king's flight¹¹⁷) for the same purpose, concluded that he must have followed the latter-day main Roman route through Beroia and then across the plain, which according to his theory ran along the western and northern shore of lake Loudiake. He calculated that the Roman army marched an average of 42 km or 28 *m.p.* a day. This result, however, rests not only on the false assumption of the existence of such a road from Beroia to Pella but also on the assumption that the distance from Pydna to Beroia was "40 to 45 kilometers or around 27 *m.p.*", which, as we hope to have established now, was clearly erroneous. According to our calculations this distance is either 37 *m.p.* (by taking the short-cut across the northern prong of the Pierian mountains) or 42 *m.p.* (through Aloros). If we add to these figures the distance from Beroia to Pella along the actual route south and east of lake Loudiake (30 *m.p.*), we obtain a total of 67 or 72 *m.p.* Such a

112. Arr. *Anab.* 3.21.9; cf. N.G.L. Hammond, "A Note on 'Pursuit' in Arrian", *CQ* 21 (1978) 137.

113. Livy 44.46.10.

114. W. Kubitchek, s.v. *Itinerarien*, *RE* (1916) 2309, n. 2.

115. Cf. Edson, "Strepsa" 177 and 189 n. 131.

116. Edson, "Strepsa" 177.

117. Edson, "Strepsa" 188 n. 104, but without good reasons: remounts were also available at the *mutationes* of the Roman imperial roads, but this should not invalidate a conclusion *ex.g.* on the average distance covered in one day which would be based on the average distance between *mansiones*; cf. Hammond-Hatzopoulos 140-41.

distance is perhaps compatible with the recorded timings, but barely so. If we may suppose that Perseus could find remounts for himself, this is less certain for the horsemen who arrived at Pella before him. On the other hand, c. 100 km in two days is a rather exceptional performance for foot-soldiers, which our sources are unlikely to have mentioned so casually. In fact, the examination of the Macedonian and Roman movements after the battle of Pydna establish beyond all possible doubt the existence in Hellenistic times of a road across the plain along the southern and eastern shores of lake Loudiake. But it does not do only that; it also suggests a further possibility: the existence of a summer short-cut that forded the Haliakmon. Before the construction of the modern motor bridge at Neselli and a railway bridge at Megale Gephyra (Mylovon), the Haliakmon was crossed at these points by ford or ferry¹¹⁸. The existence of similar fords in antiquity, practicable especially during the summer months¹¹⁹, cannot be excluded. On the contrary, it provides the only satisfactory explanation of Philip's movements in the late summer of 360 B.C., which I study elsewhere¹²⁰: coming from the east he ambushed and attacked by surprise the pretender Argaios who was returning from Aigeai to Methone¹²¹. Philip could have accomplished that only by hastening through Nea Chalkedon to Alexandria and Neselli and fording the shallow waters of the Haliakmon, which are at their lowest at that time of the year¹²². This view may have found now archaeological support. On 13 March 1969 Professor Ph. Petsas saw and photographed the remains of a causeway belonging probably to a road running south of the modern national road Beroia-Nea Chalkedon¹²³ (Plate XX). The short-cut linking the crossing of the

118. Cf. L. Heuzey, *Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* (Paris 1860) 182.

119. Cf. Struck 44.

120. "The first weeks of Philip II's Reign" (in preparation). For the date, see M.B. Hatzopoulos, "The Oleveni Inscription and the Dates of Philip II's Reign", in W.L. Adams and E.N. Borza (edd.) *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage* (Washington 1982) 36-37.

121. Diod. 16.3.5; Just. 7.6.6.

122. Cf. Struck 44.

123. Ph. Petsas, «Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά 1968-1970», *Makedonika* 14 (1974) 240-41, no 5. I owe the information about the exact location of the discovery to an oral communication from Professor Petsas.

Haliakmon to the main road, that these remains seem to imply, would have reduced the distance between Pydna and Pella to some 60 km or 40 *m.p.*, which is much more compatible with Livy's and Plutarch's evidence about the movements of Perseus and of Aemilius Paullus after the battle of Pydna. The Macadonian king's course of action in particular would become significantly clearer. For him the quickest way to reach Pella was to follow the main road until after Aloros, to ford the Haliakmon at Neselli and taking the short-cut to join the main road to Pella. Perseus, however, either because the section between Pydna and Aloros was too crowded from the fleeing army and feared lest the Romans would catch up with him ¹²⁴ or because he was genuinely afraid of his own soldiers, as the hostile sources allege¹²⁵, he deviated from the main road at Aiginion and took a path across the Pierian forest, which through the present-day monastery of Sphenitsa leads to the ford¹²⁶.

We can now venture to state our conclusions:

I. From the dawn of Macedonian history in the beginning of Classical times, when Macedonia centred on the banks of the Haliakmon, there had existed a road around the lake and marshes of the Central Plain linking together the cities of the foothills of the Pierians with those of Mt. Bermion and Mt. Nitze. This was the route followed by Themistokles when he came from Molossia to Pydna through Lynkos and apparently also Eordaia and Bottia¹²⁷. This road, although parts of it were reduced to a merely local importance, never ceased to be used throughout Hellenistic and Roman times.

124. Cf. Plut. *Aem.* 22.3-7; cf. Livy 44.44.1-3.

125. Plut. *Aem.* 23.2.

126. There is no way to decide how widely used in Hellenistic times was the shorter road attested by the Livadi milestone. In any case, whether it was fully developed or not – as it seems more probable – Perseus would have followed it up to the point where he had to turn south along less frequently trodden paths (*semitae*), towards the present-day monastery of Sphenitsa and the ford. For the sake of completeness it must be added that, even if Perseus did not use the Neselli ford and rode the whole way through Beroia, Livy's and Plutarch's accounts would still make sense. The king would obviously want to take a short-cut (the latter-day Roman road of the Livadi milestone) which would shorten his ride by 7 km (cf. *supra*).

127. Thuc. 1.131.1; Diod. 11.56.3; cf. Plut. *Them.* 25.

II. As the possessions of the Macedonian kings extended to include the Axios basin, it became gradually necessary to build all season roads reducing travelling distances between the old and the new lands of the realm. Routes that had already existed as primitive paths to be trodden occasionally by transhumant herdsmen, marching armies or a stray wayfarer were now elaborated into regular roads. If one has to express an opinion on the initiator of systematic road construction, Archelaos is the most obvious candidate¹²⁸, although his work was undoubtedly continued by subsequent kings and above all by Philip II¹²⁹. In any case, there is strong fourth century evidence for an elaborate system linking (i) Amphipolis with Edessa, Eordaia and Lynkos along an east-west axis; (ii) Pella (or Allante) with Beroia across the plain east and south of lake Loudiake. There must have also existed a short-cut usable during the good season linking by means of a ford or a ferry at Neselli the Pella-Beroia road with that from Beroia to Pydna and to Pieria beyond. The short-cut across the northeastern part of the long Pierian range seems not to have been fully developed until Roman times.

III. At the end of the Principate military necessities and the growing importance of Thessalonike required the building of a new road, which bypassed completely the cities of the Central Plain and spanned the Axios, the Loudias and the Haliakmon near their mouths, in order to link directly the new Macedonian capital with Pieria and southern Greece. Macedonia was not to dispose again of such an elaborate road system before the second half of the twentieth century.

128. Cf. Thuc. 2.100.2.

129. It is possible that the earliest epigraphic documentation from Macedonian roads goes back to his reign; cf. Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 22-23, with references.

C. Strepsa in Thucydides (1.61.4)

These conclusions, however interesting in themselves, do not bring us any closer to the solution of the problem of Strepsa's location. For the confirmation of Edson's main thesis that in the second half of the Vth century the usual – if not the unique – route from Pydna to Gigonos in the Chalkidike did pass through Beroia is irrelevant to the validity of Pluygers' emendation of the famous passage from the first book of Thucydides' *Histories*.

A road system such as the one we have suggested is indeed compatible with Pluygers' emendation: the Athenian army could have marched first westwards to Beroia and thence eastwards to Strepsa – which on the evidence adduced by Edson and examined in part I can be but very generally located – either by the long “*thearodokoi route*” or more probably by the predecessor of the latter-day main Roman road along the south and east shores of lake Loudiake, and finally from there to Gigonos (at Epanome rather than at Nea Kallikrateia¹³⁰). But it is equally true that this emendation is most definitely *not* required by the road system, which is also compatible with the original reading of the manuscripts¹³¹.

The arguments used by Edson in favour of Pluygers' emendation can be used as well in defence of the unemended text: (1) ἀπανίστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας is not contradicted by ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροϊαν; to Edson's geographical arguments¹³² one could add firstly that ἀπανίστανται is a historical present stressing the beginning of an action whose development is described in the imperfect (ἐπορεύοντο, παρέπλεον) and whose actual completion is signified only at the end of the chapter by the aorists ἀφίκοντο, ἐστρατο-

130. Hammond, *Macedonia* 188; cf. *contra* ATL 540; Edson, “Strepsa” 194; Zahrt 180.

131. Hence Gomme 216 is wrong when he accuses the scholiasts (cf. n. 138 below) of ignoring an insuperable geographical difficulty. Nor is it true, as we shall see, that the original reading makes nonsense, for ἐπιστρέψαντες can have other meanings besides “returning”.

132. Cf. Edson, “Strepsa” 183.

πεδεύσαντο; and secondly that Thucydides had in mind not only the land forces but also the fleet which was sailing directly to the Chalkidike. (2) ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τὴν Ποτειδαίαν does not necessarily imply that the first stage of the Athenian movement from Pydna had taken place by sea; however it does not imply either, as Edson believed,¹³³ that the choice between a land and a sea journey presented itself only *after* the first stage of that movement; it simply signifies that the *whole* movement from Pydna to Poteidaia (or Gigonos) was theoretically equally possible by sea, but that actually the army marched by land and the navy sailed along the coast¹³⁴. (3) Edson took Thucydides' expression κατ' ὀλίγον as implying that the Athenian land forces covered an average of 25 km a day¹³⁵. But, as professor Hammond has kindly suggested to me, an entirely different interpretation of the passage is equally possible: the sentence κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνον follows immediately the one describing the advance of the fleet (ἅμα δὲ νῆες παρέπλεον ἑβδομήκοντα)¹³⁶ and may well have been written with this in mind rather with the advance of the land army. Clearly Pluygers' emendation will have to stand or fall on its other merits and consequently, it can provide no independent evidence for the location of Strepsa.

The original reading of the manuscripts is certainly awkward, but not more so than the one which results from Pluygers' emendation: for no one writes: "arriving to X and thence (arriving) to Y attempting...". If there is nothing to say about X, one just writes: "arriving to Y via X and attempting..."¹³⁷. An even more serious objection is that the ancients did not read *Strepsa* in this passage and clearly understood that the place that the Athenians attempted to storm was not Strepsa but Beroia¹³⁸. If an emendation had to be proposed at all costs, it would be more economical to delete simply

133. Edson, "Strepsa" 183-84.

134. Cf. Geyer 58.

135. Edson, "Strepsa" 184.

136. Thuc. 1.61.4-5.

137. For a similar objection, cf. Alexander 274; cf. Geyer 58.

138. *Schol.* ad Thuc. 1.61.4: τοῦ χωρίου τῆς Βεροίας; cf. Gomme 217 n. 5.

κάκειθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες. But this is hardly necessary. Ἐκειθεν, as in the following chapter (1.62.4), may be used here for the simple ἐκεῖ¹³⁹. Ἐπιστρέψαντες may be intended to convey the sharp turn in direction that an army marching from Pydna to the Chalkidike has to make at Beroia. One could *translate then: “they moved to leave Macedonia, and after reaching Beroia and making from that point a sharp turn, and first attempting but failing to take that place by storm, they continued their march towards Poteidaia by land...”¹⁴⁰. Moreover, with the Athenian attack against Beroia Perdikkas’ movements¹⁴¹, which otherwise would remain incomprehensible, can become more understandable. He had – *pace* Gomme¹⁴² – signed not only a non aggression pact (ξύμβασις) but also an alliance (ξυμμαχία). So he must have followed the first stage of the Athenian march to Poteidaia. The Athenian attack against Beroia, a city of Perdikkas’ realm, the king’s precipitous departure from Macedonia, where he left Iolaos as his regent, his arrival at Poteidaia before the Athenians, are all part of the same new phase of hostilities between Athens and Macedon. Otherwise, if the Athenians had simply attempted to recapture Strepsa, one of their own tributary cities that had revolted¹⁴³, we would be at a loss to understand how and why they should find Perdikkas with an army in Poteidaia, already their enemy

139. LSJ 505. In fact one might detect the nuance “from that point” in the use of ἐκειθεν instead of ἐκεῖ.

140. For other attempts at translating this passage, cf. Alexander 269-70. There is no reason to doubt that, even before Archelaos built the εὐθειαι ὁδοί, it was possible to march across the plain from Beroia to Allante and Therma. This is by no means incompatible with the Vth century evidence at our disposal (cf. Edson, “Strepsa” 176). A reconsideration of the problem of the Thermaic Gulf, in which this evidence would be discussed, has become an urgent necessity [See now *infra* p. 60 n. 161].

141. Thuc. 1.61.3-62.2.; cf. Alexander’s (278 n. 35) embarrassed attempt to explain how Perdikkas, moving by land, would have arrived at Poteidaia before the Athenians, travelling by sea according to his interpretation.

142. Gomme 215. The ξυμμαχία between the Athenians and Perdikkas of Thuc. 1.61.3 is no less of an alliance than the one which the Macedonian king concluded with Poteidaia a few days later (Thuc. 1.62.2: ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνεμάχει τοῖς Ποτειδεάταις).

143. Cf. Edson, “Strepsa” 170, with references.

and the ally of the Peloponnesians¹⁴⁴. Naturally, this can be no more than an alternative interpretation of a very difficult – not to say desperate – passage¹⁴⁵. Its main aim was to show that Pluygers' emendation is not inevitable and that, therefore, it cannot provide any independent evidence for the location of Strepsa. On the other hand the location of Strepsa may affect to a certain extent the validity of Pluygers' emendation; for the closer Strepsa would be situated to Gigonos the less probable would seem the three days advance of the Athenians between the two cities, which is the inescapable consequence of the emendation and which according to its supporters concerns not the fleet but the land army.

In fact, it is possible to obtain a closer approximation of Strepsa's location from the Athenian Tribute Lists. The method was initiated by A.B. West to locate Stolos¹⁴⁶ and was successfully employed by M. Zahrnt for the location of Skapsa and Asseros¹⁴⁷. The cities of the general area defined in the first part of this study (the western half of the Chalkidike and Mygdonia) which are listed immediately before or after Strepsa are: Olynthos (1), Skabla (2), Aison (2)¹⁴⁸, Skapsa (1), Neapolis (2). If we take into consideration the names whose location

144. Geyer's (p. 57-58) objection that Thucydides words (1.62.2) can only mean that Perdikkas was responsible for the breakdown of the Attico-macedonian alliance (cf. Gomme 216 with earlier references) is not convincing. Thucydides gives no explanation at all for Perdikkas' changing of sides, which must remain a matter of conjecture. As for Perdikkas' unwillingness to attack the Athenians alone after their attempt against Beroia, it is simply due to his inferior military forces which were no match for the 3.000 Athenian hoplites, their numerous allies and Philip's and Derdas' 600 horsemen. Geyer's hypothesis that Beroia was not under the control of Perdikkas but of Philip and Derdas introduces an unnecessary complication.

145. For two different interpretations, cf. G.A. Papantoniou. «Θουκυδίδεια», *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes Athenon* 9 (1958-1959) 406-409 and J. Papastavrou, «Μακεδονική Πολιτική κατά τὸν Ε΄ π.Χ. αἰῶνα: Περδίκκας Β΄», *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes Athenon* 10 (1959-1960) 190 (I owe the reference to the first paper to my colleague Despoina Diamantourou).

146. A.G. West, "Thucydides V, 18, 5: Where was Skolos (Stolos)?", *AJP* 58 (1937) 157-73.

147. Zahrnt 162-66 and 231-33.

148. *ATL* 466-67: "within the reach of Perdikkas, on the Thermaic Gulf".

is known (with the exception of Neapolis in Pallene, which seems adventitious) they define a triangle with its base extending from Spartolos in the west to Skabla in the east through Olynthos and its apex at Skapsa at the north-west. The cities which appear with Strepsa in "closed geographical sequences"¹⁴⁹ are: Olynthos (2), Skabla (2), Haison (3), Spartolos (2), Stagiros (3), Thyssos (3), Dion (3), Neapolis (2), Aige (2), Sermylia (1), Stolos (1), Phegetioi (2), Asseros (1), Skapsa (1), Pharbelos (1?), Sane (1), Olophyxos (2), Mende (1), (Serme ?1), Thrambe (1), Akanthos (1). If we now group the appearances of these place names by geographical order, we observe that four of them are from the east coast of the Chalkidike, nine from the Akte, six from the Pallene and that twelve fall within the triangle defined above. For this reason I think that Strepsa must be sought within or in the close vicinity of this area, i.e. between Mt. Chortiates, Mt. Cholomon and the Thermaic Gulf and in any case neither to the north nor to the north-west of this area.

We may now combine this result with the evidence from the Hellanikos¹⁵⁰ fragment. As both the editors of the Athenian Tribute Lists¹⁵¹ and Edson¹⁵² have convincingly argued, the Lesbian historian must have mentioned Strepsa in connexion with Xerxes' march from the Hellespont to Greece¹⁵³. Since it is not mentioned in Herodotus' very detailed description of the coastal route, it was probably located on the direct inland route from Akanthos to Therme. In that case the most likely ancient sites are those of Galatista¹⁵⁴ and even more

149. The sequences are closed at each end either by the names of cities outside Chalkidike and Mygdonia or by *lacunae*. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences.

150. *FGrHist.* 4 F 61.

151. *ATL* 551.

152. Edson, "Strepsa" 171.

153. Cf. J.L. Myres, *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford 1953) 227 and, on insufficient grounds, *contra* D. Müller, "Von Doriskos nach Therme", *Chiron* 5 (1975) 8-11.

154. For the ancient remains discovered at Galatista, see Edson, "Strepsa" 171-72 with notes 38-39 on page 186; cf. Zahrnt 153.

probably¹⁵⁵, of Basilika¹⁵⁶. So Pausanias, starting from his base at Kalindoia¹⁵⁷, which has been now convincingly identified with the ancient site by Kalamoton¹⁵⁸, must have crossed the mountain barrier between the plain of Zangliverion and that of Basilika through the depression between Mt. Chortiates and Mt. Cholomon at Hagios Prodromos and proceeded to Salonica (Therma) through Galatista (Anthemous) and Basilika (Strepsa). Aischines mentioning Therma before Strepsa, must have – as Edson had cautioned¹⁵⁹ – simply inverted the order in which these cities were conquered. Such a location of Strepsa, some 35 to 50 km to the east of Gigonos, and

155. Edson, “Strepsa” 171-72 argues convincingly that Galatista should be identified with Anthemous. This apparently had also been the opinion of the Greek administration, which after the First World War had renamed Galatista Anthemous; cf. *contra* Hammond, *Macedonia* 190, who prefers to locate Anthemous at Basilika. However, the location of Anthemous at Galatista is more likely. Anthemous maintained its status of a city after its (re)incorporation to the Macedonian state down to the Roman conquest and beyond, if one should trust Pliny’s (*NH* 4.36) evidence. Strepsa disappears from our literary sources after 360 B.C., which suggests that it did not survive as an autonomous city after its (re)conquest by Philip II. The epigraphic evidence from Galatista (comprising two unpublished decrees of the Hellenistic and the Early Roman period respectively) shows that the ancient settlement located there maintained its status of autonomous city until after the Roman conquest. On the other hand, the latest (and unique) public document from Basilika is a deed of sale of the IVth century B.C. Moreover, as Hammond (*Macedonia* 183) has suggested, “if the name Strepsa is meaningful”, we need a site at a cross-roads. Such is precisely the case of Basilika, whence, as B.D.Meritt (“Evidence for the Site of Spartolus”, *AJA* 27 [1923] 335) has long noted, started a route, perpendicular to the east-west Galatista-Basilika axis, which lead south to Poteidaia.

156. For the ancient remains discovered at Basilika see Zahrnt 153, with references, to which should be added Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 24 (1969) *Chronika* 304; *eiusdem*, «Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά 1968-1970», *Makedonika* 15 (1975) 175, and the inscriptions published (or republished) by D. Feissel and M. Sève, “La Chalcidique vue par Charles Avezou”, *BCH* 103 (1979) 286-88, nos 7 and 8.

157. *IG* IV 94, Ib 13.

158. J. Vokotopoulou, «Ἡ ἐπιγραφή τῶν Καλινδοίων», *Ancient Macedonia IV* (forthcoming); cf. M.B. Hatzopoulos, “La Béotie et la Macédoine à l’époque de l’hégémonie thébaine: le point de vue macédonien”, *La Béotie antique* (Paris 1985) 248.

159. Edson, “Strepsa” 173; cf. also Gomme 218.

consequently far outside the normal route of an army marching from Beroia to Poteidaia, constitutes an additional strong argument against Pluygers' emendation. Thus, after all, Edson's earlier thesis that "the tribute lists offer no evidence for Athenian control of any place on the north coast of the Thermaic Gulf north of Cape Aineia during the fifth century or on the west coast of the gulf before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War"¹⁶⁰ seems to have been closer to the truth than its subsequent revision¹⁶¹.

160. Ch. Edson, "Notes on the Thracian Phoros", *CP* 42 (1947) 88.

161. A notable consequence of this conclusion is that the impressive archaic and classical necropolis of Sindos and the adjoining "table" of Anchialos, which have been identified by the excavator either with Strepsa or with Chalastra (cf. Ai. Despoini in *Σίνδος, Κατάλογος της Έκθέσεως* [Athens 1985] 12) should now be definitely attributed to the latter city. In fact the site of Sindos-Anchialos satisfies both requirements of ancient evidence (cf. Hdt. 7.123) by being simultaneously on the coast and on the (ancient) course of the Axios river (cf. Ai. Despoini, *Praktika* 1982, 64-65).

[Due to the advanced stage of typesetting of this volume, it was not possible to take into consideration some very recent developments affecting a number of questions examined in it. The first one consists in a new IIIrd century inscription from Kassandreia, mentioning an estate in the territory of Strepsa. Unfortunately, this new piece of evidence, which I hope to be given permission to publish soon, does not indicate the location of Strepsa. At least, it is not incompatible with the conclusions reached here. The second one is a long article by M. Zahrnt, ("Die Entwicklung des makedonischen Reiches bis zu den Perserkriegen", *Chiron* 14 [1984] 325-68), which, among other things, attempts to rehabilitate (pp. 334-41) the view initiated by A. S. Struck (*Makedonische Fahrten. II. Die makedonische Niederlande* [Sarajevo 1908] 95-96) that the Thermaic Gulf in the Vth century B.C. extended as far as the foothills of Mt. Bermion and Mt. Paikon. By a remarkable coincidence, a series of articles by E. Kirsten and Ilona Opelt ("Die Entstehung der Kampania von Thessalonike durch die Mundungsveränderungen von Haliakmon, Loudias und Axios im Altertum und Mittelalter", *Δώρημα στον 'Ι. Καραγιαννόπουλο, Βυζαντινά* 13 [1985] 219-60) written independently and apparently without knowledge of either Zahrnt's study or my researches in the ancient topography of the Central Plain, definitely refute Struck's hypothesis. Among the many interesting points raised there, it is only possible to mention here 1) Kirsten's use of the milestones (more or less accurately reported to him) for the establishing of the Beroia-Pella road (p. 232, n. 28), 2) his suggestion that "perhaps... the original centre of the civic territory of Aloros" lay at the "tomba" of Alamboron - i.e. the "table" of Kypsele - (p. 233) and 3) his identification of Chalastra with Gephyra (Topsin) and of Strepsa with Nea Anchialos (Inglis), which, however, cannot be accepted for reasons developed in two other monographs, one already published (Gounaropoulou-Hatzopoulos 62-71) and the second in preparation (M.B. Hatzopoulos - L. D. Loukopoulou, *Morrylos* ("Meletemata" 5; forthcoming).]

L.D. LOUKOPOULOU

PROVINCIAE MACEDONIAE FINIS ORIENTALIS :
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EASTERN FRONTIER

After the abolition of the Antigonid kingdom the easternmost limits of Roman rule in the Balkan peninsula coincided with those of Macedonian domination in Thrace on the eve of the battle of Pydna*. It has now been ascertained that the last Antigonid kings succeeded to the end in maintaining control of western Thrace – at least of the area between the rivers Nestos and Hebros¹. However, after the Second Macedonian War and despite Philip V's undoubtedly "exemplary" behaviour throughout Rome's war against Antiochos III and the invaluable help he offered to the army of Lucius Cornelius Scipio, it became clear that Rome was disposed neither to mitigate her mistrust nor to waive her decision to control and limit the ambitions and power of the Macedonian king. With the peace of Apameia (188 B.C.) Rome awarded the Thracian Chersonese to her faithful ally Eumenes II of Pergamon (197-159 B.C.), thus putting a final end to Antigonid plans for expansion in that direction. The last Macedonian kings refused to acknowledge the new arrangement; they employed every means – as far as the oppressive situation faced in the the last years of the life of the kingdom permitted – to restore their influence in south-eastern Thrace². But already the establishment of Attalid domination in the Chersonese and the obstinate, though unfounded, claims which the Pergamene kings skilfully pressed to lands between the Nestos and the Hebros compelled the Antigonid kings to abandon the offensive and confine their efforts, military and diplomatic, to the preservation of what they had tacitly recovered.

After the battle of Pydna the Thracian possessions of the last Antigonids followed the fate of Macedonia. The passages of Livy and

* The present text is a revised and extensively developed form of a report presented at the 4th International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia (Thessalonike, Sept. 1983).

1. M. B. Hatzopoulos, "La politique thrace des derniers Antigonides", *Pulpuveva* 4 (1983) 80-87.

2. It is significant that in 174 B.C. Perseus rushed to the support of Byzantion threatened by Thracian invaders. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *op. cit.* 84 and note 32 with relevant sources and bibliography.

Diodorus which describe the settlement of Macedonian affairs by L. Aemilius Paullus at Amphipolis (spring 167 B.C.) leave no doubt that the coastal area east of the Nestos was assigned to the first – the easternmost – of the Macedonian *partes*: the Latin text speaks of *vici, castella, oppida, praeter Aenum et Maroneam et Abdera*³, the Greek of ἐρύματα τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν τοῦ Νέστου καὶ τὰ πρὸς Ἄβδηρα καὶ Μαρώνειαν καὶ Αἶνον πόλεις⁴. Indeed, the three cities were declared *civitates liberae*⁵.

It is evident that Rome saw no advantage in undoing the work of Philip V and Perseus in western Thrace, nor in abandoning to the Thracian menace the defensive system which ensured control of the road to the East⁶; the importance and danger of this she had already had fair opportunity to assess⁷. While, however, she neither wished nor was in a position at the time, to herself assume the role which the Antigonids had successfully played in this strategic area, equally she was not disposed to relinquish it to the kings of Pergamon, being determined to safeguard the existing but already precarious balance of power and to curb their European ambitions, which sooner or later would clash with Roman interests. This policy was bound to release those forces, which had been held in check for decades, over and above diplomatic means, by the weapons and the administrative ingenuity of the last Antigonids⁸.

It is significant that the expansionist aspirations of the pro-Roman powers had already manifested themselves before the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War in an attempt which they hoped to develop at the negotiating table. In 171 B.C., prompted probably by

3. Livy 45.29. 5-7.

4. Diod. 31.8.8; cf. Strabo VII Frg. 48 (47 Loeb): Ἔβρος... τῆς Μακεδονίας φησὶ τοῦτο ὄριον, ἣν ἀφείλοντο Περσέα Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ψευδοφίλιππον.

5. Danov, *ANRW* 99. The recent publication of an inscription preserving the text of an alliance between Rome and Maronea (D. Triantaphyllos, «Συμμαχία Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μαρωνιτῶν», *Thrakike Epeteris* 4 (1983) (1985) 419-416 provides a better understanding of the legal status of the three Greek cities of the Thracian coast of the Aegean. On this matter, see our Appendix, *infra* p. 101.

6. See Hatzopoulos, «Politarques» n. 54.

7. Cf. *infra* n. 26.

8. On the military organisation of Thrace under the last Antigonids, see most recently Hatzopoulos, «Politarques» 141 and n. 67.

Eumenes and in cooperation with his general Korrhagos, Autlesbis, the *regulus* of a Thracian tribe of the area, attempted to extend his sway at the expense of Kotys, king of the Odrysai⁹. The theory that Autlesbis was one of the first rulers of the Kainoi¹⁰, recent allies of Rome, is supported by the fact that his realm had common boundaries with the European possessions of Eumenes, also an ally of Rome, and with the territory of Kotys, still a faithful ally of Perseus. From the haste with which the latter despatched Kotys to defend his threatened frontier – the attack had broken out *in Cotyis fines* –, the gifts and the large sum which the Macedonian king paid to his ally – Perseus in fact appears to have prepaid the services of Kotys' army for six months¹¹, as if the latter were going to continue to fight on his account – reveal that the Macedonian possessions in the same area¹² were at least as much endangered, perhaps even more so.

The situation was considerably aggravated after the final defeat of Perseus. The first to move was Kotys, who did not hesitate to side with the Romans¹³: he attempted to appropriate the westernmost part of the disputed region. The famous decree of Abdera of about 166 B.C., honouring the Teians¹⁴, who mediated with the Roman Senate to protect Abdera's interests from the expansionist aims of the Thracian king¹⁵, is revealing about the dangers which, because of the power vacuum, threatened the Greek cities on the Aegean coast of Thrace.

9. Livy 42. 67. 4-5.

10. Hatzopoulos, «Politarques» n. 58, with bibliography.

11. We follow here Meloni's (249 and n.2) interpretation of Livy's obscure passage (42.67.5).

12. *I.e.* the ἐρύματα beyond the Nestos (Diod. 31.8.8), the *vici, castella, oppida* (Livy 45. 29.5-7), which delimited Macedonian sovereignty as far as the river Hebros and Ainos and which Eumenes II had never ceased to covet. Danov's (ANRW 98) location of the region *Marene*, briefly captured by the united Pergamene and Thracian forces, is only acceptable in the above context (cf. the etymological interpretation proposed by Detschew 287 s. v. *Marene*).

13. Cf. E. Condurachi ("Kotys, Rome et Abdère", *Latomus* 29 [1970] 581-94; cf. J. and L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1972, 270), who attempt to explain Rome's unexpected readiness to bestow her favours on Phillip V's most faithful ally.

14. *SIG*³ 656; L. Robert, "Sur un décret d' Abdère", *BCH* 59 (1935) 507-13; the text was reviewed by P. Herrmann (*ZPE* 7 [1971], 72-77; cf. J. and L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1971, 564).

15. For Kotys' ethnic identity and that of his kingdom, see Danov, *ANRW* 76 and 103-104.

Indeed, if Kotys' claims on Abderitan territory¹⁶ are evidence that the latter bordered his own state¹⁷, one is forced to conclude that this immediate contiguity was the result of Kotys' recent expansion at the expense of part at least of the "Macedonian" zone, which had been specifically annexed to the first *meris*. Most likely, Kotys had hastened to extend his rule over his southern neighbours, the Sapaioi, whose territory¹⁸ had been subjected to Macedonian rule or suzerainty following Abroupolis' defeat by Perseus in 179 B.C.¹⁹.

It has been contended that the decades which followed are characterised by the apparent disintegration of the kingdom of the Odrysaï and the emergence of new powers in Thrace²⁰. The former is inferred from the gradual eclipse of the Odrysaï in historical sources; the decree of Abdera of 166 B.C.²¹ is the last mention of the activities of Kotys²². Indeed, the Kainoi appear briefly on the historical scene

16. Cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 507-13.

17. Hatzopoulos, "Politarques" n. 58.

18. For the zone of Sapaian rule see in particular Meloni 61-62, with the relevant source material and bibliography.

19. Polyb. 23.18.2; Livy 42.41.11. See also Meloni 67 and 169. Danov (*ANRW* 76) speaks of hostile relations between Abroupolis and Kotys and credits the latter with the repulse of the Sapaioi from the area of Mt. Pangaion. In the relevant sources (cf. Meloni, *loc. cit.*; G. Kazarow, s.v. Sapaioi, *RE Suppl.* 6 [1935] 647 ff.; Jones 377 and nn. 8-10) Perseus is said to have faced Abroupolis' attack alone.

20. Danov, *ANRW* 110-11.

21. Cf. *supra* n. 14.

22. E. Condurachi (*Latomus* 29 [1979] 585 ff.) supports that the mediation of the Teian ambassadors was probably fruitless: the disputed *πάτριος χώρα* of Abdera was awarded to Kotys by the Senate and was only restored to the Abderitans three centuries later by Hadrian. This is confirmed by an honorary inscription from Paradeisos on the Nestos, in which the city of Abdera thanks the emperor ἀπολαβοῦσα τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν διὰ τὴν οὐράνιον αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν... διατεθέντων μέχρι ποταμοῦ Μέστου (G. Bakalakis, *Thrakika* 8 [1937] 26 ff.; cf. Robert, *Etudes* 192, n.3). It is true that the decree of Abdera of 166 B.C. gives no clue to whether the request of the Teian legation was granted (cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 59 [1935] 153 = *OMS* I, 326). Nevertheless, the Paradeisos inscription, though it undoubtedly refers to the restoration of part of the *πάτριος χώρα* of Abdera, is not in the least clear as to whether it concerns that particular part which Kotys had claimed (Robert, *Etudes* 192, n. 3: "je ne veux pas dire que le territoire soit le même"). All the more so as it seems hard to accept that in A.D. 123 there came to an end "un procès de propriété ouvert environ trois siècles auparavant" since, as we shall see later, one of the opponents, the Odrysaï, soon disappeared from the historical scene and southwest Thrace bowed to successive overlords.

around the middle of the second century B.C.; their activities are linked with the fortunes of the Thracian lands beyond the eastern frontier of the province of Macedonia.

It has already been noted that with the peace of Apameia the European possessions of Antiochos III passed under the rule of Pergamon²³. Irrespective of the extent of Seleucid domination in Thrace and of the subsequently repeated claims made by Eumenes²⁴, that of the Attalid bridgehead on European territory was limited. As Kahrstedt has maintained, it must be considered to have extended essentially from the head of the Gulf of Melas to the western frontier of the territory of Perinthos²⁵. The presence of the Kainoi in the area north of the territory of Lysimacheia, a presence already painfully felt from the morrow of the peace of Apameia²⁶, leaves no doubt that the mainland zone which links the lower reaches of the Hebros with the Propontis was not under the control of the Pergamon rulers. In fact the extent of Attalid dominions in Europe is delimited by a number of epigraphical testimony: two inscriptions from the Thracian Chersonese south of the isthmus²⁷ and six from Panidon on the Propontis²⁸, three

23. Cf. Kahrstedt 47; also Hansen 94 and n. 62 with the relevant bibliography.

24. For Eumens II's claims to the Aegean coast of Thrace, cf. Hansen 106 ff., where the problem of the relations of the Attalids to the Macedonian kingdom is examined.

25. See the argumentation of Kahrstedt 47 f.; Walbank, "Via" 144.

26. In 188 B.C. an attack of the Astai, Kainoi, Madyatenoi and Korpiloi (?) was launched against the army of the consul Gnaius Manlius Volso marching to the west of Kypsela on its way back from Asia (Livy 38. 40 ff.). Philip V is said (App. *Mac.* 9.5; cf. *eiusdem*, *Syr.* 43) to have broken through these hostile tribes, settled upon the difficult (οὐκ εὐμαρῆς) road which led across Macedonia and Thrace to the Hellespont, when he had escorted the legions of Scipio in Asia against Antiochos III. In our view, this should be roughly the same area in which Autlesbis had been operating in 171 B.C., when he threatened the frontiers of Kotys and Perseus (cf. *supra*, p. 65).

27. (1) *IK* 19, no 1 (from Sestos) with bibliography; cf. also L. Robert, *RN* 1973, 49-53; N. F. Jones, *ANSMuseum Notes* 24 (1979) 84-90; more recently, P. Gauthier, *RevPhil* 1982, 226-31 and J. and L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1983, 271.

(2) T. Reinach, *CRAI* 1917, 25-28; cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 52 (1928) 441; J. et L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1955, 156 (from Elaiou): Βασιλεῖ Ἀττάλῳ | Βασιλέως Ἀττάλου | φιλαδέλφῳ, σωτήρι καὶ | εὐεργέτη τῆς πόλεως | ὁ δῆμος.

28. (1) *OGIS* 301; better, E. Kalinka, *ÖJhBeibl* 23 (1926) 151, no 879: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Εὐμένου σωτήρος | καὶ εὐ[ργ]έτου κα[ῖ] κτίστου τῆς πό[λεως] καὶ τῶν

of which actually refer to Eumenes II²⁹.

The crisis which arose in the relations between Rome and Pergamon after the Third Macedonian War did not allow Eumenes to contest Rome's decision on the fate of the lands between the Nestos and the Hebros. Moreover, in the decades following the defeat of Perseus developments in Asia Minor certainly absorbed Attalid interest and energies³⁰, to the point where they risked losing the famous "European bridgehead"³¹. Thracian tribes in the area, who appear to have offered support to the Pseudo-Philip (Andriskos)³², probably in the hope of territorial rewards, profited from the disturbance created by the escalation of the war to extend their dominion over Thracian territory belonging to the Attalids. Lysimacheia, and probably other cities and forts of the European bridgehead, experienced unheard-of devastation under the blows of Diegylis, king of the Kainoi³³, who attempted to eliminate every trace

ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλείσσης Στρατονείκης Διόδωρο[ς] | Ἀρριδαίου Δι[Σω]τῆρι
καὶ Ἀθην[ᾶι] | Νικηφόρωι κ[αί] | Ἀπόλλωνι Π[υθίωι].

(2) OGIS 302: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Εὐμένου | Φιλαδέλφου | θεοῦ καὶ εὐεργέτου Δημητρίου
Ποσειδωνίου.

(3) OGIS 303: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ἀττάλου | Φιλαδέλφου | καὶ βασιλείσσης |
Στρατονίκης | Ζωτᾶς | Δημητρίου.

(4) OGIS 304: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Ἀττάλου | Φιλαδέλφου | καὶ βασιλείσσης |
Στρατονίκης | Ἐστιάος | Ἰζιμάρτου.

(5) Dumont-Homolle 407, no 81a: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Εὐμένου θεοῦ | σωτήρος καὶ |
[εὐε]ργέτου κα[ι---].

(6) G. Lambousiadis, *Thrakika* 15 (1941) 114 (fac-simile): Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Ἀττάλου
φιλαδέλφου καὶ βασιλείσσης | Στρατονίκης | Ἀθηνόδωρος | [Ἡρακ]λείτου | [Δι
Σωτ]ῆρι καὶ | [Ἀθην]ᾶι Νικηφόρωι).

With these inscriptions and with the Attalid rule over south-east Thrace L. Robert ("Notes d' épigraphie hellénistique XXXII. Un document pergamémien", *BCH* 52 [1928] 439-41) associated a fragmentary honorary inscription from Bizye (E. Kalinka, "Altes und Neues aus Thrakien", *ÖJhBeibl* 23 [1926] 119, no 3). Later however the eminent epigraphist withdrew this hypothesis (Robert, *Villes* 77, n. 3; cf. Hopp 97, n. 212).

29. *Supra* n. 28, nos 1, 2 and 5.

30. For a brief review and discussion of the sources and bibliography, see Will 379-85 and Hopp 55 ff.

31. Kahrstedt 50.; "europäischer Brückenkopf".

32. See recently Will 387-89 with the relevant sources and bibliography.

33. Hopp 97, n. 211. The Sestos inscription mentioned above (note 27.1) reveals that this city also suffered the consequences of the attack of the Kainoi.

not simply of Attalid, but more radically, Greek presence on the shores of the Thracian coast which marched with his kingdom³⁴. The already elderly Attalos II (159/58-138 B.C.), who had collaborated with the Romans to suppress Andriskos' revolt, hastened to re-establish his control over the Chersonese in 145 B.C.³⁵; he defeated Diegylis and subjugated his kingdom³⁶, an important part of which would appear to have been annexed to Pergamon's European possessions³⁷.

This time Rome did not react. By 148 B. C., having already realized the disadvantages of the policy which had dictated the first settlement of Macedonian affairs, she abandoned the principle of indirect rule and placed the lands of Macedonia and Illyria under her direct control by the creation of the *provincia Macedonia* which encompassed the four *merides*. In the light of this new state of affairs she tolerated the extension of Attalid domination at the expense of her former allies, the Kainoi, in whose fidelity it was by now clear that she could place no faith. As to Pergamon's new European acquisitions, it would seem that these must be identified as the Attalid royal domains, the well-known *agri Attalici in Cherroneso*³⁸, which the Roman republic inherited some years later on the death of the last Attalid king. Indeed, the attested survival of a number of cities in the

34. Only thus can the atrocities committed against the defeated populations and also against those of his Thracian subjects who showed Greek sympathies be interpreted (cf. Diod. 33. 15).

35. Rightly Hansen (p. 139) maintains that, as in the Macedonian and the Achaian wars, Attalos did not personally participate in the campaign against the Kainoi because of his advanced age. The campaign was probably headed by Strato who is mentioned in the Sestos inscription as στρατηγός τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκην τόπων. Cf. Hopp 97, n. 211 and 212 for the arguments which permit the dating of the campaign.

36. Strabo 13.4.2 (C 624): ἐχειρώσατο δὲ (sc. Ἄτταλος) καὶ Διήγυλιν τὸν Καινῶν βασιλέα στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Θράκην; Pomp. Trogus, *Proleg* 36: *rex Asiae Caenos Thracas subegit*.

37. Hopp (p. 98) associates the Elaious inscription honouring Attalos II as σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως (cf. *supra* n. 27.2) with the fortunate outcome of this war.

38. Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.50: *adiugit agros Bithyniae regios, quibus nunc publicani fruuntur; deinde Attalicos agros in Cherroneso...*

Thracian Chersonese proper, at least until the first century A.D.³⁹, leaves no margin for considerable royal domain land. On the contrary, the adjacent mainland zone annexed after the defeat of the Kainoi, which we do not know then to have had a single city, could easily be regarded as the property of the crown and organised accordingly.

It was perhaps at this time also that the Attalid στρατηγία τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκην τόπων was created for the first time. It is mentioned in two inscriptions, one of which is directly connected with the war against the Kainoi⁴⁰, while the other⁴¹, dating after 129 B.C., refers to the period following the war. On the contrary, there are no indications of a systematic administrative or military organisation of the Attalid bridgehead for the period from the annexation of the Chersonese in 188 B.C. to the subjugation of the Kainoi; apparently, the limited extent of this bridgehead, together with

39. The survival of Sestos, Elaios and Alopeknesos in the Chersonese and of Bisanthe on the northwest shore of the Propontis during the period of Attalid domination is confirmed (Kahrstedt 48 ff.; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V [1948] 35-38). However, important epigraphical evidence recently discovered (in 1978) at Sestos (*IK* 19, no 4) reveals the survival – or the revival – of other cities: Limnai, Kallipolis, the city of the Skopaitai unknown from other sources, and two other cities whose names are incompletely preserved and which cannot be restored with certainty. (Moreover, the inscription considered by its editor to be a grave monument, includes besides the cities of the Chersonese at least one city of the opposite shore of the Troad). Vaguely dated by the editor on external evidence (the shape of the letters) to the first century B.C. or A.D., the inscription also lists Lysimacheia ([ὁ] δ[ῆ]μος ὁ Λυσι[μ]αχέ[ων]), which was thought to have been definitely destroyed during the invasion of the Kainoi around 145 B.C. The subject demands elaboration. Another grave monument, also from Sestos (*IK* 19, no. 3), reveals the names of still more cities of the Chersonese: Madytos and Flaviopolis. The latter's mention gives the *terminus post quem* for dating the inscription to the last decades of the first century A.D.

40. *OGIS* 330; *GIBM* IV 2, no. 1001; Robert, *Villes* 76-78: --- | νοὶ οἱ ἐκ Νακαλείας | στρατιῶται οἱ διαβάν[τες ἐν τῷ] ἰε' ἔτει εἰς | τοὺς κατὰ Χερρόνη|σον καὶ Θράκην τό|πους εὐχ[ήν]. The inscription, a dedication of the soldiers who participated in the campaign against the Kainoi, is dated to the fifteenth year of the rule of Attalos II, i.e. to 146/45 B.C.

41. The famous decree of Sestos for the gymnasiarchos Menas (*IK* 19, no 1; *supra* n. 27.1.). On this *strategia* see Bengtson II, 209 ff.; also M. Holleaux, *Etudes* II (Paris 1938) 86-87.

the fact that it was partitioned amongst the “free”⁴² Greek cities of the Chersonese, did not justify the creation of a specific *strategia*. Indeed, according to an inscription from a city near Prousa (perhaps Apollonia on the Rhyndakos)⁴³, Korrhagos, the general of Eumenes II who headed the Thracian campaign in 171 B.C., bore the title of στρατηγὸς τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τόπων (i.e. of Hellespontine Phrygia)⁴⁴. It is therefore more probable than not that originally, and pending a satisfactory settlement of the territorial claims of the Attalid king, the Chersonese came under his jurisdiction as part of the Hellespontine *strategia*⁴⁵. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that although Diegylis had earlier, in 149 B.C., offered support to the enemies of Pergamon⁴⁶; when he finally launched his attack against the Chersonese he does not seem to have encountered any kind of military resistance. Possibly, indeed, it is not mere coincidence that the only two pieces of evidence for a στρατηγός and στρατηγία τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκην τόπων are precisely associated with the events of the period from 145 B.C. to the end of the Pergamene kingdom; a period in which the significant enlargement of the bridgehead, especially in non-urbanised areas, the restoration of the ruined cities and the resettlement of the afflicted population urgently required measures of systematic administrative and military organisation in an area which, over and above its strategic value, had come to acquire a considerable economic importance for the crown.

The second of the inscriptions mentioned above is the decree of Sestos in honour of the gymnasiarchos Menas, son of Menes⁴⁷. The

42. There is no doubt that Sestos and the other Greek cities of the Chersonese under Pergamene rule maintained, nominally at least, the status of “free” cities. See Walbank, “Via” 142; also Hansen 168-70.

43. *SEG* 2 (1924) 663. Cf. in particular Bengtson II, 211 ff.

44. *Ibidem* 213, where Bengtson systematically examines the regional administration of the Pergamene kingdom after the peace of Apameia and attempts an analysis and interpretation of all the evidence concerning the institution and the *strategoí* whose names are preserved in the sources.

45. This is undoubtedly a case when, as Strabo (13.1.22 C 591; *infra* n. 61) records, governorships were not delimited by continents.

46. Being the κηδεστής (father in law) of king Prousius II of Bithynia, Diegylis had secured him a force of five hundred Thracians. Cf. Hopp 89.

47. Cf. *supra* n. 27. 1.

part of the text devoted to the purely political and diplomatic activities of the respected magistrate, who expended his life and his fortune for the common good (lines 10 - 26), constitutes a kind of city chronicle, covering several of the last decades of Attalid rule. It is noteworthy, perhaps, that more than one period can be distinguished: a first (lines 10 -12), when Menas and the envoys of the city address the kings on civic matters as though there were no intermediate responsible administrative authority; a second (lines 12 - 16), during which all negotiations take place with a certain Strato, the στρατηγὸς τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκην τόπων, quite possibly the only holder of this office, if, as we have suggested, this *strategia* was only established in 145 B.C. The third and last period (lines 16 ff.) is quite clearly stated to have started with the death of the last Attalid (134 or 133 B.C.)⁴⁸, when the paralysis of the central military and administrative system left the city exposed to serious danger and forced it to seek help from the Roman generals operating in Asia (132 - 129 B.C.).

In fact, the confused situation which ensued after the death of Attalos III and the publication of his famous will once again laid his European possessions open to the Thracian danger, and to something else as well⁴⁹. The moves made by Zibelmios, son of Diegylis, to resuscitate his father's kingdom⁵⁰ provoked fear and justifiably prompted the Sestians' recourse to Rome; this in turn leaves it to be inferred that the city, like the entire Chersonese, had been left unprotected, probably because the *strategos* and his troops had departed, had perhaps even made common cause with Aristonikos' party and had hastened to his support⁵¹. The continuation of the text is probably suggestive of serious civil unrest, which can only be attributed to the activities of a faction which urged the city to side with the rebels. It is more than plausible that in the first phase of the war, when Aristonikos sought to secure control of the shores of Asia Minor, he would have attempted to win over a harbour of Sestos'

48. See A.N. Sherwin-White, "Roman involvement in Anatolia 167 - 88 B.C.", *JRS* 67 (1977) 68, n. 40.

49. *IK* 19, no 1, lines 17-18: ...διὰ τε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γειτνιώντων Θρακῶν φόβον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰφνιδίου περιστάσεως ἐπιστάντων χαλεπῶν...

50. See Hopp 111, n. 125 for the relevant sources.

51. See Hansen 151 and, more recently, Will 419-20 with bibliography.

importance⁵². At this critical juncture Menas appears to have acted decisively, and this may explain the gratitude expressed by his fellow citizens when they lavished honours upon him: by some unknown means he restrained the anti-Roman party and succeeded in aligning the city with Rome⁵³.

Amongst the Roman generals to whom the citizens of Sestos sent ambassadors must be counted Marcus Cosconius, “then” (*i.e.*, in the years 135 - 133 B.C.⁵⁴) - “praetor in Macedonia”⁵⁵, who is known to have received an embassy from Kyzikos; indeed, it is quite possible that he was the first governor of Macedonia to be sent to Asia probably at the head of military forces if, as has been maintained⁵⁶, he is the Roman Marcus Cosconius, son of Caius, honoured in an inscription from Erythrai⁵⁷.

However, the fate of the European possessions of the Attalids after the establishment of the province of Asia in 129 B.C. remains obscure. It is usually believed that the Thracian Chersonese, in fact the Attalid στρατηγία τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκην τόπων, was annexed to the province of Macedonia, whose eastern border must consequently be assumed to have been extended to the east as far as the limits of the territory of Perinthos⁵⁸. U. Kahrstedt, however, has cast doubt on the evidence on which this view rests – a few remarks by Cicero on the limits of the jurisdiction of the governor of Macedonia in the mid-first century B.C.⁵⁹, and epigraphical

52. On the importance of Sestos, cf. Strabo 13.1.22 C 591.

53. The vagueness of the phrasing is noteworthy: the Sestians had no interest in mentioning the anti-Roman activities of their fellow-citizens which had probably been covered up on time and eventually hushed up in order to avert reprisals.

54. Sarikakis I, 44-45; Papazoglou, *ANRW* 312, n. 35. Cf. Magie 1038, n. 13.

55. *IGRR* IV 134 (from Kyzikos), lines 9-10: ...πρὸς Μάρκον Κοσκώνιο[ν τὸ]ν ἐμ Μακεδονίᾳ τότε στρατηγόν...

56. F. Münzer, s.v. Cosconius (8), *RE* 4 (1901) 1669; T. Robert and S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York 1951-52) I, 489 and Suppl. 21; cf. also Magie 1038, n. 13.

57. *IGRR* IV 1537.

58. Stein 80; Patsch 26, n. 2; H. Last in *CAH* IX (1923) 107; Magie 155 and 1044, n. 29; Bengston II 232. This view has been restated recently by Danov (*ANRW* 105) and Walbank (“Via” 141); F. Papazoglou (*ANRW* 302 ff.) does not appear to espouse it.

59. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 24 (56 B.C.) and *Pis.* which refers to the two year rule of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus in Macedonia (57-55 B.C.).

testimony to the building activity of the VIIth Legion, the Macedonica, on the isthmus of the Chersonese⁶⁰. Basing his argument on a misinterpretation of a passage in Strabo⁶¹, Kahrstedt has maintained⁶² that Sestos and by extension the entire European legacy of Attalos III were subjected to the authority of the proconsul of Asia until the time of Augustus and later, until the establishment of the province of Thrace under Claudius⁶³.

Today the situation is clearer; a recently found inscription, a new copy of the so-called *lex de piratis persequendis* of 100 B.C., discovered at distant Knidos⁶⁴, both serves to confirm and at the same time to clarify the confused information of the historian Jordanes that the governor of Macedonia, the praetor Titus Didius (101 - 100 B.C.), achieved a notable victory over the Thracians and mastered their territory⁶⁵. Thanks to the Knidos inscription we know that the area conquered by Titus Didius⁶⁶ was the "Kaineic Chersonese" (Καινεϊκή

60. *CIL* III 7386 = *IK* 19, no. 43 from Bulayir. Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V (1948) 53, n. 4 and recently Danov, *ANRW* 130.

61. Strabo 13.1.22 C 591: διὰ δὲ τὴν γειτοσύνην ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνι (sc. τῆς Ἀβύδου) καὶ αὕτη (sc. ἡ Σηστός) ἐτέτακτο οὕτω ταῖς ἡπείροις διοριζόντων τῶν τότε τῶς ἡγεμονίας. See Kahrstedt's interpretation of the passage (Kahrstedt 52) and the justified objections advanced by F. Gschnitzer (*Gnomon* 30 [1958] 148) and F. W. Walbank ("Via" 142).

62. Kahrstedt 50-52.

63. Kahrstedt (p. 51-52) attached particular weight to the importance of some Sestos coins which have the "asiatic" inscription *IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ*; Stein (p. 80, n. 1) dated these coins to a first - short - period during which Sestos belonged to the province of Asia, while Head (*Head*² 261) dated them to imperial times (cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III, 1260, n. 3).

64. M. Hassal, M. Crawford, J. Reynolds, "Rome and the Eastern Provinces at the End of the Second Century B.C.", *JRS* 64 (1974) 195-200. Cf. G.V. Sumner, "The 'Piracy law' from Delphi and the law of the Cnidos inscription", *GRBS* 19 (1978) 218-19, who dates the law to 100 B.C.; also A.W. Lintott, "Notes on the Roman law inscribed at Delphi and Knidos", *ZPE* 20 (1976) 66-69; A. Giovannini, E. Grzybek, "La *lex de piratis persequendis*", *MusHelv* 35 (1978) 33-47; more recently, Papazoglou, *ANRW* 315 ff. and Walbank, "Via" 142 ff.

65. Jordanes, *De summa... Romanorum* 219 (*MonumGermHist* I 28): *ad postremum a Marco Didio et ipsi (sc. Thraces) subacti et loca eorum in provinciam redacta, iugum excepit Romanorum*. For the actions of T. Didius see Sarikakis I, 64-66.

66. Col. IV, lines 9-10: ...ἦν Τίτο[ς Δεΐδιος] πολεμῶν δορικτήτων ἔλαβεν...

Χερσόνησος)⁶⁷ which, according to the provisions of the law, was henceforward subjected to the administrative, military and financial jurisdiction of the governor – praetor, propraeator or proconsul – of Macedonia. Moreover, the detailed specification of the particular tasks of the governor of Macedonia in the region (col. IV, lines 11 -31) reveals that he was being assigned these responsibilities for the first time; furthermore, that this was a substantial and significant extension of the Macedonian frontier, indeed in a sensitive area which required both his presence in person and delicate handling.

The geographical location of the disputed territory is no simple matter. According to the editors of the inscription “the Kaineic Chersonese is presumably the peninsula running down to the Bosphorus”⁶⁸. F. Papazoglou, however, does not exclude the possibility that the “Chersonese” should be distinguished from the “Kaineic”⁶⁹. Recently Walbank, combining Pliny’s information about the *regio Caenica* with Ptolemy’s στρατηγία Καινική, maintained that the Kaineic Chersonese seems most likely to be “the area to the north and west of the Chersonese proper, centring on the valley of the river Melas, but extending inland to include the range of hills now called Kuru Dagh south of Kessan and Malkara and, probably, the region around the tributaries of the Ergene as far as Cypsela”⁷⁰. (According to Walbank the Thracian Chersonese, and “eastward to Panium the coast, was already in Roman hands”). Indeed, our information about the activities of the Kainoi leaves no doubt that their territory should be located in the inland zone north of the isthmus of the Chersonese⁷¹. Further evidence, much of it confused, is derived from later geographers. Pliny, having listed the rivers and cities of the northeast

67. In the Knidos inscription the area is named three times (Col. IV, lines 9, 11-12 and 29-30). In the Delphi copy (G. Colin, *FdD* III' [1930] 34-52), the text is fragmentary; at only one point do the surviving letters [---]κηνη allow for the restitution: [Θρά]κηνη.

68. M. Hassal, M. Crawford, J. Reynolds, *JRS* 64 (1974) 213.

69. Papazoglou, *ANRW* 316, n. 52: “La particule τε n'est peut être pas superflue, comme le supposent les éditeurs, et il faut peut-être distinguer le ‘Chersonèse’ de la ‘Kainikè’”.

70. Walbank, “Via” 144-45.

71. See, also R. Macaluso, “Monete a leggenda KAINON”, *Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni* (Rome 1980) IV, 1365-74.

coast of the Propontis as far as Perinthos, then passes on to the Thracian hinterland (*intus*) and names in order *Bizye*, the citadel of the Thracian kings, *Caenica*, qualified as a region (*regio*), and two Roman colonies, *Flaviopolis* and *Apros*, giving the distance of the latter from Philippi as 189 *m.p.* and from Bizye as 50 *m.p.* He then states that there had once been (*fuit*) the city of *Ganos* at the mouth of river Erginos, and goes on with the description of the isthmus and the Chersonese, adding that the city of *Resisthos* (=Rhaidestos) on the Propontis coast opposite Parion, 22 *m.p.* from Apros, actually belonged (*nunc habet*) to the Chersonese⁷². It can be maintained with relative certainty that in south-eastern Thrace Pliny distinguishes a mainland administrative entity, the *regio Caenica*, in which he probably locates the two Roman colonies Apros and Flaviopolis - formerly *Coela*⁷³, and a second entity, the Chersonese, which included - probably in an administrative sense also - part of the north-west coast of the Propontis with Rhaidestos, in addition to the peninsula south of the isthmus, reaching in other words, as far as the boundaries of the territory of Perinthos. However, it is not clear whether these two administrative entities co-existed in the author's time, or even only in some of his sources. Pliny's obvious lack of first hand

72. Pliny NH 4.47-49: *amnes Bathynias, Pidasas sive Athidas, oppida Selymbria, Perinthus latitudine CC pedum continenti adnexa, intus Bizye arx regum Thraciae a Terei nefasto invisa hirundinibus, regio Caenica, colonia Flaviopolis ubi antea Caela vocabatur, et a Bizye L p. Apros colonia, quae a Philippis abest CLXXXIX. at in ora amnis Erginus, oppidum fuit Ganos; deseritur et Lysimachea iam in Cherroneso. alius namque ibi Isthmos angustias similes eodem nomine et pari latitudine inlustrat; duae urbes utrimque litora haut dissimili modo tenere, Pactye a Propontide, Cardia a Melane sinu, haec ex facie loci nomine accepto, utraeque comprehensae postea Lysimachea V p. a Longis Muris. Cherronesos a Propontide habuit Tiristasin, Crithoten, Cissam flumini Aegos adpositam; nunc habet a colonia Apro XXII p. Resisthon ex adverso coloniae Parianae. et Hellespontus VII ut diximus stadiis Europam ab Asia dividens IV inter se contrarias urbes habet, in Europa Callipolim et Seston et in Asia Lampsacon et Abydon. dein promonturium Cherronesi Mastusia adversum Sigeo, cuius in fronte obliqua Cynossema (ita appellatur Hecubae tumulus) et in extrema Cherronesi fronte, quae vocatur Aeolium, oppidum Elaesus. dein petenti Melana sinum portus Coelos et Panhormus et supra dicta Cardia.*

73. On the problem of the location and identification of Flaviopolis and Coela see in particular L. Robert, *Hellenica* V (1948) 41 ff. and Kahrstedt 69 ff. (cf. *BullEpigr* 1955, 156).

knowledge about the whole area he is describing⁷⁴ permits us to suggest that he probably combined and tampered with more than one source from different periods.

Ptolemy's information seems far clearer; in his list of the Thracian *strategiai*⁷⁵ the Kainike appears as the last, *i.e.*, the easternmost of those "bordering with Macedonia and with the Aegean sea"⁷⁶. To the west it marched with the Korpilike, *i.e.*, the region of Ainos and the lower reaches of the Hebros⁷⁷; to the east it bordered the territory of Perinthos and the *strategia* Astike⁷⁸. Ptolemy, like Pliny, describes the Chersonese as a separate geographical and probably also administrative entity; he fixes its boundary to a line running from the shore of Propontis south of Paktye⁷⁹ to some point on the coast of the Gulf of Melas north of Kardia⁸⁰. Yet, Ptolemy's Chersonese does not include any part of the Propontis coast, as it did in Pliny. Moreover, the Geographer confirms that the colony of Apros was an inland city of Thrace situated between Kypsela and Lysimacheia⁸¹, *i.e.* in the inland zone which links the lower reaches of the Hebros with the northwest coast of the Propontis. However, Flaviopolis⁸² and Resisthos-Rhaidestos do not appear in Ptolemy's list of cities of Thrace: on the northwest shore of the Propontis, between

74. Cf. the relevant comments of L. Robert, *Hellenica* V (1948) 45, n. 1 and 48.

75. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.6. The problem of the institution of the Thracian *strategiai* goes beyond the limits of this study; cf. the recent article by B. Gerov, "Zum Problem der Strategien in römischen Thrakien" (*Klio* 52 [1970] 123-32), which lists (cf. especially n. 4) the most important bibliography concerning the establishment of the institution and examines its development during the period of Roman rule.

76. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.6: ...πρὸς τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πελάγει.

77. Strabo 7 Frg. 57: ἡ μὲν γὰρ Αἶνος κατὰ τὴν πρότερον Ἀψυνθίδα νῦν δὲ Κορπιλικὴν λεγομένην. Cf. Detschew 254, s.v. Κορπίλοι, where the documentary and epigraphical evidence is cited.

78. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.6: παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Περίνθου πόλεως μέχρις Ἀπολλωνίας παράλιον ἢ Ἀστική στρατηγία. Cf. Detschew 32, s.v. Ἀσταί, Ἀστική.

79. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.4.

80. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.9. According to Ptolemy (*loc.cit.*) the cities of the Chersonese are Kallipolis, Sestos, Koila, Elaious and Kardia.

81. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.7.

82. Flaviopolis is mentioned only by Pliny (*NH* 4.47); moreover, it appears also amongst the cities which honoured the deceased to whom the grave monument from Sestos was erected (*IK* 19, no 3; cf. *supra* n. 39).

Perinthos and the isthmus of the Chersonese, the only city listed is *Bisanthe*⁸³.

The fact remains that both in Pliny and in Ptolemy the *Kainike* and the Chersonese appear as two separate geographical and perhaps also administrative entities; nowhere is there any mention of a “*Kaineic Chersonese*”. Moreover, it seems unthinkable that the term “*Chersonese*” (literally, peninsula) should be attached to a mainland zone, from which the Thracian Chersonese (=Peninsula) proper was excluded and expressly distinguished. Consequently, we suggest that the three variants of the formula “*Kaineic Chersonese*” (lines 8-9: διακαθέξ[η] εὐθὺς [εἰς] Χερσονήσον *Καινικὴν* τε ἦν ...; lines 11-12: οὐ τε ἐπαρχεία Χερσονήσος τε *Καιν[εικῆ] ἔστ[ω]...*; line 29:... ὄρια τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς *Καιν[ει]κῆς* ...), defining in the Knidos text the area annexed to the jurisdiction of the governor of Macedonia after the victories of M. Didius, are to be regarded as the misrendering of the corresponding latin formula by the Greek translator of the law⁸⁴. Probably ignorant of the areas mentioned in the text, he made clumsy work of translating the apposed terms *Chersonesum Caenicamque* or *Chersonesum atque Caenicam* of the Latin original, as Χερσονήσον *Καινικὴν* τε (“and the *Kaineic Chersonese*”) instead of the correct Χερσονήσον καὶ *Καινικὴν* or Χερσονήσόν τε καὶ *Καινικὴν* (“the Chersonese and the *Kaineic region*”)⁸⁵.

83. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.4.

84. It is usually thought that documents of this type, *senatus consulta* or, subsequently, imperial letters or edicts, were translated in Rome by the personnel of the central offices before being despatched to those whom they concerned (Sherk 13 ff.). The two surviving texts of the *lex de piratis persequendis* – from Delphi and from Knidos – differ in the completeness of the content and also in the rendering of the Latin original into Greek. Despite the halting style of the Greek at many points – more obvious, in the Knidos version – they can only have been translated by Greeks: most misunderstandings, mistakes, distortions and faulty structures must be attributed to the Greek translators’ inadequate knowledge of Latin and to the impediments inherent in the translation of a complex and technical text containing legal terms frequently unfamiliar to the translator. The general impression is that the two translators worked independently to render word by word a text neither fully understood. The result is that they made every kind of blunder. Cf. the comments of the editor of the Knidos text (*JRS* 64 [1974] 197 ff., especially 199-200 and the judicious conclusions of G.V. Sumner (*op.cit.*[*supra* n. 64], p. 224-25).

85. Similar clumsiness is to be observed in the repetitive use of the phrase Ἀσία

The Knidos text of the *lex de piratis persecuendis* offers another point of interest. The primary task of the governor of Macedonia in the newly annexed region is defined as the exploitation “in virtue of the law” (κατὰ τὸν νόμον) of the public revenues “in that area” (ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ [χ]ώραι)⁸⁶. As the editors of the inscription noted, it should probably be understood that the collection of the public revenues of the region was entrusted to publicans⁸⁷. It is fairly evident that this provision concerns the Roman *agri publici*, Cicero’s *agri Attalici*, whose management and exploitation was leased out⁸⁸. If this is the case, the following lines (col. IV, lines 18-25, especially 21-25) must be regarded as concerning the Roman governor’s duties, obligations and, more generally, his attitude towards the “free” Greek cities in the area which were bound to Rome by ties of friendship (*amicitia*) and alliance (*foedus*): (lines 22-23: πρὸς οὓς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον

Μακεδονία τε (col. IV, lines 32 and 41), though in this case, there is no room for misunderstanding. It is significant that the editors of the inscription were amazed by the plethora of misplaced – and therefore unjustified – τε in the text which thus appeared to be “gratuitous” (*JRS* 64 [1974] p. 213; this remark seems to apply to lines 9, 11, 12 and 26 rather than to lines 8, 10, 11 and 25 as stated). Papazoglou (*ANRW* 316, n. 52) was the first to comment that the use of τε in the instances with which we are concerned should not be regarded as gratuitous and that probably the Chersonese should be distinguished from the Kainike. That the Greek translators’ use of the conjunction τε was in certain cases both gratuitous *and* clumsy is confirmed by the fact that, in the 43 lines of the text, τε is used fifteen times while καί does not appear even once (!). On the generally sparse – and clumsy – use of the Greek particles καί and τε in Greek translations of Roman documents, see mainly Sherk’s (p. 17) remarks. Another factor adding to the confusion of the Greek rendering is the inconsistent or incorrect application of the Greek definite article, which reveals, according to Sherk (p. 16-17), the Roman translator’s understandable unfamiliarity with its use. Moreover, a Greek translator should feel no less embarrassed, being uncertain of the appropriate application of the article whenever the technicalities of the Latin text were beyond his factual knowledge.

86. Col. IV, lines 13-18: ...ποιεῖτω τε | ὅπως [αὐ]τῷ ἂν κάλλιστα δοκῆι γεγρονέαι ἵνα ταῖς δημοσίαις προσόδοις ταῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ | τῇ [χ]ώραι οὖσαις κατὰ τὸν νόμον καρπίζονται ὃν ποτε ταύταις ταῖς δημοσίαις προσόδοις καρπίζεσθαι δεήσει...

87. On the meaning of the verb καρπίζομαι see Robert, *Hellenica* XXI-XII (1960) 533 ff. Cf. Sherk, no 23, lines 28, 34 and 67, where the verb καρπίζομαι actually defines the action of the *publicani*.

88. Cf. *supra* n. 38; it should be noted that the verb *frui* used by Cicero is the exact equivalent of the Greek καρπίζεσθαι.

τὸν Ῥωμαίων φιλία συμμαχία τέ ἐστίν...): he was expected to protect and defend their territorial security and to safeguard their rights and privileges from every kind of violation⁸⁹. This particular provision of the law apparently concerns the relations of the Roman administration with the cities of the Chersonese and with Byzantion which, being a free city and an ally of Rome⁹⁰, was independent, yet somehow came within the jurisdiction of the governor of Macedonia ever since the border of Macedonia was extended to the limits of its territory⁹¹.

It thus seems that it was only after 101-100 B.C. that the former European possessions of the Attalids, the Thracian Chersonese and the Kaineic region, were included in the province of Macedonia. Exactly what had intervened between 129 and 100 B.C. remains unknown. New light is thrown on the situation by an inscription recently discovered at Rhaidestos (Tekir Dag) on a small votive stele dedicated by a citizen of Bisanthe and another from Apameia to Zeus Soter and Athena Nikephoros "in honour of king Mostis"⁹². Bronze and silver coins of this king, about whom literary sources are silent, are known⁹³; they were recently dated, on the basis of internal and unquestionable external evidence – yet without knowledge of the

89. Lines 23-25: ...ἄπως | τῶν ὀρθίων μὴ ἐξωθῶνται μήτε τις αὐτοῖς ἐνποδῶς μήτε ἀδικήματα γίνηται... This provision brings to mind the charges made by Cicero against the proconsul of Macedonia L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, especially those concerned with his treatment of the free and allied city of Byzantion (cf. *infra*, p. 82).

90. Pliny, *NH* 4. 46: *oppidum liberae condicionis*; Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 4: *civitas libera*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12. 62-63 and the recent analysis by E. Grzybek, "Roms Bündnis mit Byzanz", *MusHelv* 37 (1980) 50-59.

91. For the relations of the governor of Macedonia with Byzantion cf. *infra* p. 83. As for Perinthos, it had been restored to the *sympolyty* of Byzantion in 197 B.C. (Polyb. 18.2.4; cf. Robert, *Hellenica* VII [1949] 18, n. 2; *eiusdem*, *Villes* 64, n. 2 and 272, n. 9).

92. Taşliklioğlu 1971, 227-28, no 2, fig. 164: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Μόστιδος Γλαυκίας | Ζωτᾶ Βεισανθη|νός Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος Ἀπαμεύς Δψὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἀθηναῖ| Νεικηφόροι. See also, however, J. and L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1972, 284 and Moretti II, 118 ff., no 116. The former dates the inscription to the second century B.C. – and indeed to its early years. He puts the *terminus post quem* in 202 B.C., the year of the destruction of Myrleia. L. Moretti suggests 188 B.C. as the *terminus ante quem*, the year when the area was assigned to the king of Pergamon with the peace of Apameia, and discerns certain indications of close cooperation between the Attalids and Mostis.

93. Youroukova 33 ff. A bust of a king wearing a diadem is portrayed on the silver tetradrachms bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΟΣΤΙΑΟΣ.

inscription mentioned above – to the last quarter of the second century B.C.⁹⁴. In our opinion, this dating is further confirmed by the newly-found inscription⁹⁵: compared to the very closely related votive inscriptions for Attalos II from neighbouring Panidon⁹⁶, the letters of the Mostis inscription seem to be of a definitely lower date (Z instead of Ζ, EI instead of I). Furthermore, it is not impossible that the Bisanthene dedicator of the Mostis inscription, one Glaukias son of Zotas, is none other than the son of Zotas son of Demetrios, the dedicator of the inscription from Panidon honouring Attalos II Philadelphos. If the dating of the Panidon inscriptions to the years after 145 B.C. is correct, the newly found inscription must be one generation later and so agrees with the date ascribed to the coinage of Mostis. It is thus revealed that in the period between 129 and 100 B.C., or at some point in these years, part at least (perhaps even the whole) of the area which Titus Didius was to occupy, had passed under the rule of Mostis⁹⁷.

The following disturbed period of the Mithridatic wars did not produce lasting changes in the administrative organisation of the region. Some remarks of Cicero's show that Thrace beyond the river Hebros was still under the administrative jurisdiction of the proconsul of Macedonia several decades after its first annexation to the province

94. Earlier scholars (Head² 285, Babelon 53) dated Mostis' coinage to around 200-150 B.C. A tetradrachm in the British Museum Collection, however, (*BMC Thrace* 205) has been recognised as having been restruck over a tetradrachm of Thasos of the so-called "second" period, which must have been minted as early as 146 B.C. (Youroukova 34 ff.). It is thus certain that the coins of Mostis must have been issued at the earliest in the last quarter of the second century B.C. and before 85 B.C.; the latter *terminus ante quem* has been established by Youroukova on the basis of the similarity of some iconographical types and stylistic traits in Mostis' coins with the coinage of certain rulers in Asia Minor and more especially that of Mithridates VI of Pontus (120-63 B.C.).

95. J. and L. Robert (*BullEpigr* 1972, 284) observed that the forms of the letters do not clash with a date in the second century B.C. and suggests that the inscription should be dated "vers le début du IIe siècle". They had of course no means of knowing the conclusions reached by Youroukova's numismatic analysis.

96. Cf. *supra* p. 67 and n. 28, especially 28.3.

97. The tribal identity of Mostis and his kingdom remains obscure. It is not, however, impossible that he was one of the successors of Diegylis and Zibelmios, who succeeded in resuscitating the kingdom of the Kainoi.

of Macedonia, ever exposed to the attacks of the neighbouring barbarians. Two Thasian documents dealing with Roman interventions in 80 B.C. to restore, among others, Thasos' (and Abdera's?) mainland territory, which had apparently been overrun and occupied by the neighbouring Thracian tribes, supplement and illustrate this situation^{97a}. However, close examination of certain Ciceronean passages establishes that, during the term of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus as proconsul of Macedonia (57-55 B.C.) (a) the Roman military road through Macedonia "as far as the Hellespont" was not only endangered because of the barbarian raids but was also studded and dotted with Thracian encampments⁹⁸, a situation for which the governor of Macedonia was held responsible and, (b) that Byzantion and the Chersonese were amongst the victims of Piso's high-handedness⁹⁹. These facts were disputed by Kahrstedt before the content of the Knidos inscription came to be known. He maintained that Cicero's passage on the Via Egnatia should not be interpreted literally, but that it simply indicates the general direction of the road which ended, like the *provincia Macedonia*, at Kypsela¹⁰⁰. To reinforce his case Kahrstedt cited the well-known passage of Strabo, according to which the Via Egnatia had been "measured by Roman miles and marked by pillars" as far as Kypsela and the river Hebros¹⁰¹; he also pointed out that the course of the Via Egnatia east of Kypsela, as it is known from the Roman *itineraria*, headed towards Apros, running through an area which came under Roman rule only after 46 A.D. However, Strabo's passage has now been proved to derive from

97a. Sherk nos 20 and 21 (with bibliography); for Abdera, mentioned in an obscure passage of no 21 (line 13), see the remarks of C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, II, "Etudes Thasiennes" 5 (Paris 1958) no 175, p. 49. It should be reminded that the territory of this city marched with the *Peraia* of Thasos. On the identity of the Thracian tresspassers, see *ibidem*, p. 52-53.

98. Cic. *Prov. Cons* 4. The passage refers of course to the eastern part of the famous *Via Egnatia*. Cf. Cic. *Pis.* 40: *An obsessio militaris viae?*

99. Cic. *Pis.* 86.

100. Kahrstedt 50.

101. Strabo 7.7.4 C 322: ...βεβηματισμένη κατὰ μίλιον καὶ κατεστηλωμένη μέχρι Κυψέλων καὶ Ἐβρου ποταμοῦ.

Polybius and to record a situation valid in the second century B.C.¹⁰²; as to the disputed area, which is no other than the Kainike, the Knidos inscription shows that it had belonged to the province of Macedonia since 100 B.C.

Kahrstedt also maintained that the Chersonese should not be regarded as part of the province of Macedonia any more than Byzantion which, as a *civitas libera et foederata* did not come under the jurisdiction of the organs of provincial administration. The problem has no easy answer. There would seem to be no doubt about the legal status of Byzantion in this period¹⁰³. If, however, the city formally stood outside provincial administration, does it also mean that it was outside the bounds of the province? Kahrstedt argues that in 58 B.C., only one year before the installation of Piso as proconsul of Macedonia, the Senate assigned to Marcus Porcius Cato – and not to the governor of Macedonia – the task of settling some internal disputes which had erupted in Byzantion¹⁰⁴. Yet it appears that Cato's mission in Byzantion mainly served the purposes of Roman internal politics, namely the need to distance him from Rome and thus curtail his power to the benefit of his political opponents¹⁰⁵. To entrust such a delicate affair bearing upon the internal matters of a free and federate city to the governor of the provincial administration, who was also the head of the military forces, was likely to have been seen as overt intervention in, and transgression of, the city's sovereign rights. But, by commissioning an eminent senator of undoubted integrity, accompanied by no armed retinue and by no more than two secretaries¹⁰⁶, the matter could easily be justified within the

102. M. Hatzopoulos (*Pulpuđeva* 4 [1980] 86, n. 53) suggests that Strabo's conception of the "Macedonian parallelogram" including all of western Thrace south of the Haemus and as far as the river Hebros should be sought "dans le souvenir d'une description polybienne du royaume macédonien avec son appendice thrace sous les derniers Antigonides..." Cf. also recently J. P. Adams, "Polybius, Pliny and the Via Egnatia", in *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage* (edd. W. L. Adams, E. N. Borza, Washington 1982) 269-302, and Walbank, "Via".

103. Cf. *supra* n. 90.

104. In particular the reinstatement and the repatriation of political refugees from Byzantion (Plut. *Cato* 34 and 36).

105. See F. Miltner, s.v. M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (16), *RE* 12.1 (1953) 178 ff.

106. Plut. *Cato* 34.3.

framework of Rome's rights or, better still, of her obligations as the city's ally and guarantor of her freedom. Moreover, Piso was accused by Cicero of highhanded violation of the privileged free status of the city; Byzantion, he said, had been harassed as if it were an enemy¹⁰⁷; it was forced to provide winter quarters for Roman cohorts – a fact which certainly indicates the presence of provincial troops in Byzantion¹⁰⁸; Piso himself had administered justice there, infringing the judicial autonomy of a free city¹⁰⁹; he plundered its artistic treasures¹¹⁰; he requisitioned large quantities of grain, making illicit profits from his exclusive command of the market¹¹¹. Yet it is clear that Cicero's passage detailing Piso's highhanded behaviour towards the "free" city of Byzantion¹¹² is part of his description of the state of affairs in the "province of Macedonia". In fact, having stigmatized the illegal proceedings by which Piso had seized the administration of Macedonia (as Gabinius had that of Syria), Cicero declares his intention of dealing with the situation in these provinces and starts with Macedonia¹¹³. There follows a detailed description of Piso's specific reprehensible acts and this particular section comes to an end with the statement to the Senate that what he had referred to so far was not aimed against the man himself but concerned the province, his subject being mainly "what is being done about the province"¹¹⁴. It is consequently clear that Cicero considered that everything between his first and last statements related exclusively to the "province of Macedonia".

Let us now see exactly what this means by attempting to locate the geographical area in which Piso's exactions and misgovernment as

107. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 5: *hostilem in modum esse vexatam*. Cf. Jones 7 and n. 8.

108. Cic. *loc. cit.*: ... *cohortes in hiberna misit*.

109. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 6: *Omitto iurisdictionem in libera civitate contra leges senatusque consulta...*

110. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 7: ... *sic spoliata alque nudata est, ut... unum signum Byzantii ex maximo numero nullo haberent*.

111. Cic. *Pis.* 86: *unus tu dominus, unus aestimator, unus venditor tota in provincia per triennium frumenti omnis fuisti*.

112. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 5-8.

113. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 4: ... *ad ipsas venio provincias. Quarum Macedonia ...*

114. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 8: *Quorum ego nihil dico, patres conscripti, nunc in hominem ipsum; de provincia disputo... de provincia quod agitur, id disputo*.

proconsul of Macedonia took place. Thessalonike is the first to be mentioned, followed by the *Via Egnatia* as far as the Hellespont, the "Achaean", Dyrrachion and Byzantion¹¹⁵; Should we wish to make use of other sources to complete the background of the proconsul's transgressions, we might add to the above most of the "free" cities of the province of Macedonia¹¹⁶. We thus note that the wrongdoings of the Roman magistrate (a) were committed within the vast boundaries of the *provincia Macedonia* of that time; (b) they chiefly affected cities which enjoyed the privileged status of "freedom" and tax-immunity and therefore did not fall within the proconsul's legal jurisdiction. Piso's preference appears plausible when it is realized that he had no obligation to remit to the public treasury whatever financial gains might eventually accrue to him from these cities; indeed, Rome anticipated no revenue from free, immune or federate cities. It should also be realized that his interference in the internal politics of Byzantion in particular actually aimed at preparing the ground for financial exactions. Cicero levied exactly this charge against him in another speech¹¹⁷. In fact, the protective regulations which guaranteed the freedom of the cities were waived in 58 B.C. when, in violation of the standing legislation¹¹⁸, the tribune Publius Claudius promulgated a special law entrusting the administration of the provinces of Macedonia and Syria *extra ordinem* to his political collaborators Piso and Gabinius, indeed with exceptionally increased power¹¹⁹.

On the whole, it seems clear that the *provincia Macedonia* which L. Calpurnius Piso took over in 57 B.C. included not only Macedonia proper, Illyria and the rest of Greece, but also Thracian territory

115. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 4-7.

116. For detailed references to the relevant sources see Sarikakis I, in particular p. 115 ff.

117 Cic. *Dom.* 9.23: *Quid? homini taeterrimo, crudelissimo, fallacissimo, omnium scelerum libidinumque maculis notatissimo, L. Pisoni, nonne nominatim populos liberos, multis senatus consultis, etiam recenti lege generi ipsius liberatos, victos et constrictos tradidisti?* The "recent law" evoqued (*recenti lege*) refers to a special provision of C. Iulius Caesar's *lex de repetundis* of 59 B.C.

118. The *lex Sempronia de provinciis* of 123 B.C., which provides for the nomination and allotment of proconsular provinces.

119. Cic. *Dom.* 21.55: *Quid? cum Gabinio Syria dabatur, Macedonia Pisoni, utrique infinitum imperium...*

beyond the Hebros and Kypsela, as far as Byzantion and the Thracian Chersonese. The “free” cities, such as Byzantion, Ainos, Abdera and Maroneia, must be regarded as independent islands within the boundaries of the *provincia* but beyond the limits of the Roman governor’s¹²⁰ jurisdiction. In particular, the fact that the Chersonese also fell victim to Piso’s grain policy is further indication of its being formally included within the vast territory of the *provincia Macedonia*. Kahrstedt’s argument that Piso’s manoeuvres reached that far not because the peninsula was part of his *provincia* but because it was wheat producing country¹²¹ clashes with the fact that if the Chersonese was indeed subject to some other provincial or central authority, Piso’s transgressions would have not been tolerated, or at least they would have been stressed as such in Cicero’s polemics; it is quite certain that Cicero would not have omitted to emphasize this point had the proconsul dared to exceed the geographical limits of his authority.

If, however, Byzantion and the Chersonese are to be regarded as falling within the actual boundary of the *provincia Macedonia* at the time of Piso’s rule, then there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Cicero’s information on the *Via Egnatia*: the negligence of the responsible governor was considered by Cicero to be the cause of the loss of the military road which ran across the province to the Hellespont. The setbacks are to be located on the Thracian section of the road and appear to have had lasting effects since there is mention of the establishment of Thracian encampments (*castra*).

It is usually believed that the administrative reform of the Roman

120. According to R. Bernhardt (*Imperium und Eleutheria; die römische Politik gegenüber den freien Städten des griechischen Ostens* [Diss. Hamburg 1971] 97), under Roman rule, free cities “im Gegensatz zu den *civitates stipendiariae* nicht eigentlich zur Provinz gehörten, sondern ihr nur angegliedert waren. ... Darin wurden dem Statthalter Bestimmte Befugnisse in der Freistadt zugestanden, die er nicht kraft seiner Gewalt als Provinzgouverneur ausübte, sondern sozusagen als Sonderbeauftragter des Senats, dessen Amt mit dem des Statthalters in Personalunion gekoppelt war”. When trying to qualify this special relationship one thinks of the particular formula *ad Aegyptum* (πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ), which accompanies the name of Alexandria. *Mutatis mutandis* it could perhaps be used to define the situation of other free Greek cities as to the province to which geographically they belonged.

121. Kahrstedt 51.

state by Augustus in 27 B.C. involved the retraction of the eastern border of the province of Macedonia to the Kypsela - Ainos line¹²², as defined in the well known passage of the seventh book of Strabo giving an account of the limits of Macedonia¹²³. On the fate of the region between the Hebros and the Bosphorus there is no information. However, in another passage in book XIII which we discussed earlier Strabo specifies that, contrary to the past, the administrative division of his day did not override the limits of the continents¹²⁴. This remark, formulated with clearly personal overtones, seems to exclude the possibility that the Chersonese and parts of southeastern Thrace were included by Augustus in the province of Asia. Before we attempt an answer to the problem, it would be necessary to examine the evidence gleaned from other sources referring or dating to roughly the same period.

Our information concerning the activities of Marcus Licinius Crassus, the proconsul of Macedonia between 30 and 28 B.C., indicates that on the eve of the administrative reform of 27 B.C. Roman rule was firmly established in the Balkan peninsula from cape Tainaron to the Istros and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea¹²⁵. However, it encompassed the client kingdom of Thrace, which was to survive, unified or divided, until the death, in 46 B.C., of the last king, Rhoimetalkes III¹²⁶. Our information concerning the fate of the area between the Nestos and the Hebros rivers or, for that matter, of that between the Hebros and the Bosphorus is very sparse. There is

122. Papazoglou, *ANRW* 328 ff.

123. Strabo 7 frg. 10: "Οτι ἡ Μακεδονία περιορίζεται ἐκ μὲν τῶν δυσμῶν τῆ παραλία τοῦ Ἀδρίου, ἐξ ανατολῶν δὲ τῆ παραλλήλῳ ταύτης μεσημβρινῆ γραμμῆ τῆ διὰ τῶν ἐκβολῶν Ἐβρου ποταμοῦ καὶ Κυψέλων πόλεως, ἐκ βορρᾶ δὲ τῆ νοσημένη εὐθείᾳ γραμμῆ τῆ διὰ Βερτίσκου ὄρους καὶ Σκάρδου καὶ Ὀρβήλου καὶ Ροδόπης καὶ Αἴμου· τὰ γὰρ ὄρη ταῦτα, ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδρίου, διήκει κατὰ εὐθείαν γραμμὴν ἕως τοῦ Εὐξείνου, ποιοῦντα χερρόνησον μεγάλην πρὸς νότον, τὴν τε Θράκην ὁμοῦ καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἠπειρον καὶ Ἀχαΐαν· ἐκ νότου δὲ τῆ Ἐγνατία ὁδῶ ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου πόλεως πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἰοῦση ἕως Θεσσαλονικείας· καὶ ἔστι τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο τῆς Μακεδονίας παραλληλόγραμμον ἔγγιστα.

124. Strabo 13.1.22 C 591 (*supra* n. 61).

125. Papazoglou, *ANRW* 325. For the actions of M. Licinius Crassus see also Sarikakis I, 145 ff.

126. See recently Danov, *ANRW* 120 ff. and Sullivan, *ANRW*.

relatively better evidence on the situation of Byzantion: the votive stele of Artemidoros son of Synistor, admiral of the great Πλοιαφέσια, in honour of Isis and Sarapis¹²⁷ dating to the thirty-second year of the reign of Rhoimetalkes I (ca. 31 B.C. - 13 A.D., i.e. 1/2 A.D.¹²⁸), attests the presence of a “merarch”, Artemidoros son of Philostratos, probably a “district governor” appointed by the King¹²⁹. More important still, there exist silver coins of Rhoimetalkes figuring the bust of Augustus on the obverse along with the monogram ΚΑ(ΙΣ)ΑΡ(ΟΣ) and the unusual inscription ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΑ (sc. δραχμᾶ)¹³⁰. Y. Youroukova maintained that this type of coinage was struck in the Byzantion mint, famous for its long artistic tradition, and destined for circulation in the Greek-speaking areas; moreover, it betrays the dependence of the city on the Thracian kingdom¹³¹. It is worth noting that a number (seven) of bronze coins of Rhoimetalkes I are to be found in the collection of A. K. P. Stamoulis¹³², which is known to contain antiquities from the area of Selymbria and Perinthos; the fact is perhaps indicative if not conclusive.

An inscription in honour of Rhoimetalkes (III) son of Kotys, who

127. L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (1955) 24-26 (with bibliography): Ἰσιδι, Σαράπιδι, βασιλεύοντος Ῥοιμε|τάλκου, μεραρχοῦν|τος δὲ Ἄρτεμιδώ|ρου τοῦ Φιλοστρά|του, ἔτους λβ´, Ἄρτε|μίδωρος Συνίστο|ρος υἱὸς ναυαρχή|σας τὰ μεγάλα Πιλ[οι]αφέσια τὸν τελα|μῶνα ἀνέθηκεν.

128. We owe the correct interpretation of the dating recorded in line 6 (ἔτους λβ´) to A. J. Reinach (*RevEpigr* 1 [1913] 210); cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (1955), 26, n. 1. An exact date is not possible since the year of Rhoimetalkes I's accession is not known. The 32nd year, however, must fall within the first fifteen years of the first century A.D., since the king died around 13-15 A.D. O'Sullivan (*ANRW* 199) maintained that the inscription is dated by “the era of Actium”, which brings us incidentally to the same year approximately: A.D. 1/2.

129. See the interpretation of the term μέραρχος proposed by L. Robert (*Hellenica* X [1955] 25, n. 4).

130. Head² 263; Youroukova 55, pl. XXII 169. On the reverse is the bust of Rhoimetalkes wearing a diadem and a monogram containing his name and title: Β(ασιλέως) Ρ(οι)μ(η)τάλ(κου). Of the three kings bearing the name Rhoimetalkes, only the first ruled for more than 32 years (ca. 31 B.C. - 13 A.D.).

131. Youroukova 55.

132. Athens, Numismatic Museum. See G. Oikonomou, Eirene Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou, *Νομισματική Συλλογή Ἄν. Κ. Π. Σταμούλη* (Athens 1955) 73, nos 485-91.

reigned from A.D. 38 to 46, has been discovered somewhere near Chrysoupolis in the plain of Sari Saban, west of the Nestos estuary, an area considered to have belonged to the territory of Abdera¹³³. L. Robert remarked with reason that this inscription, by which the city honours a king as benefactor ἐκ προγόνων¹³⁴ “does not attest relations of subjection on one side, and of domination on the other”¹³⁵. But nor is it evidence to the contrary.

More light is shed by another inscription from a neighbouring area, engraved with fine lettering in the style of early first century A.D. on a large rectangular base or altar, today in the Kavala Museum¹³⁶. It was found south of the road to Xanthe, ten kilometres east of Kavala (in the area of Nea Karvali), a few hundred metres from the place named Tzari where traces of an ancient quarry have been located¹³⁷. It is a votive monument to Zeus Hysistos honouring the Thracian king Rhoimetalkes (III) son of Kotys – i.e. the same ruler as was honoured in the Chrysoupolis inscription – on behalf of one Eutychos, “superintendent of the quarry-men and his workforce”¹³⁸. Eutychos addresses the king as his “master”. There is no doubt that the dedicator was some slave or freedman, the foreman of a team of slaves and appointed manager of the quarry at Tzari, which undoubtedly belonged to the Thracian king. We are clearly dealing with an area of crown territory.

This fact permits us to suggest that the honorary inscription from

133. *IGRR* I 829: Ὁ [δημος] | [βασι]λέα Θρα[κ]ῶν Ῥοιμη[τάλ|κην Κ]ότυος υἱὸν τὸν |[Βιστ]όνων εὐεργέτην. The inscription is usually attributed to Maroneia; its correct provenance from the Sari Saban plain near Chrysoupolis, and the restitution of the text is due to L. Robert (“Hellenica”, *RevPhil* 13 [1939] 151, with bibliography). See also G. Bakalakis, «Θρακικὰ εὐχαριστήρια εἰς τὸν Δία», *Thrakika* 6 (1935) 308.

134. We follow Robert’s restitution of lines 3-4: τὸν [ἀπό (or διὰ or ἐκ) προγ]όνων εὐεργέτην.

135. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V (1948) 56-57, where there is also a full discussion of the demonstrable value of honorary decrees of this kind.

136. Inv. no Λ 8.

137. G. Bakalakis, *Thrakika* 6 (1935) 302-313, fig. 1-2 The text of the inscription reads: Διὶ Ῥοιμητάλκῃ εὐχαριστήριον ὑπὲρ κυρίου βασιλέως Θρακῶν | Ῥοιμητάλκα Κότυος καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ, | Εὐτυχὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν | λατόμων καὶ οἱ | ὑπ’ αὐτὸν πάντες.

138. For the meaning of the title ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν λατόμων, see Bakalakis, *op. cit.* 308-309.

Chrysoupolis may also be considered to reflect the suzerainty of the Thracian king over the city which promulgated it, the more so since it comes from an area seventeen kilometres further east, on the plain of Sari Saban. If this city were Abdera, this would not imply its having been deprived of the free status which it had enjoyed from 148 B.C. and even earlier, from 168 B.C.¹³⁹, but rather that it had been obliged to acknowledge a new political reality: in some way it was landlocked – as indeed was Byzantion – and was thus politically dependent on the Thracian client kings of Rome, whose sway extended to the fringes of its territory. Instead of one, it acquired two patrons, who were also bound together by ties of patronage and consequently pursuing a common policy.

The Chrysoupolis inscription shows striking analogies and similarities with another text discovered in Maroneia, a city whose fortunes from the time of the Macedonian wars followed a parallel course with those of Abdera and Ainos. A fragmentary inscription, preserved on a marble base, honours an unknown ruler (whose name has not survived) as benefactor of the city¹⁴⁰. J. and L. Robert were right in pointing out that the lettering should be dated to the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., while the phraseology is reminiscent of the Chrysoupolis inscription¹⁴¹; consequently, to judge also by the obvious similarity of the letters with those of the inscription from Tzari, the inscription of Maroneia is likely to concern one of the Thracian kings of that period, probably Rhoimetalkes III son of Kotys. This new text indicates that the bonds which linked Abdera and Maroneia with the Thracian kingdom were also of a similar nature.

Finally, the same interpretation must also apply to another honorary inscription on a marble base from Perinthos, in which “the

139. This conclusion, which we believe to be wrong, was reached by A.H.M. Jones (p. 15 and 379, n. 20); he also incorrectly attributed the inscription to Maroneia. On the status of Abdera during the first decades of the IInd century B.C., see *infra*, p. 103.

140. A. Vavritsas, *Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* 3, 484, pl. 612β (cf. also *BCH* 92 [1968] 926 and pl. 15):

--- ιον διὰ παντός ---
 --- καὶ εὐεργέτην ---
 --- πόλεως βασιλέ[α] ---

Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1969, 380 for a possible restitution of the text.

141. J. and L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1969, p. 189.

people and the synhedroi” honour “the son of Rheskyporis” (probably Rhoimetalkes II, A.D. 19-36¹⁴²) as “their saviour and benefactor”¹⁴³. This possibility is reinforced by yet another decree from distant Odessos on the west coast of the Black Sea in honour of Menogenes son of Asklepidēs¹⁴⁴, the στρατηγὸς τῆς προσχώρου¹⁴⁵ under king Sadalas II (44-42 B.C.), father of Kotys V and grandfather of Rheskyporis II. The Greek general appears as Ἡραϊίτης, i.e. as citizen, according to Robert¹⁴⁶, of *Heraion* or *Heraion Teichos* on the northern shore the Propontis, only a short distance west of Perinthos¹⁴⁷.

To summarize: we have identified a series of inscriptions from the valley of the lower reaches of the Nestos as far as the Bosphorus, which make it sufficiently clear in our opinion that during the last decades of the pre-Christian era and the early decades of the first century A.D. the Thracian coasts of the Aegean and the Propontis fell under the sovereign rule or the suzerainty of the Thracian kings and, in consequence, were outside the limits of direct Roman rule and beyond the bounds of provincial administration.

142. *IGRR* I 793: Ῥεσκουπόρεως υἱὸν [ὁ] δῆμος καὶ οἱ σύνοδοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην.

143. The inscription, known from a facsimile of S. Aristarchis («Περὶ τινῶν ἀνεκδότων ἐπιγραφῶν τῆς Περίνθου», *Sylogos* 2 [1864] 264) clearly survived with its first line damaged, even though this is not recorded by its first editor. The king being honoured could be either Kotys (VI) son of Rheskyporis (I), king of the Sapaioi (ca. 42-31 B.C.), or Rhoimetalkes (II) son of Rheskyporis (III), king of the united Thracian kingdom (19-36 A.D.). Of these, the first should be excluded because it does not seem possible to connect the kingdom of the Sapaioi, geographically at least, with Perinthos. On the other hand, it would seem natural for Perinthos to have had links with the united Thracian kingdom at the beginning of the first century A.D.

144. *IGBR* I² 43.

145. For an interpretation of this institution, see G. Mihailov's comments in *IGBR* I² p. 99 (with bibliography).

146. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V (1948) 56; cf. also *BullEpigr* 1958, 206, p. 236 (below) and *IGBR* I², p. 99 for other citizens of Heraion. It may be that the area belonged to the territory of Perinthos.

147. See *ATL* 482 for the documentary evidence. L. Robert (*BullEpigr* 1962, 193; *eiusdem*, *OMS* IV, 241 = *Missions* 1962-63) attempted to identify Heraion with the remains of an ancient settlement located by Z. Taşliklioğlu near the village Karaevli (Karaevli Köyü) on the Propontis (cf. Taşliklioğlu 1961, 1-13 [French summary 53-65]; also, Taşliklioğlu 1971, 93-98). The author proposes to return to this topic.

The situation in the Thracian Chersonese during the same period remains obscure, since no decisive indications emerge from the epigraphical material. It is, however, known from literary sources that during the revolt of the Bessoï, around 15 B.C., the rebel chief, Ouologaisos "conquered and killed Rheskyporis, the son of Kotys, and afterwards... he stripped Rhoimetalkes (I), the victim's uncle, of his forces without a battle and compelled him to take flight; in pursuit of him he invaded the Chersonese, where he wrought great havoc"¹⁴⁸. It is usually believed that the territory to which Rhoimetalkes fled and which was laid waste by the rebel hordes, was under direct Roman rule¹⁴⁹. Indeed, the suppression of the revolt and the restoration of Rhoimetalkes (sole king after the death of his nephew Rheskyporis during the revolution) was only achieved after fierce fighting by Lucius Calpurnius Piso (nephew of the proconsul of Macedonia of 57-55 B.C.)¹⁵⁰. A Latin inscription from the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese which attests the local building activity of the seventh Macedonian legion¹⁵¹ is usually related to his operations at the head of the Roman legions from Macedonia¹⁵². However, neither literary nor epigraphical sources furnish evidence that the area belonged to the provincial territory. As Walbank rightly commented, Roman legions were active all across the Balkan peninsula both within and without the bounds of the province and hastened repeatedly to bolster the Thracian client kings against internal as well as external dangers¹⁵³.

Another piece of documentary evidence, from Dio Cassius, would seem to carry rather greater weight. He states that the Chersonese was the personal property of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa who bequeathed

148. Dio Cass. 54.34.5: ... τὸν τε Ῥασκύποριν τὸν τοῦ Κότυος υἱὸν κινήσας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥυμητάλκην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀμαχεῖ γυμνάσας τῶν δυνάμεων ... φυγεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώκων ἕξ τε τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐνέβαλε καὶ δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐλυμήνατο.

149. Cf. Danov, *ANRW* 128.

150. Danov, *ANRW* 130-31.

151. *CIL* III 7386, from Bulayir (cf. *supra* p. 74 and n. 60). Cf. *IK* 19, no 43. On Roman legions in Macedonia, see recently Papazoglou, *ANRW* 308 ff.; also Sarikakis I.

152. Cf. E. Ritterling, s.v. legio, *RE* 12 (1925) 1616; R. Syme, "Some notes on the legions under Augustus", *JRS* 23 (1933) 23, n. 67 and L. Robert, *Hellenica* V (1948) 53, n. 4; also Danov, *ANRW* 130.

153. Walbank, "Via" 142.

it to Augustus, evidently on his death in 12 B.C.¹⁵⁴. The author adds, with characteristic embarrassment, that he did not know how this area had first come into Agrippa's possession¹⁵⁵. Dio's confusion, however, is quite understandable, especially if it is linked to the preceding remarks: it is not easy to understand how, why and when the Chersonese – that is the former *agri Attalici* – should be found in Agrippa's possession¹⁵⁶, the more so if in the meantime they had ceased to belong to the Roman people and had passed under the rule – or the suzerainty – of the Thracian kings. However, the accuracy of Dio's information cannot be challenged since it is confirmed by epigraphical evidence. Indeed, an inscription from Sestos¹⁵⁷ honouring Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and her husband Marcus Agrippa¹⁵⁸, was associated from the start with the couple's extended visit to the Greek East (17-13 B.C.)¹⁵⁹. Moreover, the existence of imperial estates

154. Dio Cass. 54.29.5: τῶν τε γὰρ πλείστων αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Ἀγρίππα) ἐκκληρονόμησεν (sc. ὁ Αὐγούστος), ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ Χερρόνησος ἦν ἢ πρὸς τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ...

155. Dio Cass. 54.29.5: ...οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐλθοῦσα.

156. Modern scholars have supported that it had been given as a gift from Augustus (O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* 518) or that it had been acquired by purchase – real of fictitious – by some forebear of his (M. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* [1910] 236). It is known however that Agrippa's family did not possess great wealth nor significant land property (R. Hanslick, s.v. M. Vipsania Agrippa, *RE* 9A [1961] 1226-29).

157. This was read on a marble slab built into the fountain of Hadgi Mehmet, a little west of the village of Yalova (A. M. Hauvette-Besnault, "Sur quelques villes anciennes de la Chersonèse de Thrace", *BCH* 4 [1880] 517).

158. *IK* 19, no 8: Ὁ δῆμος | Ἰουλιαν θεὰν αὐτοκράτορος | Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. Ὁ δῆ[μος] Μάρκων Ἀγρίπ[παν].

159. A. Hauvette's theory (*BCH* 4 [1880] 517) that the monument was erected after Julia's death (A.D. 14) because she is qualified in the inscription as θεά cannot stand. After M. Agrippa's death in 12 B.C. the Chersonese ceased to belong to his family and Julia entered upon new marital relationships. Nevertheless, the worship of a living emperor and/or of members of his family as gods is not an unknown phenomenon in the East (cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* [Oxford 1965] 118 ff.). Should one see as a mere coincidence the fact that the name of the *gens Vipsania*, to which Agrippa belonged, is to be read on a grave stele of the earliest Christian period (Taşliklioğlu 1971, 81-82, no. 9, fig. 57; J. and L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1972, 282: Βεψανία Σεκούνδα | χριστιανῆ | Ζωτικῆ | ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ | [χρι]στιανῆ) found in the Thracian hinterland adjoining the Chersonese, in the village of Germeyan (eparchy of Malgara) between Malgara and Inetzik - i.e. on the site of the Roman colony of Apri (*colonia*

in the Chersonese and the adjacent Thracian hinterland under Augustus and his immediate successors is established by epigraphical testimony indicating the presence in the area (a) of several imperial slaves and freedmen; (b) of a considerable number of enfranchised Greeks whose *praenomina* and *nomina gentilia* reveal that their forebears acquired the *civitas* from Augustus himself (*Caii Iulii*) or from his successor Tiberius (*Tiberii Iulii*); (c) of a *procurator Chersonesi*, the governor-superintendent of the imperial estates. Last but not least, it is confirmed by the fact that precisely in the region occupied most solidly by the imperial estates of the "Chersonese" the emperor Claudius established the first of the Roman colonies in Thrace, *Colonia Claudia Aprensis*¹⁶⁰.

It is not known when Agrippa received the Chersonese as his personal property. What is known is that this faithful servitor of Augustus was twice sent to the East with special powers¹⁶¹. In contrast to his first mission (23-21 B.C.), which appears to have been essentially an enforced absence from Rome¹⁶² and during which there is no mention of any particular visit, action or intervention in the area which interests us, there is sufficient indication that during his second and longer sojourn in the East (17-13 B.C.), there were special bonds tying Agrippa to the Chersonese. His recall to Rome and his re-

Claudia Aprensis)? The long time span which separates this monument from Agrippa's term of office in the area would diminish the significance of this isolated evidence, were it not that the name is on the whole rare (cf. R. Hanslick, *RE* 9 A [1961] 1227-28); moreover, it is never encountered in inscriptions of Thrace. The sole bearer of this name, in Thrace at least, is a Christian from Apri, an area which, we have argued, was part of the Kainike, the former "royal domain", and later of the *ager publicus Romanus*, and which had for a period of time belonged to Agrippa: consequently, it is perhaps legitimate to regard the *Vipsania Secunda* of our inscription as a descendant of some freedman of Agrippa or of some *peregrinus* of local origin, on whom the latter had conferred the privilege of the *civitas Romana*. Conversely, it may equally well be taken as confirmation of the suggestion that, the strategic inland zone which linked the Aegean coast of Thrace with the Propontis formed part of the estate first Agrippa's and later Augustus'.

160. The evidence is presented and discussed in Kahrstedt (p. 54 ff.), along with the earlier bibliography. The author proposes to reexamine this material.

161. Cf. R. Hanslick, *RE* 9A (1961) 1250 and 1259 ff.

162. It is connected with the rumours of tension in the relations of Agrippa with Marcellus and with Augustus himself; cf. Hanslick, *op. cit.* 1250-51.

admission to Augustus' confidence in 21 B.C. had wrought a change in the situation, a change which was sealed by his marriage the same year with the emperor's beloved daughter Julia¹⁶³. Moreover, considerable documentary, epigraphical and numismatic evidence, amongst them the honorary decree of Sestos mentioned above, attest to the repeated visits of the couple to the Hellespont region¹⁶⁴; in fact, it has been maintained that Agrippa spent the winter of 16-15 B.C. in the Chersonese¹⁶⁵.

Agrippa's second spell of duty in the East indeed coincides with the *atrox bellum*¹⁶⁶ waged by the Bessoï under Ouologaisos, with the death of Rheskyporis and the appalling devastation of the Chersonese¹⁶⁷. This occurrence leads us to think that various reasons might have led Augustus to detach the Chersonese from the then united Thracian kingdom and entrust it to Agrippa as his personal property¹⁶⁸: military considerations, such as the need to control the route to the Black Sea and the security of Asia¹⁶⁹; the lamentable state of the area and pressure on the part of the inhabitants, especially of the Chersonese cities.

If this were true, it remains only to establish when Rome abandoned direct control of the coastal zone to the east of the Nestos – in other words, when the eastern boundary of the *provincia Macedonia*, which from 100 B.C. encompassed the Chersonese and the

163. Agrippa's relations with the imperial family were strengthened even further by the marriage, a little earlier, of his daughter Vipsania Agrippina with the son of the all-powerful Livia, the future emperor Tiberius. See Hanslick, *op. cit.* 1253 ff.

164. See the evidence in Hanslick, *op. cit.* 1260 ff.

165. *Op. cit.* 1261.

166. Vell. Pat. 2.98.

167. For the dating of the revolt of the Bessoï, cf. Danov, *ANRW* 127, n. 416. For the activities, the particular authority and responsibilities of L. Calpurnius Piso, cf. Sarikakis II, 30 ff. and Papazoglou, *ANRW* 326-27, who also discusses the problem of military organisation of the Balkan peninsula under Augustus.

168. After the death of Rheskyporis II and the restoration of peace in Thrace *omnem eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuerat* (Tac. *Ann.* 2.64).

169. It is significant that L. Calpurnius Piso was praised because he had brought peace to Macedonia and security to Asia (Vell. Pat. 2.98.2).

Kainike, was withdrawn to the region of the lower Nestos and the rule, direct or indirect, of Rome's Thracian client-kings was extended to the coast between the Nestos and the Bosphorus.

In the course of his narrative of the preliminaries to the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.), Appian records that east of Philippi the "known route of travel from Asia to Europe" (*i.e.* the eastern part of the Via Egnatia), with the passes of the Korpiloi and the Sapaioi, were under the suzerainty of Rheskyporis (I)¹⁷⁰. Consequently, it seems that as early as 42 B.C. Rome recognised the sovereignty of the Thracian rulers over the Aegean coast of Thrace. This situation would have evolved at some point between the term of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus in Macedonia (57-55 B.C.) and the years preceding the battle of Philippi, a period for which our information on both Thrace and Macedonia is very sparse. Piso himself might even have been responsible for it, if credence is given to Cicero's charges that he had had financial transactions with king Kotys, with whom he co-operated at the expense of other Thracian rulers and tribes (such as the Bessoï)¹⁷¹. In this light Cicero's famous

170. App. *BCiv.* 4.87: ... τὰ στενὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς Ῥασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον (*sc.* L. Decidius Saxa and C. Norbanus Flaccus), ἢ μόνη διελεθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν γινώριμον ὁδόν. For the location of the passes of the Korpiloi and of the Sapaioi see provisionally P. Collart, "Note sur les mouvements des troupes qui ont précédé la bataille de Philippe", *BCH* 53 (1929) 351-64; *eiusdem*, *Phillippes, ville de Macedoine* (Paris 1937) 196 ff.; the author proposes to re-examine the problem of their geographical location. From the description of the movements of Caesar and Antony in Appian (*BCiv.* 4.87-88) it would seem that occupying the passes of the Korpiloi and of the Sapaioi, their troops abandoned Macedonia and established themselves in Thrace, a fact which their opponents attributed to the impossibility of finding satisfactory provisions on Macedonian, *i.e.* provincial, ground.

171. Cic. *Pis.* 34, 84. This Kotys has been thought to be either a certain king of the Nestoi (Sarikakis I, 112; Sullivan, *ANRW* 189-91; Youroukova 42) or the well-known king of the Odrysi (Sullivan, *loc. cit.*: Kotys IV), son of Sadalas I and father of Sadalas II. It is however possible that he was Kotys (VI) of the Sapaioi, the father of Rheskyporis I (and of his brother Rhaskos), who otherwise is only known – but without the title of king – from an Athenian inscription (*IG* III 552 = II/III² 3442): this hypothesis seems plausible, since the territory of the Bessoï, with whom he would appear to be in conflict, adjoined the territory of the Sapaioi.

passage on the fate of the Via Egnatia¹⁷² should be regarded as alluding to the establishment of Thracian sovereignty over the eastern section of the road, with the acquiescence of the unprincipled proconsul.

Two other passages, one in Dio Cassius¹⁷³, the other in Appian¹⁷⁴, throw light on the prevailing situation at exactly this time, on the easternmost part of the contested territory. After the death of Sadalas II, king of the Astai, in 42 B.C., Brutus is said to have taken charge "of the territory which had belonged to Sadalas, who had died childless¹⁷⁵ and had left it to the Romans" and to have offered refuge at Kyzikos to the widow and under-age son of the dead king¹⁷⁶. The son was apparently restored to his patrimony after the battle of Actium¹⁷⁷. It is significant that these events took place at a time when, as we have said, the southern part of Thrace between the Nestos and the Hebros, together with the passes of the Korpiloi and of the Sapaioi, were occupied by Rheskyporis, ruler of the Sapaioi¹⁷⁸.

In the period between the battle of Philippi and the reorganisation of the provinces under Augustus (27 B.C.) no significant change seems to have marked Rome's relations with the Thracian client kings. In the Nestos region in particular it seems that military imperatives and defensive considerations dictated the preservation of the *status quo*. At the time, critical circumstances in Rome left no margin for

172. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 2.4: ...*ut via illa nostra, quae per Macedoniam est usque ad Hellespontum militaris, non solum excursionibus barbarorum sit infesta, sed etiam castris Thraeciis distincta ac notata.* Cf. *supra* pp. 82 and 86.

173. Dio Cass. 47.25.1-2.

174. App. *BCiv.* 6.10.75.

175. At this point Dio would appear to be mistaken. Cf. Sullivan, *ANRW* 192.

176. It should be noted that Dio's narrative, which goes on with Brutus' manoeuvres against the Bessoï and his collaboration with Rheskyporis, concludes (47.25.2): ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐλθῶν ... Consequently, all that precedes should have happened outside Macedonia.

177. Danov, *ANRW* 120 ff. and Sullivan, *ANRW* 191 ff. with the older bibliography.

178. On Rheskyporis (and his father Kotys VI) see Sullivan, *ANRW* 194-96 (with the relevant sources). Sullivan maintains that Rheskyporis was the first to bear the title of king; in that case, he would probably have received it from Brutus in exchange for services.

reorganisation in the Balkan peninsula. However, for Antonius, as in the past, Thrace and her rulers represented no more than an important source of armed strength. Yet, after the battle of Actium (31 B.C.), in which detachments from both Thracian states took part¹⁷⁹, new barbarian raids, those of the Bastarnai, placed the northern limit of Roman rule in the Balkan peninsula in serious danger. The situation was handled by the proconsul of Macedonia Marcus Licinius Crassus (30-28 B.C.) with huge loss of life. This, in conjunction with the anti-Roman moves of some Thracian tribes, the Medoi, Serdoi and Bessoi, made it clear that the preservation of peace in the central and northern Balkan peninsula demanded the immobilisation of large forces which Rome, or perhaps Octavian, was unwilling or unable to provide. In 27 B.C. not unrelated considerations seem to have led firstly to the decision to let the eastern frontier of Macedonia stand west of the Nestos, that is, at the point to which it had *de facto* retracted some decades since, and secondly to officially recognise the role of the Thracian kings as the guardians of Rome's interests in the area and responsible for its defence against danger from the north, naturally under close supervision and with the support of the Roman governor of Macedonia¹⁸⁰. This client-patron pattern was to be simplified a little later by the effective unification of the two Thracian kingdoms under Rhoimetakes I, through matrimonial alliances: it served Rome's purposes until 46 A.D., when the province of Thrace was established under Claudius.

It is worth noting that at the time of the creation of the province of Thrace, the eastern border of the province of Macedonia was not moved. Ptolemy (mid-second century A.D.) locates the border between Macedonia and Thrace on the Nestos estuary¹⁸¹. The *Itinerarium*

179. Supporting opposite sides; cf. Danov, *ANRW* 196.

180. Cf. the condemnation in 22 B.C. of M. Primus, governor of Macedonia by Augustus *ὅτι τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρχων Ὀδρύσαις ἐπολέμησεν* (Dio Cass. 54.3).

181. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.1. On the island of Thasos, which was annexed to the province of Thrace, and on the probable location of its mainland territory, see F. Papazoglou, "Le territoire de la colonie de Philippes", *BCH* 106 (1982) 94-95, with bibliography.

Hierosolymitanum or *Burdigalense* (fourth century A.D.) names Akontisma, as the last station of the Via Egantia in Macedonia and places the boundary between the two provinces approximately mid-way between Akontisma and Topeiros¹⁸². The repair of the Via Egantia throughout Macedonia undertaken under Trajan (98-117 A.D.) is known to have covered the span a *Dyrrachio usque Acontisma*¹⁸³. This detail acquires special significance if one takes into account that it is precisely in the area of Akontisma, on the plain of Chrysoupolis, that the westernmost indications of the rule or suzerainty of the Thracian kings under Augustus have been located¹⁸⁴.

As for Strabo's description of "Macedonia", in which the eastern limit is defined as the meridian which "runs through the outlets of the Hebros river and through the city Kypsela", there should be no doubt that the geographer speaks of the Roman province, since he places its western boundary on the Adriatic coast¹⁸⁵. However, Strabo's "Macedonia" is not the *provincia Macedonia* of Augustus' – and his own – time (that reached only as far as the lower stretches of the

182. Nine miles east of Akontisma and eight miles west of Topeiros (*Itin. Hier.* 603). On the location of Topeiros, see in particular D. Lazarides, «Κατάλογος στρατηγῶν Θράκης», *AE* 1953-54 I, 235-44 with the relevant sources and older bibliography. For accounts of more recent archaeological finds see *Deltion* 22 (1967) *Chronika* 422; 24 (1969) *Chronika* 348; 26 (1971) *Chronika* 413; 30 (1975) *Chronika* 286.

183. A milestone from Kalambaki (ca. 10 km from Philippi). Cf. P. Collart, "Les milliaires de la Via Egnatia", *BCH* 100 (1976) 198, no 3, with the older bibliography. The identification of the site of Akontisma is due to Haido Koukouli - Chrysanthaki ("Via Egnatia-'Ακόντισμα", *AAA* 5 ([1972]) 474-84).

184. See above p. 89 ff., the inscriptions from Chrysoupolis and Tzari by Nea Karvali.

185. Strabo 7 frg. 10 (*supra*, n. 123). In other passages of Strabo in which the river Nestos is mentioned as the boundary of Macedonia, it is expressly specified that this obtained under Philip II and Alexander (Strabo 7 frg. 33: εἶτα τὸ Νέστου στόμα τοῦ διορίζοντος Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην, ὡς Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τούτου παῖς, διώριζον ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ χρόνοις; *ibidem*, frg. 35: Μετὰ δὲ Ἄθω ὁ Στρυμονικὸς κόλπος μέχρι Νέστου, τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀφορίζοντος τὴν κατὰ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Μακεδονίαν).

Nestos), but the province established in 148 B.C., in the aftermath of Andriskos' revolt, which the geographer was taking over from Polybius¹⁸⁶.

186. To Polybius and to the same time, *i.e.* 148 B.C., must be attributed one further observation also preserved by Strabo (7.7.4 C 322), according to which ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἡ Ἐγνατία ἐστὶν ὁδὸς πρὸς ἔω, βεβηματισμένη κατὰ μίλιον καὶ κατεστηλωμένη μέχρι Κυψέλων καὶ Ἐβρου ποταμοῦ, *i.e.* from the western to the eastern boundary of the *provincia Macedonia*. The date of the construction of the *Via Egnatia*, at least as far as Thessalonike, shortly after the establishment of the *provincia Macedonia* in 148 B.C. is strongly supported by the discovery of a bilingual milestone on the river Gallikos bearing the name of the proconsul Cnaius Egnatius son of Caius (C. Romiopoulou, "Un nouveau milliaire de la via Egnatia", *BCH* 98 [1974] 813-16; cf. Walbank, "Via" 141). On the latter's identity, see the forthcoming publication by G. Molisani, "Cn. Egnatius C.f. e la data di costruzione della via Egnatia" (*Acts of the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Athens 1982, summary p. 108), where a date shortly after 168 B.C. is proposed for the construction of the *via Egnatia*. Molisani's dating is strongly disputed by F. W. Walbank ("The *Via Egnatia*: its Original Scope and Date", *Terra Antiqua Balcanica* II [1985] 458-64), who analyzed the relevant passages of Strabo to prove that the *Via Egnatia* reached as far as the Hebros and Kypsela – *i.e.* to the eastern boundary of the newly formed province of Macedonia in 148 B.C. – before Polybius' death and that it had been planned and constructed from the beginning to that point chiefly for military purposes. Walbank maintains that Cnaius Egnatius son of Caius from whom the road took its name may have been the immediate successor of Q. Caecilius Metellus and predecessor of Licinius Nerva – *i.e.* that he served as governor of Macedonia before 143 B.C. (cf. the list of Roman governors of Macedonia, Papazoglou, *ANRW* 310-11).

APPENDIX
**THE FOEDUS DE MARONEA AND THE LEGAL
STATUS OF THE GREEK CITIES OF THE AEGEAN
COAST OF THRACE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE
IInd CENTURY B.C.**

The newly published inscription recording a *foedus aequum* between Rome and Maronea¹ undisputedly dated around the middle of the IInd century B.C.² imposes a reconsideration of Rome's policy in the area and of the legal status of the Greek cities of the Aegean coast of Thrace from the end of the Second Macedonian War to the dissolution of the Macedonian kingdom. This should allow a better understanding of the text, especially as concerns the exact date of the alliance and those particularly involved in it.

The Greek cities of the Aegean coast of Thrace had been declared free at the end of the Second Macedonian War³. Despite the elliptic character of Polybius' text concerning the settlement of 197 B.C.⁴, there can be no doubt of the existence of a special provision in the relevant *senatusconsultum*, since L. Stertinius, one of the ten commissioners, was subsequently (in the summer of 196 B.C.) assigned the task of "freeing" the cities in Lemnos, Thasos and the Thracian littoral which had been occupied by Philip V⁵.

1. D. Triantaphyllos, «Συμμαχία Ρωμαίων καὶ Μαρωνιτῶν», *Thrakike Epeteris* 4 (1983) 419-46 (with a French summary); the inscription was first presented by the author at the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (Athens, 3-9 Oct. 1982) and a summary published in the first volume of the Acts of the same Congress: Πρακτικά τοῦ Η' Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Ἐπιγραφῆς, Athens 1982 (1984) 278-80 (with photograph). I thank Mr. Triantaphyllos for kindly providing the photograph published in plate XXI.

2. Triantaphyllos 422-23.

3. Polyb. 18.44; cf. Livy 33.30.

4. *Ibidem*.

5. Polyb. 18.48.2-3: ... Λεύκιος δὲ Στερτίνιος εἰς Ἡφαιστίαν καὶ Θάσον ἀφικόμενος καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκης πόλεις ἐποίησε τὸ παραπλήσιον (sc. ἡλευθέρωσεν) Livy 33.35. 2: *Dimisso conventu decem legati, partiti munia inter se, ad liberandas suae quisque regionis civitates discesserunt, ...L. Stertinius Hephaestiam et Thasum et Thraciae urbes...* Maroneia and Ainos are expressly mentioned by Livy (31.16) amongst the cities captured by the Macedonian king in 200 B.C.

Following a period of Seleucid occupation (194-189 B.C.), the free status of these cities was probably reconfirmed by the treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.)⁶, shortly after Antiochos withdrew from Lysimacheia⁷ and Q. Fabius Labeo expelled his garrisons from Ainos and Maroneia⁸. Rome's decision not to include Ainos and Maroneia in the European bridgehead allocated to her faithful ally Eumenes⁹ planted a permanent bone of contention between Philip and Pergamon and created unrelenting rivalries in the area for the next two decades.

Occupied by Philip in 187/86 B.C. despite Eumenes' furious protests¹⁰ and appeals from Maroneia and Ainos¹¹, the Greek cities of coastal Thrace regained their freedom for a short period under strong pressure exercised by repeated Roman delegations¹². In 183 B.C. Philip grudgingly relinquished the three cities¹³ and withdrew his garrisons, not before having venged his wrath on the partisans of the anti-Macedonian (pro-Pergamene) faction in Maroneia¹⁴.

It is usually believed that in the following years the three cities fell again under Macedonian sway: the local pro-Macedonian factions having regained political control, they refused to take sides with Rome and her allies on the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War. Ainos and Maroneia (no less than Amphipolis and "Emathia") managed to resist the attack of L. Hortensius naval forces in 170 B.C.¹⁵, but Abdera was captured through the united efforts of the Roman and Pergamene fleet and suffered atrocious reprisals¹⁶.

6. Polyb. 31.43; Livy 38.38; cf. App. Syr. 39; Diod. 29.10; Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F 18.9.

7. Livy 37.31.

8. Livy 37.60.7.

9. Livy 38.39.14: *regi Eumeni Chersonesum in Europa et Lysimachiam, castella vicis agrum quibus finibus tenuerat Antiochus adiecerunt.*

10. Livy 39. 27-29.

11. Polyb. 22. 6 and 11; 23. 3; Livy 39. 23-24 and 33.

12. Polyb. 22. 6. 1-7; 22. 11. 1-4; 23.3; Livy 39. 24.9-10; 39.33.

13. Polyb. 23.8.1; Livy 39.53.10.

14. Polyb. 22.11; Livy 39. 34-35. Triantaphyllos (p. 432) suggests that Ainos and Maroneia may then have been allocated to Eumenes.

15. Livy 43.7.10. On the disputed date of these events, cf. Robert, *Etudes* 291 and Meloni 260, n. 3.

16. Livy 43. 4. 8-10; cf. Diod. 30.6, whence the collaboration of Eumenes is inferred.

The fate of Abdera was settled in Rome soon afterward. The Roman praetor A. Hostilius was severely reprimanded by the Senate for the “unjust war” (*iniustum bellum*) waged against the city and immediate measures ordered to remedy the situation: envoys were dispatched to “restore the people of Abdera to freedom”: they were instructed to inform Hostilius and Hortensius, who were heading operations in Greece, “to seek and restore to freedom” the citizens who had been sold as slaves. Moreover, a *senatusconsultum* modeled on the one previously issued for Koroneia, was publicly proclaimed by the praetor Q. Maenius¹⁷. Its contents can be safely inferred on the basis of the surviving fragment of the *senatusconsultum de Coronea*¹⁸ and the quite similar contemporary *sanatusconsultum de Thisbensibus*¹⁹: it probably provided for the restoration of those who had been injured by the Roman intervention, for the eventual treatment of political refugees and members of the anti-Roman party and for the restoration of peace in the city.

There should be no doubt that Livy’s double mention of the “restitution of the freedom” of the Abderitans²⁰ is no sign of careless redundancy. Most probably, it accounts for separate provisions concerning (a) the restoration of the free status of Abdera (*ad restituendos in libertatem Abderitas*), and (b) the liberation of enslaved citizens (*conquiri omnes qui in servitute sint et restitui in libertate*). Thus, much to the detriment of Eumenes, who was hoping to be awarded the “unfaithful” city, Rome remained adamant in her decision to restrict Pergamon’s influence beyond the Hebros.

As concerns the cities of Maroneia and Ainos, their deliberate refusal to admit the Romans and their allies was not chastised²¹: their

17. Livy 43.4.11-13.

18. L. Robert, *Etudes* 287 ff.; Sherk no 3.

19. Sherk no 2, with complete bibliography.

20. Livy 43. 4. 11-13:... *decreveruntque eadem de Abderitis, quae de Coroneaeis decreverant priore anno, eademque pro contione edicere Q. Maenium praetorem iusserunt. Et legati duo, C. Sempronius Blaesus Sex. Iulius Caesar, ad restituendos in libertatem Abderitas missi. Iisdem mandatum, ut et Hostilio consuli et Hortensio praetori nuntiarent, senatum Abderitis iniustum bellum illatum conquirique omnes, qui in servitute sint, et restitui in libertate aequum censere.*

21. Livy 43.7.10: *Qui exclusissent eos, Emathiam, Amphipolim, Maroneam, Aenum, incolumes esse.*

free status remained apparently undisputed. Yet, it was probably not expressly reconfirmed or reinforced by special *senatusconsultum* or other provision as in the case of Abdera, evidently because the two cities had not suffered Roman occupation or because Rome thought it best to temporize on their fate. It is usually repeated that to the battle of Pydna, Maroneia actually remained on the Macedonian side²². However, it seems rather improbable that Rome would have restored the city to freedom after Pydna, had it actively supported Perseus; moreover, the massacre undergone under Philip V in 184 B.C. must have disqualified and definitely invalidated the influence of the pro-Macedonian party in the city. It is quite possible that Maroneia – and Ainos for that matter – sensing the approach of a new crisis in the relations between Macedonia and Rome, had actually elected to remain neutral, to the point of refusing to admit the Roman fleet, and to fight for the preservation of her freedom. Rome did not force the situation at the time; thus, the two cities emerged from the war *incolumes* but exposed to the criticism of the victors. This should explain why Eumenes, presenting to the Senate his cause over the coastal cities of Thrace through Attalus in 168/67 B.C., limits his claims to Ainos and Maroneia²³, realizing that Abdera, severely chastised and quickly absolved under guarantee of a special *senatusconsultum*, should henceforward be considered definitely lost. According to Polybius, the Senate seemed inclined to grant Attalus' demand²⁴, hoping to lure him in their scheme to overthrow Eumenes. Having failed to do so, Rome promptly declared the disputed cities free²⁵, indicating thus her ultimate decision to exclude Pergamon from the area.

The Senate's decision was confirmed several months later by L. Aemilius Paullus' settlement of the Macedonian affairs: Abdera, Maroneia and Ainos were excluded from the boundaries of the first

22. Triantaphyllos 436.

23. Polyb. 30.3.3.: ἐποιήσατο δὲ (sc. Ἄτταλος) λόγους καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰνίων καὶ τῆς Μαρωνειτῶν πόλεως, ἀξίων αὐτῶ δοθῆναι ταύτας ἐν δωρεῇ; Livy 45.20.2:... *Aenum sibi et Maroneam petit*.

24. Polyb. 30.3.5: ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ (sc. ἡ σύγκλητος) καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πόλεις δώσειν.

25. Polyb. 30.3.7:... τὴν μὲν Αἶνον καὶ τὴν Μαρώνειαν ἤλευθέρωσεν...

Macedonian *meris*, which extended from the Strymon to the east of Hebros²⁶; the three cities retained evidently their free status under Roman guarantee. Indeed, in view of the spirit of Roman policy which prevailed in 168/67 B.C., it would have appeared paradoxical, to say the least, for Rome to liberate the Macedonians on the one hand and on the other, to obliterate the liberty of cities which had been the targets of Macedonian expansionism or to award them to Macedonia's rival kings. It is perhaps significant that, despite the amelioration of relations between Rome and Pergamon after the death of Eumenes, his successor never considered renewing his claims over the Aegean strip of Thrace, even though the three Greek cities were not included in the Macedonian *merides*.

We now know that Maroneia at least was at some point bound to Rome through a treaty of alliance. The Greek translation of this important document, incised on a marble stele partly mutilated at the top (Plate XXI), was discovered in 1972 in Maroneia, built in the eastern side of the inner Byzantine wall²⁷; it had probably stood in the sanctuary of Dionysos²⁸. The editor of the inscription, D. Triantaphyllos, dates it on external evidence (lettering) in the period 168-164 B.C.²⁹ and supports that Rome accorded the alliance to Maroneia in the years following the conference at Amphipolis (spring 167 B.C.) and before the death of Eumenes (159 B.C.) to protect the city from the king's expansionist schemes; the *foedus* should actually be dated, according to him, "in the summer or fall of 167 B.C., before Eumenes' trip to Italy"³⁰.

Triantaphyllos is perfectly right to maintain that the reference to the free status awarded by L. Aemilius Paullus serves as an undisputable *terminus post quem*³¹. Besides, it seems quite incon-

26. Diod. 31.8.8; Livy 45.29.5-6.

27. Triantaphyllos 420.

28. Triantaphyllos 421, line 44; on the location of the sanctuary of Dionysus of Maronea, cf. *ibidem* 431-32, with nn. 47-48.

29. Triantaphyllos 422-23 and 436.

30. Triantaphyllos 436 and 439.

31. Lines 8-10 should read, according to Triantaphyllos: ... τοὺς κεκριμένους ὑπὸ Λευκί[ου Παύλου] ἐλευθέρους... Though there can be no doubt that Λεύκιος is L. Aemilius Paullus, it is clear that one should expect in line 8 either his *tria nomina* or his *praenomen* and *gentilicium*. However, this latter is much too long to fit in the *lacuna*. We should therefore infer either that the genitive Αἰμιλίου had been unduly squeezed in —

ceivable that Eumenes or Attalos would have dared to renew their claims over Maroneia in 168 B.C., if the city had already obtained a *foedus* and the Romans posed as warrantors of its freedom and its territorial integrity. Yet, Eumenes' decision in the beginning of the winter 167/66 B.C. to plead his cause to the Senate in person after the failure of Attalus' mission in 168 B.C.³² seems to indicate that the *foedus* between Rome and Maroneia did not yet actually exist; the free status awarded to Ainos and Maroneia in the previous year and only recently reconfirmed by L. Aemilius Paullus at Amphipolis may have appeared to him to leave room for a reconsideration of the matter. It so happened that the Senate had made up its mind on this and other matters concerning Rome's relations with the king: Eumenes was humiliatingly repulsed. In our view, only then (winter 167 B.C.) did Rome finally opt to grant Maroneia a *foedus* to mark her positive and irrevocable decision to close the matter once for all.

The genitive Αἰνίων appearing in the beginning of line 8 of the Maroneia inscription indicates that Ainos was in some way or other involved in the alliance. Triantaphyllos presumes that a third party was included in the alliance between Rome and Maroneia: a group of Ainians who had been granted by L. Aemilius Paullus free status and the right to live as free citizens in Maroneia. These he supposes to be political refugees, who had fled Ainos following a coup instigated by the local pro-Pergamene party short before the summer of 167 B.C. Their partaking in the alliance signifies Rome's unequivocal decision

which is rather improbable — or that the praetor was only named by his *praenomen* — which is quite unusual but not impossible by Greek standards of translating Roman names, especially in the case of very important magistrates: cf. e.g. the decree of the Lampsacenes honouring Hegesias (*SIG³ 591*; 196 B.C.), lines 16-17: [...τῶι στ]ρατηγῶι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶι ἐπὶ τῶν ναυ[τι]κῶν Λευκίῳ (Κοῦγκτίῳ Φλαμινίῳ)...; lines 68-69: ... πρὸς τὸν [τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγ]ὸν ὕπατον Τίτον (Κοῦγκτιὸν Φλαμινίον)... In this case we would restore in the *lacuna*, following the genitive Λευκίου some short adverb, e.g. ἐξῆς or αἰεὶ. In favour of Triantaphyllos' restitution, cf. the unusual onomastic formulae Λεύκιος Σύλλας (or Λεύκιος Σύλλας Ἐπαφρόδιτος), Μάρκος Λεύκολλος and Κόιντος Μέτελλος Εὐσεβῆς in a *senatusconsultum* of 93 B.C. from Oropos (*Sherk no 23*) used (at least for the two former cases) along with the regular forms Λεύκιος Κορνῆλιος Σύλλας and Μά(α)ρκος Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων Λεύκολλος; also Μᾶρκος Ἀγρίππας instead of Μᾶρκος Οὐψάνιος Ἀγρίππας in a votive inscription from Sestos (*IK 19, no 8*; cf. *supra* p. 93 and n. 158).

32. Polyb. 30.19.

to ignore the *fait accompli* and to declare her steadfast opposition to Eumenes' expansion in Europe³³.

However, the provisions of the Maroneia alliance (lines 10-42) do not seem to imply a third party, as suggested by the editor's restitution of lines 6-10. The *foedus* concerns the *populus Romanus* on one side and the *demos* of Maroneia on the other, covering also those under either side³⁴. The Ainians of line 8 do not reappear in the text of the alliance as one would expect, despite the lengthy redundancy of the repeated formulae. Yet, it is difficult to accept that a third party involved in the treaty on equal terms should be completely ignored in the provisions as well as in the terminal clause. Moreover, the "parallels" cited by Triantaphyllos³⁵ of οἱ Αἰνιοὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες παρ' ὑμῖν (*i.e.* παρ' Ἀμφιπολίταις) under Philip V³⁶ and of ὁ δῆμος (of Maronitans?) ὁ ἐν Αἴνῳ at an unknown – late Hellenistic? – age³⁷ indicate the specific formulae regularly used to denote particular groups of organized alien citizen bodies³⁸. Actually,

33. Triantaphyllos 437 ff.; according to Triantaphyllos' (p. 426-27) interpretation the restituted infinitive ποιεῖν (or else ὀμνύναι) has three subjects, the accusatifs (a) τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων, (β) τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Μαρωνιτῶν], and (c) Αἰνίων τοὺς κεκριμένους (the genitive Αἰνίων being a gen. partitive); ἐλευθέρους and πολιτευομένους μετ' αὐτῶν (*i.e.* μετὰ τῶν Μαρωνιτῶν) would both be attributes of the past participle κεκριμένους, thus referring uniquely to the Ainians (*ibidem*).

34. Lines 16-17: ... τῶι δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦς τασσομένοις...; lines 25-26: ...τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Μαρωνιτῶν καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦς τασσομένοις...

35. Triantaphyllos 437, with n. 73-76.

36. Chaido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, «Ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Φιλίππου Ε' ἀπὸ τῆν Ἀμφίπολη», *Ancient Macedonia II* (1973) [1977] 151-67.

37. The inscription, published by A. Munro in 1886 (*JHS* 16 [1896] 318-19, no 17: [Ἡ]δεῖα Διο[υσίου] | γυνῆ δέ Νουμην[ίου] | τοῦ Μηνοδότου | --- ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Αἴνῳ) was copied in the yard of a house in Maroneia (not in Ainos, as in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *op.cit.* 166; cited incorrectly also by Triantaphyllos 437). Munro's interpretation of ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Αἴνῳ as "Maronitans resident in Ainos" appears quite plausible.

38. See also some of the examples mentioned by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (*Ancient Macedonia II* (1973) 166: οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι (under Antiochos III); οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις κατοικοῦντες (Τύριοι) (174 A.D.). Cf. the Σάμιοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Μινώϊα or ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμίων ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν Μινώϊα (end of the IIIrd century B.C.) and its counterpart ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀμοργίων τῶν κατοικούντων Μινώϊαν (*IG XII 7*, 228), the Νάξιοι οἱ Ἀμοργῶν Ἀρκέσιαν οἰκοῦντες (*IG XII 7.50.54*; of imperial age) the Μιλήσιοι οἱ Ἀμοργῶν Αἰγάλην κατοικοῦντες (*IG XII 7*, 396, 400-403; also of imperial date), the Μιλήσιοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Λεψία (L. Robert, *Hellenica I* [1940] 115 n.4) and the formula used to

the closest parallel to the situation implied by Triantaphyllos – not simply an organised group of aliens sharing the same citizenship but an actual *demos* in exile – would probably be Ζακυνθίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήλλῳ mentioned among other members of the Second Athenian Alliance in 378/77 B.C.³⁹. (On the contrary, some of the evidence cited by Triantaphyllos⁴⁰ and Koukouli⁴¹ are clearly of a different nature: the δῆμος Ἀμφιπολιτῶν honouring a high provincial Roman magistrate in Thessalonike⁴², the capital of the province, is no doubt the city of Amphipolis itself; one should conclude the same for the [δῆ]μος [Σ]αμοθρα[κ]ῶν appearing in an unpublished inscription discovered at Maroneia⁴³. As for the παροικοῦντες of the Akanthos inscription⁴⁴, there is no indication that they shared a common origin or citizenship).

Now, the formula in lines 7-8 of the alliance of Romans and Maronitans provides no indication that the Ainians were in a similar or analogous situation. The gen. Αἰνίων is simply coupled to the correctly restituted gen. [Μαρωνιτῶν]; the expected specification regularly introduced by the present participle οἱ κατοικοῦντες or οἱ οἰκοῦντες is lacking⁴⁵. Instead, our text presents a quite unusual formula with the word *demos* followed by two genitives of ethnics coupled under a single article: τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Μαρωνιτῶν καὶ] | Αἰνίων⁴⁶. Indeed, since the apposition τοὺς κεκριμένους ὑπὸ Λευκίου Παύλου] ἐλευθέρους⁴⁷ summarizes a fact known (from literary

denote the Athenian clerouchies of the IVth century B.C. or the Athenian colony in Delos after 166 B.C. (Ἄθηναῖοι οἱ ἐν Μυρίνῃ οἰκοῦντες, Ἄθηναῖοι οἱ ἐν Ἡφαιστίᾳ, ἐν Σαλαμίῃ, ἐν Δήλῳ, ἐν Λήμνῳ, ἐν Ἰμβρῳ, ἐν Σάμῳ οἰκοῦντες or κατοικοῦντες). Despite the particular status of each of these groups of aliens, the quasicommon formula is clearly characteristic of the fact that they form alien citizen bodies settled beyond the boundaries of their native cities.

39. SIG³ 147. However, Nellos is not a alien city but the name of a fort or location.

40. Triantaphyllos 437.

41. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Ancient Macedonia* II (1973) [1977] 166.

42. IG X 2.1, 136.

43. Triantaphyllos 437 with n. 76.

44. BSA 23 (1918) 85 = SEG 1 (1923) 65, no 282.

45. The review of a squeeze kindly provided by Mr. Triantaphyllos confirms his restitution of the end of line 7.

46. The missing end of line 7 can not accommodate the accusative of the article τόν.

47. Lines 8-9.

sources⁴⁸) to be true for *both* Maronitans and Ainians, there should be no doubt that the past participle τούς κεκριμένους – no less than τούς πολιτευομένους – is apposed to both preceding ethnics. Αϊνίων is no genitive partitive, in our view. As J. Pouilloux rightly remarked commenting on O. Rubensohn's interpretation of the formula ὁ δῆμος ὁ Παρίων καὶ Θασίων in the well known decree from Paros in honour of the Athenian Kephisophon (430/39 B.C.)⁴⁹: “il est.. surprenant, et semble-t-il unique, que des exilés prennent le titre de leur cité sans le faire suivre d'une précision quelconque. On attendrait bien plutôt une expression telle que Θάσιοι οἱ ἐν Πάρῳ οἰκοῦντες”⁵⁰.

Thus, we can only see two possible interpretations:

(a) ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μαρωνιτῶν καὶ Αἰνίων (sic) is an exact parallel of ὁ δῆμος ὁ Παρίων καὶ Θασίων and analogous formulae brought to our attention by L. Robert⁵¹, such as ἡ πόλις ἡ Πιλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων in the *senatusconsultum* of 39-35 B.C.⁵² or ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Βυζαντιῶν καὶ Περινηθίων in the apocryphal decree inserted in Demosthenes' *De Corona*⁵³, which were interpreted as revealing relations of “sympolity”⁵⁴. Could this be the nature of the relations between Maronea and Ainos at the time of L. Aemilius Paullus' declaration of their legal status? In fact, from the beginning of the IInd century B.C., particularly from the end of the Second Macedonian War, our sources seem to indicate that the two cities had been regularly acting in concert; they regularly received the same threatment; their situation was regularly dealt with uniformly. The *foedus* in question would appear to be on the same line, resolving Rome's relations with two cities related by strong links of some kind of “sympolity”: a *foedus de Maronitibus et Aeniis*.

(b) The formula ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μαρωνιτῶν καὶ Αἰνίων is the incorrect rendering of the Latin *populus Maronitarum Ainiourumque*,

48. Cf. *supra* p. 104 with nn. 25 and 26.

49. *IG XII 5*. 114, lines 11-12.

50. J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, I, “Etudes Thasiennes” 5 (Paris 1954) 431.

51. Robert, *Villes* 64, with n. 2.

52. Sherk no 28.

53. Dem. *De Cor.* 90.

54. Robert, *Villes* 64, n. 2.

probably due to the translator's imperfect knowledge of the subtleties of the Greek language, in particular of the adequate use of the definite article, which does not exist in Latin⁵⁵. The Greek text should read ...τὸν δῆμον τὸν Μαρωνιτῶν καὶ τὸν Αἰνίων⁵⁶, thus inferring that both *demoi* were contracting parts of a *foedus* with Rome. In this case – which appears in our view most plausible – the two cities had apparently been declared *socii populi Romani* simultaneously, receiving identical *foedera*; this fact was stated in the prescript. However, the text actually published in Maronea is the Greek translation of the treaty concerning this city exclusively, which would explain why the Ainians are not mentioned subsequently; they probably took care to erect an analogous stele in their own city.

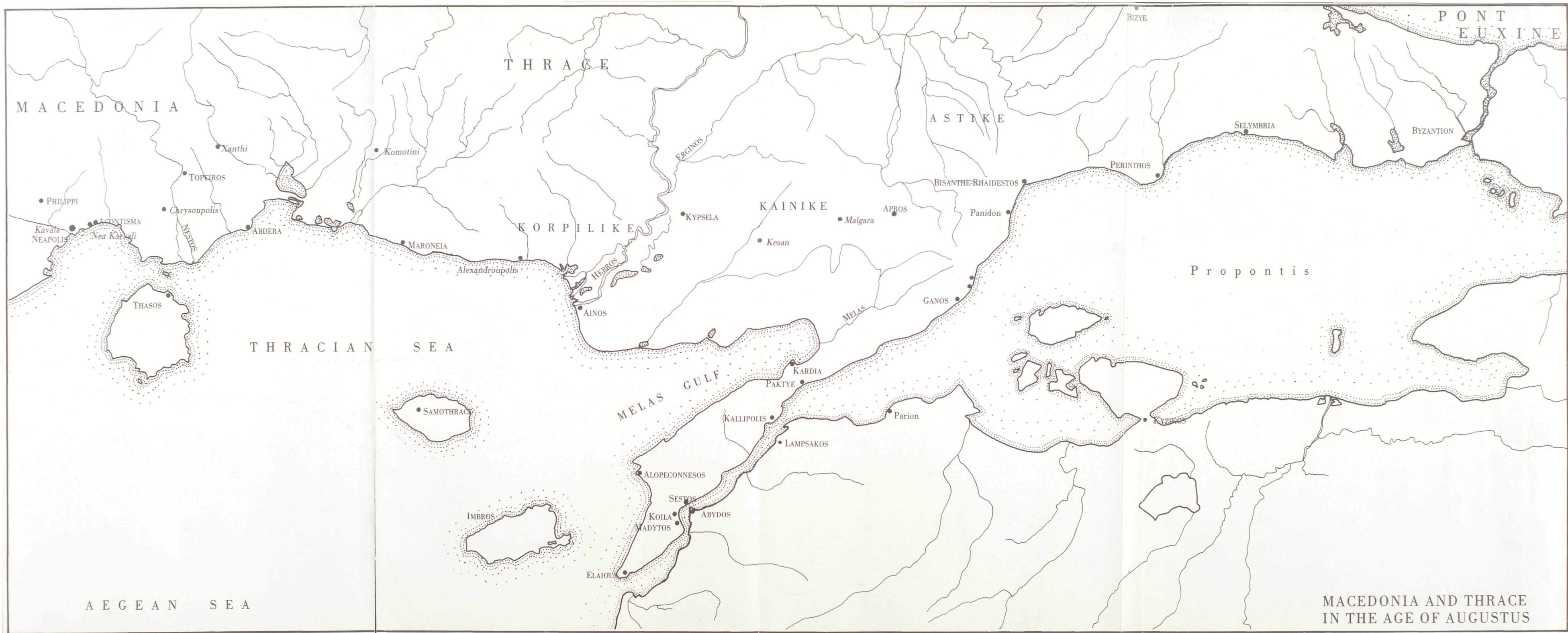
55. Cf. Sherk 16-17.

56. I.e. τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μαρωνιτῶν καὶ τὴν Αἰνίων ἢ τοὺς Μαρωνίτας καὶ τοὺς Αἰνίους. Cf. Sherk no 47, Col. 2C, lines 42-43:... πρὸς [τε τὸν ὑμέ]τερον δῆμον (sc. τὸν Ἐφεσίων) καὶ τὸν Σαρδιανῶ[ν...].



THE CENTRAL MACEDONIAN PLAIN

ALOROS	ancient cities	—	modern roads
Aloros	modern cities, towns or villages	—+—	railway



M A C E D O N I A

T H R A C E

A S T I K E

P O N T U S
E U X I N U S

• PHILIPPI
• Xanthi
• TOPEIROS
• Chrysoupolis
• Acontisma
• Kavala
• NEAPOLIS
• Nea Karpali

• Komotini

• ABDERA

• MARONEIA

• Alexandroupolis

K O R P I L I K E

• KYPSELA

K A I N I K E

• Kesan

• Malgara

• APROSO

• Panidon

BISANTHE-RHAIDESTOS

• PERINTHOS

• SELYMBRIA

• BYZANTION

• BIZYE

T H R A C I A N S E A

P r o p o n t i s

• SAMOTHRACE

M E L A S G U L F

• KARDIA

• PAKTYE

• KALLIPOLIS

• LAMPSAKOS

• Parion

• ALOPECONNESOS

• SESTOS

• KOILA

• MADYTOS

• ABYDOS

• ELAIQIU

A E G E A N S E A

M A C E D O N I A A N D T H R A C E
I N T H E A G E O F A U G U S T U S

