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Direct Taxation in Roman Macedonia:
A New Votive Inscription of a δεκάπρωτος
in an Unknown City of Western Pieria

Preserved in the Church of SS Constantine and Helen in the village of Elatohori (Pieria) is an inscribed stone block which has been moved for reasons of safety in the 1970s from Paleklissi, a site roughly five kilometres southeast of the village. This site is named after the chapel of St. Paraskevi.¹ On the front of the block we read the following text of a votive inscription:

Rectangular block of fine-grained white marble. All surfaces save the front are worked roughly, as befits a building block. Its dimensions are: maximum extant height 0.385 m, width 0.50 m, maximum extant thickness 0.29 m. Letter height 0.025 m (*omicron* 0.015 m and *omega* 0.02 m), line spacing 0.005 m. Distance of inscribed surface from bottom edge of block 0.17 m (Fig. 1).

Ἐτους · ερ' · σεβαστοῦ · τοῦ
[καὶ] α[κσ'] · Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγι-
εῖαι · Τειμόξενος Τειμοξέ-
4 [νου – ³⁻⁴ –] τ[ῆ]ς δεκαπρωτίας ΘΕ-
[– – ⁴⁻⁵ –] ΑΣ [...]ΥΤΟΥ τὸν ναὸν ΩΚ[.]-
[– – ⁵⁻⁶ –] ἐν ἐκ τῶν ιδίω^{vv}
vacat

App. crit.: Line 1: Of the letter *rho* only the vertical bar remains. Line 4: The *iota* of the word *δεκαπρωτία* is shorter and perhaps a later addition. Line 5, middle: There remain the left and the middle bars of an *alpha* and the upper horizontal, the two oblique and part of the lower horizontal bar of a *sigma*. Line 5, end: Discernible is a round letter, closed at the bottom, with a very small oblique bar at the left. Since this letter is plainly taller and wider than all the *omicrons* in the inscription, it must be an *omega*. Line 6: Parts of the upper horizontal and middle bar of the first *epsilon* are visible.

¹ A first summary presentation of the inscription, Αρχαιοτήτες ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων ἀπὸ τῆν κεντρικῆ Πιερία, AEMΘ 23, 2009 (in press), was given by A. ARVANITAKI, archaeologist of the 27th Ephorate of Prehistoric & Classical Antiquities, who was shown the inscription by the former priest of Elatohori, Father Andreas Katsikakis, and further informed about the find by the present incumbent, Father Michael Koursiombas, to both of whom we wish to extend our warmest thanks.

The inscription informs us of a benefaction performed by an otherwise unknown Macedonian called Teimoxenos son of Teimoxe[nos]² in the 105th (ερ') year of the Actian era (ἔτος σεβαστόν) and the 221st (α[χσ']) of the Macedonian, that is, according to the Julian calendar, the year 73/74 AD.³ The reading of the first date is obligatory for palaeographic reasons, since there is no trace of another bar above the vertical one of the *rho*. Interpreting the existing traces of the letter as a *tau* would give a date of (305–32/31 =) 273/274 AD, which is untenable, because: a) the *iota* would not be written as an adscript at this time, b) the letter forms clearly belong to the 1st and not the 3rd century AD, and c) in this kind of text the δεκάπρωτος would have borne at least the *gentilicium* Aurelius. As regards the palaeography of the text, the letters *alpha* (with curved middle bar), *epsilon* (with three horizontal bars of uneven size), *kappa* (with the two slanting bars shortened), *pi* (with the horizontal bar extending slightly beyond the two verticals), *sigma* (four bars, with the horizontals parallel) and *omega* (open at the bottom) are characteristic of the 1st century AD.⁴

The surviving letters and the expression ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων in lines 5–6 imply the obvious restoration: ... τὸν ναὸν ᾠκ[ο]||[δόμησ]εν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων: Teimoxenos built a ναός of Asklepios and Hygieia out of his own funds. The connection of this action with his election as δεκάπρωτος (see below) shows that this temple was a public building and that it belonged to the city that he served in that capacity.

Although the inscription was not found in an excavation, we may reasonably assume that its original position was not far from where it was discovered. This conclusion is consonant with the facts that, first, there is no evidence that the stone had been moved to Paleklissi from some other place and, second, that there are ancient ruins in and around that site.⁵ Based on the inscription, therefore, we should be looking in the vicinity of Paleklissi for a temple of Asklepios and Hygieia. The presence of water in the area – the creek now called Moschopotamos flows a short distance to the northeast of the site – is an additional supporting factor, since water was vitally important to sanctuaries of Asklepios as an essential element in the rituals and the cures

² In Macedonia the name Τειμόξενος is attested in inscriptions from Olynthos and Serres as well in a passage of Herodotus, concerning an inhabitant of Skione. For the documentation see LGPN IV 332. The alternative restoration Τειμοξε[νίδου] should be rejected primarily because it is too long for the lacuna on the stone (see also commentary on line 4).

³ As in other inscriptions from Macedonian cities, the year is stated in two ways. As a rule the date according to the Actian era was given first, and the Macedonian chronology afterwards. For the relevant bibliography, see esp. M. TOD, *The Macedonian Era*, BSA 23, 1918/1919, 206–217; id., *The Macedonian Era II*, BSA 24, 1919/1920–1920/1921, 54–67; id., *The Macedonian Era Reconsidered*, in: G. E. MYLONAS (ed.), *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson II*, 1953, 382–397; L. ROBERT, *Les inscriptions de Thessalonique*, RPh 48, 1974, 216 n. 219. For examples, see indicatively IG X 2, 1, 285 ll. 3–4 ἔτους βορ' σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ηπσ' (= 140/141 AD) and 450 ll. 8–9 ἔτους ζαρ' σεβαστοῦ τοῦ <γίτ'> (= 165/166 AD).

⁴ The letter forms and the overall impression of writing may be compared with the dated inscriptions EKM I, 60 (41–44 AD), 61 (69–84 AD) and EAM 188 (41–54 AD).

⁵ See *infra* p. 282.

performed there.⁶ However it cannot be precisely determined how important Teimoxenos' benefaction was, because the term ναός is ambiguous and could theoretically refer equally well to a whole building or only to the inner chamber, the *cella* (as distinct from the *pronaos*).⁷ The construction of a whole temple cannot in any case be excluded, since this would not necessarily be an excessively costly enterprise, given that there was a tradition in Macedonia of building small temples,⁸ and that the temples of Asklepios, especially the later ones, were generally not large,⁹ as is for example the case with the god's temple at nearby Dion.¹⁰

The new evidence is to be added to the large number of other (mainly inscriptional) proofs demonstrating that the cult of Asklepios was widespread throughout Macedonia since the days of the Temenids.¹¹ Concerning Pieria the cult was known only from Dion, where a series of finds attest its practice at least from the second half of the 4th century BC and through the Republican and Imperial periods. That it flourished in the Imperial age is clear from various findings such as an inscription, now lost, with the text of a paean to Asklepios, the image of the god on the reverse of Dion's coins struck during the Severan period, and the statues of members of the god's family placed in a hall in the great baths of the city.¹² The joint cult of Asklepios and Hygieia is attested in a number of Macedonian cities, including Beroia, Aiane in Elimeia, Morrhylos in Kres-tonia, Thessalonike, and also in regions of Upper Macedonia and Paionia.¹³

⁶ J. W. RIETHMÜLLER, *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte I*, 2005, 360 and 378–80.

⁷ See on this topic K. TUCHELT, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien. Beiträge zur archäologischen Überlieferung aus der Zeit der Republik und des Augustus*, 1979, 29 and 31; M.-C. HELLMANN, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l'architecture grecque d'après les inscriptions de Délos*, 1992, 269; G. SCHÖRNER, *Votive im römischen Griechenland*, 2003, 125.

⁸ See B. SCHMIDT-DOUNAS, *Frühe Peripteraltempel in Nordgriechenland*, *AM* 109, 2004, 108.

⁹ See RIETHMÜLLER, *op. cit.* (n. 6) I, 375.

¹⁰ The temple of Asklepios at Dion was originally a single chamber, measuring 10.60 × 7.80 m (external dimensions). In a later phase a partition wall was added, creating a *cella* and a *pronaos*. D. PANTERMALIS, *Λατρείες και ιερά του Δίου Πιερίας*, *Archaia Makedonia* 2, 1973 [1977], 336, and *id.*, *AD* 29, 1973–74, *Χρονικά Β* 3, 699.

¹¹ For the cult of Asklepios in Macedonia see esp. E. VOUTIRAS, *Η λατρεία του Ασκληπιού στην αρχαία Μακεδονία*, *Archaia Makedonia* 5, 1, 1989 [1993], 251–265 and RIETHMÜLLER, *op. cit.* (n. 6) I, 174–186 and II, 320–325, with a complete review of all the existing evidence.

¹² In general for the cult of the god at Dion, see PANTERMALIS, *Λατρείες και ιερά* (n. 10) 331–342, esp. 336–337; VOUTIRAS, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 254; S. PINGIATOGLOU, *Δίον: τα ιερά της Δήμητρας και του Ασκληπιού. Οι ανασκαφές των τελευταίων είκοσι χρόνων*, *AEMΘ Επετειακός τόμος Θεσσαλονίκη*, 2009, 285–294 esp. 290–294; RIETHMÜLLER, *op. cit.* (n. 6) I, 179; II, 321 no. 17.

¹³ For the relevant evidence see the review in RIETHMÜLLER, *op. cit.* (n. 6) II, 320–325. One might add Dion to the list, if for the inscription PANTERMALIS, *op. cit.* 337 (= SEG 53, 601), found in the interior of the temple, which came from the base of the cult statue (or statues), one accepts the reasonable completion proposed by A. CHANIOTIS in SEG 53, 601 Ἀσκη[ληπιῶ] | και [Υγείαι]. Cf. also *AD* 29, 1973–74, *Χρονικά Β* 3, 699 and VOUTIRAS, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 254.

The context of Teimoxenos' benefaction, which is recorded in the fragmentarily preserved lines 4f. of the inscription, is at first glance unclear. In line 4, the certain restoration of the donor's patronym (Τεμοξέ|[νου]) along with the partially surviving genitive of the definite article τ[ῆ]ς and the word δεκαπρωτίας suggest that in the *lacuna* of 3 or 4 missing letters we should restore the preposition ὑπέρ. The phrase ὑπέρ (τῆς) + the genitive of a feminine abstract noun designating an office (e.g. στεφανηφορία, πρυτανεία, στρατηγία, γυμνασιαρχία, ἀγορανομία, ἱερατεία, etc.) is well attested and indeed common in Greek inscriptions from other cities in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.¹⁴ This phrase, and the equivalent ἀντί + genitive, are associated with benefactions made by prominent citizens to their cities on the occasion of their election to some office. Whether these benefactions were equivalent to the institution of *summa honoraria* that in the cities of the Latin West required magistrates to pay a certain sum into the public treasury upon their election, or whether they were voluntary gifts or even the fulfilment of a promise made by the candidate before the election, is a problem for which there is no consensus of scholarly opinion.¹⁵ Be that as it may, the variety of benefactions associated with the above-mentioned expressions is vast, since they may take the form of distributions of food and/or money, the offering of public banquets, and even allotments of land for the support of local institutions such as the office of gymnasiarch.¹⁶ Occupying a special place among these are the instances of «building benefactions», where just after their election magistrates financed the repair or construction of various buildings, as is the case with Teimoxenos. Two of the most eloquent examples tell of revenues made available for the institution of the ἀγορανομία: in the 2nd century AD Popillius Licinius Priscus Juventianus assigned to Isthmos τὴν στοὰν τὴν πρὸς τῷ σταδίῳ σὺν | τοῖς κεκαμαρωμένοις οἴκοις

¹⁴ See F. QUASS, Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit, 1993, 328–329, with the older bibliography and examples; H. SCHWARZ, Soll oder haben? Die Finanzwirtschaft kleinasiatischer Städte in der römischen Kaiserzeit am Beispiel von Bithynien, Lykien und Ephesos (29 v. Chr.-284 n. Chr.), 2001, 313–316 and ST. CRAMME, Die Bedeutung des Euergetismus für die Finanzierung städtischer Aufgaben in der Provinz Asia, 2001, 41–47, 114–121. The addition of the article τῆς before the noun and the use of the pronouns αὐτός or ἴδιος is attested in inscriptions and should cause no surprise; see e.g. the inscriptions from Pergamum, H. VON PROTTE – W. KOLBE, Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon (Weihungen), AM 27, 1902, 92 no. 83 ll. 4–9: τὰ ... διάπτυλα σὺν | τῷ περὶ αὐτὰ κόσμῳ | πρυτανεύων ἀφ[ιέ]||ρωσε δοῦς τὰ ὑπ[ε]ρ | τῆς πρυτανείας (δηνάρια), from Ephesos I.Ephesos 1139 ll. 5–7: ὑπέρ τῆς ἱερατείας τὴν ἀφετηρίαν καὶ τὰ πέντε ἀγάλματα, and from Nysa, A. E. ΚΟΝΤΟΛΕΟΝ, Ἐπιγραφαί, BCH 10, 1886, 454–455 no. 4 ll. 8–13: ἀναστή||σαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα ... ἀντὶ | τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πα|ληγγυριαρχικῆς τιμῆς.

¹⁵ See the relevant discussion in the works cited in the previous note. As regards Macedonia, the sole reference to what is in all likelihood the *summa honoraria* for an office is the passage in the edict of the provincial governor Memmius Rufus, which (line A 41) contains the phrase τὴν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πολιταρχῶν τόπου πρᾶσ(ι)ν, see P. M. NIGDELIS – G. A. SOURIS, Ανθύπατος λέγει. Ἐνα διάταγμα των αυτοκρατορικῶν χρόνων για το γυμνάσιο της Βέροιας, 2005, 83.

¹⁶ See the examples collected by QUASS, op. cit. (n. 14) 329–331.

καὶ προσ|κοσμήμασιν ὑπὲρ ἀγορανομίας,¹⁷ while between 169 and 180 AD Menekrates Sextianus donated to his native city of Julia Gordos (Lydia) ὑπὲρ ἀγοραν[ο]μίας τοὺς πρώτους δέκα κεί|ονας σὺν κεφαλαῖς καὶ σπε[ι]ραῖς κατὰ τὸ γενόμενον | ψήφισμα ἐκ τῶν ιδίων.¹⁸

Line 5 of the text, which is the most fragmentary, also presents difficulties of comprehension and reconstruction. Given the letters ΥΤΟΥ appearing in the middle of the line, which could belong to the genitive αὐτοῦ and refer to Teimoxenos himself, as well the surviving traces of letters at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th line, we may reasonably propose the restoration (ὑπὲρ) θε|[ραπει]ας [τε α]ὐτοῦ, especially since the phrase ὑπὲρ θεραπείας is attested in inscriptions. One characteristic example is a votive inscription from Odessos (Thrace), in which one Marcus Aurelius Caecilius dedicates a votive relief to Asklepios (τῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης σωτῆρι Ἀσκληπιῷ) in gratitude for his cure (χαριστήριον ὑπὲρ θεραπείας).¹⁹ Whether Teimoxenos' interest had anything to do with the fact that this office involved managing the sanctuary's finances (e.g. he would be personally responsible for farming out the various supply contracts, as was the case with the office of δεκάπρωτος [τῶν] προσόδων of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus) we cannot say.²⁰ Moreover, we know that «building benefactions» of elected magistrates were not always related to their duties. One such example is the case of Thrason, son of Leo, who as δεκάπρωτος, as we know from his votive inscription at Panamara in Stratonikeia, paved the forum with white marble in fulfilment of a public promise he had made before the election (καὶ στρώσας λευκολίθω ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πό|δας ἀφ' καθῶς καὶ τὰ κυρωθέντα ψηφίσματα δηλοῖ | ἐνγεγραμμένος τοῖς δεκαπρώτοις | ὡς ἐπηγγείλατο).²¹

¹⁷ See IG IV 203 ll. 24–26; cf. QUASS, *op. cit.* (n. 14) 330 n. 1406, with the bibliography of the inscription.

¹⁸ See TAM V 1, 693 ll. 5–9.

¹⁹ See IGBulg I² 68 (2), cf. IGBulg V 5033 (2). See also the votive inscription M. ΒΥΪΚΚΟ-ΛΑΝCΙ – H. ENGELMANN, *Inchriften aus Ephesos*, ZPE 86, 1991, 137–144, here 143–144 no. 10 = SEG 41, 966; cf. BE 1992, 409 which was found at Ephesos, where Zosimos, the manager of the lands belonging to a Flavia Zosima, dedicates a small altar: Ἀσκληπιῷ | καὶ Ὑγείᾳ θεοῖς | ἐπιφανεστάτοις | [ὑ]πὲρ κεφαλῆς | θεραπείας καὶ ὀμμάτων βλέψ[ε]ως χρηματισ|θεις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

²⁰ See D. KNIBBE – H. ENGELMANN, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos X*, JÖAI 55, 1984, 143–144 ll. 12–13 (= SEG 34, 1107). According to the first editors: «δεκαπρωτεύσας im Zusammenhang mit den Einkünften des Artemisions besagt offenbar, daß die aus den Städten des Ostens in römischer Zeit bekannte Haftung angesehener Bürger für das Steueraufkommen aus Vectigalien und Tributen auch auf die πρόσοδοι des Tempels Anwendung gefunden hat, d. h. daß auch die Einkünfte des Artemisions etwa aus dem Betrieb der Tempelländereien im Kaystrostal oder aus sonstigen Betrieben oder Unternehmungen wie etwa aus dem Libanopolion verpachtet waren.»

²¹ See I.Stratonikeia 229 a. For other similar examples of building benefactions upon the assumption of office, see the inscriptions I.Ephesos 435 + Add. P. 11, where the asiarch T. Flavius Menander 1139 ll. 3 γραμματεὺς γενόμε[ε]νος τοῦ δήμου ἐκ τῶν ιδίων καθὰ ὑπέσχετο τὸ ὑ[δ]ρεῖον τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι κατασκευάσεν, and I.Ephesos 3066, honouring a prominent citizen because during his magistracy he gave (ll. 14–17) εἰς τὴν τ[οῦ] | λιμένος κατασκευὴν X, βφ', ... κ[αί] | εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ καινοῦ γυμνα[σί]ου; and CRAMME, *op. cit.* (n. 14) 114–121.

In view of the above, then, the text of this new votive inscription should be restored as follows:

73/74 AD Ἔτους · ερ' · Σεβαστοῦ · τοῦ
 [καί] α[κσ'] · Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγι-
 εῖαι · Τειμόξενος Τειμοξέ-
 4 [νου ὑπέρ] τ[ῆ]ς δεκαπρωτίας θε-
 [ραπει]ᾶς [τε α]ὐτοῦ τὸν ναὸν ᾠξ[ο]-
 [δόμησ]εν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων^{vvv}

The primary interest of this new inscription concerns the history of the institution of the δεκαπρωτία in the Greek cities of the eastern Roman Empire, which has been a focus of much research.²² From the available evidence it appears that this is the first and only attestation of the institution in a city in the province of Macedonia, and one of the few that we have from continental Greece and the islands from the Aegean,²³ since the earliest mention of δεκάπρωτοι in these regions occurs in a fragmentarily

²² From the extensive bibliography on the δεκάπρωτοι/εἰκοσάπρωτοι, see O. SEECK, *Decemprimat und Dekaprotie*, *Klio* 1, 1901, 147; C. G. BRANDIS, *RE* 4, 2, 1901, s.v. *Δεκάπρωτοι* 2417–2422; A. H. M. JONES, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, 1940, 139–140; D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, I, 648 and II, 1516–1517; M. ROSTOVITZ, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, ²1957, 390–391; W. LANGHAMMER, *Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der Magistratus Municipales und der Decuriones*, 1973, 254–255; R. MACMULLEN, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis A.D. 235–337*, 1976, 166–167, 287–289; M. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, 1988, 161–164; G. P. BURTON, *The Imperial State and its Impact on the Role and Status of Local Magistrates and Councillors in the Provinces of the Empire*, in: L. DE BLOIS (ed.), *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the first Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 27 B.C.–A.D. 406)* Leiden, June 28–July 1, 2000, 2001, 207–209; M. WÖRRLE, *Ermadyberis von Limyra, ein prominenter Bürger aus der Chora*, in: F. KOLB (ed.), *Chora und Polis*, 2004, 295–298; and S. DMITRIEV, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, 197–200.

²³ As regards mainland Greece, δεκάπρωτοι are known from Tegea (see IG V 2, 132 and 152 which date, respectively, from after 212 AD and the 3rd c. AD) and Messene (see TH. SCHWERTFEGGER, in: X. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia, 1981, 249–255 = SEG 31, 372, from the end of the 2nd c. AD). For insular Greece, δεκάπρωτοι are recorded in Euboea and specifically in Chalcis (see IG XII 9, 906 post-212 AD) and Eretria (see IG XII 9, 925, undated), in Peparethus (IG XII 8, 646 post-212 AD), in Andros (see following note), and in Amorgos and specifically in Minoa (see IG XII 7, 239 and 240 of 207 AD) and Aigiale (see IG XII 7, 1, 395–397, 400–402, 406–409 of which two are precisely dated, no. 396 to 158 and no. 397 to 207, while the rest date from the late 2nd or 3rd c. AD). The title of the office is preserved fragmentarily in a votive inscription from Kabyale, in Thrace (dating from between January 309 and the spring of 310 AD); see A. STEFAN, *AntTard* 12, 2004, 285–288 no. 9 = SEG 54, 638 line 12: --- δεκαπ[ρωτου ---]. This inscription is the latest evidence we have of the institution of δεκάπρωτοι in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

preserved decree from the island of Andros dating from the period 138–161 AD.²⁴ But even for the provinces of Asia Minor and the rest of the Greek East, the new evidence is only the second text dating certainly from the first century, together with a pair from Gerasa (province of Arabia) which date to the year 66 AD and refer to the same person, who was δεκάπρωτος (διὰ βίου) τῆς πόλεως.²⁵ Taken together with those texts, the new evidence confirms that δεκάπρωτοι were appearing in the Greek cities of the East before the end of the reign of Nero, that in those days the title designated an office and was not merely honorary,²⁶ and that, as was the case in the second and third centuries, those elected to that office belonged to the higher social strata of their cities.²⁷

The duties of the δεκάπρωτοι – who in Iasos (Caria) and the cities of Lycia became εικοσάπρωτοι after 124 AD – may be inferred from legal sources, papyri and inscriptions. Based primarily on two passages, the first from Ps. Ulpian's *Opiniones* (early 4th cent. AD ?)²⁸ and the second from the work of Herrenius Modestinus (a jurist of

²⁴ See IG XII 5, 742, cf. P. M. NIGDELIS, *Πολίτευμα και κοινωνία των πόλεων των Κυκλάδων κατά την ελληνιστική και αυτοκρατορική εποχή*, 1990, 277.

²⁵ See C. B. WELLES, in: C. H. KRAELING, *Gerasa*, 1938, no. 45 and 46. The reading proposed by F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN for the last extant line of the IG XII Suppl. Addenda 11 (55 BC) as --- δεκαπ[ρώτ- ---] and its recognition as a type of the word δεκάπρωτος is not tenable, see R. SHERK, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, 1966, no. 25, who completes the line as follows: [καθώς Μάνιος Ἀκύλιος καὶ οἱ] δέκα π[ρεσβευταὶ διέταξαν---]. Apart from the cities already mentioned the institution of δεκάπρωτοι/εικοσάπρωτοι is also attested in inscriptions (of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD) from the following forty-four cities in Asia Minor and Syria: Olympene (Mysia); Kios, Klaudiopolis and Prusias ad Hypium (Bithynia); Akmonia, Apameia, Hierapolis and Laodikeia ad Lycum (Phrygia); Iasos, Kaunos and Stratonikeia (Caria); Ephesos, Magnesia and Smyrna (Ionia); Hierokaisareia, Thyateira, Tralleis and Philadelpheia (Lydia); Etenna and Pogla (Pisidia); Aperlai, Arneai, Balbura, Idebessos, Kyaneai, Korma, Kadyanda, Limyra, Myra, Oinoanda, Sidyma, Phaselis (Lycia); Aspendos, Perge, Side and Sillyon (Pamphylia); Iotape (Cilicia-Isauria); Herakleia Pontike (Pontus-Paphlagonia); Iconium (Lycaonia); possibly Kurion, Salamis and Soloi (Cyprus) and Balanaia, Laodikeia and Palmyra (Syria). The list was compiled on the basis of the sources mentioned in the books and papers cited in note 25. The following six cities are to be added to the above list due to new epigraphic evidence: Tlos and Patara in Lycia: see SEG 54, 1443 (ca. 100 AD) and 1436 (ca. 147 AD) respectively; Ariassos and Panemuteichos in Pisidia: see I.Pisid.Cen. 128 and 131 b (264/265 AD) and SEG 44, 1110 (240–275 AD) respectively; Laërtes and Seleukeia in Cilicia: see ETAM 22 Laërtes 6a 1, 6a 2, 6b 1 and Seleukeia 137 respectively. The restoration [δεκαπρωτε]ύσα[ς] in ETAM 22 Asar Tepe 2 (Juliosbaste or Lamos) is very uncertain, so the city can not be included in this list.

²⁶ As was assumed by ROSTOVΤZEFF, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 706 n. 47, based on the case of the δεκάπρωτος of Gerasa.

²⁷ The wealth of the δεκάπρωτοι is inferred from their title and especially the description of the office as *munus patrimonii* in the legal sources: see the following note.

²⁸ Dig. 50.4.3.10: *Decaprotos etiam minores annis viginti quinque fieri, non militantes tamen, prid. placuit, quia patrimonii magis onus videtur esse*; 50.4.3.11: *exactionem tributorum onus patrimonii esse constat*. For the date of the work, see D. LIEBS, *Ulpiani Opiniones libri VI*, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 41, 1973, 279–310, who queries the older dating of the work, by B. SANTALUCIA, *I libri opinionum di Ulpiano*, 1971 (non vidimus), to before the end of the reign of Alexander Severus.

the Severan period) preserved by Arcadius Charisius,²⁹ on the one hand, and on papyri dating from the 3rd century on the other,³⁰ scholars agree that the δεκάπρωτοι/εικοσάπρωτοι were a collegium of magistrates, with a variable term of office, whose members from the 2nd century on began to guarantee the collection of the direct taxes (*tributum capitis* and *tributum soli*) payable to the imperial treasury with their personal fortunes.³¹ The available inscriptions – coming chiefly from Asia Minor³² and dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, with the exception of Gerasa evidence – attest these duties only indirectly.³³ What they do show is that by the first half of the

²⁹ Dig. 50.4.18.26: *Mixta munera decaprotiae et icosaprotiae, ut Herennius Modestinus et notando et disputando bene et optima ratione decrevit: nam decaproti et icosaproti tributa exigentes et corporale ministerium gerunt et pro omnibus defunctorum fiscalia detrimenta resarciunt, ut merito inter mixta hoc munus numerari debeat*. See also Dig. 50.12.10 (Hermogenianus) and Diocletian's Constitutio (which dates from 293 or 294 AD) CJ 10.42.8: *Nec protostasiae vel sacerdotii vel dekaprotiae munera corporalia sunt, sed tantum patrimonii esse non ambigitur*. Modestinus' work is placed ca. 220/230 AD, Charisius' between 270 and 290 AD, and that of Hermogenianus during Diocletian's reign; see in this regard LIEBS, op. cit. (n. 28) 289.

³⁰ For the papyrus sources containing information about the responsibilities of the δεκάπρωτοι see E. G. TURNER, Egypt and Roman Empire: The ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΟΙ, JEA 22, 1936, 7–19; J. D. THOMAS, The Introduction of Dekaproti and Comarchs into Egypt in the Third Century A.D., ZPE 19, 1975, 111–119; id., The Disappearance of the Dekaproti in Egypt, BASP 111, 1974, 60–68; R. S. BAGNALL, The Number and Term of the Dekaproti, Aegyptus 58, 1978, 160–167. The office ceased to exist there in 302 AD.

³¹ See suggestively JONES, op. cit. (n. 22) 139–140 (who thought that the responsibility for collecting taxes was shared, on a second level, by the βουλή); MAGIE, op. cit. (n. 22) I, 648 and II, 1516–1517; ROSTOVITZEFF, op. cit. (n. 22) 390; MACMULLEN, op. cit. (n. 22) 166–167; BURTON, op. cit. (n. 22) 209; WÖRRLE, Ermandyberis (n. 22) 295 and DMITRIEV, op. cit. (n. 22) 198.

³² See supra and n. 25.

³³ That the δεκάπρωτοι had a role in the collection of the poll tax (ἐπικεφάλαιον) is implied by, e.g., the Andros decree (reign of Antoninus Pius), where the citizens appear to have repeatedly demanded the exemption of the βουλευται and the δεκάπρωτοι from the payment of the poll tax via fixed revenues that the city was proposing to create from the exploitation of (lease or sale) of public land: see IG XII 5, 742 ll. 5–9: ἐπεὶ συνεχῆς καὶ ἀδιαλ[είπτως ἐπέρχονται τινες πρὸς τε] | βουλήν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐκ πολλῶν ἤδη χρόνων, ζητοῦντες(?) | ὡς ἂν οἱ βουλευται καὶ οἱ δεκάπρωτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πο[λι]τεῖται ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχισταῖς[οις καιροῖς ... δύνωνται ἀτελεῖς εἶ] | ναι τοῦ ἐπικεφαλίου, ὥστε ἐκ [τῆς πωλήσεως καὶ μισ] | θώσεως τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων ἀ[γρῶν--], cf. NIGDELIS, op. cit. (n. 24) 277. Similar duties could also be inferred from such adverbs as ἐπεικῶς, πιστῶς καὶ ἀγνώως, suggesting that in honorific inscriptions accompany the exercise of the office: see CH. MAREK, Die Inschriften von Kaunos, 2006, no. 30 l. 7: καὶ δεκαπρωτείαν μετὰ ἐπεικείας πάσης τελέσας, and ll. 12–13: τὴν τε ἔνχειρισθ[ε]ίσαν αὐτῶ δεκαπρωτείαν πιστῶς καὶ ἀγνώως διοικήσ[α]ς ἐπεικείαν αὐτῇ πᾶσαν ἐπεδείξατο; cf. WÖRRLE, Ermandyberis (n. 22) 297. – The expression [δεκ]απρωτεύσαντα τὴν βα[ρ]υτ[ε]ραν πράξιν Βαστερ[ν]ικ[η]ν, which occurs in the honorific inscription TAM V 2, 982 ll. 13–15, concerns the collection of an ad hoc tax imposed by the Roman administration in Thyateira, probably to pay for the military expenditures necessitated by the invasion of the Bastarnae ca. 170 AD and not the payment of direct taxes: see the commentary of A. v. PREMERSTEIN, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus, Klio 12, 1912, 165–166 and recently A. FILIPPINI – G. L. GREGORI, *Adversus rebelles*. Forme di ribellione e di reazione romana nelle Spagne e in Asia Minore al tempo di Marco

2nd century AD the *collegium* was already managing or controlling – always under the personal responsibility of its members – the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of a city, such as the imposition and collection of customs duties, the leasing of the revenues of a sanctuary, the collection of local taxes and the management of a bequest and lending of its revenues.³⁴ As regards the nature of the office, although it is often said that the δεκάπρωτοι were elected from the members of the βουλή, or even that they were its financial commission,³⁵ as was the case in Egypt,³⁶ for the regions of the eastern Empire there is little documentary evidence of such a relation in the latter half of the 2nd and the 3rd century AD.³⁷ On the contrary, cases such as that of Menodora, daughter of Megakles of Sillyon, in Pamphylia, who in the middle of the 2nd century AD was honoured by her fellow-citizens as τ[ε]λεσαμ[έ]νη δεκαπρωτίαν, show that the δεκάπρωτοι were not necessarily βουλευταί.³⁸

Aurelio, *MediterrAnt* 12, 2009, 55–96, esp. 79–80. In addition, the honorific inscription IGR III 833 from Iotape in Cilicia, which was republished by G. E. BEAN – T. B. MITFORD, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia*, 1964–1968, *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 85, 1965, no. 29 a, completing lines 9–11 thus: [δεκαπρω]τεύσαν[τος] πλειστά[κις] ἐπὶ τῆ[ς] εισαγωγῆς τῶν κυριακῶν φόρων πιστῶς, is of dubious value as evidence of this type of duty. Cf. the doubts of L. ROBERT, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale*, 1966, 74–77 concerning the restoration [δεκαπρω]τεύσαν[τος].

³⁴ For the inscriptions that document these duties see MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 648; M. WÖRRLE, *Zwei neue griechische Inschriften aus Myra zur Verwaltung Lykiens*, in: J. BORCHARDT (ed.), *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole*, 1975, 290–291; *id.*, *Stadt und Fest* (n. 22) 162–164; *id.*, *Dereköy: Eine befestigte Siedlung im nordwestlichem Lykien und die Reform ihres dörflichen Zeuskultes*, *Chiron* 27, 1997, 449–450; *id.*, *Ermandyberis* (n. 22) 295–297, and recently BURTON, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 208–209.

³⁵ This question was treated in extenso for the first time by SEECK, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 152–153 (with older bibliography), who identified the δεκάπρωτοι with the *decemprimi* of the cities of the western part of the Roman Empire, accepting that the δεκάπρωτοι were βουλευταί. This view was contested in the same year by BRANDIS, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 2418–2419. SEECK's position was adopted by a number of scholars later, such as e.g. JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 139; MACMULLEN, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 166; WÖRRLE, *Ermandyberis* (n. 22) 295 and LANGHAMMER, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 254–255, while others, e.g. TURNER, *op. cit.* (n. 30) 17–18 and MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 1516–1517 (with a review of the bibliography up to his day) remained sceptical. H. DEDEOĞLU – H. MALAY, *A Dekaprotos at Philadelpheia in Lydia*, *EA* 8, 1996, 102, are opposed to the identification of *decemprimi* and δεκάπρωτοι, while BURTON, *op. cit.* (n. 22), does not discuss the matter. ДМИТРИЕВ, *op. cit.* (n. 22) – who gives a summary review of other scholars considering the terms as synonymous – assumes that from the 2nd c. AD on the δεκάπρωτοι were βουλευταί, for it was in that century that the councils of the Greek cities became representative bodies of the leaders of their elites, to which they undoubtedly belonged.

³⁶ See the works mentioned in note 30, and the sources.

³⁷ For these sources in relation to Euboean Eretria, Hierapolis in Phrygia and Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia, see BRANDIS, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 2419–2420. See also NIGDELIS, *op. cit.* (n. 24) 277 for Andros.

³⁸ See K. G. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens I (Pamphylie)*, 1890, 177 no. 60 ll. 9–10; cf. BRANDIS, *op. cit.* (n. 22) 2410. R. VAN BREMEN, *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, 1996, 76–77 and 108, does not discuss the document from this point of view.

The new document gives no information about Teimoxenos' duties or term of office. Based, however, on what we know about the δεκάπρωτοι of other cities in the eastern part of the Empire, it would be reasonable to suppose that he and his colleagues performed similar duties relating to the collection of the direct taxes payable by the city to the imperial treasury and the superintendence of its ordinary and extraordinary revenues. Whether Teimoxenos and his colleagues were elected from among the βουλευταί and whether this office existed in all Macedonian cities, as in the unknown city of western Pieria, are questions that must, for the moment, remain unanswered.³⁹

The presence of δεκάπρωτοι in a Macedonian city raises anew the question of how direct taxes were collected in that province, a matter for which to date we have only a single piece of evidence. This is an inscription raised at the end of the 1st century AD, just after the death of Nerva (25.01.98 AD), in honour of Popillius Python, ἀρχιερεύς of the κοινόν of the Macedonians, by the Peukastike tribe of Beroia, inter alia as δόντα ἐν τῷ | τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνῳ τὸ ἐπικεφάλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ...,⁴⁰ that is, because in the year in which he held this office (when the inscription was raised) he «gave» the poll tax of the province.⁴¹ Scholars were divided over the interpretation of this passage, with some seeing Popillius' action as nothing more than a single generous gift,⁴² and others associating it with the power of the κοινόν of the Macedonians to collect, via its officers (in this case the ἀρχιερεύς) the direct imperial taxes due from the province.⁴³ Unfortunately the new inscription does not provide us with

³⁹ Because the number of cities in Asia Minor in which δεκάπρωτοι are attested is so small, BURTON, op. cit. (n. 22) 209, (and, following him, ДМИТРИЕВ, op. cit. [n. 22] 200) conjectures that the other cities must have used pre-existing civic institutional structures to perform their duties as regards the imperial treasury.

⁴⁰ See EKM I 117 ll. 8–10, add to the commentary on the inscription the opinion of J. DEININGER (n. 42).

⁴¹ F. PAPAΖΟΓΛΟΥ, La koinon macédonien et la province de Macédoine, in: Thracia. Studia in honorem Chr. M. Danov, 1998, 133–139 (with the older bibliography), thinks that here, as in other cases, the word ἐπαρχία does not mean the entire Roman province (*provincia*) but the cities that belonged to the Koinon of the Macedonians. This view was challenged recently by P. ADAM-VELENI and E. SVERKOS, Μ. Ούλπιος Ιουλιανός ηγεμών της Μακεδόνων επαρχίας, in: E. SVERKOS (ed.), Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Επιγραφικής (Πρακτικά) Θεσσαλονίκη 24–25 Νοεμβρίου 2001, 2008, 20–23, who support the older opinion (of ΚΑΝΑΤΣΟΥΛΙΣ and ΔΕΙΝΙΝΓΕΡ) that the Koinon coincided with the *provincia*. In addition, ROSTOVTZEFF, op. cit. (n. 22) 631 n. 31, thought it likely that the ἐπικεφάλιον was the poll tax paid only by urban citizens.

⁴² See J. DEININGER, Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit, 1965, 94–95 and WÖRRLE, Zwei neue griechische Inschriften (n. 34) 292.

⁴³ This interpretation, which was formulated by the first editor of the inscription, M. ROSTOVTZEFF, Inscriptions from Macedonia, Bull. de l'Inst. arch. russe à Constantinople 4, 1899, 179–188, and Geschichte der Staatspacht in der römischen Kaiserzeit, 1904, 420, was adopted by J. A. O. LARSEN, Roman Greece, in: An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome IV, 1940, 454 and D. ΚΑΝΑΤΣΟΥΛΙΣ, Το Κοινό των Μακεδόνων, Μακεδονικά 3, 1953–1955, 44–45. JONES, op. cit. (n. 22) 139, had already expressed doubts about this view.

any decisive argument in favour of any of the above interpretations and subsequently the question should remain open.

The inscription to Teimoxenos is interesting for another reason beyond what it tells us about the institution of the δεκάπρωτία: it is also of exceptional importance as regards the historical topography of the district, since the office imply a connection with a city. The problem of urban life in western Pieria has to date been a focus of research on the basis of chance finds (mainly but not exclusively funerary inscriptions) from the broader region. Thus, F. ΠΑΠΑΖΟΓΛΟΥ formulated the hypothesis that the region that included the villages (from north to south) Ryakia, Moschopotamos (formerly Dranista or Dryanista) and Ritini did not belong to the territory of the Roman colony of Dion but more likely to cities that had existed at least since the Hellenistic age and had retained their autonomy after that colony was established.⁴⁴ Her conclusion was supported by archaeological finds, and more particularly a bronze portrait of Severus Alexander found at Ryakia,⁴⁵ three funerary inscriptions of the Hellenistic period that were once built into the walls of two churches (St. Georgios and SS Apostoli) in Moschopotamos,⁴⁶ and chance finds from Ritini, among them a hoard of eleven bronze artefacts from the Archaic and Classical periods,⁴⁷ and a small bronze relief head of Attis with his characteristic Phrygian cap.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ F. ΠΑΠΑΖΟΓΛΟΥ, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, 1988, 117.

⁴⁵ For the archaeological evidence from Ryakia and Ritini, see ΠΑΠΑΖΟΓΛΟΥ, *op. cit.* 117 n. 90, with bibliography. For the portrait of Alexander Severus, which is being kept in the Archaeological Museum at Dion, see D. ΠΑΝΔΕΡΜΑΛΙΣ, *Ein Bildnis des Severus Alexander in Thessaloniki*, AA 1972, 128–145.

⁴⁶ The first two of these inscriptions from Moschopotamos were originally published by A. DUMONT, *Inscriptions et bas reliefs de la Thessalie*, *Rev. Arch.* 1873, 52–54 = *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie, réunis par Th. Homolle*, 1892, 106–108 (from a reprint by Gorceix), as inscriptions from Perraiibia, which explains their republication by ΟΤΤΟ ΚΕΡΝ in 1908 in IG IX 2 as numbers 230 and 231. A few years after the liberation of Macedonia they were noted as unpublished by G. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Μακεδονίας*, 1915, no. 58–59–60 (numbers 59 and 60 refer to the same inscription [cf. A. ΠΛΑΣΣΑΡΤ, *Inscriptions de Piérie, d'Émathie et de Bottiée*, BCH 47, 1923, 169–170]), to whom we also owe the publication of a fragment that he published as no. 61. CHARLES EDSON saw these three inscriptions and recorded them in his Notebooks (= NB) as no. 235 (= ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, no. 58), 236 (= ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, no. 259+260) and 237 (= ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, no. 61). EDSON's squeezes are kept at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study. All three inscriptions are tentatively dated by the editors of the LGPN IV to the 1st c. BC; see s.v. Ἀμμαδίς, Οὐαδύρα, Ἄμμια. For two further inscriptions from Moschopotamos, which ΠΑΠΑΖΟΓΛΟΥ does not mention, see below in the text. For another relief stele from the same region, see K. ΡΗΟΜΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, AD 36, 1981, *Chronika B* 2, 304.

⁴⁷ This treasure was found northwest of the village, between Dirno Hill (to the north) and (to the south) Palaiokastro, a height of land which has yielded antiquities.

⁴⁸ For the iconography of Attis in general see LIMC III, 1986, s.v. Attis 22–24 (M. J. VERMASEREN – M. B. DE BOER). For the earlier interpretation of the head as that of a woman with a Phrygian cap, see PH. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ, AD 23, 1968, *Chronika B* 2, 328; *id.*, *Χρονικά Αρχαιολογικά*

Taking into account the same finds as PAPAZOGLU and considering them in the light of literary sources (Ptolemy, Pliny and Livy), M. HATZOPOULOS formulated the hypothesis that there must have been a city at Moschopotamos, most probably Phylakai, basing his argument on the controlling position of the village on the main road between Pieria and Bottiaia over the Pieria Massif.⁴⁹ He does not, however, exclude a second possibility, namely that Moschopotamos occupies the site of ancient Agassai, which was destroyed by Q. Marcius Philippus in 168 BC, during the Second Macedonian War.⁵⁰

The existence of urban life in this region after 168 BC is confirmed by two funerary inscriptions that escaped the attention of these two scholars. The former comes from the Moschopotamos area and has been dated to the late Hellenistic period, while the later comes from a site closer to Lagorahi (see below) and has been dated probably to the 1st century BC, judging by its letter forms and, more tellingly, the fact that it speaks of private *patroni*.⁵¹

These older finds from the area have now been supplemented by a number of new ones. The Paleklissi site was unknown until the new inscription appeared. This discovery prompted a search which revealed, in a wooded area around the chapel of St. Paraskevi (which had never been farmed), building ruins (including a threshold) and some pottery, while considerable quantities of pottery were also found in neighbouring fields.⁵² Excavation work carried out a few months later, in 2007, for the con-

1966–1967, *Μακεδονικά* 9, 1969, 190 pl. 100γ, and PAPAZOGLU, *op. cit.* (n. 44) 117 n. 90. We note that this item (inventoried by the Museum of Thessaloniki as no. 10257) has now been moved to the Archaeological Museum of Dion.

⁴⁹ M. B. HATZOPOULOS, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings I*, 1996, 109; M. B. HATZOPOULOS – P. PASCHIDIS, in: M. H. HANSEN – T. H. NIELSEN (ed.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, 2004, 797.

⁵⁰ HATZOPOULOS, *op. cit.* I, 109 n. 8. See however HATZOPOULOS – PASCHIDIS, *op. cit.* 797, where *Agassae* is referred to as an unlocated settlement, somewhere in Pieria.

⁵¹ These inscriptions were also known from the Notebooks of CHARLES EDSON, who visited Moschopotamos on 3 June 1937, where they are recorded as numbers 238 and 239 respectively. The former, he tells us, was found by a farmer in his field, who built it into a wall of his house, with the result that we know neither its shape nor its dimensions. EDSON gives the following text: [---c4-5---]μαχη Παραμόνου | Παράμονος Ἀδύμου | ἥρωες, which he knew only from the initial publication in the *Εθνικός Οδηγός* 1920–1921, vol. 6, 182 no. 1 (which gives as the find site Lakka, 25 minutes south of Moschopotamos [non vidimus, we are citing the Notebooks]). The second inscription, numbered 239, which was re-published by J. CORMACK, *Inscriptions from Pieria*, *Klio* 52, 1970, 63–64 no. 16, is a funerary inscription reasonably dated by EDSON to the Late Hellenistic period. The find comes from the area south of the village, from a field belonging to Efthymios Tsikolatas on the south-southwestern bank of the Pelekanos creek, i.e. nowadays the Moschopotamos creek (CORMACK repeats EDSON's information but identifies the area with Lagorahi). Its text, according to CORMACK, reads as follows: ----βαντα Διονυσίου τοῦς ἔαυ|τής (EDSON reads ἔα|τής) πάτρωνας. Today, this stone is being kept in the Archaeological Museum of Dion [inv. no. 199 (and 7717)].

⁵² ARVANITAKI, *op. cit.* (n. 1).

struction of a road adjacent to the above site, brought to light part of a – possibly private – bathhouse complex, the oldest phase of which, built on the bedrock, dates (according to the excavator) no earlier than the late 4th century AD.⁵³ Moreover, a fragment of a Roman relief was found by chance at the nearby site of Sykia, just one kilometer southeast of Paleklissi.⁵⁴ Paleklissi is probably on the line of an ancient road from Pieria to Bottiaia, likely a secondary road, since the main route from Pieria to Bottiaia in antiquity almost certainly followed the line of the present road, which runs through Lagorahi, Moschopotamos and across the Pieria Massif into present-day Emathia.

The broader region is dotted with sites of archaeological interest (Fig. 2). For example, to the northeast of Lagorahi, and more precisely just beside the Moschopotamos road where it crosses the road to Meliadi, there is a natural stronghold next to the Moschopotamos creek with ruins of residential buildings from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, which have not yet been excavated.⁵⁵ Directly northeast of this citadel is the probable location of E. Tsikolatas' cabin; the owner had built into its walls the aforementioned funerary relief with three figures and the inscription referring to private «patrons».⁵⁶ At St. Nikolaos, a site 3.5 kilometres northeast of Ritini and 3 kilometres southeast of Paleklissi, remnants of a Hellenistic settlement have been found, as well as part of a Roman farmhouse with a wine-press and a cellar for storage jars, while next to this a Neolithic settlement has been excavated.⁵⁷ At a site of the same name 3 kilometres northwest of Moschopotamos there is a chapel with ancient architectural elements built into its walls and surrounded, according to oral testimony, by ancient ruins.

The new inscription, taken together with the earlier and more recent finds that have been presented here, is irrefutable proof that a city once stood in the area bounded by the present-day villages of Elatohori, Ritini, Lagorahi and Moschopotamos, although from the available evidence it can not be said whether the city survived as late as the 4th century AD or it became a village or even a smaller settlement. The institution of the δεκάπρωτία and the exercise of its functions by a non-Roman citizen attested in the new inscription shows that the city did not belong to the territory of the colony of

⁵³ E. ΜΑΡΚΙ, Ανασκαφικά ευρήματα δύο άγνωστων οικισμών της Πιερίας, in: Η Πιερία στα βυζαντινά και στα νεότερα χρόνια, 4^ο Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο (in press).

⁵⁴ The find is kept in storage at the 27th ΕΡΚΑ at Makrygialos, inventoried as Πν 12432.

⁵⁵ The site discovered by archaeologist M. ΒΕΣΙΟΣ has been proclaimed an archaeological site, see ΦΕΚ 1075/Β/14. 10. 1998.

⁵⁶ See *supra* n. 51; cf. Ν. Δ. ΒΑΡΜΑΖΙΣ, Δύσκολα χρόνια στην Πιερία, 2002, fig. on p. 17.

⁵⁷ Μ. ΒΕΣΙΟΣ – Α. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΔΟΥ – Κ. ΝΟΥΛΑΣ – Μ. ΧΡΗΣΤΑΚΟΥ-ΤΟΛΙΑ, Ανασκαφές στον αγωγό ύδρευσης Βόρειας Πιερίας, ΑΕΜΘ 17, 2003, 452, 453–455; Μ. ΒΕΣΙΟΣ, Αρχαίοι αμπελώνες στη Βόρεια Πιερία, in: Γ. Α. ΡΙΚΟΥΛΑΣ (ed.), Οίνον ιστορώ ΙΙΙ.Τ' αμπελοανθίσματα, Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο, Κτήμα Γεροβασιλείου, Επανομή Θεσσαλονίκης 15 Μαΐου 2004, 2004, 42–43, pl. 10, Fig. 4.

Dion, as PAPAZOGLOU correctly surmised. This city occupied an important geographical position, since it was built on the only road across the Pieria Massif between Pieria and Bottiaia. The name of this urban centre, however, whether or not it was the Phylakai known from literary sources, and its exact location can only be a matter for conjecture until established by further excavation in the region or a new inscription.

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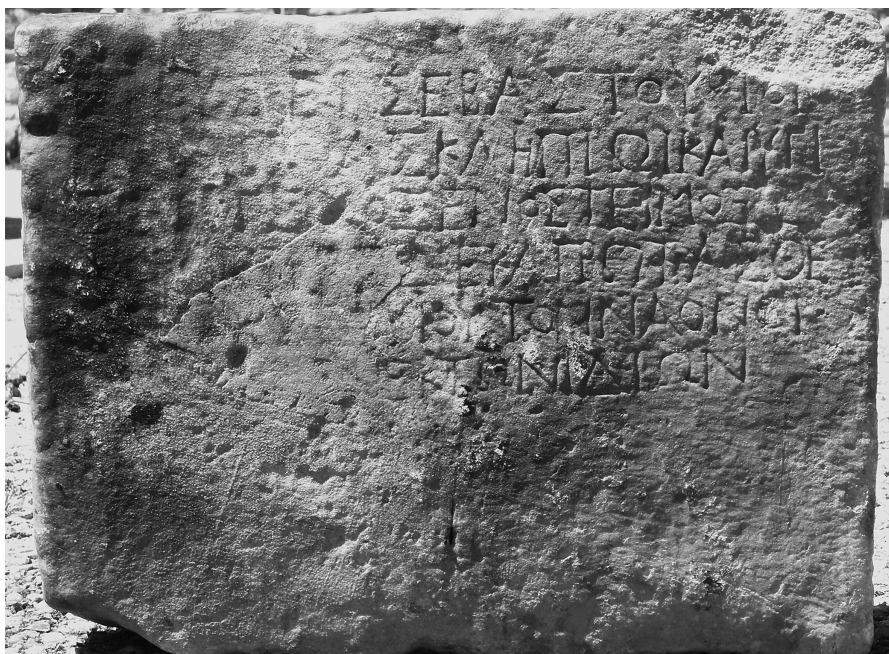


Fig. 1: The inscription from Paleklissi

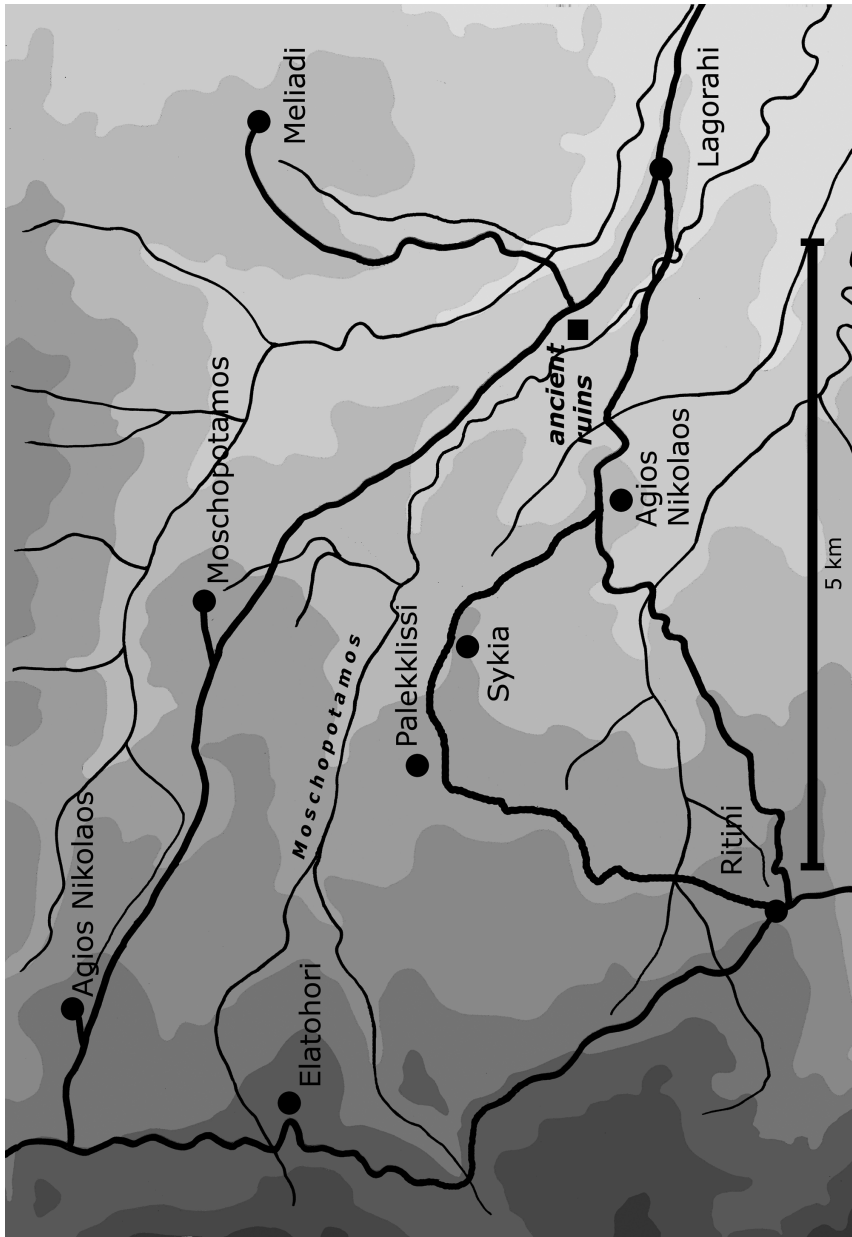


Fig. 2: Map