

# Excavations at the Actian Tropaeum at Nikopolis

## A preliminary report

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The Victory Monument founded by Octavian Augustus at Nikopolis in memory of the Actian naval battle was traced and partly excavated in 1913 by Alexandros Philadelphus,<sup>1</sup> who interpreted his discoveries as the ruins of a Corinthian temple. In 1922 Konstantinos Romaios briefly noted that the architectural remains unearthed by Philadelphus did not constitute a temple, but instead the Octavian Tropaeum, which was erected on the spot where, according to ancient writers, the Princeps had pitched his tent before the battle. Romaios regarded the memorial as a *temenos* or a sacred *peribolos*.<sup>2</sup> In 1924, Ioannis Miliadis resumed excavations on the lower terrace of the monument, but the only known result of this research was the detection of twelve blocks of the monumental inscription.<sup>3</sup> In 1936, Jean Gagé, in his article “Actiaca”, proposed a reconstruction of the Latin inscription of the monument and analysed the background to and significance of the erection of the monument.<sup>4</sup> In 1974 Fotios Petsas excavated briefly on the upper terrace of the monument.<sup>5</sup> His results and all the previous partially known elements of the monument were brought together and published in a monograph in 1989 by him and William Murray, who also managed to explain the anchor-shaped cuttings on the façade of the monument ignored by previous research.<sup>6</sup>

Although this monument is of extreme importance, since its construction relates to one of the greatest historical events of the ancient world – the last major sea battle in antiquity – it remained little studied and poorly protected by the Greek Archaeological Service. Apart from that, the monument was plundered by the Italian

army of occupation during World War II, when the locals were forced to smash many of its stone blocks in order to use them as material for the construction of three guard-houses on top of the Michalitsi hills.<sup>7</sup> During last year’s excavations a limekiln was discovered in the south-west corner of the monument. We do not know either the exact date of the construction of the kiln or the extent of the destruction caused to the ruins. Also, there must have been extensive plundering in Antiquity, partly during the period of the barbarian invasions, when the monument’s location outside the city walls made it extremely vulnerable, and partly during the early Christian period, when the pagan sanctuaries were demolished and new buildings were erected to glorify the Church.

The ongoing research, which started in 1995, aims to complete the excavation and



Fig. 1. Part of the Podium Façade with anchor-shaped cuttings.

conservation work.<sup>8</sup> Apart from the archaeological information to be gained, our project aims both to preserve the monument from further deterioration and to redesign the whole area in such a way that it can be visited by the public.

The Tropaeum is situated on the Michalitsi hills on the borders of the modern village of Nikopolis, north of the ancient city. The location of the monument is quite impressive and explains why it was chosen by Octavian for his camp.<sup>9</sup> From there one can observe the coastline of the Ionian sea and the shores of the Ambracian gulf, and, on a clear day, see the promontory of Actium and even the mountains of Acarnania and Leukas. At the foot of the hill towards the plain lie the ruins of buildings related to the Actian games,<sup>10</sup> the Stadium, the Gymnasium and the Theatre, described by Strabo as the Suburb (Προάστειον), situated in a grove.<sup>11</sup> Further south we come across the city of Nikopolis with its walls, cemeteries, and private and public buildings.

The monument was built on two terraces (Pl. 1). The visitor approaching the monument from the south sees on the first terrace a massive retaining wall of *opus caementicium*. Above this is the facade of a second pi-shaped retaining wall or podium, the side wings of which continue inside the hill. On the top of the podium there was a second terrace, along whose perimeter stood a pi-shaped stoa opening to the south. The main wing of the stoa defines the northern limit of the terrace, while its side wings reach the back of the podium. Thus an atrium is formed measuring 38 x 38 meters. The entire complex formed a kind of open-air sanctuary.

The subsoil of the hill is unsuitable for supporting the foundations of such massive constructions, a fact which demanded inventive solutions by the Roman architects. The erection of the monument in this specific location, and during a short period of time, must be connected with the ruler's political will and propaganda. The monument was built at the site where Octavian and his forces camped before the battle. It therefore sanctifies and



Fig. 2. Relief marble fragment with horse heads.

serves as a symbol of the New Order. Dio Cassius makes this clear when he mentions the location of the monument (51. 1. 3):

τὸ τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐοκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἕδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἰδρυσάμενος.

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

Suetonius (*Aug.* 18, 2) is more specific as far as the symbolism of the Memorial is concerned:

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

“To extend the fame of his victory at Actium and perpetuate its memory, he founded a city called Nikopolis near Actium, and provided for the celebration of games there every four years; enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo; and consecrated the site of the camp that he had used to





Fig. 3. Marble Gorgoneion from a cuirasse statue of an emperor or Mars Ultor.

Neptune and Mars, after adorning it with naval spoils” (Loeb edition of Rolfe).

According to the Greek and Roman tradition, trophies were usually erected on the battlefield. In this case, however, a site was chosen well away from the shores of Actium where the famous sea-battle took place, for reasons pointed out by Jean Gagé:<sup>12</sup>

“Mais le camp de Mikalitzzi s’imposait à son choix; c’est à ses abords immédiates qu’avaient eu lieu les escarmouches de cavalerie [d’Antoine], suivis de l’entrée des transfuges; c’est là que dut se rendre, une semaine après la bataille navale, l’armée de terre d’Antoine, abandonnée par ses chefs – capitulation qui, quoiqu’elle fût facile à prévoir et obtenue sans combat, rendit seule la victoire définitive; c’est là surtout qu’Octave avait demeuré pendant toute la campagne, et la nuit même avant la bataille du 2 septembre; c’est donc là aussi qu’il en avait pris les auspices. Pour un *imperator* comme lui, superstitieux et particulièrement attaché aux rites auguraux que son nom même d’Auguste allait bientôt évoquer, ce *praetorium*, cet *augurale*, devait avoir une valeur sacrée, et, en effet, à côté des images divines qu’il y dressa, les fameuses statues de l’ânier Eutybios et de son âne Nicôn rappelaient complaisamment les presages qui lui avaient annoncé sa victoire.”

The area of the monument and the nearby hills consist of a clay substratum overlain by gravel. These two different formations cause a sliding effect, which is enforced by the underground waters emerging at the contact between these two layers. There are still springs in the area below and above the monument, and this was probably one reason why the area was chosen as a campsite. As we shall see below, the nature of the substratum has strongly affected the monument’s stability.

## The lower terrace

### *The retaining wall South side*

The retaining wall is situated 3.50 metres from the podium facade. It is made of *opus caementicium*. In several places its surface was quite flat, but it was not possible to determine whether it was originally covered with stone slabs or other material or simply smoothed with plaster. On the top of its west and east sections two clay water-pipes were found running at right angles to the long axis of the wall. The facade of the wall was covered with small limestone blocks arranged according to the *opus quasi-reticulatum* system. Traces of plaster on some stones suggest that the facade of the wall was stuccoed. The wall is 2.80 metres in height, while its “stepped” foundation reaches 1.20 metres in height and 0.40 metres in width. The retaining wall is poorly preserved; its surface is mostly uneven, portions of the masonry have collapsed, and the entire structure from its foundations has slid southwards, especially in the eastern part. This last phenomenon is due not to pressure from material behind that shifted the retaining wall but to the slumping of the underlying layers. This also caused damage to the podium walls, which were found together with their foundations, pushed some meters south of their original position.

### *The podium facade*

The podium is the best preserved and most impressive part of the monument. It is pi-shaped and is constructed of ashlar masonry. The original length of the facade

was ca. 62 meters long. The length of the side wings is unknown, since they are built into the slope of the hill. It is not clear yet if the side wings were visible in antiquity from the lower courses of limestone blocks to the top, or if they were partly covered with soil.

The foundations of the podium (1.20 m in height) were cut into the yellowish clay stratum, which is homogenous, compact and impermeable to water. The foundations are built of small sandstone slabs, mixed with small pieces of unworked limestone and a thin mortar. The sandstone blocks were most probably extracted from the nearby hills. On top of the foundation lies a line of roughly dressed limestone blocks, 0.50 m in height. These blocks form the *euthynteria* of the podium (Pl. 2).

The superstructure of the facade is constructed of ashlar masonry in an isodomic manner, with headers placed at irregular intervals. Each course consists of two rows of blocks (inner and outer). After the two rows of blocks of the *euthynteria* were laid on their concrete footing, additional concrete was poured behind them. The first course proper consisted only of the exterior blocks, while concrete was poured over the inner block up to the level of this first course. Thus limestone



Fig. 4. Fragment of stamped roof tile.

blocks and concrete together constituted a massive structure. The blocks of limestone were clamped together with iron “double T” clamps. The presence of swallow-tail cuttings on several blocks at irregular positions is clear evidence that the blocks were reused and came from an older structure. The west part of the podium facade is the best preserved, with three courses of blocks above the *euthynteria*. In some instances blocks of the fourth course of the inner row are still in place. Neither



Fig. 5. Fragment of sima with moulded depiction of the Lupa Romana and the twins.



the exact height of the podium, however, nor the way in which the whole monument was crowned, is as yet clear.

A long Latin inscription in capital letters decorated the upper part of the podium facade. Blocks with the inscription were discovered in front of the podium during the previous excavation's work. Twenty-eight blocks of the inscription were known up to 1995, nine of which are lost, I am afraid, forever. They were probably among those blocks smashed by the Italian army. Six new blocks, two of which are blank, were discovered during our investigation. The precise documentation of the position where the new fragments were recovered in combination with the complete clearing of the facade will hopefully help to restore this important Latin inscription.

Apart from the inscription, the podium facade preserves carved anchor-shaped sockets (Fig. 1), which originally held bronze rams from the captured battle ships of Antony and Cleopatra. The rams were displayed according to order of size, with the largest to the west and the smallest towards the east. The sockets of the largest rams rise up to the third course of the limestone blocks. A total of thirty-six to thirty-seven rams were displayed.

The rams were installed during the construction of the wall and not after its completion. Since the back of the rams is wider than the front, their placement after the construction of the wall would have compromised their stability. Therefore, after taking accurate measurement, the masons carefully carved the lower course of limestone blocks and placed the rams in position. Then the rest of the blocks were carved separately and carefully lowered into place. In this way each ram was locked into its individual socket and constituted part of the superstructure of the wall.

Besides the incorporation of the rams into the wall's masonry, their substantial weight demanded additional support. At a distance of about one-meter from the wall and just in front of each ram, rectangular sandstone foundations were uncovered.

Upon one of them a thick limestone slab is preserved. These foundations obviously constituted part of small supporting pedestals.

#### *Water-drain behind the facade*

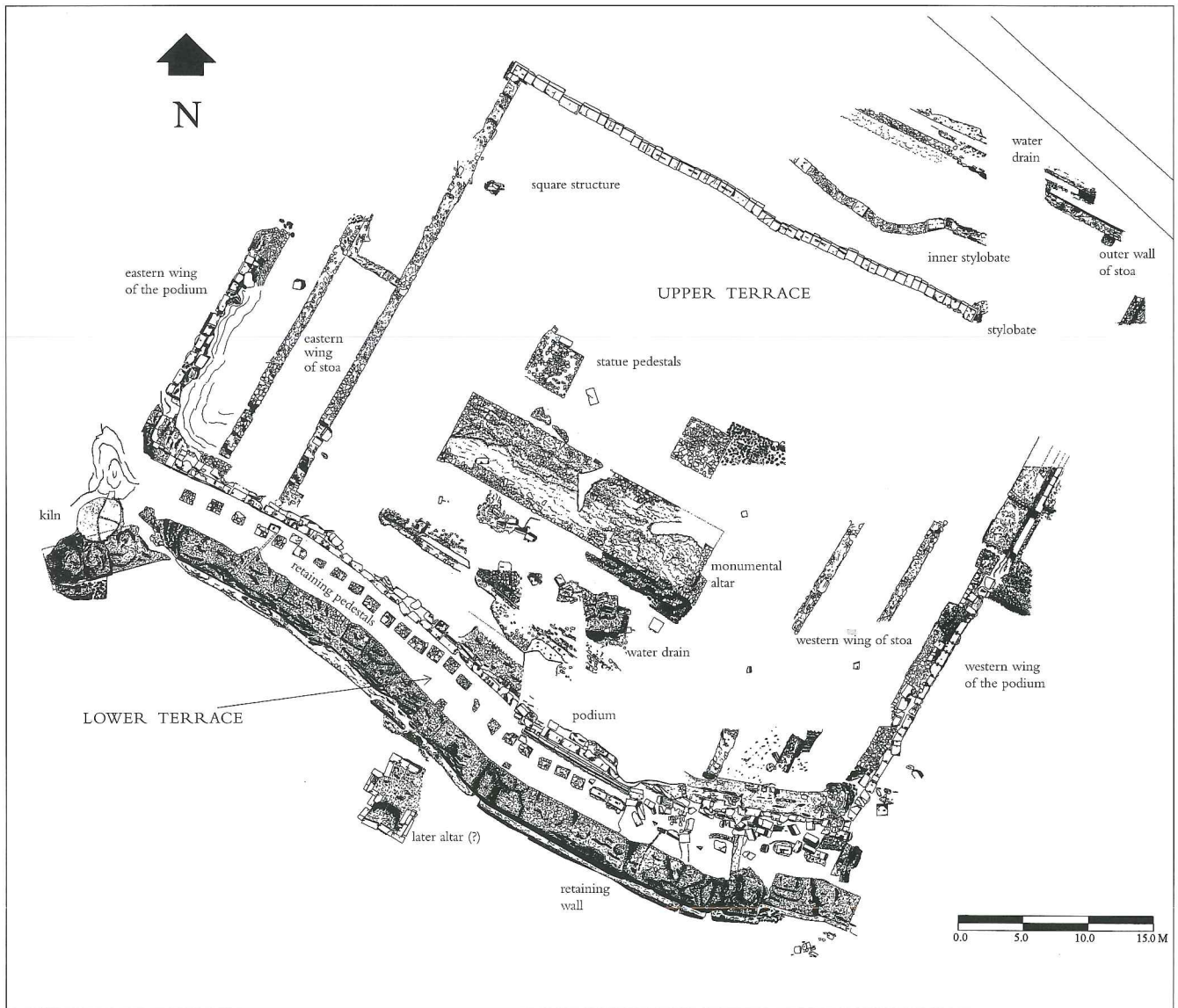
Parallel to the podium's facade and 5.50 metres behind it, a water-drain made of clay bricks embedded in *opus caementicium* was uncovered, which extends deep into the ground. At the bottom of the drain there were roof tiles of the Corinthian type together with fallen clay bricks from the side walls. It is not clear as yet if the drain was covered by tiles.

#### *The western wing of the podium*

The podium's western wing displays the following characteristics: it was also constructed according to the isodomic masonry system, with headers at irregular intervals. The facade of the stone blocks was tooth-dressed and those of the superstructure were placed in a stepped manner, with the facade of the inner stones also tooth-dressed. Concrete was again poured here behind the outer row of blocks. "Double T" clamps and shift-holes were present on this part of the podium as well. Some blocks have an elongated cutting (up to 0.60 m. long) on their upper parts in order to secure the placement of the block above. Seven courses of limestone blocks have been attested above the *euthyteria*, but traces of concrete on the surface of the blocks of the seventh course, together with the presence of one block on top of it, probably *in situ*, suggest the existence of at least an eighth course.

#### *The eastern wing of the podium*

The same construction techniques were also used in the eastern wing. On the rear of the wall, in its southern part, we observed that a wall of sandstone slabs bonded with thin mortar had replaced the concrete and the second row of blocks. "Double T", "Pi-shaped" and swallow-tail clamps were also used here. The facade of the blocks is tooth-dressed, like that of the western wing. The uppermost stone preserved *in situ* in this part of the monu-



ment corresponds to the eighth stone course above the *euthynteria*, thus corresponding to the measurements of the visible stones on the west wing.

*The structure in front of the podium*

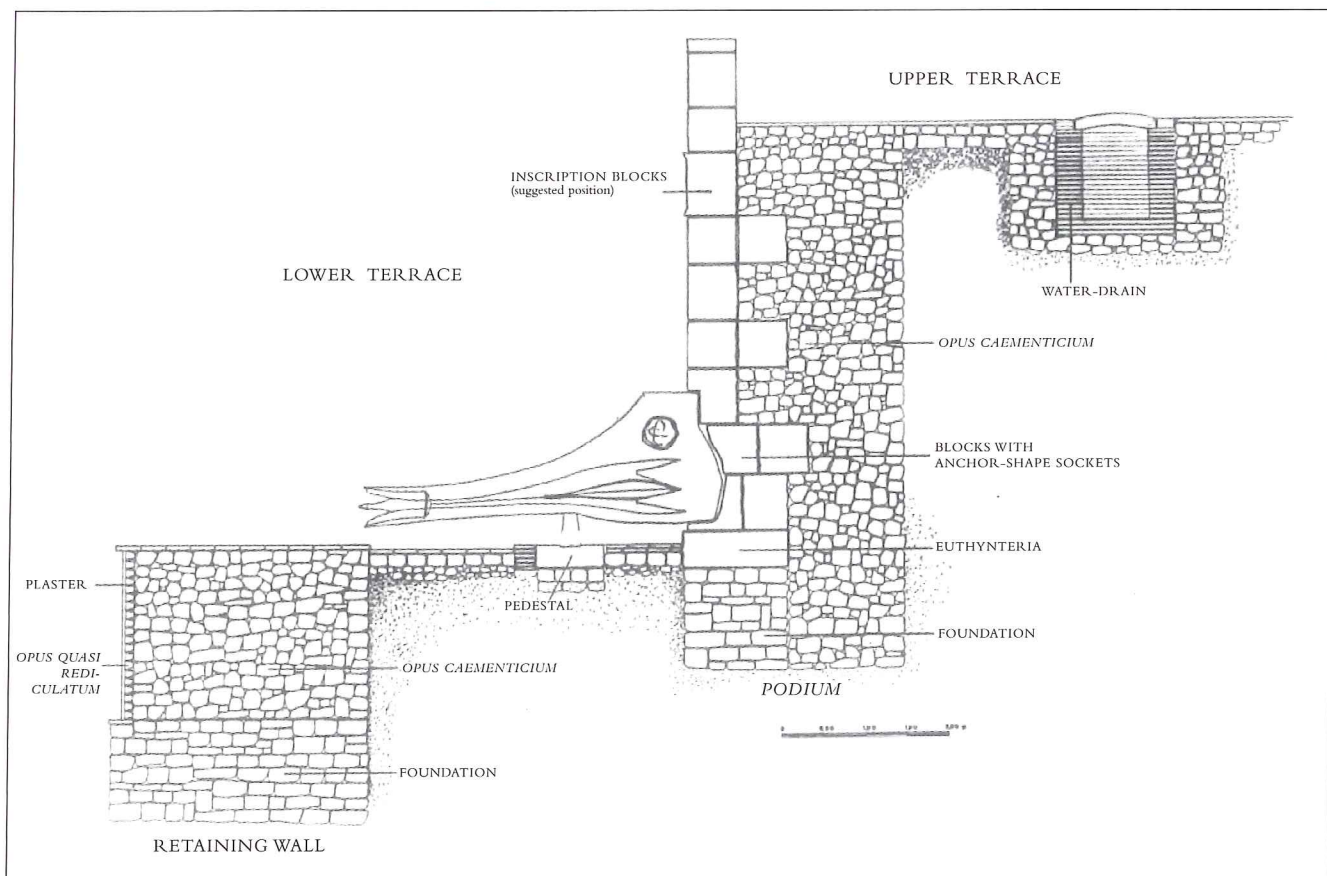
In the middle of the podium's facade and in front of the retaining wall, we found a rectangular structure with a square projection in the middle of its long west side. The structure is built of well-hewn limestone slabs, which form at least three steps. The stones are joined with Pi-shaped clamps, some of them still in situ, covered with lead. The interior of the structure was filled with stones and fragments of brick and roof tiles. The same filling is

used for the foundation of the structure. Most probably the surviving elements belong to the lowest courses of the podium of an altar, which was erected after the completion of the main monument.

The excavation evidence given until this date shows that all the foundation walls of the monument on the lower and upper terrace are made of local soft yellowish sandstone slabs. The material of the foundation of the small edifice in front of the monument thus constitutes an exception. Furthermore, within the filling of the structure were found fragments of terracotta antefixes, which must originate from a roof belonging to the original building programme of the monument. Similar an-

Pl. 1. Plan of the Actian Trophaeum.





Pl. 2. Reconstructed section of podium and retaining wall.

tefixes were found in other sectors of the excavations.

## The upper terrace

### *The Stoa*

The upper terrace measuring ca. 62 x 50m is enclosed on the north, east and west sides by a pi-shaped stoa, which has been partially excavated. The northern wing of the stoa preserves *in situ* limestone blocks of a 40.3 meters long stylobate<sup>13</sup> without steps (0.60-1.30 m long, 0.36 m thick). On the upper surface of the blocks are dowel sockets, shift-holes, lead channels, and setting lines. Also, in the space between the columns there are five long cuttings, possibly to hold metal tablets (in the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> middle space). A swallow-tail cutting on the side of the third slab from the east of the stylobate indicates that the stones of this edifice were also transferred from elsewhere. The stylobate's foundation consists of small sand-

stone slabs bonded with thin mortar.

About five meters north of the stylobate, the foundation of a second inner stylobate was found which has been excavated as far as 16 meters. Its construction was made of flat sandstones as well. Three limestone blocks (block dimensions: 1.10 x 0.90 x 0.45 meters) with sockets and setting lines were found up to present in the foundation wall. Their axial distance measures 5.60-5.80 meters from west to east. The wall has an elliptical distortion towards the south, due to the slumping of the substratum.

Further to the north, part of the outer wall of the stoa was found. It is made of *opus caementicium* resting on sandstone foundations. Near the wall, a destruction layer was found containing roof tiles. Along the outer wall of the stoa ran a drainage canal made of triangular bricks embedded in concrete. Its interior is covered with hydraulic mortar.

In the western wing of the stoa, parts of two long parallel foundation walls were

found (0.95 m wide). They are made of roughly smoothed sandstone slabs with thin mortar as binding material. The easternmost wall meets on the north the western end of the outer stylobate of the north wing of the stoa. Likewise, the extension of the westernmost wall would meet the western end of the inner stylobate. The sandstone foundation in some parts reaches more than three meters in depth. Similar parallel foundation walls are partly preserved in the eastern wing of the pi-shaped stoa. It is not yet clear if the side wings of the stoa were double-aisled, like its north wing, or single-aisled. In the former case, the upper course of blocks of the perimeter of the podium would have served as a stylobate. The side wings of the stoa reached the rear of the south wall of the podium. This is verified by trial trenches at the south eastern corner of the terrace, where parts of the foundations of the eastern stoa wing were discovered. The western foundation wall towards the atrium, made of the usual sandstone slabs, was found detached from the podium's rear, due to the severe slumping in this part of the hill. The same phenomenon is also attested in connection with the next wall to the east, which is constructed in a different manner: upon the sandstone foundation a wall of *opus caementicium* dressed with triangular bricks (*opus testaceum*) was placed. This wall is preserved to a height of 1.50 m. On either side of the wall fallen column drums were found. This wall is connected with restoration and preservation works at the southeastern corner of the monument, which took place after a slippage that must have caused severe damage in that specific area. This hypothesis is supported by the different type of masonry attested in this part of the podium.

A section of about 17 meters of the eastern part of the podium's south wall has partly collapsed. In that part of the wall and behind the two rows of ashlar blocks, a two meter thick wall of *opus caementicium* constructed in a different manner is visible. Its southern face, which is in contact with the ashlar blocks, is dressed with

square bricks bearing diagonal incisions, while on its outer face there are clear imprints of wooden framework.

Brick masonry (*opus testaceum*) is also attested in front of the ashlar blocks of the facade. The dating of this operation, obviously intended to retain the monument, it is not yet clear.

Among the various architectural elements, which have been attributed to the stoa, are four column drums, two Corinthian capitals and a column base, all made of limestone. According to the measurements of the column base, which correspond to the setting lines on the slabs of the stylobate, there was a total of fifteen columns in the northern wing of the stoa. The two surviving Corinthian capitals are, however, as has already been pointed out by other scholars, stylistically much later than the age of Augustus.<sup>14</sup> Do they belong to the restoration works mentioned above? And do these works have something to do with the activities at Nikopolis of the emperor Julian the Apostate? Claudius Mamertinus, prefect of Illyricum, who undertook the consulship on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January of 362 A.D., in his speech in honour of the emperor, mentions (*Paneg. Lat.* 11, 9) that Nikopolis was endowed by the emperor, who reorganized the Actian games and contributed to the repairs of the almost totally ruined private and public buildings of the city:<sup>15</sup> *Urbs Nikopolis, quam divus Augustus in monumentum Actiae victoriae trophaei instar exstruxerat, in ruinas lacrimabiles prope tota conciderat.*

Undoubtedly, the Trophy of Augustus must have been part of Julian's restoration programme, since it constituted the cornerstone of the religious activities during the Actian games and was the symbol of the city, commemorating the reason why it was founded by Octavian.

## The area within the atrium

### *Statue pedestals*

The foundations of two rectangular structures (3.60 x 3.55 m) were discovered in the central part of the atrium, 15 metres



from the stylobate of the stoa's north wing. They are made of sandstone slabs with a thin mortar as binding material. They must have served as pedestals for statues. From the western pedestal a large limestone block survives in situ. Various marble fragments with mouldings were collected from the area of the pedestals. A small bronze fragment with traces of drapery perhaps comes from one of the statues which stood on the pedestals.

#### *Square structure*

In the north eastern part of the atrium a small square structure was uncovered, sunk in the soil (0.90 x 0.60 meters), made of clay bricks (3-5 courses survive). A stone slab covers the bottom of its inner part. The soil inside and around the structure did not contain potsherds or other finds.

#### *Monumental altar*

South of the pedestals were found similar foundations, made of sandstone slabs, of a long rectangular structure, the excavation of which is still in progress. Its width measures 6 m, and its length is 22 meters. Although the topmost layer of the sandstone slabs of the foundation is missing, the layers of the surviving stones form a step along its long axis. The superstructure too was presumably stepped, because the excavation brought to light some limestone slabs south of it.

On the basis of the general characteristics of monumental altars, the central position of this structure on the upper terrace, and the plethora of marble architectural fragments found in the area of the structure and beyond, I suggest that the foundations belong to a monumental altar in the temenos. The altar like the main axis of the entire complex is oriented NE-SW, seventeenth degrees off the magnetic north.<sup>16</sup>

It is not clear as yet if this altar belongs to the pi-shaped with antis type of altar, like the altar from the Asklepieion on Kos<sup>17</sup>, the altar of Nymphs at Knidos, the altar of Hera Epilimena on Thasos and others, or to a oblong-shaped type.

Although Apollo's name is not present

on the dedicatory inscription of the monument, where Neptune and Mars are mentioned, the hill itself, where the monument was erected, is referred to by Strabo as the holy hill of Apollo. The altar, as the central edifice for the cult rituals in the complex, must thus have been dedicated to Apollo, the princeps' patron god. The altar constituted the dwelling-place of Apollo, the ἔδος mentioned by Dio Cassius (51. 1. 3) ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἰδρυσάμενος. In addition, the pi-shaped altars have been connected with thrones, from which some scholars think that they were developed. Thus the famous altar of Apollo at Amyklæ near Sparta was known as the Thronos of Apollo.<sup>18</sup>

On the thin earthen layers above and around the foundations were found marble architectural fragments with a variety of mouldings, which belong to the superstructure of the altar.

The marble relief fragments with various depictions in the Classicizing style, which were scattered all over the excavated area and especially in front of the collapsed part of the podium, must be assigned to a frieze or friezes adorning the altar. The fragmentary condition of the reliefs makes reconstruction difficult. The surviving fragments suggest battle scenes, and perhaps a triumphal procession and sacrifice. Fragments depicting spearheads, circular shields, horse heads (Fig. 2), and a chariot wheel, must come from a representation of a battle. A steering-paddle, representations of ships and human figures with short tunic perhaps come from a triumphal procession. This suggestion is confirmed by a fragment depicting a trophy. A fragment of a togatus and another of a woman perhaps belonged to a depiction of a procession with high officials. Similar scenes are known from other monuments of the Augustan period, such as the frieze on the temple of Apollo Sosianus<sup>19</sup> and the frieze on the Ara Pacis. However, the popular art motifs of the Augustan age, of ships and their attachments, with obvious reference to the Actian victory, have their origins in the Victory monument itself,

which the princeps erected on the holy hill of Apollo. A marble fragment with relief gorgoneion seems to belong to a colossal statue of an emperor or Mars (Fig. 3).

In addition to the stoa, the monumental altar, and the statue pedestals, in the open space of the atrium various plants were grown. This suggestion is confirmed by the existence of small terracotta flowerpots, found in front of the stoa, which are similar to flowerpots from the garden of Hephaistos, in the Athenian Agora.<sup>20</sup>

## Other finds

The amount of pottery discovered in excavation is exceptionally limited, in contrast to the great quantity of marble architectural fragments, terracotta roof tiles, bricks, and pieces of revetments, and about 15 coins, which await further study.

### Roof tiles

Fragments of roof tiles of the Corinthian type were found all over the excavated area, both on the lower and upper terraces and especially within the destruction layer of the northern wing of the stoa. We propose that all these fragments come from the stoa, since there is no evidence that any of the other structures discovered to date was roofed. A considerable number of roof tiles were stamped. At least nine series with whole names or abbreviations, referring to builders, potters or persons who played an important role in the erection of a building, have been distinguished. The stamps, in descending order of frequency are:.

1. ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΑΒΑ
2. ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΥ
3. ΦΙΛΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΚΟΚ
- 4 ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
- 5 ΘΡΑΣΩΝΟΣ
6. ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ
7. ΑΝΔΡ
- 8 ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗ [Ι]
- 9 ΤΙΜΟΘ

On the basis of the letter forms the inscription ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥ should be dat-

ed to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. The name is known in the Epirotic prosopography. It appears on the inscriptions in the theatre of Bouthroton<sup>21</sup> and on stamped tiles from Illyria.<sup>22</sup> The name ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΥΣ (fig. 4) appears in the prosopography of Nikopolis.

The study of the stamps will certainly illuminate the history of the stoa's roof.

### Terracotta revetments

A number of terracotta antefixes includes the following three types:

1. The first type is decorated with a moulded palmette. Nine wide leaves in low relief and ridged outline fan out from a gorgoneion.
2. The second type is also decorated with a moulded palmette. Four flame-shaped leaves with ridged outline flank on both sides a central dart shaped leaf. Below are two s-shaped volutes.
3. To the third type of antefix belong several fragments decorated also with palmettes. Nine leaves fan out from a heart. To this general type belong examples with minor variations.

Among the terracotta simas four types have been distinguished:

1. To the first type belong the lateral sima with a moulded depiction of the *Lupa Romana* and the twins (Fig. 5). On the right side of this fragmented wolf's-head water spout, the *Lupa Romana* is shown facing left with her head turned back towards the suckling twins below. Some other fragments come from the left side of the waterspout where the *Lupa Romana* is shown facing right. The motif of the *Lupa Romana* was very popular during the Empire and was represented on coins, gems, mosaics, funerary objects, military implements, lamps and items for personal use. The only representation on a terracotta revetment known to me is the example once in the Berlin Antiquarium, on which the shepherd Faustulus is also shown. The innocent charming scene with the she-wolf and the twins implies correlations between Romulus, the



founder of Rome and first Triumphantor, and the victor Augustus, who on this hill dedicated the spolia of the enemy to Mars and Neptune.<sup>23</sup>

2. To the second type belongs the sima with a moulded decoration of dolphins. On either side of a dolphin's head water spout dolphins with raised tails are depicted swimming in opposite directions.

Dolphins, like other marine creatures, are elements of the new iconographic repertoire which allude to the Victory at Actium and Neptune's assistance.

3. To the third and fourth type belong fragments of simas with relief floral decoration.

One of the most interesting finds in the excavations on the holy hill of Apollo is a massive six and a half kilo bronze fragment. It comes from a ram decorating the facade of the monument. This fragment is the only surviving element of the passionate lovers' famous fleet. The detailed study and drawing of the fragment will perhaps help to locate its position among the displayed rams, while chemical analysis of the bronze will contribute to the study of technology of this important period.

## Conclusions

The symmetry and axial planning of the monument on the holy hill of Apollo are

evident. The pi-shaped stoa defines a regular space for a person inside the sanctuary. On the other hand, its location on a terrace with the impressive shining rams on the facade allowed the whole architectural complex to make its full impact when seen from a distance. The monument recalls the layout of the upper stoa of the Asklepieion on Kos of the late Hellenistic period, as well as several similar sanctuaries of this type built under the later Roman Republic, such as the sanctuaries of Juno at Gabii,<sup>24</sup> of Fortuna at Praeneste<sup>25</sup> and of Hercules at Tibur.<sup>26</sup> The main axes of the Tropaeum of Augustus correspond to the main axes of the city plan on the plain below. The orientation and planning of the monument most probably determined the orientation of the city plan. It seems that both monument and city were organized on a master plan initiated and authorized by the founder.

As to the construction date of the tropaeum, the 16<sup>th</sup> of January 27 B.C. could be considered as *terminus ante quem* according to the words of the inscription: *CONSVL SEPTIMUM*. According to another point of view, the expression of the Latin inscription *PACE PARTA TERRA MARIQUE* should be considered as *terminus post quem*, correlating with the closing of the temple of Janus the 11<sup>th</sup> of January, 29 B.C. Thus, the summer of 29 B.C. is considered as the most acceptable date for the construction of the monument.<sup>27</sup>

# Notes

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## NOTE 1

Philadelphus, A. 1913a, 85-91;  
Philadelphus, A. 1913b, 235;  
Philadelphus, A. 1921, 11-12, 44.

## NOTE 2

Rhomaïos, K. 1922, 515; Rhomaïos, K. 1925, 1-4.

## NOTE 3

The whole collection of 25 blocks, including the blocks located by Miliadis, was presented in an "epigraphic note" at the end of Gagé's article, see Gagé, J. 1936, 100.

## NOTE 4

*Ibid.*, 37-100.

## NOTE 5

Petsas, F. 1974a, 50-53; Petsas, F. 1974b, 79-88, pls. 60-70.

## NOTE 6

Murray, W.M. and Petsas, F.M. 1989.

## NOTE 7

*Ζημίαι των αρχαιοτήτων εκ του πολέμου και των στρατών κατοχής* 1946, 66.

## NOTE 8

Zachos, K. 1995 (in press); Zachos, K. 1996 (in press).

## NOTE 9

Dio Cassius 51. 1. 3.

## NOTE 10

Krinzinger, F. 1987, 109-120.

## NOTE 11

Strabo 7. 7. 6: ἡ μὲν οὖν Νικόπολις εὐάνδρῃ καὶ λαμβάνει καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπίδοσιν, χώραν τε ἔχουσα πολλήν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων κόσμον, τὸ τε κατασκευασθὲν τέμενος ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πενετετηρικὸν ἐν ἄλσει ἔχοντι γυμνάσιόν τε καὶ στάδιον, τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ τοῦ ἄλσους τερῶ λόφῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

## NOTE 12

Gagé, J. 1936, 75-76.

## NOTE 13

Petsas, F. 1974b, 82; Murray and Petsas 1989, 84, figs. 6-7 and 52.

## NOTE 14

Murray and Petsas 1989, 78, n. 91.

## NOTE 15

Chrysos, E. 1981, 22, n. 1.

## NOTE 16

In the present description of the various elements of the monument I use for simplicity a true north orientation in order to facilitate our communication.

## NOTE 17

Coulton, J.J. 1976, 248, fig. 74.

## NOTE 18

Papachatzis, N. 1976, fig. 396.

## NOTE 19

La Rocca, Eug. 1985.

## NOTE 20

Thompson-Burr, D. 1937, 396-425; Travlos, J. 1971, 273, fig. 350.

## NOTE 21

Cabanès, P. 1974, 105-208.

## NOTE 22

Ceka, N. 1982, 103-130.

## NOTE 23

For the iconography of *lupa Romana*, see, *LIMC*, VI, 1, pp. 292-296.

## NOTE 24

Ward-Perkins, J.B. 1977, 35, pl. 45.

## NOTE 25

*Ibid.*, 13, 35, 39, 99, pls. 46-51.

## NOTE 26

*Ibid.*, 34-35, pls. 36, 44.

## NOTE 27

Schäfer, Th. 1993, 239-248.



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