

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 68

VILLAE RUSTICAE

FAMILY AND MARKET-ORIENTED FARMS IN GREECE UNDER ROMAN RULE

Proceedings of an international congress held at Patrai, 23-24 April 2010

Edited by

A.D. RIZAKIS, I.P. TOURATSOGLU



ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ | ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION | INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

DIFFUSION: DE BOCCARD

ATHENS 2013





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Βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου 48, 116 35 Αθήνα, τηλ. 210 72 73 679

Παραγωγή: ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟ Ν. ΖΩΡΖΟΣ & ΣΙΑ Ο.Ε.
Diffusion: De Boccard, 11, rue de Médicis, 75006 Paris

ISBN 978-960-9538-19-0

Εικόνα εξωφύλλου: πιεστήριο με δύο αδράχτια [Μουσείο Μπενάκη (φωτ. Κ. Μανώλης)] από το βιβλίο *Παραδοσιακές καλλιέργειες*, Αθήνα, Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Λαογραφικό Αρχείο, 1978, σ. 64.





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ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ | ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	= Ἀρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
ABSA	= The Annual of the British School of Athens
ΑΔ	= Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
AE	= Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
AEMΘ	= Το Αρχαιολογικὸ Ἔργο στη Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη
AEΠΕΛ	= Το Αρχαιολογικὸ Ἔργο Πελοποννήσου
ΑΕΣΘΕ	= Το Αρχαιολογικὸ Ἔργο Στερεάς Ελλάδος καὶ Θεσσαλίας
AJA	= American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	= American Journal of Ancient History
AM	= Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abt.
<i>Ancient World</i>	= Ancient World
<i>AnnPisa</i>	= Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa
ANSMN	= American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
ANSM	= American Numismatic Society Magazine
ANSNM	= American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs
<i>AntAfr</i>	= Antiquités africaines
<i>AntKunst</i>	= Antike Kunst
AW	= Antike Welt
BCH	= Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
<i>BMC Central Greece</i>	= B.V. HEAD, <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Central Greece (Locris, Phocis, Boeotia and Euboea)</i> , London 1884
BSFN	= Bulletin de la Société française de Numismatique
<i>Bull.Inst.Class.Studies</i>	= Bulletin. Institute of Classical Studies, University of London
CJ	= Classical Journal
CR	= Classical Review
DHA	= Dialogues d'histoire ancienne
ΕλλΚερ	= Ελληνιστική Κεραμική
<i>AnnalesESC</i>	= Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations
GRBS	= Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies
<i>Ηπειρ Χρονικά</i>	= Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά
HSCP	= Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
ICS	= Illinois Classical Studies
JdI	= Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

<i>JGS</i>	= Journal of Glass Studies
<i>JHS</i>	= Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>JNFA</i>	= Journal of Numismatic, Fine Arts
<i>JNG</i>	= Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
<i>JRS</i>	= Journal of Roman Studies
<i>JS</i>	= Journal des Savants
<i>MDAI(A)</i>	= Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abt.
<i>MedArch</i>	= Mediterranean Archaeology
<i>NAC</i>	= Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni ticinesi
<i>NC</i>	= Numismatic Chronicle
<i>NIMB</i>	= Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research
<i>Νομισματικά Χρονικά</i>	= Νομισματικά Χρονικά
<i>OlBer</i>	= Olympia Berichte
<i>OxfJA</i>	= Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>ΠΑΑ</i>	= Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
<i>ΠΑΕ</i>	= Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
<i>PAPhS</i>	= Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
<i>PBSR</i>	= Papers of the British School at Rome
<i>PBA</i>	= Papers of the British Academy
<i>Pharos</i>	= Journal of the Netherlands Institute at Athens
<i>RA</i>	= Revue Archéologique
<i>RAN</i>	= Revue archéologique de Narbonaise
<i>RBN</i>	= Revue belge de Numismatique
<i>REA</i>	= Revue des Études Anciennes
<i>RFIC</i>	= Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica
<i>RHA</i>	= Revue d'histoire ancienne
<i>RN</i>	= Revue Numismatique
<i>RPC I</i>	= A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, P.P. RIPOLLÈS, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 B.C.-AD 69)</i> , London/Paris 1992
<i>RPC II</i>	= A.M. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, I.A. CARRADICE, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage II: From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)</i> , London/Paris 1999
<i>RSN</i>	= Revue suisse de Numismatique
<i>SNR</i>	= Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau



<i>TAPA</i>	= Transactions of the American Philological Association
<i>TARANTO</i>	= Atti Taranto
<i>Topoi</i>	= Topoi. Orient-Occident
<i>Tyche</i>	= Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik
<i>ZfN</i>	= Zeitschrift für Numismatik
<i>ZPE</i>	= Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik





IN SEARCH OF THE HORN OF PLENTY: ROMAN ENTREPRENEURS IN THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF THE PROVINCE OF ACHAÏA

Sofia Zoumbaki

This study focuses on the role of individual immigrants of western origin, Italiote Greeks and Romans, in agricultural economy in the area which in the Imperial period constituted the Roman province of Achaia. Every piece of the related evidence from the 2nd c. BC onwards—from a discernible Roman interest in access to agricultural products to the exploitation of land resources and to land ownership—is investigated separately taking into account the date, the place and the degree of engagement by Romans in agricultural economy.

Literary and epigraphic sources directly or indirectly attest to Romans involved in agricultural activities as leasers or owners of land in the East. Roman settlers were not indifferent to the acquisition of land, although investments in landed property are not necessarily to be interpreted as their sole occupation. The wealth obtained through various enterprises in Greece could be reinvested in land for economic and social reasons, as land was considered a steady and secure form of wealth by all classes of Roman society. The motives and processes which encouraged or enabled Romans to possess or lease land within the territory of a Greek *polis* cannot always to be traced. Cases of appropriation of land on the part of Romans through mortgages are not, directly at least, recorded in sources for the Greek mainland, although such appropriation should be regarded as a reality. The only attested official process through which a Roman could acquire land in Greece was the grant of *enktesis*.

In the first part of this work evidence for grants of *enktesis* to Romans and Italiote Greeks is collected and examined. The earliest grants of *enktesis* to Romans are to be dated to the 2nd c. BC. It is striking that decrees awarding this right to Romans are found exclusively in Central Greece and on the islands of the Aegean. The surviving honorary decrees granting *enktesis* along with further honours, show that not all Romans, but only single individuals, enjoyed that privilege. However, it is in several cases unclear whether Romans—and especially Roman magistrates—granted this right actually intended to acquire land or whether it was merely a vague statement of honorific decrees. Although a genuine interest on the part of Roman magistrates in acquiring land in the East is not to be disregarded, every case is to be examined separately.

The second part of the work investigates stray literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence that directly or indirectly shows Romans and Italiote Greeks engaged in agriculture, raising livestock or in related activities in various parts of Greece, although further details regarding their legal status remain as a rule unknown: it is unknown, whether they owned their land as a result of any legal procedure or whether they leased some estates and exploited them. In certain cases it is not clear either, whether they were engaged in primary agricultural production or whether they were involved in the secondary exploitation of products. In any case, farming or raising stock and supplying a market, either local or more central, need not always have been an exclusive business. The exploitation of land could be a secondary investment or a profitable enterprise, especially for Romans who resided in fertile regions. It is not surprising that certain Roman families whose presence is attested in fertile regions became permanent residents and they reinvested their profit from business or agriculture to a large degree in their new home towns, as their euergetic activity in local communities and monetary contributions show.

An aspect of Rome's economic activity in the East left its stamp on the agricultural economy. Land-reclamation works, Roman-style rural settlements that can be defined as *villae rusticae* and traces of centuriation are all material remains, either still visible or recorded in written sources, which indicate Roman interest in land economy. Furthermore, literary and epigraphic sources attest to the imperial interest in organizing cultivable land¹, to the supply of the Greek countryside with new manpower and capital from the West, both of which revitalized agricultural activity. In addition to Roman aristocracy and emperors who acquired landed property in Greece² – although on a more modest scale than in other more fertile provinces – manpower drawn from a lower social stratum was involved in agriculture. This included colonists, who were allocated confiscated lands in the East³, veterans, who often received a piece of land on discharge or wished to acquire land and to retire as farmers⁴, and people of Roman and Italiote origin, who arrived in Greece as

1. Epigraphical and literary sources attest to imperial land reclamation works and measures for the utilization of fallow fields, cf. Fr. QUASS, "Zum Problem der Kultivierung brachliegenden Gemeindefeldes kaiserzeitlicher Städte Griechenlands", *Tekmeria* 2 (1996), p. 82-119; P. DOUKELLIS, S. ZOUMBAKI, "De Flamininus aux Antonins. Conquete et aménagements de l'espace extra-urbain en Achaïe et Macédoine", *DHA* 21. 2 (1995), p. 205-228, both articles with references to source material.
2. S. ALCOCK, *Graecia Capta: The landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, p. 74-75. On investment in agriculture on the part of the Roman aristocracy see J.-J. AUBERT, "Productive investments in agriculture: *instrumentum fundi* and *peculium* in the Later Roman Republic", in J. CARLSEN, E. LO CASCIO (eds), *Agricoltura e scambi nell'Italia tardo-repubblicana*, Roma/Bari 2009, p. 167-185. On imperial estates in Greece see F. CAMIA, A. RIZAKIS, "Notes on the imperial estates and valorisation of public lands in the province of Achaia", *infra*, p. 78-90.
3. In some cases confiscated lands were returned to the population of Greek *poleis*, as happened with the former royal lands of the Macedonian kings in Thessaly. Cf. the letter of T. Quinctius to the citizens of the *polis* Chyretiae (194 BC): A. ARVANITOPOULOS, "Θεσσαλικαὶ ἐπιγραφαί", *AE* (1917), p. 1-37, espec. p. 2-3 and 7-8, no. 302; R. SHERK, *Roman documents from the Greek East*, Baltimore/Maryland 1969, p. 211-213, no. 33: (ll. 8-10) «ὅσαι γὰρ ποτε ἀπολείπονται κτήσεις ἰεῖς γένοιτο καὶ οἰκίαι, τῶν καθηκουσῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἢ τὸ Ῥωμαίων, πάσας δίδομεν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλει». Cf. Livy 31. 41,5; 34. 48,2. S. ACCAME, *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla Guerra acaica ad Augusto*, Roma 1946 [1975²], p. 23-24; B. HELLY, "Les Italiens en Thessalie au II^e et au I^{er} av. J.-C. ", in *Les «bourgeoisies» municipales italiennes aux I^{er} et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.*, Centre Jean Bérard. Institut Français de Naples, 7-10 Decembre 1981, Paris/ Naples 1983, p. 355-380, espec. p. 355-356.
4. P.A. BRUNT, *Italian manpower 225 B.C.-A.D. 14*, Oxford 1987, p. 217-218 believes that soldiers who were familiar with a region where they had served for a long time could be expected to try to «buy and equip a farm, or to set up some kind of business; sometimes they were perhaps in a position to seize land by violence» (quotation from p. 218). He

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individual immigrants and were sometimes directly or indirectly engaged in the agricultural economy.

This study will focus on the role of the latter social group as human capital in land economy. The region in question extends from Thessaly to the Peloponnese, thus covering the area which later constituted the Roman province of Achaia⁵. The period with which we are dealing, however, starts in the 2nd c. BC, long before the foundation of the province of Achaia. Every piece of the related available evidence will be investigated separately and we will consider the date, the place and the degree of engagement by Romans, namely from a discernible Roman interest in access to agricultural products to the exploitation of land resources and to land ownership.

Were Roman entrepreneurs interested in the agrarian economy?

F. Càssola stated that Roman residents in the East had in principle no interest in investments in land⁶. Likewise, P.A. Brunt regards it as unlikely that Italians and Romans would have acquired land and lived as farmers outside colonies; he admits, however, that the term *negotiatores* “may even include landowners” and that large landed properties passed into Roman hands, especially of bankers, through mortgage⁷. Further, M. Crawford notes that land could be acquired by Romans and Italians (among whom were publicans and people of every social level, from simple soldiers to financial magnates) in return for loans to communities or private individuals, if no cash was available. Indeed, works of art and slaves could also be used to repay loans⁸.

does not accept the view that in the post-Sullan age soldiers normally received a grant of land on discharge or money to buy a piece of land and believes that in the period before Caesar soldiers acquired property in the provinces either by purchase or violence, without any state system to provide them with land. For veterans settled in the East, see BRUNT, *op. cit. (supra)*, p. 219-220.

5. For the boundaries of the province of Achaia see W.J. CHERF, “The borders between Achaia and Macedonia”, *Chiron* 17 (1987), p. 135-142; especially on Thessaly and its annexation to the province Achaia, see G. BOWERSOCK, “Zur Geschichte des römischen Thessaliens”, *RhM* 108 (1965), p. 277-289 and R. BOUCHON, “En deça et au delà des Thermopyles ou: quelle Grèce pour Neron? Neron, Delphes et la Thessalie”, in Y. PERRIN (ed.), *Neronia VII. Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce. Hellénisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle après J.-C. Actes du VII^e Colloque international de la SIEN, Athènes, 21-23 octobre 2004*, Bruxelles 2007, p. 213-224.
6. F. CÀSSOLA, “Romani e Italici in Oriente”, *DialArch.* 4-5 (1971), p. 311.
7. BRUNT, *op. cit. (supra)*, n. 4), p. 211 and 213; J. ANDREAU, “Sur les choix économiques des notables romains”, in J. ANDREAU et alii (eds), *Mentalités et choix économiques des Romains*, Bordeaux 2004, p. 71-85.
8. M. CRAWFORD, “Rome and the Greek world: economic relationships”, *The Economic History Review*, New Series 30.1 (1977) p. 42-52, espec. p. 47-48. On works of art removed from the East, see I. TOURATSOGLOU, “Περὶ των αρχαίων ναυαγίων ολίγα: η περίπτωση του Αρτεμισίου”, in A. DELIVORIAS, G. DESPINIS, A. ZARKADAS (eds), *ΕΠΑΙΝΟΣ Luigi Beschi*, Athens 2011, p. 369-380.

The fact remains that several literary and epigraphic sources directly or indirectly attest to Romans involved in agricultural activities as leasers or owners of land in the East. Investments in landed property are not necessarily to be interpreted as the sole occupation of Roman residents. L. Genucilius Curvus, for example, known from a letter of recommendation by Cicero to Q. Minucius Thermus (*propraetor* of Asia 52-50 BC), was interested in keeping his right to possess land, granted to him by decree by Parium (“...*id iuris in agris, quod ei Pariana civitas decrevit et dedit...*”) in addition to his business (*negotia*) in the Hellespont⁹. In the Western part of the Mediterranean, too, Roman settlers were not indifferent to the acquisition of land, as, for example, the case of Narbonne indicates¹⁰. Land was considered a steady and secure form of wealth by all classes of Roman society. Moreover, Roman social values meant that landed property was highly esteemed¹¹. The wealth obtained through various enterprises in Greece could be thus reinvested in land for economic and social reasons. Roman entrepreneurs would clearly hardly have let the opportunity slip to obtain land in Greece, provided that they had the legal right to possess it.

Grants of *enktesis*

The motives and processes which encouraged or enabled Romans to possess or lease land within the territory of a Greek *polis* cannot always be traced. Cases of appropriation of land on the part of Romans through mortgages are not, directly at least, recorded in sources for the Greek mainland, although such appropriation should be regarded as a reality. The only attested official process through which a Roman could acquire land in Greece was the grant of *enktesis*, namely the right to possess land in some Greek *polis*, as the case of L. Genucilius Curvus in Parium that we have just mentioned. Inscriptions reveal several cases of Romans who had been granted *enktesis*. Certain scholars are of the opinion that *enktesis* was given generally to all Roman residents of Greek *poleis*; others do not accept this view, at least for all *poleis*, but they do accept that Romans had an easier access to this privilege than other foreigners¹². Nevertheless, the surviving honorary decrees granting *enktesis*, along with further honours, show that not all Romans, but only single individuals, enjoyed that privilege.

9. Cic., *Fam.* 13.53, 2. Cf. also BRUNT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), p. 213. For a list of attestations of Romans engaged in agriculture in Asia Minor see CRAWFORD, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 8), p. 48 n. 4.
10. For a list of attestations of Romans engaged in agriculture in Asia Minor see CRAWFORD, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 8), p. 48 n. 4. For Narbonne see M. CHRISTOL, “Narbonne: un autre *emporion* à la fin de l’époque républicaine et à l’époque augustéenne”, in Chr. MÜLLER, Cl. HASENOHR (eds), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec. I^{er} siècle av. J.C. - I^{er} siècle ap. J.C.*, *Actes des la table ronde, École Normale Supérieure, Paris 14-16 Mai 1998, BCH Suppl.* 41, 2002, p. 41-54.
11. Cato, *de agric.* Pr.; Cic., *Off.* 1. 151; Plin., *NH* 33. 135 for land-ownership as respectable value and for reinvesting in land profit from business.
12. E. KOMEMANN, *RE* IV 1 (1900) 1196-1997, s.v. «conventus» suggests that the privilege of *enktesis* was given generally to all Roman residents of Greek *poleis*. J. HATZFELD, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l’Orient hellénique*, Paris 1919, p. 299-300 «Il semble que les *Ῥωμαῖοι* n’aient pas été traités dans les villes grecques comme des étrangers ordinaires et que la *γῆς ἔγκτησις*, complément habituel de la proxénie, leur était accordée volontiers, sans les formalités ou les restrictions qui l’accompagnaient en général». However, he does not accept the view of E. Kornemann, «Faut-il en conclure, avec M. Kornemann, que la *γῆς ἔγκτησις* était accordée en droit à tous les *Ῥωμαῖοι* dans toutes les villes grecques? Je ne le crois pas».

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However, *enktesis* is not always to be regarded as direct evidence for agricultural exploitation. In several cases it is unclear whether foreigners granted this right actually intended to acquire land in the territory of the *polis* that granted the privilege or whether it was merely a vague statement included as a matter of course in the text of such honorific decrees. The question arises especially in cases of Roman magistrates: was the right to possess land in fact taken up by honorands or was it merely honorific? It would seem that each such case is to be considered separately. A genuine interest on the part of Roman magistrates in acquiring land in the East is not to be disregarded, since for Romans of every social level, and particularly those of the conservative upper classes, possession of property accorded with social values. Besides, possession of land did not necessarily demand the regular presence of the landlords on their estates, as is shown the presence by procurators, who managed estates and administered a staff of freedmen and slaves¹³. For the purposes of this study, we will focus mainly on grants of *enktesis* to private Romans, rather than to Roman magistrates, unless there is some concrete indication that the latter in fact possessed land in Greece.

The earliest grants of *enktesis* to Romans are to be dated to the 2nd c. BC. It is striking that decrees awarding this right to Romans are found exclusively in Central Greece and on the islands of the Aegean. Not a single document of this type survives from the Peloponnese. A few attestations of Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνκεκτημένοι as a group are to be dated to the 1st c. BC, up to the age of Augustus, all of them, however, lying outside the geographical scope of this work, in Beroea, Chios and Kos¹⁴. Grants of *enktesis* are normally recorded in proxeny decrees among the privileges bestowed on new *proxenoi*, although not all proxeny decrees include this right. Thus we ignore here individuals who received honours which do not include any concrete reference to *enktesis*, described for example as καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα δέδοται τοῖς προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις.

13. A.J.N. WILSON, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican age of Rome*, New York 1966, p. 50-51 on absentee land-owners in Africa; BRUNT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), p. 213 and n. 7 for absentee senators.
14. Beroea (57-55 BC): A. TATAKI, *Ancient Beroea. Prosopography and society*, MEΛETHMATA 8, Athens 1988, no. 666 and p. 438-439 with previous bibliography. Kos: SGDI III 1, 3698; IGR IV 1087; W.R. PATON, Ed. L. HICKS, *The inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford 1891, (repr. HILDESHEIM 1990), no. 344 (Augustan age): «... τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐν τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Ἀλεντίων καὶ τοῖς ἐνκεκτημένοι καὶ τοῖς γεωργεῦντες ἐν Ἄλεντι καὶ Πέλῃ, τῶν τε πολειτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετοίκων, ...». Chios: Appi., *Mith.* 47, 183 mentions Romans who possessed large landed properties on Chios by the time of the Mithridatic wars. Cf. HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 95-97, who also (p. 219-220) mentions the reference of Varro (*De Re Rustica* 2. 1,3) to wine production on Chios and Cos, which was of interest to Romans who sought out exotic wines from the Orient. That Roman proprietors and farmers on the islands were involved in wine production is not impossible.

Some of the earliest grants of *enktesis* are to be found in Western Greece. In a proxeny decree of the Acarnanian Koinon from Anaktorion, dated to the 2nd c. BC¹⁵, two Roman brothers, Publius and Lucius Acilii, sons of Publius (Πόπλιον, Λεύκιον τοῦ Ποπλίου Ἀχιλίους Ῥωμαίου) along with Agasias from Patras, are named *proxenoi* and benefactors of the Koinon. All three are awarded various privileges, including the legal right to acquire and own land and a house in Acarnania. The Romans were perhaps businessmen, either based in some way in the region or travelling between Greek mainland and Italy, probably via the sea route from Patras along the Acarnanian coast¹⁶. In this case it seems possible that the right of *enktesis* and a guarantee of security for themselves and their belongings (καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήμασι) during travel by land and sea were not just a formality.

On the other hand, the grant of *enktesis* to Cnaeus Baebius, apparently a Roman magistrate, in another proxeny decree of the Acarnanian Koinon from Thyrraeion, was perhaps here merely a cliché. The decree is dated to 168/167 BC, if the honorand is correctly identified as Cn. Baebius Tamphilus, praetor in 167 BC and member of the five-legate committee to Illyria under the chairmanship of L. Anicius Gallus¹⁷.

A considerable number of grants of *enktesis* are to be found in Phokis and especially in Delphi. A Roman, whose name is not preserved, acquired the right of *enktesis* in Ambryssos in the 2nd/1st c. BC, as a fragmentary inscription records (*IG IX 1, 11*): [- - -] Ῥωμαίῳ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις προξενίαν, ἰσοπολεμείαν καὶ γὰρ ἔγκτησιν καὶ οἰκίαν... The *polis* of Ambryssos, situated in a valley irrigated by the Kephissos and its tributary, on the route connecting Delphi and Thessaly with southern Greece and with the Corinthian Gulf, would have been an attractive residence for a Roman who wished to invest his profits in land.

To the same period, the end of 2nd/start of 1st c. BC, *enktesis* and grazing rights (ἐπινομία), along with further privileges, are bestowed on Λευκίῳ Κα[ικ]ιλίῳ Μνασέα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις in Amphissa¹⁸. The absence of an ethnic name led the editor, D. Rousset, to the hypothesis that the honorand was a Greek who had received Roman citizenship or a freedman of a Roman citizen. The possibility that Mnaseas was of Southern Italian origin and had already acquired Roman citizenship is rejected by D. Rousset, on the grounds that the gentilicium Caecilius and the name Mnaseas are not found in this area in the 2nd and beginning of the 1st c. BC. However, it seems highly improbable that Mnaseas, although a Greek, should have received Roman citizenship at

15. *IG IX 1, 513* (dated by the editor W. Dittenberger to 167-146 BC; HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 23 n. 2 dates to after 189 and certainly to after 167 BC, but does not exclude the possibility that it is dated to after 146 BC); *IG IX 1² 2, 208* (dated by the editor G. Klaffenbach to the middle of the 2nd c. BC). HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 23 sees two possible Roman *negotiatores* of Ambracia. Cf. D. STRAUCH, *Römische Politik und griechische Tradition: Die Umgestaltung Nordwest-Griechenlands unter römischer Herrschaft*, München 1996, p. 138-139.

16. For the role of Patras in maritime communication with Italy see A.D. RIZAKIS, "Le port de Patras et les communications avec l'Italie sous la République", *CH* 33 (1988), p. 453-472.

17. P. FUNKE, H.-J. GEHRKE, L. KOLONAS, "Ein neues Proxenedekret des Akarnanischen Bundes", *Klio* 75 (1993), p. 131-144.

18. D. ROUSSET, "Inscriptions hellénistiques d'Amphissa", *BCH* 126. 1 (2002), p. 90-96.

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such an early period, given that Roman citizenship was not widespread among Greeks before the beginning of the Imperial period, even in large centres, such as Athens¹⁹. The possibility that Mnaseas was a freedman – perhaps of Italiote or Siciliote origin – of a Roman landlord who acted in the region as his agent and was responsible for the management of his business, is not to be rejected.

Despite the numerous honorific and proxeny decrees from Delphi to various foreigners including Romans and Italiotes, few grants of *enktesis* to such persons are preserved. Delphi was a famous sanctuary which was frequented for centuries by numerous foreigners, among them Westerners, some of whom are honoured as benefactors. As they often came from remote regions as pilgrims, there was obviously no point in granting them *enktesis*. That means that mentions of this privilege in decrees are to be taken seriously.

A decree of the late 3rd/early 2nd c. BC records grants of proxeny, along with *promanteia*, *proedria*, *prodikia*, *asylia*, *ateleia panton* and *enktesis* of land and a house to four Syracusans, Ἡρακλείδης Λύκωνος, Δημήτριος Ἡρακλείδου, Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου, Σωκλῆς Σωσίου and to three further individuals from Arcadia, Ephesos and Knidos²⁰. Further, a certain Νίκανδρος Μενεγράτεος Ῥωμαῖος mentioned in a long list of *proxenoi* of Delphi dated on prosopographical grounds to the period 197-175 BC, is awarded the privilege of acquisition of land and a house along with proxeny²¹. Nikandros was honoured in the term of the archon Aiakidas (173/172 BC). Nikandros's precise origin is not clear, as he bears a Greek name along with the definition Ῥωμαῖος. In the first half of the 2nd c. BC individuals from Italy were collectively defined by Greeks as Romans without distinguishing whether they were Roman citizens or not. It is remarkable that Nikandros is the only individual from the West in this catalogue, who receives the right of *enktesis* (ll. 278-280: Νίκανδρος Μενεγράτεος Ῥωμαῖος εἶμεν δὲ αὐτῶι γὰρ καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν), whereas other Westerners are included in this list as mere *proxenoi*. It implies perhaps that *enktesis* in his case, rather than being a mere formality included in his proxeny decree, was in fact a privilege which was meant to be taken up by the honorand. A further Roman, the orator Δέχμος Ἰούνιος Δέχμου υἱ[ὸς Ῥωμαῖος], is honored with *enktesis* in the late 2nd or the early 1st c. BC. He had apparently settled in the region and was integrated into local life, since he seems to have realized the social role of the gymnasium (ll. 7-9: ἀποκαθή[μενος] ἐν τῶι [γυμνασίῳ] ἀκροάσε[ις ποιε]ίμενο[ς πλείονας εὐ]δοκίμ[ησε])²². A decree from Delphi dated to around 100 BC bestows the right of land acquisition along with further rights

19. Cf. S. BYRNE, *Roman citizens of Athens*, Leuven 2003, XII.

20. *SGDI* 2609.

21. *SGDI* 2581; *Syll*³ 585; cf. *SEG* 17, 236; 19, 383.

22. G. DAUX, "Inscriptions de Delphes", *BCH* 63 (1939), p. 168.

on a certain Caius Manneius and his sons, Lucius and Cnaeus, apparently a Roman family already settled in the region²³. The next known grant of *enktesis* on the part of Delphi concerns a *kitharodos* from Puteoli, M. Turranius Hermonicus, dated to AD 79²⁴.

Although it is not easy to discern cases of the genuine bestowal of *enktesis* from those which are merely honorific, the fact that only the cases of *enktesis* to Romans that we have just mentioned are recorded in a enormous number of honorific texts for private Roman individuals or Roman magistrates from Delphi is notable and perhaps implies that in these cases the privilege was meant in fact to be taken up.

On the basis of a decree of Thespiiai dated to about the beginning of the 2nd c. BC γὰρ καὶ φυκίας ἔππασιν is granted to Diokles, son of Diophanes, from Taras and to his descendants (Il. 3-5: Διοκλεῖν Διοφάνε[ος] Ταρραντῖνον καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσγόν[ων])²⁵. Thespiiai is the Boeotian town which provides most of the evidence concerning an organized Roman community in the following period²⁶. The crucial location of the town on the fertile Boeotian plain and on the route connecting the Corinthian with Euboean Gulf explains the attraction that the region held for Romans and Italiotes. It is not known whether land acquisition was included in the usual honours bestowed on *proxenoi* and benefactors that were granted to other Romans honoured in Boeotian towns around the early 2nd c. BC, such as M. Norcinus L. f. and C. Octavius, son of Titus in Akraephia²⁷.

It is surprising that the cosmopolitan centre of Athens awarded the right of *enktesis* to only a small number of Westerners. In the 4th c. BC two individuals from Catane (Διοκλεῖ καὶ [- - ἴπ]πωι Κατανάι[οις]) and a person from Agrigentum (Σώπατρος Φιλιστ[ίω]νος Ἀκραγαντίνος) connected in some way with a grain shortage in Athens, were honoured with this privilege²⁸. Only one single case of *enktesis* to a Roman is to be found in Athens. The privilege was granted him along with proxeny after his request to the town (δεδο[σθαι] δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ [πρ]οξεν[ί]αν καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν] αἰτήσαμ[έν]ωνι κατὰ τὸν νόμον). The name of the honorand is not completely preserved, Λεύκιον Ο[- -] Πωμ[αί]ον. Some scholars restore it as Λεύκιον Ὁ[ρτήσιον τὸν] Πωμ[αί]ον and identify him with L. Hortensius, praetor in Greece in 170 BC, who sacked Abdera and Chalkis and was notorious for his brutality towards Greeks²⁹. The inscription was

23. SGDI 2691.

24. FD III 4, 34.

25. IG VII 1726, cf. *Add. et Corr.* p. 746; *IThesp* 22.

26. P. ROESCH, *Études béotiennes*, Paris 1987, p. 171-172 suggested indeed the presence of an organized Roman community of *πραγματευόμενοι* in Thespiiai as early as the 2nd c. BC.

27. P. PEDRITZET, "Inscriptions d' Acraiphiae", *BCH* 23 (1899), p. 93-94, no. III and IG VII 4127. HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 27: "peut-être un magistrat romain". On these two inscriptions see also Chr. MÜLLER, "Les Italiens en Béotie", in MÜLLER, HASENOHR (eds), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 90-91 n. 10.

28. IG II² 162 (before 353/2 BC). J. CAMP, "Greek inscriptions", *Hesperia* 43 (1974), p. 322, 3 (331-324 BC); cf. St.V. TRACY, *Athenian democracy in transition: Attic letter-cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.*, Berkeley 1995, p. 34 and on line <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft5290060z/>

29. IG II² 907. Cf. E. GRUEN, *The Hellenistic world and the coming of Rome*, London 1984 (repr. 1986), p. 169, 298. On this inscription see J. PECIRKA, *The formula for the grant of enktesis in Attic inscriptions*, Prague 1966, p. 118-120; Chr. HABICHT, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, Harvard 1997 1997, p. 345; St. CHARADE, *L'intégration politique, sociale et religieuse des Rômaïoi dans les cités d' Athènes et de Délos (de la basse époque hellénistique jusqu' au règne des Julio-Claudiens)*, Diss. Québec 2009, p. 82.

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accordingly dated to after 170 BC and interpreted as a piece of flattery towards the Roman magistrate on the part of the Athenians. The restoration of the name and the identification with L. Hortensius are, however, in no way certain, whilst the phrase of the decree αἰτησαμ[έ]νωι κατὰ τὸ [ν νόμον] seems unusual for a Roman magistrate.

On multicultural Delos, a small number of grants of *enktesis* to Italians and Romans on the part of the deme of Delians are to be dated from the second half of the 3rd c. to the first half of the 2nd c. BC, namely during the period of the island's independence: These grants are made to Βοῦζος Ὀρτεῖρα Κανυσίνος and his descendants (*IG IX 4*, 642, 241-232 BC), to the bankers Ἡρακλείδης Εὐδήμου Συρακόσιος (*IG IX 4*, 723, late 3rd c. BC) and Τίμων Νυμφοδώρου Συρακόσιος (*IG IX 4*, 759, early 2nd c. BC), to the Roman Μάαρχος [- - - Ποπλίου Ῥω]μαῖος³⁰ (*IG IX 4*, 809, early 2nd c. BC) and to an individual from Fregellae Μάαρχος Σέστιος Μαάρχου Φρεγελλανός (*IG IX 4*, 757, early 2nd c. BC). After 167 BC, no further grants of *enktesis* to Romans are attested on Delos. In any case neither Romans, nor Athenians, appear in inscriptions as foreigners thereafter³¹. Romans are recorded as leasing houses and other property. A list of leases for the year 156/155 BC, for example, includes several Romans mentioned as renters of houses and other property of the sanctuary: Πόπλιος Αἰμύλιος Ῥωμαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν Δήλῳ (*ID 1416*, Face B, col. I 1, ll. 111-115), Πόπλιος Αἰμύλιος Μάρχου καὶ Γ[άιος?] Ἄννιος Μάρχου οἰκοῦντες ἐν Δήλῳ (col. II 1, ll. 5-13), [Γ]άιος? ...εἰς γὰρ Γαῖου Ῥωμαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν Δήλῳ (ll. 28-29).

In view of the rich natural resources of Thessaly, it is possible that some of the individuals honored with *enktesis* by the Thessalian Confederacy or by individual *poleis*, were in fact interested in obtaining land in the region. Sextus Orfidienus and Quintus (or Quinctius)- T. f., mentioned in inscriptions of the first decade of the 2nd c. BC respectively at Chyretiai and Larisa, have both been identified as military officials and their honours have therefore been regarded

30. M.F. BASLEZ, "Déliens et étrangers domiciliés à Délos (166-155)", *REG* 89 (1976), p. 343-360, espec. p. 352-353 on the suggestion to restore his gentile name as Aemilius.

31. W.S. FERGUSON, *Hellenistic Athens: An historical essay*, London 1911, p. 381-382. BASLEZ, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 30), p. 351-352 suggests that especially during the period of the island's independence, individuals who were granted the right to own property there, but who were not granted either strictly honorary (e.g. *proedria*) or commercial privileges (e.g. *ateleia*), were foreigners who wished to settle on Delos. G. REGER, *Regionalism and change in the economy of independent Delos*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford, also on line <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft6g50071w/> 1994, p. 73-75 stresses the point that such decrees increase in the 2nd c., a fact which suggests the presence of a growing foreign population and is not in accord with the disappearance of the *ateleia*. Thus, according to Reger «rather, the kinds of honors typically awarded changed over time». For the right to *enktesis* granted to Athenians and Romans on Delos, see CHARADE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 29), p. 53-59 with a summary of the various views on the topic.

as merely honorary titles. Σέξτος Ὀρφιδιηνὸς Μάρκου υἱὸς has been identified as a military officer who spent some time in the region in the early 2nd c. BC and was honoured for protecting Chyretiai by preventing [τῶν ἐπισκεψίων ὁρμήν... (l. 18), *i.e.* troublesome “visits” by soldiers from a Roman garrison, who were encamped nearby³². However, there is another view regarding Sextus Orfidienus as a *negotiator* settled in the region³³. The person named Quintus or Quinctius T. f., who is honoured with the right of *enktesis* among other privileges recorded in the decree from Larisa³⁴, has been identified with Flamininus³⁵. This text poses several problems, concerning both its date³⁶ and the interpretation of the term *τηβεννοφοροῦντες*³⁷ who abandoned the town, an act which is contrasted with Quintus’s active participation in the war (ll. 4-8: ...καὶ κιν[δυνεῦ]ούσης τῆς πόλεως, κατ[αλειφθείσης] ὑπὸ τῶν τηβεννοφορο[ύντων, αὐτὸ]ς οὐκ ἐνκατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ [τῶν κακῶν(?) με]τέσχε τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ). The identification of the individual as Flamininus has been doubted by J.-L. Ferrary, who places this person among *negotiatores* honoured with a grant of proxeny³⁸. Furthermore, he invokes oral information by M.H. Crawford, who saw the stone, and J.-C. Decourt, who checked photos and squeezes at the Maison de l’Orient in Lyon, and testify to the reading [K]όινκτιον, instead of [K]όινκτον Τίτου Ῥωμαῖ[ον]. Nevertheless, Ferrary regards

32. ARVANITOPOULOS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 2 and 4-7; in the view of Arvanitopoulos the fact that the decree does not include anything that puts the honourand on the same level as the citizens, indicates that he did not intend to settle in the region. It is accepted by younger scholars that the individual was a *praefectus* under the command of M. Baebius Tamphilus. See T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *The magistrates of the Roman Republic. Volume I: 509 B.C.-100 B.C.*, Philological Monographs, XV, New York 1951, p. 335. Cf. HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 358; Chr. MAREK, *Die Proxenie*, Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York 1984, p. 287 and n. 435 accepts the view that the soldiers were members of the garrisons left by M. Baebius Tamphilus in Chyretiae and Erition (cf. Liv. 36. 13, 4) in order to secure them against Antiochos.
33. P. ROUSSEL, *REG* 34, 1921, 441 followed by L. MORETTI, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche*, vol. II, Rome 1976, p. 59-62, no. 95, accepts the view that Orfidienus is not a Roman officer, but a negotiator, since his presence is referred to as *παρεπιδημία* and he is not mentioned as a bearer of any title that denotes a magistrate. Cf. J.-L. FERRARY, “De l’évergétisme hellénistique à l’évergétisme romain”, in *Actes du x^e congrès international d’épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4-9 Octobre 1992*, Paris 1997, p. 214-215 n. 39.
34. A. ARVANITOPOULOS, “Θεσσαλικά ἐπιγραφαί”, *AE* (1910), p. 344-349, no. 3.
35. Cf. HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 356-357 for his attestations in Thessalian inscriptions and for literary evidence on his activity in the region.
36. Its date was connected by ARVANITOPOULOS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 34), p. 347-348 with the events of Antiochos’s war (191 BC), whereas Hatzfeld does not reject the possibility that the date was 171 BC, when Perseus raided and plundered the region; F. STÄHLIN, *RE* XII 1 (1924) 858, *s.v.* «Larisa» proposed a date around 186 BC. FERRARY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 33), p. 214 n. 38 inclines to 191 BC but does not reject 170 BC.
37. The first editor, ARVANITOPOULOS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 34), p. 344-49, no. 3 thought it was an Italian community (*togati Italici*) resident in Larisa and engaged in trade. HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 23-24 continued the debate, rejecting Holleau’s view (personal communication with Hatzfeld) that they were *togati* in a military sense, namely, a Roman garrison in the town. Hatzfeld cites literary references to *togati* in the sense of *negotiatores* (Sal., *Jug.* 24; Cic., *Ver.* II 4, 28 §73) and does not reject the possibility that the term defines Roman and Italian settlers in the region. HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 360 accepts the identification of *τηβεννοφοροῦντες* with *negotiatores* who were active in the area, although he believes that they abandoned the area when the situation became dangerous. MAREK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 32), p. 287 sees in this group “Zivilisten” but expresses reservations regarding Hatzfeld’s view that these persons were *negotiatores*, because of lack of evidence.
38. STÄHLIN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), 858, *s.v.* «Larisa» does not seem to identify the individual with Flamininus. FERRARY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 33), p. 214 n. 38.

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Quinctius as a *negotiator* and rejects the identification with Flamininus, on the grounds that the grant of *epigamia* to the individual implies that we are dealing with a private businessman, one of the Quinctii, mention of whom is found in various places throughout Greece, rather than with a Roman magistrate.

It is possible that *enktesis* was granted to [Λε]ύκιον Ἀκούτιον καὶ τοὺς ἐ[κγόνους αὐτοῦ], who spent a period of time (cf. *παρεπιδημία*) in Olosson³⁹. The privilege is also mentioned in an honorific decree from Demetrias for a Roman, whose name is not preserved⁴⁰. Other Romans who were awarded *enktesis* in decrees of Gonnoi, were apparently private individuals. This privilege, along with proxeny and other honours including a golden wreath, is granted to a man, whose name is partially preserved, [- -]λιον Ῥωμαῖον, in the early 2nd c. BC⁴¹. A further decree from Gonnoi awards *enktesis*, along with other customary honours, to C. Flavius Apollonius and his son C. Flavius Bucco in the first half of the 2nd c. BC, as the name of the *strategos* of the Perrhebian Confederacy indicates⁴². Helly thinks that they were *negotiatores* established in the area. He doubts, however, whether Sextus Cornelius M. f., honoured with a grant of proxeny and other privileges, including the right of *enktesis* in a decree from Heraclia Trachinia, actually was economically active in the region. On the other hand, Ferrary stresses that the statement included in the decree that a copy should be sent to another *polis*, either Demetrias or a town in western Greece (but not Rome, as Helly suggested), is intended to advertise Cornelius's honours in the town where he was settled⁴³.

Given that Thessaly is the most fertile part of Greece, it seems probable that Romans who were active in the region had an interest in obtaining land, which suggests that grants of *enktesis* to private individuals reflect a genuine desire on the part Romans to exploit land in the area.

39. HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 360 dates the text to before 146 BC.

40. IG IX 2, 1105, III; cf. HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 360 who dates the text to the end of the 2nd c. BC on the basis of the presence of local magistrates. Demetrias was an important port, in the inscriptions from which several foreigners are to be found. Cf. A. FURTWÄNGLER, "Zur Handelsrichtung der Stadt Demetrias im Lichte neuerer Ergebnisse", in *Διεθνές Συνέδριο για την αρχαία Θεσσαλία στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Θεοχάρη*. Athens 1992, p. 366-369. Thus it is surprising that just one Roman is attested in Demetrias, as HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 361 stresses.

41. Gonnoi II, no. 20. For the date to after 202/201 BC, when the Second Macedonian War and Roman settlement began. See Gonnoi I, 104.

42. Gonnoi II, no. 42.

43. IG IX 2, 1. HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 358 wonders, whether this person was a member of the family of the Cornelii Maluginenses and whether there is some link with M. Cornelius Mammula, a legate to Perseus in 173 BC (Liv. 42. 6, 5). FERRARY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 33), p. 215 and n. 40 stresses the point that the praenomen Sextus is not to be found in patrician families of Cornelli.

Further evidence for Romans involved in the agrarian economy

The picture that emerges from our sources suggests that wherever Romans are found, they were interested in exploiting local natural resources of every kind. There are references in the sources that make it obvious, or at least possible, that in some cases persons from the West engaged in agriculture, raising livestock or in related activities in various parts of Greece, although further details regarding their legal status remain as a rule unknown. In particular, it is unknown, whether their ownership of land rested on any legal procedure perhaps involving mortgaging the land, whether they were granted *enktesis* or whether they leased some estates and exploited them. In certain cases it is not clear either, whether they were engaged in primary agricultural production or whether they were involved in the secondary exploitation of such products, trading in particular in non-perishable commodities, such as cereals, olive oil, wine, honey or wood. Farming or raising stock and supplying a market, either local or more central, need not always have been an exclusive business. The exploitation of land could be a secondary investment or a profitable enterprise, especially for Romans who resided in fertile regions.

The west coast of the Greek mainland

The Romans had economic interests in the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea which lay closest to the Italian coast⁴⁴. The Roman campaign of 228/227 BC against Illyrian pirates, of which the aim was to maintain secure maritime communication was the first step in Roman involvement in the East. As early as the beginning of the 1st c. B.C., literary sources reveal the presence of Romans who were settled on the coast of Epirus and were involved mainly in the agricultural economy. Among them there was Cicero's friend, T. Pomponius Atticus, who possessed enormous estates in the region of Bouthrotos and on the estuary of the river Kalamas⁴⁵. Romans settled in Cassopaia, Thesprotia⁴⁶ are, however, beyond the geographical scope of this study.

Evidence for a similar interest in the exploitation of land on the part of Romans also exists for the region from the Ambraciot to the Corinthian Gulf and the adjacent islands of the Ionian Sea. The longstanding interaction between Italy and western Greece at a cultural level and the vicinity of the two shores of the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea made the passage to the opposite side very inviting. Its closeness to Rome was the reason why the region was often chosen by Roman politicians

44. On this region, see ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 75.

45. Cf. *Synepeirotai, Epirotici homine, agrarii, agripetae* in Cicero's letters, *Att.* DCCLXVI (A XVI, 1), cf. BRUNT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), p. 256-257 on *agrarii, agripetae*; Varro, *De Re Rustica* 2. 1, 28; 2. 5, 1; 2. 5, 18. For Atticus's property in Epeirus, see WILSON, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 13), p. 93 n. 1, and for his estate at Kalamas, see S. DAKARIS, "Η ρωμαϊκή πολιτική στην Ήπειρο", in ΖΑΧΟΣ, *Νικόπολις Α', Πρακτικά του πρώτου διεθνούς συνεδρίου για τη Νικόπολη*, 23-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984, Preveza 1987, p. 11-21, espec. p. 20 and n. 48 and 49.

46. Cf. HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 222 on the reasons for choosing Epirus for agricultural and especially for livestock breeding and for the huge flocks possessed by Pomponius Atticus and Cossinius (cf. Varro, *De Re Rustica* 10. 11). For Roman settlements in Cassopaia, see DAKARIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 45), p. 93, 95-96, 141-142, 155, 169. For Romans settled in Thesprotia, see DAKARIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 45), p. 21 n. 52; for the number of Roman settlements in this area see N. PURCELL, "The Nicopolitan synoecism and Roman urban policy", in ΖΑΧΟΣ, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 45), p. 74-75. The Latin toponyms in Epirus are therefore remarkable, as DAKARIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 45), p. 21 n. 53 stresses.

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to spend their periods of exile⁴⁷. Some of the exiles purchased estates and attempted to live a normal life. A remarkable example of this habit is presented by the fate of Avillius Flaccus, the prefect of Egypt (AD 32 to 38), who was exiled by Caligula to Andros. Flaccus, Philo states, fell into a state of despair and lost interest in life. However, he acquired a farm and some herds, in the hope of spending his time more pleasantly in the solitude of the fields than he had done in his house in the town of Andros (Philo, *Pro Flac.* 177 and 185). Caius Antonius, uncle of Mark Antony, exiled after his consulship, is said by Strabo (X 2, 13) to have owned by the middle of the 1st c. BC the whole island of Kephallenia, where he wanted to found a new town.

Certain spots in the western part of Greek mainland are excellent zones for agriculture. If Romans were present there, as the evidence⁴⁸ implies they were, agriculture would have been the most profitable activity open to them. Whether the individuals honoured with *enktesis* in the 2nd c. BC in Acarnania mentioned above acquired and exploited land in this region is unknown. As already stressed, estates of absentee landlords could be run by procurators, often *liberti* of the landowners, who managed a staff of further freedmen and slaves. It is possible that the *liberta* Allia C. l. Lena, whose Latin funerary inscription, dated to the early 2nd c. BC, was found in Trichonion, belonged to a group of freedmen settled in the estate of a Roman, perhaps some individual honoured with *enktesis*⁴⁹. The prosperous and well irrigated region of Trichonion is situated in the most fertile part of Aitolia, by Lake Trichonis⁵⁰, as the location of numerous farmsteads in the area testifies (see STAIKOU, LEONTARITI, *supra*, p. 705-717).

The new organization of the region in the Imperial period by means of statutes relating to land-use and the status of the people who owned it or worked on it, especially the introduction of the practice of *attributio* of land to the colony of Patras, indicates interest on the part of Romans in the rich land resources of this region. This interest is also obvious in the centuriation of large areas under the control of Nikopolis and of Ambracia, as it also is in the centuriation of the

47. G. KELLY, *A history of exile in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2006, p. 77-81.

48. S. ZOUMBAKI, "The presence of Italiote Greeks and Romans in Aetolia, Acarnania and the adjacent islands from the 3rd c. BC to the beginning of the Imperial age", in G. DE SENSI SESTITO, M. INTRIERI (eds), *Sulla rotta per la Sicilia: L'Epiro, Corcira e l'Occidente*, Pisa 2011, p. 523-538.

49. *IG IX 1. 1*, 124; P.M. FRASER, T. RÖNNE, *Boeotian and west Greek tombstones*, Lund 1957, p. 145, pl. 28, 164 on the name *Allia C. l. Lena*, 173 for the date (on the basis of stele type and of the letter forms).

50. The excavation has brought to light a very important sanctuary of Asclepius (M. STAUROPOULOU-GATSI, "Έρευνες στο Τριχόνειο Αιτωλίας: Τοπογραφία-Αρχιτεκτονική τάφων", in *Β' Διεθνές Ιστορικό και Αρχαιολογικό Συνέδριο Αιτωλοακαρνανίας, Αγρίνιο 29-31 Μαρτίου 2002*, Αγρίνιο 2004, vol. Α', p. 345-368, espec. p. 348 and cemeteries with rich funeral gifts p. 352 and 354).

northern part of the Peloponnese⁵¹. Epigraphic or archaeological material from the Imperial period, which implies the presence of a western social element in the region, is perhaps to be connected with one of the two major foundations in the area, Nikopolis and Patras, and probably indicates the existence of a land-based economy outside of these two centers. A handful of Latin inscriptions are found scattered over Aetolia and Acarnania of the Imperial period, which indicates that a number of Latin-speaking people sojourned there⁵², some of them outside of urban centers, in the countryside⁵³.

Certain indications suggest that a social milieu aware of Roman culture, Roman techniques and everyday-life habits is to be linked to rural settlements located throughout Aetolia and Acarnania, around the Ambracian Gulf and on the adjacent islands. Archaeological remains on Leukas, for example, have been interpreted by the excavators as farmhouses, even as villas of the kind known to have housed the wealthy Roman landowners of Epirus⁵⁴. In this respect, architectural remains in the areas of Ormos Vathy and Lake Gavogiannis including in particular Roman bath buildings, walls constructed of *opus testaceum* and typical Roman black and white mosaics, may indicate a Roman presence there⁵⁵. Farmsteads located in this coastal area very probably also profited from the ability to transport their products directly by sea and from their access to marine resources⁵⁶. The Romans in general were not indifferent to the presence of marine resources, as is obvious from the evidence for an early Roman interest in the marine produce of the Ambraciote Gulf⁵⁷ and

51. A.D. RIZAKIS, "Cadastres et espace rural dans le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse", *DHA* 16. 1 (1990), p. 259-280; P.N. DOUKELLIS, "Cadastres romains en Grèce. Traces d'un réseau rural à Actia Nicopolis", *DHA* 14 (1988), p. 159-166; *id.*, "La centuriation romaine de la plaine d'Arta replacée dans le contexte de l'évolution morphologique récente des deltas de l'Arachtos et du Louros", *BCH* 116. 1 (1992), p. 375-382.
52. Cf. Drymos, Vonitsa: E. MASTROKOSTAS, "Παλαιοχριστιανικά βασιλικά Δρυμού Βονίτσης", *AAA* 4 (1971), p. 191, no. 3. Gouria: E. MASTROKOSTAS, "Ανασκαφή Αγίου Ηλία Μεσολογγίου-Ιθωριάς", *PAAH* 1963, p. 211 and *id.*, "Αρχαιοότητες και μνημεία Αιτωλίας και Ακαρνανίας", *ΑΔ* 19 (1964), B'2 Chron., p. 299. Naupaktos: *CIL* III 570. G. MOLLISANI, *ΑΔ* 28 (1973), p. 395. Amphissa, Locri: *CIL* III 568.
53. ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 143. Strabo 10.2, 21; Paus. 10.38, 9. Cf. A.D. RIZAKIS, "Les colonies romaines des côtes occidentales grecques. Populations et territoires", *DHA* 22.1 (1996), p. 274-287. Part of Aetolia was given to the colony of Patras and the synoecism of Acarnanian towns, of Ambracia and part of Aetolia to Nikopolis in fact placed the whole of Acarnania in the ambit of Nikopolis. For the role of Nikopolis and Patras, see STRAUCH, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 15), p. 156-210. On the new statutes relating to the land use of these area see RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*), p. 255-324.
54. G. PLIAKOU, "Leukas in the Roman Period", in J. ISAGER (ed.), *Foundation and destruction. Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece. The archaeological evidence for the city destructions, the foundation of Nikopolis and the synoecism*, *Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens* 3, Athens 2001, p. 154-155.
55. For ruins in the area of Ormos Vathy, see C. STEIN, "In the shadow of Nikopolis: Patterns of settlement on the Ayios Thomas Peninsula", in ISAGER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 65-78, espec. p. 70 for ruins in the area of Lake Gavogiannis.
56. Archaeological finds indicate that vessels and their cargos found a safe anchorage in the inlets where certain rural settlements have been located. Cf. Ormos Vathy, where large quantities of amphoras, other ceramic or glass ware and coins have been found (STEIN, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 55], p. 67). During the Roman period the inlet of Pogonitsa was used as a harbor and there are several finds from this period, such as amphoras found in the sea, see STEIN, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 55), p. 71-72.
57. For Roman presence in the area of the Ambraciote Gulf and Roman interest in agricultural and maritime produce see S. ZOUMBAKI, "The exploitation of local resources of western Greece by Roman entrepreneurs (3rd-1st c. BC)", *RBPH* 90 (2012), p. 78-92.

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in the fact that the Roman colonists of Patras were given the right to exploit the lagoon of Kalydon⁵⁸.

Boeotia

A copy of a *senatus consultum* of 170 BC, preserved in a long inscription from Thisbe⁵⁹, concerns a series of matters presented to a committee of the Roman senate by a delegation from the Boeotian town. It deals with the situation after the Macedonian War, during which Thisbe, along with Haliartus and Koroneia, although initially loyal to Perseus, eventually surrendered to C. Lucretius. Among the matters discussed, there are some points of an economic nature regarding public land, port duties and the exploitation of the mountains, *i.e.* pastures or mines⁶⁰. One of the issues presented to the senate was the case *περὶ σίτου καὶ ἐλ[αί]ου ἑαυτοῖς κοινωνίαν πρὸς Γναῖον Πανδοσίνον* (ll. 53-54). This is probably to be understood as an agreement between the town and a certain Cnaeus Pandusinus concerning grain and oil. The obscurity of Pandusinus's agreement with the town has been discussed by several scholars. Rejecting earlier interpretations which regarded Pandusinus as an Italicus who served in C. Lucretius's army and requisitioned grain and oil for the Roman army on behalf of his general, scholars have more recently suggested that it was a partnership between a private individual and the town⁶¹. It is not clear from the text whether his contract (*κοινωνία*, lat. *societas*) was still valid at the time of the Thisbean delegation to the senate. The wording *περὶ ὧν οἱ αὐτοὶ Θισβεῖς ἐνεφάνισαν περὶ σίτου καὶ ἐλ[αί]ου ἑαυτοῖς κοινωνίαν πρὸς Γναῖον Πανδοσίνον γεγόνεαι* shows that the issue presented to the senate concerns the past (*γεγόνεαι*). It is, however, unclear why the senate would be asked to

58. Str. 10.2, 24; Paus. 10.38, 9. Cf. RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 53), p. 274-287.

59. *IG VII 2225*.

60. S.J. DE LAIT, *Portorium: étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut-Empire*, Brugge 1949, p. 91 (mines) and A.Ch. JOHNSON *et alii*, *Ancient Roman statutes: a translation with introduction, commentary, glossary, and index*, Austin 1961, p. 28-29 no. 30, n. 4 (pastures).

61. The first editor P. FOUCART, "Rapport sur un sénatus-consulte inédit de l'année 170 relatif à la ville de Thisbé", *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* (1872), p. 368-370 thought that Cnaeus Pandusinus was an Italian who served in the army of Lucretius. HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 27 argues that Pandusinus was a *negotiator* and he is followed by M. GERVASIO, "La Puglia e l'Oriente fra il III e il I sec. av. Cr.", *Iapigia* 6 (1935), fasc. IV, p. 367-390, espec. p. 375; in the view of JOHNSON *et alii*, *op. cit.* (*supra* n 60.), p. 28-29 no. 30, the individual «appears to have leased part of the public lands of Thisbe for an annual rental of grain and oil» and Cl. NICOLET, *L'Ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (312-43 av. J.C.)*, Paris 1966, p. 348 also believes that he leased public land against recompense in grain and oil. MÜLLER, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 92 argues that Cnaeus Pandusinus was involved in some private activity in the region and that his contract with Thisbe concerned supplying the town which was plagued by shortages.

review a requisition of supplies for the army that had taken place during the Macedonian war, and why the senate would suggest the appointment of judges to examine the case. It seems more likely that his contract, whether it concerned supplies for the army or not, was still effective, since the *senatus consultum* in question deals with important issues that had a continuous impact on the town's economic, institutional and social life and focuses on regulating these issues for the future. It seems therefore that Pandusinus's contract with the town should have influenced local economy to a great degree. The text of the *senatus consultum* does not offer enough information to allow one to attempt an interpretation of Cnaeus Pandusinus's contract with Thisbe. Nevertheless, it seems certain that Pandusinus, instead of being a member of an official delegation, was a private individual who sought to profit from the fertility and productivity of the region. It is not completely out of the question that he was occasionally involved in supplying corn to the Roman army, as there is some evidence for private entrepreneurs being involved in provision or transportation of grain for the army. As has been shown, however, the needs of the army were mainly handled through governmental channels and allowed the involvement of private businessmen only on a lower level⁶². It is equally possible that he ran some other business in the region and also exploited land because of the importance of having access to such basic goods, as grain and olive oil. The existence of a similar situation is implied in the inscription from Abdera that mentions the Roman merchant M. Vallius, who is permitted by the town to export 100 *medimnoi* of grain⁶³, a quantity intended for private consumption (εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χρείαν), which excludes the possibility of that he was involved in the grain trade or that he was a *frumentarius*. Other Pandusini –Pandusinus is either a gentilicium or an ethnic name⁶⁴– are to be found on the Cyclades (ca. 100 BC) settled as businessmen⁶⁵. The individual known from Thisbe is therefore the first attested member of a family of businessmen. It is remarkable that a businessman from Italy was active in Thisbe in some area related to agricultural production as early as 170 BC.

The fertile land of Beoetia and the fact that at a fairly early age Cn. Pandusinus had an interest in agricultural production of the region possibly indicate that further Romans or Italiotes settled in the area were interested in investing in land, such as the Tarantine Diokles, mentioned above, who was granted *enktesis* at Thespiiai. Several individuals identified as Roman settlers in towns of Boeotia were thus possibly additionally or exclusively engaged in agriculture, the main source of pros-

62. P. ERDKAMP, "The corn supply of the Roman armies during the third and second centuries B.C.", *Historia* 44.2 (1995), p. 168-191, espec. p. 182 and 185.

63. Ch. AVEZOU, Ch. PICARD, "Inscriptions de Macédoine et de Thrace", *BCH* 37 (1913), p. 122, 124-125, no. 39; L. LOUKOPOULOU et alii, *Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου*, Athens 2005, p. 202-204, no. E8 and p. 207-209 with earlier bibliography. Cf. also HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 217-218.

64. GERVASIO, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 61), p. 375 suggests an Appulian origin. HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 27 n. 5, contra Th. MOMMSEN (*Ephem. Epigr.* 1 [1872], p. 289), accepts that Pandusinus is a gentile name. NICOLET, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 61), p. 348, following Th. Mommsen, thinks that Pandusinus is an ethnic, that of Pandosia in Bruttium.

65. The name is attested on Delos (cf. *EAD* 984) and Tenos (R. ÉTIENNE, *Ténos I: Le sanctuaire de Poseidon et d' Amphitrite*, Athenes/Paris 1986, p. 121 and 125), where a Pandusinus, as Hatzfeld suggested, was the grandson of the individual active in Thisbe.

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perity in the region⁶⁶. A Roman interest in the region is still attested in the Imperial period. Important personalities of the Roman public life, *e.g.* Statilii Tauri, have some link to Boeotia. It has been suggested that Statilii possessed landed property there⁶⁷. Although this remains conjectural, it is attractive to imagine that Roman aristocrats were the owners of some of the prominent *villae rusticae*, such as those described by Plutarch⁶⁸ as large complexes including luxurious houses with ample spaces, dining rooms, *triclina*, baths, galleries, fountains, even with private aqueducts as well as vineyards, olive gardens and fields. The care displayed by the emperors of the 2nd c. AD, who, in their organization of the agrarian production of Kopais, improved regional infrastructures, speaks eloquently of the importance of agriculture for Boeotia⁶⁹.

Thessaly

Romans, whose presence in the region was primarily military in nature, were aware of the economic opportunities offered by the rich soil of Thessaly. An exact knowledge of the situation regarding production, storage and transport of grain from Thessaly on the part of the Romans is displayed in a decree of the Thessalian Confederacy (*ca.* 145-130 BC) that refers to a requisition of grain presented by Q. Caecilius Metellus. He addressed it to the Thessalians as a private request justified by the the long-standing relations with, and benefactions of his family to Thessaly⁷⁰. Metellus's familiarity with the region, which presupposes an interest on the part of the Romans in Thessaly's resources in general, is obvious in a further mention in the decree that he was intending to find vessels and send them to one of the ports, as Thessalians had no ships either at Demetrias or at Demetreion or at Phthiotic Thebes or at Phalara, on the Gulf of Lamia. This text certainly suggests that, whoever the Romans and Italians were, who resided in Thessaly in this period, they could hardly have been active in trade and transports, since they would otherwise have been charged with the transportation of the grain. They are, therefore, rather to be regarded as investors in the primary sector of economy, namely exploitation of land-related resources.

66. HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 70; MÜLLER, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 97 n. 58.

67. ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 75.

68. Plu., *de cupiditate divitiarum* 523 D, 524 D-E; *de vitando aere alieno* 830 E; *de fraterno amore* 487 E. Cf. STRAUCH, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 15), 116 ff. for a commentary of Plutarch's description.

69. Cf. IG VII 2870; cf. also 2882; J. FOSSEY, "The city archive at Koroneia, Boiotia", *Euphrosyne* 11 (1981-1982), p. 49-54; SEG 32, 1982, 460-471; 35, 1985, 405.

70. K. GALLIS, AD 31 (1976), B' Chron., p. 176-178; cf. HELIX, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 356 on the longlived relations of Caecilii Metelli with Thessaly and 361-362; cf. HATZFELD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 12), p. 217-219 who suggests that Greece did not export grain to Italy. On the corn supply to the Roman army and especially on this case see ERDKAMP, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 62), p. 174, 184, 186-187.

Roman and Italiote Greek residents are attested in Thessaly as early as the 2nd c. BC⁷¹. As a rule, their occupations are not mentioned in the inscriptions. A considerable number of them were granted *enktesis* at a fairly early date, about the beginning of the 2nd c. BC, in several Thessalian towns, as we have already noted. Romans are still attested in Thessaly in the 1st c. BC/1st c. AD and especially in Larisa, the capital of the confederacy. Funerary monuments, manumissions, dedications and victor lists in various contests show that they had already settled there on a permanent basis and their integration into local society was already well advanced by the age of Augustus⁷². This long-term settlement in Thessaly and gradual acculturation, the mixture of two cultures and mutual influences imply a strong bond on the part of the Romans with the area, which was presumably strengthened by involvement in agriculture and livestock-breeding and, furthermore, by possession of land. Taking into account the whole of the evidence, Helly inclines to the view that we have to do with civilians, rather than veterans, who arrived in Thessaly individually and decided to settle on its fertile land and make money out of it, given moreover that the rich agrarian production of the region could supply Rome with the increasing need for basic goods.

The Peloponnese

Grants of *enktesis* to Romans are not attested in the Peloponnese. However, there are several sources testifying their involvement in agriculture in the area. It is to be emphasized that sources related to Roman agricultural activities in the Peloponnese are not to be dated before the 1st c. BC. In addition to the evidence offered by Patras and Corinth, which are not to be discussed here, as this study is limited to Roman residents outside colonies, there are certain indications that Romans were involved in some way in the agrarian economy in other parts of the Peloponnese.

A group of Romans collectively defined as *Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνγαιοῦντες*, is attested in three inscriptions on monuments erected in honour of Roman magistrates in Olympia in the 1st c. BC⁷³. The term *ἐνγαιοῦντες* defines a group of people, in this case a group of Romans, engaged in agriculture in a foreign region⁷⁴. It is not known, however, whether they, or at least some of them, actually possessed land in Eleia, since the term merely indicates that they were involved in agriculture. Agriculture and stock-breeding were for centuries the most profitable activities in the region and the indigenous population apparently had no particular ability for commerce. Significantly, the coveted species of flax, *byssos*, grew in Elis – a rare attestation to agricultural specialization in antiquity –, but the processing of the raw material took place in Patras, where large numbers of women were engaged in the business of weaving luxurious fabrics⁷⁵. It is not impossible that specialized production and exploitation of this raw material was a particular interest of Romans settled in Eleia; the *engaiontes* were engaged in agriculture and M. Mindius, the one and only directly

71. Cf. HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 360 ff.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 366, 374 and 377-78 on the so-called *πρώτη χώρα*.

73. The inscriptions mentioning *Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνγαιοῦντες* are *IvO* 328, *IvO* 333 (*SEG* 17, 1960, 198) and *IvO* 938+ F. ECKSTEIN, *OIBer* 6 (1958), 214-216 (*SEG* 17, 1969, 197).

74. S. ZOUMBAKI, “*Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνγαιοῦντες*, Römische Grundbesitzer in Eleia”, *Tyche* 9 (1994), p. 213-218.

75. Paus. 7.21, 14.

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attested *negotiatius* in Elis, may in addition have invested in land, perhaps in connection with his other commercial or banking activities⁷⁶.

Further indications of the presence of Romans engaged in the agricultural economy of Greece are to be encountered in fertile⁷⁷ Messenia nearby. Roman residents, apparently in their capacity as owners of various estates, are mentioned in two inscriptions from Messene. A long inscription referring to the extraordinary tax of the so-called *oktobolos eisphora* (IG V 1, 1433) includes Romans who are liable to this tax⁷⁸. If a certain Nemerius who appears in this text as owner of an estate named *Automeia* has been correctly identified with one of the Roman bankers Cloatii settled at Gytheion, this would be a typical case of a businessman who invested in land in addition⁷⁹. The second text from Messene relating to Romans involved in agriculture is a list of Roman names under the heading ἀπόλοιπα Ῥωμαίων (1st c. BC/1st c. AD), followed by designations of estates in the dative and numerical signs, which are probably to be understood as tax sums⁸⁰. It is clear from this list that some Romans did indeed possess more than one piece of land (Δέκμος Καικίλιος Μάρκου Ποικιλίαις, Σίμωνι, Σελλᾶντι; Κόιντος Αὐφίδιος Σπορίου Σουσᾶς Ἀλεπακιδεῖοις, Τρικαράνοις). It is impossible to locate these estates, at least only on the basis of these two inscriptions. It is likewise impossible to guess the percentage exploited by Romans of the total amount of cultivable land in the area.

76. Cic., *Fam.* 13. 26 and 28. Cl. NICOLET, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (312-43 av. J.-C.)*, tome 2. *Prosopographie des chevaliers Romains*, Paris 1974, p. 950-51, no. 231 (L. Mescinius Rufus); 952, no. 233 (M. Mindius). S. ZOUMBAKI, "Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes", *Tekmeria* 4 (1998/1999), p. 112-176, espec. p. 114-115.

77. The fertility of the soil of Messenia is noted in several other literary and epigraphic sources: Str. 8.5, 6; Plb. 4. 4, 1; 23. 9, 12; IG V 1, 1379. Cf. C. ROEBUCK, "A note on Messenian economy and population", in C. ROEBUCK, *Economy and society in the early Greek world. Collected essays*, Chicago 1979, p. 2 ff.

78. IG V 1, 1433; a thorough analysis of the text is offered by A. WILHELM "Urkunden aus Messene", *JOEAI* 17 (1914), p. 1-120. The chronology of this inscription is disputed, yet the date proposed by the most recent research is sometime in the 1st c. BC; for bibliography and date suggestions see A.D. RIZAKIS, S. ZOUMBAKI, Cl. LEPENIOTI (eds), *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman personal names in their social context*, *MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 36, Athens 2004, *MES 276. For the most recent suggestion for a date to the period between 70 and 30 BC, see L. MIGEOTTE, "La date de l'octobolos eisphora de Messène", *Topoi* 7.1 (1997), p. 51-61. For a date to the 1st c. AD see P. THEMELIS, "The economy and society of Messenia under Roman rule", in A.D. RIZAKIS, Cl. LEPENIOTI (eds), *Roman Peloponnese III. Society, economy and culture in the Imperial Roman order: Continuity and innovation*, *MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 63, Athens 2010, p. 106.

79. It has been suggested by WILHELM, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78), p. 63 that Nemerius was one of the Roman bankers of the Cloatii family settled in Gytheion.

80. WILHELM, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78), p. 116-119 (1st c. BC); IG V 1, 1434 (1st c. AD) (*SEG* 11, 1950, 1035); M.N. TOD, "Greek numeral notation", *ABSA* 18 (1926-1927), p. 143 accepts the date suggested by IG.

Archaeological finds testify to the existence of rural settlements in Messenia in the Roman period and especially in the most fertile areas, which enjoyed a copious supply of water, such as the so-called “Five Rivers Area”⁸¹. This area lay both near the harbor of Korone and near roads connecting north and south and east and west, which was important for the transport of the products from nearby farmsteads. Since Roman residents are attested as landowners in Messenia, one imagines that some of these estates, or, more properly, estates of such a kind, would have belonged to them.

In branches of agricultural economy besides the cultivation of land, such as animal husbandry and bee-keeping, Roman involvement is even more difficult to trace. A bilingual inscription from Megalopolis dated to the age of Augustus offers a rare indication that Romans were also interested in such branches of the rural economy. A certain T. Arminius Tauriscus⁸² paid for the construction of a bridge over the river Helisson, in return for privileges granted by Megalopolis, ἐφ’ ᾧ[τε] | [λήψεσθ]αι αὐτὸν τὸ ἐπινόμιον καὶ βαλάνω[- -]|[ῶσων] ἔχει θρεμμάτων διὰ βίου. The word *epinomion*, which is interpreted as “payment for pasturage”, recalls the grants of *epinomia* (the right to graze animals) which are to be found, sometimes along with *epixylia* (the right to cut wood), in honorary decrees of Greek *poleis* to non-citizens⁸³. The privilege best-owed on Tauriscus was therefore apparently the lifelong right to pasture and to the use of acorns for grazing his flocks⁸⁴, although further details related to this arrangement are not totally clear. It is not clear either, whether the individual was a lord or merely his inspector in the region. In any case, the use of Latin and the rare Roman name of the individual in a relatively early period show that T. Arminius Tauriscus belonged to a Roman milieu. The passage of Strabo (8. 8, 1) mentioning the rich pastures in the area of Megalopolis (...βοσκήμασι δ’ εἰσὶ νομαὶ δαψιλεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα ἵπποις καὶ ὄνοις τοῖς ἵποβάτοις...) stresses the opportunities for profit available in Arcadia. Livestock breeding was

81. G. RAPP, S.E. ASCHENBRENNER (eds), *Excavation at Nichoria in South-West Greece I: Site, environs and techniques*, Mineapolis 1978.

82. *CIL* III 1, 496 [see also *CIL* III 1 Suppl. 7250]=*IG* V 2, 456 (*SEG* 15, 1958, 233). Cf. ZOUMBAKI, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 76), p. 123-124.

83. For *epinomion*, see LIDDELL, SCOTT, *s.v.* On «*epinomia*», see Chr. CHANDEZON, *L’élevage en Grèce (fin v^e-fin i^{er} s. a. C.)*, Bordeaux 2003, p. 351-389. Cf. H. FORBES, “The uses of the uncultivated landscape in modern Greece: a pointer to the value of the wilderness in antiquity?”, in W. SHIPLEY, I. SALMON (eds), *The Cambridge economic history of the Graeco-Roman world*, Cambridge 1996 (repr. 2003), p. 75-76.

84. Cf. Chr. CHANDEZON, “Les spécificités pastorales du Péloponnèse à l’époque hellénistique et sous le Haut-Empire”, in C. GRANDJEAN (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d’Epaminondas à Hadrien, Colloque de Tours 6-7 Octobre 2005*, Bordeaux 2008, p. 101-119, espec. p. 106, n. 22: «Le nom de ce droit est incomplet sur la pierre et il est impossible de proposer une restitution satisfaisante. On voit juste qu’il commençait par ΒΑΛΑΝΩ, ce qui en fait bien un droit de glandée»; see also p. 118 «T. Arminius Tauriscus qui, sous Auguste, a obtenu le droit de pâturage et de glandée à Mégalepolis...» and p. 113: «...a exempté à vie du paiement de l’*epinomion* et du droit de glandée pour tous les bestiaux qu’il possède. La concession substantielle ne laisse aucun doute sur le fait que Mégalepolis prélevait une taxe sur les troupeaux, sans doute par tête. Cette taxe peut se comprendre comme un simple impôt sur le bétail, mais elle peut aussi bien être un droit d’accès à certains pâturages». The word θρέμμα means (LIDDELL, SCOTT, *s.v.*) «nursling, creature, ... mostly of tame animals, esp. sheep and goats».

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important both in the region of Megalopolis and in several places of the Peloponnese, such as Elis, famous for its horses, Sicyon, Corinth and Messene⁸⁵.

Roman entrepreneurs attested in Greece would not have let slip the opportunity to extract profit from every available local resource including land. Admittedly, their indisputable involvement is only rarely mentioned in the sources and it is impossible to connect individual farmsteads or *villae rusticae* with any particular landowners. The inscription of the funerary monument belonging to a *villa* on the outskirts of Patras, which preserves the names of the owners, Caius Laetilius Clemens and his wife Marcia Maxima, is a rare exception⁸⁶. Since finds like this are extremely rare, it is difficult to see a connection between Latin or bilingual inscriptions, mainly gravestones, found in the countryside and farmsteads in the area. Some tombstones found near *poleis*, but not in organized cemeteries, are possibly to be connected with rural settlements. The use of Latin in these funerary inscriptions, that is, in documents that belong to the sphere of private life, indicates the presence of some Latin-speaking group in this otherwise Greek-speaking area. The reasons for the presence of a Latin-speaking group in the countryside are certainly to be connected with economic motives, which possibly had to do with land exploitation and related resources. Although it is tempting to link stray Latin or bilingual funerary inscriptions found at different points in the countryside in various regions of the Peloponnese with farmsteads and villas belonging to Roman proprietors, there is little point in mentioning all this epigraphic evidence here, since it is impossible to say whether or not it was connected with villas. We may mention just one possible candidate, a group of grave steles which formed part of a prominent funerary monument for L. Naevius Callistus, his wife Fuficulena Veneria and their friend L. Aelius Camus found near the *polis* of Argos on the road connecting Argos with Epidaurus⁸⁷. It seems likely that the family resided in a suburb, possibly in a *villa*, which comprehended the graves of the landlords and their dependents. The Latin language of the funerary inscriptions and the formulas of the texts indicate that we are dealing with Romans using their mother language, who prefer a Roman style of funerary monument.

85. Cf. Plb. 5. 37, 7-11. R. OSBORNE, *Classical landscape with figures: the ancient Greek city and its countryside*, London 1987, p. 53-54; CHANDEZON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 84), p. 104-107 with bibliography on these regions of the Peloponnese.

86. M. PETROPOULOS, "Ρωμαϊκές παρεμβάσεις στο πολεοδομικό σχέδιο της Πάτρας", in E. CARANDO, A.G. BENVENUTI, *Patrasso colonia di Augusto, Atti del convegno internazionale, Patrasso 23-24 marzo 2006*, Atene 2009, p. 49-51 and fig. 1.

87. W. VOLLGRAFF, "Inscriptions d' Argos", *BCH* 27 (1903), p. 265, Nr. 15 (*ILGR* 87); 16 (*ILGR* 88); 17 (*ILGR* 85); 18 (*ILGR* 86).

Conclusion

Stray sources record Romans who were in some way engaged in the land economy in the province of Achaia, that is, landowners, leasers of estates or individuals merely involved in the agricultural economy without possessing land. Sources do not allow us, however, to estimate their role in terms of figures and consequently it is difficult to quantify the proportion of Roman engagement in the rural economy or land ownership in the area. The Romans certainly played a role in the pattern of rural settlement in Roman Greece and gave a new impetus to rural life. It would be, however, an exaggeration to suppose that they totally transformed the agricultural economy. It seems rather that they were absorbed into local society. Land possession certainly implies a tighter bond with a place and is a type of business which cannot be transplanted. It is thus not surprising that certain Roman families whose presence is attested in fertile regions became permanent residents⁸⁸. In such cases their profit from business or agriculture was certainly reinvested to a large degree in their new home towns, as their euergetic activity in local communities and monetary contributions show.

Greek and Roman sources approach agriculture as a rule from the perspective of the elite. Roman residents of this class must have existed alongside landowners of a modest type. Archaeological surface surveys and excavations have enriched our knowledge of both large and striking villas and of modest farmsteads, all of which increases our insight into the organization of the countryside and of activities included in agrarian economy, as the material in the present volume testifies. An insight into their world cannot be limited to literary and epigraphic texts. Archaeological evidence can offer a new and valuable approach. As Susan Alcock stated, «... the archaeological data provide our only substantive new means of assessing the ancient economy, and thus a principal means of escaping established assumptions and tired arguments...»⁸⁹.

88. Cf. the case of Vetuleni of Elis, S. ZOUMBAKI, "Zu einer neuen Inschrift aus Olympia: Die Familie der Vettuleni von Elis", *ZPE* 99 (1993), p. 227-232.

89. S. ALCOCK, "The eastern Mediterranean", in W. SCHEIDEL, I. MORRIS, R. SALLER (eds), *The Cambridge economic history of the Graeco-Roman world*, Cambridge 2007, p. 673.



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ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟ
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ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 68
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ΣΗΜΑΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ



As that of other provinces of the Empire, the rural economy of Greece underwent many changes as well, with important implications for the strategies and organization of the production, as well as for the distribution and consumption of goods. Thanks to the extraordinary mass of archaeological data collected in Greece in the last decades, and to the possibility of applying both more sophisticated research instruments and more profitable methods of approach and analysis of these data, a re-examination of a regional case study such as Roman Greece is now more feasible. The publication in this volume of material remains –remarkable both for number and quality, from various in size productive complexes– and the synthetic studies on the other hand will provide students of the ancient world with an invaluable material which will greatly contribute to a better understanding of the economic organization of this part of the Roman Empire. It will also represent a point of reference for the study of both the rural world and more specific the economy of the cities of a small but not insignificant Roman administrative unit.

ISBN 978-960-9538-19-0



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