



TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Bernhard Palme
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 23, 2008

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HOLZHAUSEN
DER VERLAG



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H O L Z H A U S E N
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Tafeln 1–3

The Colonists of the Roman East and their Leading Groups

Some Notes on their Entering the Equestrian and Senatorial Ranks in Comparison with the Native Elites

... *haud facile libertas et domini miscentur*, “Liberty and masters are not easily combined together ...” These were the words of the German tribe of the Tencteri, addressing their fellow-countrymen, the Ubii, who had already settled in Colonia Agrippina (Cologne, Germany) jointly with Roman veterans; they even positively encouraged them to kill the Roman settlers, since they looked upon *muri coloniae* (“walls of colony”) as *munimenta servitii* (“bulwarks of slavery”)¹. Resistance to the establishment of Roman colonies may have not been so savage in the East. However, in addition to the cases of peaceful co-existence between colonists and the local populations, and despite the request of certain *poleis* to be awarded the title and status of colony², several sources reveal certain difficulties between colonies and the surrounding communities, as well as instances of indirect opposition to the foundation of colonies, such as in the case of Bouthrotos and Patras, as Cicero’s correspondence implies³.

E. T. Salmon explains the hate and suspicion expressed towards the colonists by the fact that they were regarded as “beneficiaries of provincial soil and as the permanently privileged local upper class”; further, he stresses the superiority not merely of the colonies but also of the colonists towards the native population of a region and states that they formed local “aristocracies throughout the Empire”⁴. The colonists undoubtedly enjoyed a favourable status compared with the mass of *peregrini* of the local population in the same region, since they lived in a community organised completely on the pattern of Roman institutions and legislation⁵; their magistrates enjoyed easier

¹ Tac., *Hist.* 4. 64. This was not a unique case of opposition to the foundation of a Roman colony. Tacitus (*An.* 14. 31; *Agricola* 16), for example, gives us vital descriptions of the fight between the Roman colonists and the indigenous population at Camulodunum (Colchester). [Translation of both passages by Cl. H. Moore in E. H. Warmington (ed.), *Tacitus III. Histories IV–V. Annals I–III*, Loeb Class. Lib., London 1969].

² Salmon, 152–153.

³ For the relevant passages of Cicero and the bibliography see A. D. Rizakis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του ρωμαϊκού αποικισμού της ΒΔ Πελοποννήσου*, in: ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 10), Athens 1990, esp. 327–331; idem, *Roman Colonies in the Province of Achaia: Territories, Land and Population*, in: S. E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford 1997, 18.

⁴ Salmon, 150, cf. also 156–157.

⁵ Salmon, 152–153, 156 and 197, n. 320. Colonies were organised as miniatures of Rome herself and as centers for the promotion of Roman influence, propaganda and culture, cf. Aul. Gel. 16. 13, 9.

access to the senate; eventually colonies were exempted from certain taxes, in cases where they were granted the *ius italicum*⁶. Moreover, colonists could often draw benefit not only from the land that was allotted to them, but also from the exploitation of other resources of the region, since several colonies were established on sites that were vital from both a political and an economic point of view. The allotments of the colonists, which were often not of negligible size, the compensation paid to the veterans for their service in the army, especially to the officers, and the considerable properties of the best established freedmen, who are often to be found among the colonists, could be perhaps sufficient for their enrollment in the *ordo decurionum* of the colonies and for their elevation to the local colonial elite⁷.

My purpose is to investigate, whether the basically privileged status of the colonists was a “ticket” for climbing the social ladder beyond the local leading circles, for entry into an exclusive social class. I focus, therefore, both on the upper social strata of the colonists and on prominent citizens of neighbouring cities, and attempt a comparison of the dynamic and evolution of these two groups, as well as of their promotion to the ranks of Roman *equites* and senators. Since Roman colonisation in the East exhibits some different features from colonisation in the western part of the Empire — where it is in some cases to be identified with urbanisation⁸ —, this investigation will be limited to the East.

The issue of the rise of the elite of the eastern provinces into a senatorial aristocracy is to be found in several studies focusing on the social history of certain regions of the East. Ch. Habicht⁹ had earlier suggested that Anatolian senators between the reigns of Augustus and Commodus came from colonies or towns with Roman residents. H. Halfmann supports the view that veterans and merchants prevailed in the first of the three distinct phases of the promotion of the provincial aristocracy of Asia Minor to the senate¹⁰. More recently, A. Spawforth has stated that “the Italian milieu of veterans, colonists and businessmen produced the ‘first wave’ of equestrian officers (and senators)” from Achaia, but also from Asia Minor and Egypt¹¹.

Before discussing the aforementioned suggestions it should first be stressed that Roman businessmen were not included as constituent elements of the original colonial

⁶ Salmon, 152–153, 156 and 197, n. 320.

⁷ On the size of these allotments in colonies see Salmon, 145–148; for factors that determined the size of the allotment received by each man see Levick, 95 with relevant references to the ancient sources; for the recompense and the allotments of veterans see P. Garnsey, R. Saller, *The Roman Empire. Economy, Society and Culture*, London 1987, 124; Rizakis, *Recrutement et formation des élites*, 114. Generally on the rewards of military service cf. L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 B.C.*, Rome 1983, 38–43.

⁸ For a comparison cf. e.g. Levick, 184–188.

⁹ Ch. Habicht, *Zwei neue Inschriften aus Pergamon*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 9–10 (1956–60) esp. 121–125.

¹⁰ H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus den kleinasiatischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert (Asia, Pontus-Bithynia, Lycia-Pamphylia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia)*, in: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale AIEGL su Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio, Roma, 14–20 maggio 1981*, vol. II, Roma 1982, 604 and 606–607.

¹¹ Spawforth, *Italian Elements*, esp. 107.

cell, but were already settled in the regions where the colonies were founded and were in some cases absorbed into them either at the moment of the *deductio* or later¹². This attraction of Roman businessmen to the colonies can be observed in more regions of the East and is to be explained on the basis of the fact that the colonies provided a familiar social and political environment and an interesting economic framework for them.

Moreover, Roman businessmen are to be found in several *poleis* of the East. For the purpose of this study there should be therefore a distinction between the two groups of Italian settlers, namely colonists and Roman businessmen. Thus, I focus on the colonists proper and attempt a further analysis of the evolution and social climbing of the most prominent individuals of colonial stock, and specifically of the most striking aspect of social success, namely their entering the equestrian and senatorial ranks of the Roman society.

A starting point: the elites of the colonies and the poleis of the Peloponnese

The region of the Peloponnese is used as a starting point, since recent intensive research into its society provides an inspiring framework and a productive field for further analysis¹³. However, my observations will extend beyond the Peloponnese.

An analysis of the composition of the elites of the Greek *poleis* and of this colonies of this region seems to be useful at this point. An overview of the composition of the elites of the Greek *poleis* of the Peloponnese in the Roman period¹⁴ offers the following picture: it is an amalgam of old traditionally prominent families which maintained their leading role for generations, of individuals who appear for a short period, playing an important part in public life, and then disappear, of individuals that rose to power in the circumstances of the depression of the late Republic, and finally of powerful Roman businessmen who had settled either permanently or temporarily in Peloponnesian towns.

Two earlier comprehensive studies on the elites of the Roman colonies founded in the Peloponnese — Corinth and Patras, together with the short-lived Dyme¹⁵ — give

¹² Rizakis, *Recrutement et formation des élites*, 111, 121.

¹³ *Roman Peloponnese* I and II.

¹⁴ S. Zoumbaki, *The Composition of the Peloponnesian Elites in the Roman Period and the Evolution of their Resistance and Approach to the Roman Rulers*, TEKMHPA (forthcoming).

¹⁵ The three Roman colonies of the Peloponnese were situated on the north coast of the peninsula, on the most important sea-route connecting West and East, see A. D. Rizakis, *Le port de Patras et les communications avec l'Italie sous la République*, CH 33 (1988) 453–472. — Corinth and Dyme were founded by Caesar and exhibit common features regarding the composition of their population — both of them were manned mainly with freedmen — but completely different fates regarding their prestige and influence and their longevity: Dyme seems to have been absorbed quickly by Patras, whilst Corinth proved to be the „römische Metropole des Ostens“, to use the words of Fr. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*, Wiesbaden 1952, 86; Patras was an Augustan foundation to „house“ veterans, and also developed into an important economic centre, see Vittinghoff, 127. For the population of Corinth see Str. 8. 23 (= C 381); for

a quite different picture: a factor common to all three Roman colonies in the region is the total absence of the old aristocracy from their administration posts¹⁶. The colonial elite of Corinth is composed mainly of freedman stock and a small number of veteran stock; the elite of Dyme seems to have consisted also mainly of freedman stock, whilst the military character of Patras and its elite is obvious in its inscriptions. Epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources testify that a certain number of Greek notables from the Peloponnese and other areas of the province Achaia are to be encountered as colonial magistrates at Corinth¹⁷.

Finally, Roman businessmen are to be encountered also in the elites of Corinth and Patras. Regarding Corinth it is assumed that Roman businessmen were on the one hand already settled in the town before the foundation of the Caesarian colony, and on the other hand that they came from the surrounding regions and were absorbed into the colonial community; in Patras Roman *negotiatores* were active long before the establishment of the Roman colony¹⁸.

freedmen among the first civic magistrates of Dyme see Rizakis, *La constitution*, 47. — For the absorption of Dyme by Patras see Rizakis, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 22–23.

¹⁶ For the composition of the colonial elite of Corinth see Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 167–182. For the elites of all three Roman colonies in the Peloponnese see Rizakis, *La constitution*, 37–49. — For the fate of the old population of Patras and Dyme see Rizakis, *op. cit.* (n. 3), esp. 25–26; *idem*, *Les colonies romaines des côtes occidentales grecques. Populations et territoires*, DHA 22/1 (1996) 255–324. — For the situation in Corinth between the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C. and the foundation of the Caesarian colony see J. Wiseman, *Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.–A.D. 267*, in: ANRW VII 1 (1979) 491–496; E. R. Gebhard, M. W. Dickie, *The View from the Isthmus, ca. 200 to 44 B.C.*, in: Ch. K. Williams II, N. Bookidis (eds.), *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. XX. Corinth, the centenary 1896–1996*, Athens 2003, 261–278.

¹⁷ For these individuals from the Peloponnese and the province Achaia see Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 173–174; Rizakis, *La constitution*, 45–46. — The Peloponnesian aristocrats encountered as officers in Corinth are the following: P. Caninius Agrippa (*Roman Peloponnese I*, COR 135), C. Iulius Laco (*Roman Peloponnese I*, COR 345), C. Iulius Spartiacus (*Roman Peloponnese I*, COR 353; cf. also *Roman Peloponnese II*, LAC 509); Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (*Roman Peloponnese I*, COR 228) who is to be regarded as the grandson of a Cornelius Pulcher attested in the first half of the 1st c. A.D. as an Isthmian *agonothetes* (*Roman Peloponnese I*, COR 226, ARG 116; Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 174; Stansbury, 268). — Non-Peloponnesian individuals who left their hometowns to pursue colonial offices of Corinth are C. Iulius Polyaeus (Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 174 regards his origin as Sicyonian; Rizakis, *La constitution*, 46, n. 39 refers to him as “probablement originaire de Delphes”; *Roman Peloponnese I*, COR 350) and two individuals of Delphic origin, P. Memmius Cleander (see Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 174; *Roman Peloponnese I*, COR 421) and P. Memmius (?) Critolaus Theocles (Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 180, no. 17; AE 1966, 382).

¹⁸ For Corinth see especially Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 171–173 based on prosopographical data, Gebhard, Dickie, *op. cit.* (n. 16), esp. 277 based on archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence and D. G. Romano, *City Planning, Centuriation, and Land Division in Roman Corinth*, in: Williams II, Bookidis (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), esp. 280–283 based on the study of three centuriations, the first of which is to be dated in the interim period, 146–44 B.C. and connected with the *lex agraria* of 111 B.C. which concerned the measurement of a part of the *ager publicus* of Corinth for sale. For Patras see S. Zoumbaki,

Within these groups of elites in *poleis* and colonies, where differences of wealth, power and influence are obvious in the careers and the networks of relationships of their individual members, an upper class elite at the Peloponnesian or provincial level may be distinguished in the sources. The various groups of the elites, both in the colonies and the Greek *poleis* were not isolated and closed in on themselves but had points of contact and were connected with each other in various ways, as an analysis of their familial connections and activity shows¹⁹.

From this point of view, the link between Peloponnesian notables and Corinth is not surprising and, indeed, provides an interesting basis for the purpose of our study, namely for the comparison of native and colonial elites. The fact that Greek notables held colonial offices, undertook expensive *agonothesia*e and carried out various benefactions at Corinth²⁰, is already well investigated and is usually interpreted as an indication that members of the provincial Peloponnesian aristocracy pursued a political career in Corinth in order to promote their ambitions for an advanced Roman career²¹. In fact, several of the Greek notables who stayed in contact with Corinth did succeed their target and were raised to the equestrian rank²². However, political activity in Corinth was not the only route to social success²³.

Corinth was not a unique case of a colony attracting leading citizens from the surrounding region. "Transplants" from neighbouring towns are also to be found in other colonies of the Roman empire, which were also open and flexible societies, where for-

Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes, TEKMHPA 4 (1998/9) 141–144.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. A. J. S. Spawforth, *Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: Some Prosopographical Notes*, ABSA 80 (1985) 191–258.

²⁰ Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 173–175; Rizakis, *La constitution*, 45–46; for these individuals see above n. 17. A. Spawforth speaks further of the social prejudice of Greek aristocrats against the servile origins of Corinth, which began to thaw under Claudius at the latest, when Greeks from neighbouring towns — except P. Caninius Agrippa, whose duumvirate is to be dated to the age of Augustus — are encountered as holders of colonial offices.

²¹ Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 174; Spawforth, *Italian Elements*, esp. 107; Rizakis, *La constitution*, 46.

²² For the equestrian careers of these individuals see the following specific bibliography: for the Achaean (?) P. Caninius Agrippa see *PIR*² C 387; Demougin, *CJC*, 494; for the Spartan C. Iulius Laco, son of Eurycles, see Halfmann, 29 b; Demougin, *CJC*, 503, and for his son Spartiacus see Devijver I, 128; Demougin, *CJC*, 564; Halfmann, 29 a; for Cn. Cornelius Pulcher see *PIR*² C 1424; Devijver, C 245 and Suppl. I, C 245.

²³ Links between prominent Peloponnesians and the Roman ambience of their regions can be often observed (cf. Spawforth, *Italian Elements*, 106). A political career in Corinth was, however, not necessary for individuals with ambitions for a Roman career, cf. for example the following Roman *equites*, for whom no contacts with Corinth are attested so far: Ti. Claudius Dionysius Crispianus Quir., son of Aristomenes (Devijver, C 136 and Suppl. I, p. 1502; *Roman Peloponnese* I, EL 148; II, MES 136; for his possible part-Italian ancestry see Spawforth, *Italian Elements*, 102–103). — L. Vettulenus Laetus (Devijver, V 84; *Roman Peloponnese* I, EL 339). His origin from the milieu of the Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνγαυοῦντες of Eleia is assumed with great probability, cf. S. Zoumbaki, *Zu einer neuen Inschrift aus Olympia: die Familie der Vettuleni von Elis*, ZPE 99 (1993) 227–232.

eigners could obtain local citizenship and hold high offices²⁴. Contact with colonies might form an introduction to Roman culture, which was very necessary for anyone who nursed dreams of a Roman career²⁵.

Further, some colonists could serve as links between their powerful patrons in Rome and the Greek aristocrats. However, this role could also be played by Roman businessmen, since they were often agents of important figures in Roman political life who engaged in overseas business. Moreover, it is significant that Patras, unlike Corinth, seems not to have been such an attractive place for political activity to the Peloponnesian notables²⁶, as far as the preserved epigraphic material allows us to conclude.

This shows that the political activity of foreigners in Corinth is to be connected rather with its status as the capital of the province and the residence not only of the Roman governor, but also of other Roman magistrates and of a long list of personnel, such as *procuratores*, *quaestores*, soldiers, imperial slaves and freedmen, who could function as useful links with Rome. The short distance between Patras and Corinth meant that Greek notables desiring a political career in a colony inclined to Corinth.

A similar situation is revealed by, for example, the two colonies Barcino and Tarraco on the opposite side of the Mediterranean, in Spain. Tarraco, the capital of the province Hispania Citerior, attracted a much larger number of foreigners who lived there temporarily or permanently and held high colonial offices²⁷.

Roman senators and equites from the Peloponnese

Given the opportunities for an advanced Roman career for individuals with political contacts in the colonies, a question arises as to the opportunities available to the colonists for such social success. A closer examination of the Roman *equites* and senators from the Greek *poleis* and colonies of the Peloponnese in the list given below will provide useful material for further comparisons. In principle it is to be clarified that

²⁴ This is to be observed for example in colonies of Macedonia (Cf. Rizakis, *Recruitment et formation des élites*, 126–127 for Dium, Cassandrea and Philippi), for Pisidian Antioch (Levick, 126–128) but also in Tarraco and on a smaller scale in Barcino in the province Hispania Citerior, see G. Alföldy, *Drei städtische Eliten im römischen Hispanien*, *Gerion* 2 (1984) 193–238.

²⁵ This means familiarization on the one hand with Roman institutions and on the other hand with aspects of Roman culture, and above all the learning of Latin, which was a prerequisite for holding high Roman offices; cf. Claudius's withdrawing of Roman citizenship from those who could not speak Latin (Suet., *Claud.* 25. 3; Dio 60. 17, 4–5).

²⁶ The only exception known so far is the Elean Basilios Oxylides, who is, however, probably to be dated to the 4th c. A.D. and therefore remains outside the period of our study. Basilios seems not to have been a native of Patras but an Elean, as the epithet Oxylides indicates; for the career of Basilios and the relevant bibliography see A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire* (MEΛETHMATA 25), Athènes 1998, 120–124, no. 37; S. Zoumbaki, *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (MEΛETHMATA 32), Athen 2001, 241–242, B 4.

²⁷ This difference is to be explained by the fact that Tarraco was not just a colony but the capital of the province Hispania Citerior, Alföldy, *op. cit.* (n. 24), 218–220.

the entries in the following list concern only individuals who are expressly named as Roman knights or senators, or whose *cursus honorum* includes equestrian or senatorial offices respectively. Persons who are indirectly presumed to be *equites*, such as fathers of senators²⁸, highpriests of the imperial cult on a provincial level²⁹, persons who are presumed to possess the required census or individuals bearing the title κράτιστος in a questionable context, do not appear in this catalogue³⁰.

For the purpose of the present study it is more prudent to concentrate on the *equites* and senators of the two first centuries of the Imperial period. A few individuals of a later date included in the following list merely serve to produce a complete picture.

²⁸ Halfmann, 24.

²⁹ As A. Stein, *Zur sozialen Stellung der provinziellen Oberpriester*, in: *ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΝ* Heinrich Swoboda, Reichenberg 1927, 300–311 has shown, many *archiereis* of the provincial *koina* belonged to the equestrian order or other members of their families were Roman *equites* or senators; however, not all of them are to be considered as members of the equestrian order.

³⁰ The title κράτιστος is often used as the Greek equivalent of the Latin *egregius* which defines the members of the equestrian rank. In some cases, however, senators are defined as κράτιστοι. For a selective bibliography on the use of the adjective *egregius*/κράτιστος see A. Stein, *Griechische Rangtitel in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Wiener Studien 34 (1912) 160–170; O. Hirschfeld, *Die Rangtitel der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in: *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin 1913, 646–681; J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, München u.a. 1965, 152, 178; H.-G. Pflaum, *Titulature et rang social sous le Haut-Empire*, in: *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique, Colloques Nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Caen 25–26 Avril 1969*, Paris 1970, 159–185 esp. 164; H. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis*, Toronto 1974, 64; G. Alföldy, *Die Stellung der Ritter in der Führungsschicht des Imperium Romanum*, Chiron 11 (1981) 190–194; J. H. Oliver, *Roman Senators from Greece and Macedonia*, in: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale AIEGL su Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio, Roma, 14–20 maggio 1981*, Tituli 5, Roma 1982, 583–602 (“κρά(τι)στος) ... seems to have been reserved for senators until the Severan period”); F. Millar, *Empire and City, Augustus to Julian: Obligations, Excuses and Status*, JRS 73 (1983) 90–91; Ch. Bruun, *Some Comments on the status of Imperial Freedmen (The Case of Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Classicus)*, ZPE 82 (1990) 272–274; A. Arjava, *Zum Gebrauch der griechischen Rangprädikate des Senatorenstandes in den Papyri und Inschriften*, Tyche 6 (1991) 17–35, esp. 18.

However, for the majority of the individuals who are encountered in Peloponnesian inscriptions as κράτιστοι, there is no certainty that they belonged to the equestrian order, e.g. *Roman Peloponnese* I, COR 207, 224; EL 168, 192, 286; *Roman Peloponnese* II, LAC 88, 116, 258. In any case, the use of κράτιστος in Greek inscriptions is not always connected with Roman knights, since it sometimes defines individuals who were undoubtedly senators, such as proconsuls, e.g. *Roman Peloponnese* II, LAC 270 [5] and 174, 280, 697. Furthermore there are cases, where κράτιστος seems to be used as a descriptive epithet, cf. *IvO* 479 (Κλαύδιον Ζηνόφιλον τὸν κράτιστον ἀλυτάρχη καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως ...); *IvO* 480 (Νεμῆσιανὸν τὸν κρά[τ]ιστον [π]ολεΐτην ...). — An exception could be the Elean T. Flavius Archelaus who is called in [τὸ]ν κράτιστον Ἑλλαδάρχη in an honorary inscription; in a catalogue of the personnel of the sanctuary of Olympia, where he is listed as a *theocolos*, he is called Φλ(άβιος) Ἀρχέλαος ὁ κράτιστος (*IvO* 483 [A.D. 245] and 122 [A.D. 265]).

Equites and senators from the Peloponnese

Equites	Origin	Date
P. Caninius Agrippa	Pellene (?)	under Augustus
C. Iulius Laco	Sparta	under Claudius
C. Iulius Spartiaticus	Sparta	1 st half of the 1 st c. A.D.
M. Aurelius Stephanus	Sparta	late 2 nd /3 rd c. A.D.
Cn. Cornelius Pulcher	Epidauros	under Trajan
C. Iulius L[- - -]	Argos (?)	late 2 nd /3 rd c. A.D.
C. Iulius Philippus	Argos (?)	late 2 nd /3 rd c. A.D.
name not preserved in <i>IG IV 596</i>	Argos	1 st /2 nd c. A.D.
C. Serenus Pa[- - -]	Nauplion (?)	2 nd c. A.D.
Ti. Claudius Dionysius Crispianus	Messene	end of 1 st /beg. of 2 nd c. A.D.
L. Vettulenus Laetus	Elis	perhaps under Nerva
T. Flavius Archelaus (?) ³¹	Elis	3 rd c. A.D.
Q. Granius Q. f. Bassus	Corinth (?)	under Claudius
Ti. Claudius Dinippus	Corinth	under Nero
Antonius Sospis	Corinth	2 nd c. A.D.
T. Statilius T. f. Pal. Felix	Patras	2 nd c. A.D.
Vitellius Valerinus ³²	Patras	4 th c. A.D.
Senators	Origin	Date
C. Iulius Fab. Eurycles Her- culanus L. Vibullius Pius	Sparta	under Trajan
Ti. Claudius Brasida	Sparta	under Marcus Aurelius
Claudius Frontinus	Messene	under Antoninus Pius
Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus	Messene	2 nd half of 2 nd c. A.D.
Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus (Veturius Paccianus)	Messene (?)	2 nd half of 2 nd c. A.D. 2 nd half of 2 nd c. A.D.

The ethnic origin of the individuals listed in this table is very interesting. It is remarkable that the small Arcadian towns did not produce an elite of such high social status. Although this situation is explicable in Arcadia, it is surprising that the trade-centers of Patras and Corinth exhibit a relatively small number of *equites* who held merely the lowest offices of the equestrian career, as it will be shown below. The vast majority of the Roman knights and senators come from the old Peloponnesian *poleis*. The social origin of these individuals is equally interesting. Most of them seem to originate from the old families of the Peloponnese, which had contacts with each other as well as with the Roman communities, whilst some individuals seem to be

³¹ T. Flavius Archelaus is treated with scepticism, like other individuals bearing the adjective κράτιστος. For him see n. 30 above and also *Roman Peloponnese* I, EL 192. — Oliver, op. cit. (n. 30), 596 states that he “may have been assimilated to a senator”. With some reservation he could be regarded as a Roman *eques*.

³² The *logistes* of Patras and *comes* Vitellius Valerinus, attested in an honorary inscription from Sparta (*IG V 1, 524*), is to be dated to a much later period, to the 4th c. A.D., and consequently falls outside the scope of this article; cf. also E. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit*, Budapest 1946, 44, n. 6; *PLRE* I, s.v. *Valerinus 2*.

descendants of Roman businessmen established in the region. Their background is often complicated, however, and each case requires closer examination³³.

A look at the individuals from colonies of the Peloponnese who are regarded as Roman knights or senators supports this speculation. Just three individuals among the Roman *equites* attested at Corinth are regarded as of Corinthian origin, as the table given above shows. In the case of two of them there is however no certainty about their origin from the Corinthian colonial stock. Q. Granius Q. f. Bassus, who is encountered as an imperial *procurator*, *comes* and *praefectus fabrum*, is regarded as a Corinthian due to the fact that he performed a public benefaction for the colony³⁴. Although there is no solid evidence either for or against this suggestion, his dedication remains a weak argument for his originating from the colony, since benefactions by foreigners in favour of Corinth are well attested³⁵. Ti. Claudius Ti. f. F. Dinippus, who held several colonial offices, was a Roman knight, since he was *tribunus militum* of the *legio VI Hispanensis*³⁶.

Although his *tribus* was Fabia and not that of Corinth, Aemilia, his political activity in the colony could imply that it was his residence. This fact led A. Spawforth³⁷ to suggest that his family seems to be linked with the Claudii established in the East from the 2nd c. B.C. onwards; thus, he did not originate from the stock of colonists proper but from that of Roman businessmen attracted to Corinth. M. Antonius Sospis, who held also colonial magistracies and offices of the equestrian career, *tribunus militum legionis III Augustae*, *legatus legionis II Adiutricis*, seems to be a descendant of a colonial family which was probably granted Roman citizenship by Mark Antony and was apparently connected with the prominent Athenian family of Leonidas

³³ Cf. Spawforth, *Italian Elements*, esp. 107.

³⁴ For the dedication see *Corinth* VIII. 3, 131; for the individual see also *PIR*² G 208; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrieres procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris 1960/61, 1070; Demougin, *CJC*, 501, who argues for his Corinthian origin on the basis of his donation; *Roman Peloponnese* I, COR 302. It is suggested by Stansbury, 220 that Grania Quinta who erected a honorific monument for P. Caninius Agrippa (*Corinth* VIII. 2, 65) is to be identified as a relative, perhaps a sister, of Granius Bassus; this fact may indicate that Granius Bassus lived with his family regularly at Corinth. Leaving aside the fact that it is not easy to assign an accurate date to these inscriptions, there is no evidence that Grania Quinta was a relative of the *procurator*. — The name Grania is also attested much later (*Corinth* VIII. 3, 302, early 3rd c. A.D.), which implies that there was a branch of the Granii in Corinth; it is unknown, whether they are to be connected in some way with the procurator Granius Bassus. It is in any case significant that Spawforth, *Italian Elements*, 105–106, who gives a catalogue of the Roman knights from the province Achaia down to A.D. 100, does not include Q. Granius Bassus.

³⁵ E.g. a Eurycles from Sparta was the donor of the so-called “baths of Eurycles” named by Pausanias (2. 3, 5). There is no agreement about his identification either with Eurycles of the Augustan period (cf. Stansbury, 217–218) or with Herculaneus (cf. P. Cartledge, A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta*, London, New York 1989, 104).

³⁶ For the individual see A. B. West, *Corinth* VIII. 2, 86; Devijver, C 139; Demougin, *CJC*, 607; *Roman Peloponnese* I, COR 170.

³⁷ Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 177–178.

of Melite³⁸. Two further individuals, Sex. Olius L. f. Aem. Secundus (under Augustus) and A. Arrius [.] f. Aem. Proculus (under the first Iulio-Claudians), whose colonial careers and tribe indicate that they were Corinthians, have been regarded as *equites* on the basis of the fact that they held the office of *praefectus fabrum*³⁹. The definition of the nature of this office is often complicated and depends on the date⁴⁰. Recent research inclines to the view that bearing the title of *praefectus fabrum* in the Early Principate does not constitute sure evidence for the equestrian rank of the officeholders, but merely an indication that they were at the “entrance” of the equestrian order. It remains in any case unknown whether the aforementioned *praefecti fabrum* from Corinth followed a further equestrian career, since there is no evidence that they held an equestrian office after this.

From all the above it emerges that just two Roman knights attested in the Corinthian inscriptions, Dinippus and Sospis, may probably be regarded as Corinthian citizens, and just one of them, Sospis, is to be regarded as a descendant of colonists. It was, however, only in the 2nd c. A.D. that Sospis succeeded in entering the rank of Roman knights. Only one Roman *eques* is to be encountered in Patras: T. Statilius T. f. Pal. Felix who is to be dated to the 2nd c. A.D.⁴¹ Although a further Roman knight, C. Serenus Pa[- -], the *tribunus militum* of a legio, attested in an inscription found at Nauplion, was earlier attributed to Patras, this can no longer be maintained⁴².

Apart from the above-mentioned *equites* who seem to be of Corinthian and Patraean origin, there is no sign of individuals from the Peloponnesian colonies successfully engaging in an important career in the imperial administration. The hypothesis that Veturius Paccianus, the senator of the 2nd c. A.D., originated from Corinth is based on the weak argument that the name Paccianus is twice attested in fragmentary Corin-

³⁸ For the individual see *Roman Peloponnese* I, COR 72; the connection of the family with Athens is suggested by E. Kapetanopoulos, *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969) 80–82.

³⁹ For Sex. Olius L. f. Aem. Secundus see *Corinth* VIII. 3, 152; Demougín, *CJC*, 172; *Roman Peloponnese* I, COR 446. — For A. Arrius [.] f. Aem. Proculus see *Corinth* VIII. 3, 156; Demougín, *CJC*, 392; *Roman Peloponnese* I, COR 87. For a possible connection of his family with eastern *negotia* see Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 176 (with bibliography).

⁴⁰ E. Kornemann, *RE* VI.2 (1900), 1923–1924 *s.v.* *Fabri*; B. Dobson, *The praefectus fabrum in the Early Principate*, in: M. G. Jarrett, B. Dobson (eds.), *Britain and Rome. Essays Presented to Eric Birley on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Kendall 1966, 61–84 (repr. in D. J. Breeze, B. Dobson [ed.], *Roman Officers and Frontiers*, Stuttgart 1993, 218–241); K. E. Welch, *The Office of praefectus fabrum in the Late Republic*, *Chiron* 25 (1995) 131–145, who states (p. 145) that “This office is restricted to men of the Equestrian order who showed little sign that they expected to progress to the senate” (for a discussion of the article see E. Badian, *Notes on a Recent List of praefecti fabrum under the Republic*, *Chiron* 27 [1997] 1–19); M. Cerva, *La praefectura fabrum: un'introduzione*, in: M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (ed.), *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien, entre continuité et rupture, classes sociales dirigeantes et pouvoir central*. Actes du colloque de Naples du 6 au 8 février 1997, Rome 2000, 177–196; C. Brélaz, A. Rizakis, *Le fonctionnement des institutions et le déroulement des carrières dans la colonie de Philippes*, *Cahiers Glotz* 14 (2003) 162–165.

⁴¹ Rizakis, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 206–207, no. 158. He is attested as *tribunus cohortis XXVI voluntariorum civium Romanorum*.

⁴² Rizakis, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 304, no. 370.

thian inscriptions⁴³. There is, however, no indication that these inscriptions are to be connected with the above-mentioned senator. Veturius Paccianus is not attested so far in any Corinthian inscription; he is to be encountered only in a text from Epidaurus, where he is honoured as a benefactor⁴⁴. In fact, it is equally possible that he originated from Epidaurus⁴⁵.

As the list of Roman knights and senators from the Peloponnese shows, the vast majority of the individuals who reached high Roman offices, belongs not to colonial stock but to prominent Peloponnesian families — and mainly to families with a long history of connections with Rome, which paved their way to the highest social strata — and a certain number of individuals who seem to be descendants of Roman businessmen settled in the region and often married into local notable families⁴⁶.

These individuals therefore possessed the wealth — a necessary condition for enrollment in the highest ranks of the Roman social hierarchy — and the right connections for climbing up the imperial hierarchy. The colonists do not seem to have possessed this qualification to the required extent. The opportunities offered by the colonies and especially by Corinth, the political centre of the province, seem to have been much better exploited by notables of the Peloponnesian towns than by colonists or their descendants. Returning to the aforementioned statement of A. Spawforth regarding the social origin of the “first wave” of equites and senators from the Peloponnese, we could therefore note that it seems to have been produced mainly by the old Peloponnesian aristocracy and descendants of Roman businessmen.

The situation beyond the Peloponnese: Senators from the poleis and colonies of the East

The situation described above is not unique. The colonies of Macedonia did not produce apparently a single senator. The one and only senator of which the colony of Philippi can boast, C. Iulius Maximus Mucianus, did not belong to colonial stock but to a romanised Thracian royal family⁴⁷. A. Rizakis mentions that one more senator, P. Marronius Quartus, is attested in an unpublished inscription from Philippi without

⁴³ For the suggestion that Veturius Paccianus was of Corinthian origin see Halfmann, 40 and 192, no. 118; for attestations of the name Paccianus in Corinth see *Roman Peloponnese* I, 448.

⁴⁴ *IG* IV 1415; *IG* IV² 1, 682; for further bibliography on Veturius Paccianus see *Roman Peloponnese* I, ARG 264.

⁴⁵ A. Rizakis, *Ηγετική τάξη και κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση στις πόλεις της Πελοποννήσου κατά την αυτοκρατορική εποχή*, in: V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *For-schungen in der Peloponnes, Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier “100 Jahre österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen”*, Athen 5. 3.–7. 3. 1998, Athens 2001, 188 wonders whether Veturius Paccianus originated from Epidaurus.

⁴⁶ E.g. Spawforth, *Italian Elements*, 102 for the Messenian family of Crispianus.

⁴⁷ For the individual see Halfmann, 65–66 and no. 117; on the elites of Macedonian colonies see Rizakis, *Recrutement et formation des élites*, esp. on C. Iulius Maximus Muccianus see pp. 126–127.

further comment about his ethnic and social background⁴⁸. Among the six *equites* encountered in Philippi there are at least three foreigners who chose to settle in the town⁴⁹.

From this point of view, it would be especially interesting to have an overview of the remaining senators of the East. This is the purpose of the two following tables. The first of them shows the total number of the attested senatorial families in each region and the number of senatorial families from the colonies; the second table displays the individual senators from the *poleis* and those from the colonies of each region. These tables are based on lists included by Halfmann, 68–70 and 78–81.

Although some of the data of these lists have been slightly modified in younger studies⁵⁰ and despite the fact that several individual cases have to be clarified, as it is shown below, the lists of Halfmann remain a revealing source for the purpose of this study.

Senatorial Families in the East

Region	Total of senatorial families	Senatorial families in the colonies
Achaia	7	1 (?)
Macedonia	1	1
Thrace	1	
Pontus/Bithynia	5	1
Asia	31	2
Galatia	9	5 (from Pisidian Antiochia)
Cappadocia	1	
Lycia	5	
Pamphylia	6 + 3 from Attaleia	
Syria	9	2
Judaea	2	
Crete	1	
Total:	81	12

Asia Minor (of uncertain origin): 5

Cyrene: 2 (?) status of the town unknown

⁴⁸ A. D. Rizakis, *Le ambizioni e i limiti della 'bourgeoisie'. La classe dirigente della colonia di Filippi*, in: *Atti delle Giornate di Studio di Roma e di Atene in memoria di Margherita Guarducci (1902–1999)*, *Opuscula Epigraphica* 10 (2003) 156.

⁴⁹ Rizakis, *op. cit.* (n. 48), 155–156.

⁵⁰ Cf. the studies on senators of the eastern provinces included in: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale AIEGL su Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio* (n. 30), where indeed the material of Asia Minor is studied by Halfmann, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 603–650; for Greece and Macedonia see Oliver, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 583–602; and also G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Senators from the Near East: Syria, Judaea, Arabia, Mesopotamia, ib.*, 651–668 and J. Reynolds, *Senators Originating in the Provinces of Egypt and of Crete and Cyrene, ib.*, 671–683.

Senators from the East

Region	Individuals in poleis	Individuals in the colonies
Achaia	11	1
Macedonia		1
Thrace	1	
Pontus/Bithynia	5	1
Asia	51	7
Galatia	8	11
Cappadocia	1	
Lycia	6	
Pamphylia	4 + 6 from Attaleia	
Syria	9	4
Judaea	4	
Crete	2	
Total:	108	25

Despite the clear impression given by the figures of the tables, some of the facts behind the figures require explanation. Towns which acquired the status of a colony at a later date, such as Nikomedia, which became a colony under Diocletian, or such as Emessa⁵¹, which became a colony under Caracalla, but can claim senators at an earlier period, are not included under colonies. We do not know when Cyrene became a Roman colony; in any case the mosaic of its inhabitants does not allow us to define the ethnic origin of the senators produced there under Nero and Trajan⁵².

Turning to the details of the tables, there are further matters to be clarified. Firstly we have to bear in mind that an in-depth study of each separate case might show that some individuals are not assigned to the correct category: for example the number 1 which appears under the colonies of both Achaia and Macedonia represents Veturius Paccianus and C. Iulius Maximus Mucianus, who are — as already stated — not to be regarded as members of the colonial stock of Corinth and Philippi respectively. Further, the number 1 under the colonies of Bithynia represents the *legatus pro praetore* of the province Asia, [- -]tilius P. f. Clu(stumina) Lon[g]us, whose descent from Apameia is not to be accepted with certainty, but it is only indirectly inferred⁵³.

⁵¹ On Emessa and generally on the colonies of Near East and their cultural profile under Roman rule see F. Millar, *The Roman coloniae of the Near East: a Study of Cultural Relations*, in: H. Solin, M. Kajava (eds.), *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History, Proceedings of a Colloquium at Tvarminne 2–3 October 1987*, Helsinki 1990, 7–58, esp. on the colonial status of Emessa p. 41.

⁵² Halfmann, 63. For senators from Cyrene who are likely to be descended from resident Italian *negotiatores* see Reynolds, op. cit. (n. 50), 674–679.

⁵³ His origin from Apameia is assumed on the one hand on the basis of his being honoured as patron in Apameia and on the other hand on the basis of the restoration of his gentilicium as [Ca]tilius, which is frequent in Apameia, see Th. Corsten, *Die Familie der Catilii in Bithynien*, EA 6 (1985) 129–130, no. 6; idem, *I. Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai*, 20–21, no. 2. However, there were numerous Italian *negotiatores* installed in Bithynia, among whom an Atilius mentioned by Cic., *Ad Fam.* 13, 62 already as a Roman knight, cf.

Apart from these examples, a closer prosopographical study will reveal more problematic cases. However, I have not modified the data of H. Halfmann's lists. In any case the desired results are still obvious. The comparison of the numbers of Eastern senators in the table given above is very interesting and sheds light on the qualification and ability of the colonists to make such a social ascent.

The largest number of senators from a colony occurs in Pisidian Antioch, where they actually number more individuals than those in the *poleis* of the region. This situation is to be explained according to B. Levick by the fact that this area was especially fertile, had good connections over land or sea routes, and had of an extended territorium where enormous land properties could be developed⁵⁴.

However, a handful of landowners owned the total wealth of the town. The class distinctions in the colony were so sharp that even the number of the *equites* is limited; besides, these *equites* are known to have held low military posts, not equestrian procuratorships⁵⁵. Moreover it seems that there had been a community of Roman *negotiatores* in Antioch, which was to be expected for a town "on the busy southern highway". An undefined number of Antiochian senators, therefore, were apparently descendants of *negotiatores*⁵⁶.

A further special case is Attaleia in Pamphylia, which is mentioned separately in our tables. The town is expressly referred to as a colony under Caracalla. However, there has been a lengthy debate on the status of Attaleia before Caracalla, since there is a striking Roman presence in the town. Recent research does not regard Attaleia as a true colony⁵⁷. In any case, the intensive presence of Roman *negotiatores* in Attaleia

H.-L. Fernoux, *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine (III^e siècle av. J.-C.–III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*. *Essai d'histoire sociale*, Lyon 2004, 146–149 and 446. Thus, although the restoration of the name as [Ca]tilius seems plausible, it is not to be taken for granted.

⁵⁴ Halfmann, 54–55; Levick, 96–102.

⁵⁵ Levick, 119–120.

⁵⁶ Levick, 58; cf. the case of both senators encountered in Pisidian Antioch under Tiberius, L. Sergius Paullus and Q. Sergius Paullus. Their origin from the community of Roman businessmen is not rejected by Halfmann, nos 3 and 4 although he rejects the suggestion of W. M. Ramsay, *Studies in the Roman Province Galatia*, JRS 16 (1926) 102–119 that they were not natives of Asia Minor.

⁵⁷ The theory of a quasi-colony was supported by T. R. S. Broughton, *Some Non-Colonial coloni of Augustus*, TAPhA 66 (1935) 18–25 and disputed by B. Levick, S. A. Jameson, *C. Crepereius Gallus and his gens*, JRS 54 (1964) 101–102, who suggested that the Romans settled there were *negotiatores* who maintained their cultural identity and "their presence in the town eventually led the community as a whole to claim the status of a Roman colony"; S. A. Jameson, RE Suppl. XII (1970), esp. 111–116 s.v. *Attaleia* reproduced this view. The view that Attaleia was a colony was once more favoured by R. Mellor, *Θεὸς Ἡρώων. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, Göttingen 1975, 87 n. 387. — S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor, vol. I: The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule*, Oxford 1993, 90 rejected the view of a typical real colony and maintained that "the existing population was too large or too influential to be absorbed into the colony and here the Roman veterans were introduced into the constitution of the city ... as *sympoliteuomenoi Romaioi*". B. Levick, "How different from us!". *Inscriptions of Pamphylian Cities under the Roman Empire*, in: S. Follet (ed.), *L'hellénisme d'époque romaine: nou-*

long before the date of the questionable establishment of a colony is generally accepted. Several of the Roman businessmen settled in the town seem to have reached the senatorial order⁵⁸.

With the exception of Pisidian Antioch and the special case of Attaleia, the number of senators originating from the eastern Roman colonies in the tables given above is therefore to be very limited. The people who represented Asia Minor in the senate originated mainly from the old cities near the west coast. Moreover, the early senators were either descendants of kings and dynasts or Roman landowners, who often married into the local nobility, "each side giving the other what lacked by way of qualifications for social success", as B. Levick states⁵⁹. Even the statement of Ch. Habicht⁶⁰ that Anatolian senators between the reigns of Augustus and Commodus originated from colonies or towns with Roman residents, does not in fact contradict my remarks: the number of the senators he gives for the colonies (26 individuals, among which he also includes Attaleia) is almost the same as that in my tables; this number, however, is strongly modified by B. Levick⁶¹ after a detailed prosopographical study. A detailed prosopographical study of each case in order to define the origin of the senators will show that the number of the Roman senators from colonies is even smaller than a first glance at the tables shows, if one considers the number of colonists proper amongst the senators listed under colonies, given that a considerable number of descendants of Roman businessmen and local notables was attracted to the colonies out of political, legal and economic motives.

Overstating the qualification of the colonists: the evidence of the sources

Individuals from the colonies of the East entered the senate from the end of the 1st c. A.D. onwards, just like the majority of eastern notables⁶². The status of the

veaux documents, nouvelles approches (I^{er} s. a.C.–III^e s. p.C.), Actes du Colloque international à la mémoire de Louis Robert, Paris, 7–8 Juillet 2000, Paris 2004, 262–263 argued once more in favour of her own and Jameson's earlier view.

⁵⁸ Jameson, *op. cit.* (n. 57), esp. 111–116 indeed identifies all the senators of Attaleia as descendants of *negotiatores*.

⁵⁹ Ch. Habicht, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 9–10 (1959/60) 124–125; Levick, 105–106.

⁶⁰ Habicht, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 122.

⁶¹ Levick, 107 n. 4.

⁶² For a comparison between West and East see the table in M. Hammond, *Composition of the Senate, A.D. 68–235*, *JRS* 47 (1957) 77. The table in Halfmann, 78–81 also reveals this situation. For the delay in the admission of individuals from the East to the senate cf. also Levick, 103–104 and 109 for the reasons of their admission from the end of the 1st c. onwards. — From the so-called *Tabula Claudiana*, the speech of the Emperor Claudius given to the senate in A.D. 48 concerning the enrollment in the senatorial order of new members from the province Gallia Comata, it emerges that there were already several senators from colonies in the West such as Vienna or Lugdunum. The text of the speech is preserved both in literary and epigraphic sources. Tacitus (*Ann.* 11. 24) reproduces its text, which is also known from an inscription on a bronze stele found in Lyon (colony of Lugdunum), see *CIL* XIII 1668 = ILS 212. For a selective bibliography on both sources see F. Vittinghoff, *Zur Rede des Kaisers Claudius über die Aufnahme von 'Galliern' in den römischen Senat*, *Hermes* 82 (1954) 348–371; A. de Vivo, *Tacito e Claudio. Storia e codificazione letteraria*, Napoli

colonists does not seem to have functioned as a special “ticket” for entry into an exclusive social class. On the contrary, the number of local notables accepted into the senate is incomparably higher. It is especially remarkable, if we take into account that the prejudice against people from the East on the part of the senate could not be applied to the colonists, since a considerable number of them were of western origin and spoke Latin, which was also a prerequisite. They were “Italians” who lived in a “Rome away from Rome”. There may therefore have been a different reason for their exclusion from the senate: apparently they did not belong to the social circle from which senators were recruited.

The qualities of the colonists, however, may be overstated in the bibliography for various reasons:

- the prosperous sites, where certain colonies were founded, such as Corinth and Patras, where some colonists could be successful either developing their own business or acting as agents of powerful patrons and simultaneously promoting their own interests. Besides, Roman businessmen and provincial notables, who took advantage of the opportunities offered in the colonies on both the political and economic level, could give the impression of a vigorous colonial elite of high social rank, although its members were not exclusively of colonial stock.
- the pride of the founders, which is obvious in their reports, such as the *Res Gestae* of Augustus⁶³. A study of the evolution of the ideology and practice of colonisation from the Archaic period onwards⁶⁴ shows that the sources reporting the pride taken by various sovereigns in their colonisation policy always concerns the promotion of the cultural and civilizing power of a glorious state; in the sources there is no reference to the colonists and their activities, save the exaltation of the figure of *oikistes*. On the other hand, there are allusions in the literary sources to the inferiority of the colony to the *metropolis*⁶⁵.
- the self-advertisement and snobbery of the colonists themselves, which is to be traced in several cases in the epigraphic sources, can be misleading.

The last two points are especially revealing for the whole mentality that developed around colonisation on the part of the founders of the colonies and of the colonists, and also for their expectations, targets and their desire to show off a particular image. However, the social origin of the colonists should always be taken into account. The colonists did not come from the upper classes of the Roman society; Caesar’s colonies were mainly settlements of proletarians whilst the foundations of Augustus housed above all ex-soldiers. It is significant that special studies on veterans have shown that

1980; K. Buraselis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη της αυτοκρατορικής ρητορείας. Παρατηρήσεις στην Tabula Claudiana (ILS 212)*, in: *Πρακτικά Γ΄ Πανελληνίου Συμποσίου Λατινικών Σπουδών. Θέμα: Ρητορική διάσταση στη λατινική γραμματεία*, Thessaloniki 1989, 191–213.

⁶³ Cf. *Res Gestae*, 2. 3–7; 8. 10–15; 19–25; 9. 1–3; 15. 18–22.

⁶⁴ A thorough analysis of this evolution is to be found in the important article of P. N. Doukellis, *Auteurs grecs et paysages coloniaux romains*, *Historia* 56,3 (2007) 302–321.

⁶⁵ e.g. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 30, 26–27; Aul. Gel., *n. att.*, 16. 13; for a closer analysis see Doukellis, *op. cit.* (n. 64).

their prospects after their discharge were not especially optimistic: their life expectancy was frequently short, while Tacitus states that veterans often left no descendants behind them; besides they had little experience of making wealth either in agriculture or in business⁶⁶. The veterans settled in colonies under the Principate were people who had spent twenty-five years or even more in the army and were hardly accustomed to forming ties such as family and land-cultivation. Moreover, the ex-soldiers settled in the colonies were not, generally speaking, senior officers⁶⁷. Although veterans were supposed to transplant Roman culture into their new residences, it is questionable what kind of culture they represented, since, though their identity was probably strongly defined by their service in the army, they certainly retained several elements of their own cultural roots⁶⁸.

Despite the low social origin of the colonists, the idea of superiority was not uncommon among them. It is obvious in several aspects of their public life that they systematically attempted to cultivate the feeling of their superiority towards the local populations. We have to turn once more to the well-studied elites of the colonies of the Peloponnese. As H. Stansbury remarks, the fact that the Corinthian colonial elite was of freedman stock does not mean that it adopted a less elitist behaviour; their life style imitated that of the free notables, they possessed slaves, carried out benefactions in public life and, above all, adopted a Roman way of life and in general cultivated a Roman profile⁶⁹. Their persistence in the use of Latin as a sign of higher status, despite the fact that Greek became more and more the *lingua franca* of Corinth⁷⁰, is a characteristic of this tendency. As B. Levick states, more or less the same phenomenon is also to be encountered in colonies of Asia Minor, where she observes “an Italian upper class — or something which regarded itself as an Italian upper class —

⁶⁶ Tac., *Ann.* 14. 27. Cf. P. Brennan, *A Rome away from Rome: Veteran Colonists and Post-Augustan Roman Colonization*, in: J.-P. Descoedres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall, Sydney 9–14 July 1985*, Canberra, Oxford 1990, 500–501: “They had little experience of generating wealth, except by force, and their needs had been provided by a bureaucracy, of which they were the major instrument. A veteran colony was a less than ideal agent for the integration of subject peoples into Roman civilian society or for the successful pursuit of wealth produced by independent enterprise”. Farming experience before and during their service in the army in the Early Empire is unlikely, as P. Brennan accepts, citing also the previous bibliography on the subject.

⁶⁷ Brennan, *op. cit.* (n. 66), 501 quoting Tacitus (*Ann.* 14. 27) that the veterans no longer included legionary tribunes and centurions among them, as was earlier the case.

⁶⁸ Their common feature was their “Romanness” which was acquired during their long service in the army and is to be understood as a familiarity with several aspects of Roman culture — language, cults, administration, customs etc. As Brennan, *op. cit.* (n. 66), 502 states, “their mother-city was not Rome but the Roman army”. It is perhaps an exaggeration to accept Brennan’s further statement that “Roman colonization was part of the leveling down of Roman culture”, but it is certainly equally an exaggeration to consider the veterans as typical bearers of Roman culture, ... *quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in unum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia* ..., according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 14. 27).

⁶⁹ Stansbury, 163–165, 276–282.

⁷⁰ Stansbury, 187–88.

clinging obstinately at once to their Latin and their pre-eminence”⁷¹. The prejudice of the Corinthians against Greek names and their clear preference for Latin cognomina⁷² is to be explained in a similar way, namely as a deliberate choice of the colonists in order to create an entirely Roman image. It was apparently out of an attempt to show off that they methodically concealed their freedman origin⁷³.

The elitist behaviour and snobbery of the colonial elite, as well as the pride taken by the founders of colonies in their foundations were not enough for the colonists to gain high esteem in the eyes of their contemporaries. On the contrary, there is literary evidence for the low esteem in which the servile origins of Roman Corinth were held, such as an epigram of Crinagoras of Mytilene or the Corinthian oration of Favorinus of Arles⁷⁴.

There is also evidence revealing that the population and especially the notables of neighbouring towns were opposed to the “submission” of their *poleis* to the colonies and clearly disapproved of certain aspects of the colonial way of life, such as the outrage of Roman spectacles. An eloquent case is a quarrel between Argos and Corinth, known from a letter of a Greek notable to the Roman governor on behalf of the Argive people. Although the letter has been preserved in the correspondence of the Emperor Julian, there are strong indications that it should be dated to the late 1st c. A.D., as A. Spawforth convincingly argues⁷⁵. The letter concerns a dispute arising out of pay-

⁷¹ For the citation see Levick, 143 and 130–144 for the retarded decline of Latin in Antioch. The situation was a little different in the minor colonies of Southern Asia Minor where this decline began in some under the Antonines and in others under Severans, Levick, 145–160. For a comparison of these colonies with Philippi in Macedonia see Levick, 161–162: the degree of Romanisation was greater and more persistent in the Macedonian colony than in Asia Minor, even in Antioch; the strong military flavour of both Philippi and Antioch perhaps explains this phenomenon. Cf. also Fernoux, op. cit. (n. 53), 198 for the language of the colony of Apameia in Bithynia.

⁷² This is stressed by Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*, 175. This tendency is obvious in the onomasticon of Roman Corinth, where the preponderance of Latin cognomina is striking, see the chapter on Corinth in *Roman Peloponnese I*.

⁷³ A characteristic example of this behaviour is Babbius Philinus (Stansbury, 255–260; *Roman Peloponnese I*, COR 111). However, as Stansbury, 255 stresses, as a matter of practice it had been an exception for freedmen to hold public offices after the first generation of colonists.

⁷⁴ A characteristic and frequently quoted example is an epigram of Crinagoras of Mytilene, a contemporary of Caesar and Augustus, who laments the current situation in Corinth, comparing its ancient glorious inhabitants with the “slaves” settled in the Caesarian colony, *Anth. Pal.* IX. 284: Οἴους ἀνθ’ οἴων οἰκήτορας, ὧ ἐλεεινή, | εὐραο ... τοίοις διὰ πᾶσα παλιμπρήτοισι δοθεῖσα... . Cf. also the epigram of Antipater of Sidon, *Anth. Pal.* IX. 151: Ποῦ τὸ περίβλεπτον κάλλος σέο, Δωρὶ Κόρινθε; | Ποῦ στεφάναι πύργων, ποῦ τὰ πάλαι κτέανα A further characteristic source is the Corinthian oration of Favorinus of Arles, who is proud of speaking Greek, even though he was a native of the Roman colony of Arelate, and addresses the Corinthians as the descendants of Periander and of the founders of Syracuse, with no mention at all of the colonial status of the town ([Dio Chrys.], *Cor.* 37. 1; 16; 20. Cf. Stansbury, 152).

⁷⁵ A. J. S. Spawforth, *Corinth, Argos and the Imperial Cult. Pseudo-Julian, Letters 198*, *Hesperia* 63.2 (1994) 211–232, where a bibliography on the lengthy debate on the chronology of the text is to be found.

ments from Argos to Corinth for the organisation of spectacles that included combats with wild beasts. In this text which exhibits a striking frankness, there are complaints about the “attachment” or more accurately the “enslavement” of Argos to Corinth ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως, namely by Rome, and about their being compelled to contribute for spectacles organised by “others”. Moreover, these spectacles organised by the Corinthians were completely “foreign” (ξενικῆ θέσῃ) to the Greeks (“forced to slave for a foreign spectacle celebrated by others”)⁷⁶. Leaving aside the motivation of the Argives, which is thoroughly analysed by A. Spawforth, their hostility to and contempt for the colony is obvious. It is not clear whether this was the only case of a confrontation between a colony and a neighbouring town. A dispute between Apameia and Prusa in Asia Minor is perhaps to be placed in the same context⁷⁷.

Despite the emphasis on the superiority and Romanitas of the colonial elites, the colonies were open societies for Greek notables whose presence was positive for the colonies from several points of view. Moreover, in some cases the colonists used to stress their links with the glorious Greek past of the colonies. Given the strict hierarchy of Roman society and the use of the past as a diplomatic argument, it is understandable that the colonists could not be proud of their servile or freedman past⁷⁸. So the colonies cultivated ties with the Greek roots of the regions, in religion, in numismatic iconography, and in cultural output⁷⁹.

Conclusions

From all above it emerges that just a small number of individuals from the colonies really succeeded climbing the social ladder, and an even smaller number of them managed to enter the senate. This picture seems to emerge in the entire eastern part of the Roman Empire, as the revealing tables with figures based on H. Halfmann’s lists clearly show. The number of colonial senators seems even more limited, if we take into consideration that among the most successful members of the colonies a remarkable number of individuals of non-colonial stock is to be found: these were Greek notables from surrounding towns and members of the Roman businessmen communities, who were settled in the East long before the foundation of the colonies and were attracted to them either at the moment of the *deductio* or later. The large proportion of *negotiatores* or their descendants amongst the Orientals admitted into the senate is

⁷⁶ Translation by Spawforth, op. cit. (n. 75), 229. Cf. also Dio Chr. 31. 121 for gladiatorial shows which took place outside the town of Corinth.

⁷⁷ A. Heller, *Les bêtises des Grecs. Conflits et rivalités entre cités d’Asie et de Bithynie à l’époque romaine (129 a.C.–235 p.C.)*, Bordeaux 2006, 105–114. Discourses 40 and 41 of Dio Chrysostom concerning the *homonoia* between his hometown Prusa and the neighbouring colony of Apameia show that there were difficulties, apparently of an economic nature, between them.

⁷⁸ Cf. Hor., *Serm.* 1. 6, 6 (... *ut me libertino patre natum* ...).

⁷⁹ Cf. the situation at Corinth: for religion see Stansbury, 264–265, for poetic output in Roman Corinth see *ib.*, 269–274; for local traditions and religious motifs in the numismatic iconography of the colonies of the Greek peninsula see H. Papageorgiadou-Bani, *The Numismatic Iconography of the Roman Colonies in Greece. Local Spirit and the Expression of Imperial Policy* (MEΛETHMATA 39), Athens 2004, 59ff.

obvious and is correctly stressed by scholars such as Ch. Habicht, H. Halfmann and A. Spawforth. The group of colonists proper is, however, to be dissociated from the *negotiatores* for the study of their social evolution and access to the senate. As a rule, the allotments that were given to the colonists — which even at their largest could not be regarded as enormous landed properties —, the little experience, especially of the veterans, of making wealth from agriculture or business, and the generally low social origin of the colonists did not constitute a sufficient advantage ascending to a higher social level.

However there are certain misleading factors which may result in overestimating the dynamic of the colonists for social success. Not only does the aforementioned presence of Roman businessmen and local notables falsify the image of the colonial elites, but the pride of the founders and the elitist behaviour of the settlers of the colonies also obscure the picture given by the sources. In the epigraphic sources, in particular, the colonists display their superiority and their Roman profile. However, there is literary evidence for the low esteem in which these people were held. Given the strong class snobbery of Roman society, this literary evidence certainly reflects an attitude which was widespread within the uppermost layers of the Roman aristocracy. It is confirmed that the local elites of the surrounding Greek *poleis*, despite using their connections with the colonies for the promotion of their own economic or political interests and to ascend in the Roman hierarchy, also often despised them and did not avoid conflicts with them.

The following abbreviations are used:

- Demougin, *CJC*: S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romain Julio-Claudiens* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 153), Rome 1992.
- Devijver: H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militarium equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Leuven 1976–2001.
- Halfmann: H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.* (Hypomnemata 58), Göttingen 1979.
- Levick: B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967.
- PLRE*: A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I, A.D. 260–395*, Cambridge 1971, repr. 1975.
- Rizakis, *La constitution*: A. D. Rizakis, *La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d'Achaïe*, in: O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context, Proceedings of a Colloquium organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999*, Helsinki 2001, 37–49.
- Rizakis, *Recrutement et formation des élites*: A. D. Rizakis, *Recrutement et formation des élites dans les colonies romaines de la province de Macédoine*, in: M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, L. Lamoine (eds.), *Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain*, Rome, Clermont-Ferrand 2003, 107–130.
- Roman Peloponnese I*: A. D. Rizakis and S. Zoumbaki (with the collaboration of M. Kantirea), *Roman Peloponnese I. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context* (MEΛETHMATA 31), Athens 2001.
- Roman Peloponnese II*: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context* (MEΛETHMATA 36), Athens 2004.

- Salmon: E. T. Salmon, *Roman Colonisation under the Republic*, Ithaca, New York 1970.
- Spawforth, *Roman Corinth*: A. J. S. Spawforth, *Roman Corinth: The Formation of Colonial Elite*, in: A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens 7.–9. September 1993* (MEΛETHMATA 21), Athens 1996, 167–182.
- Spawforth, *Italian Elements*: A. J. S. Spawforth, *Italian Elements among Roman Knights and Senators from Old Greece*, in: Ch. Müller, Cl. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde Grec, II^e siècle av. J.-C.–I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. Circulation, activités, intégration, Actes de la table ronde, École Normale Supérieure, Paris 14.–16. Mai 1998* (BCH Suppl. 41), Paris 2002, 101–107.
- Stansbury: H. Stansbury, *Corinthian Honor, Corinthian Conflict: A Social History of Early Roman Corinth and its Pauline Community*, unpubl. Diss. Univ. of California 1990.

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