

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



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ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ | ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAA</i>	= Ἀρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
<i>ABSA</i>	= The Annual of the British School of Athens
<i>ΑΔ</i>	= Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
<i>AE</i>	= Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
<i>AEMΘ</i>	= Το Αρχαιολογικό Ἔργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη
<i>AEΠΕΛ</i>	= Το Αρχαιολογικό Ἔργο Πελοποννήσου
<i>ΑΕΣΘΕ</i>	= Το Αρχαιολογικό Ἔργο Στερεάς Ελλάδος και Θεσσαλίας
<i>AJA</i>	= American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AJAH</i>	= American Journal of Ancient History
<i>AM</i>	= Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abt.
<i>Ancient World</i>	= Ancient World
<i>AnnPisa</i>	= Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa
<i>ANSMN</i>	= American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
<i>ANSM</i>	= American Numismatic Society Magazine
<i>ANSNNM</i>	= American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs
<i>AntAfr</i>	= Antiquités africaines
<i>AntKunst</i>	= Antike Kunst
<i>AW</i>	= Antike Welt
<i>BCH</i>	= 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
<i>BSFN</i>	= Bulletin de la Société française de Numismatique
<i>Bull.Inst.Class.Studies</i>	= Bulletin. Institute of Classical Studies, University of London
<i>CJ</i>	= Classical Journal
<i>CR</i>	= Classical Review
<i>DHA</i>	= Dialogues d'histoire ancienne
<i>ΕΛΛΚερ</i>	= Ελληνιστική Κεραμική
<i>AnnalesESC</i>	= Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations
<i>GRBS</i>	= Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies
<i>Ηπειρ Χρονικά</i>	= Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά
<i>HSCP</i>	= Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
<i>ICS</i>	= Illinois Classical Studies
<i>JdI</i>	= 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>ΝομΧρον</i>	= Νομισματικά Χρονικά
<i>OIBer</i>	= Olympia Berichte
<i>OxfJA</i>	= Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>ΠΑΑ</i>	= Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
<i>ΠΑΕ</i>	= Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις 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

NOTES ON THE IMPERIAL ESTATES AND VALORISATION OF PUBLIC LANDS IN THE PROVINCE OF ACHAÏA*

Francesco Camia
Athanasios Rizakis

NOTES ON THE IMPERIAL ESTATES AND VALORISATION OF PUBLIC LANDS IN THE PROVINCE OF ACHAÏA

Imperial estates represented the most important item amongst the properties possessed by the emperors. By a certain time there must have been imperial estates in most of the provinces of the Empire, yet their extension in relation to other properties is difficult to estimate due to the scarcity of direct evidence. In Greece (Province of Achaia) imperial estates seem to have been very limited, judging from the evidence at our disposal. Apart from a few literary references, of which one of the most known is the case of the lands of the Athenian Ti. Claudius Hipparchus (grandfather of the famous Herodes Atticus) whose estates were confiscated by the emperor Domitian following his condemnation due to tyrannical behaviour, indirect hints of the possible presence of imperial estates in the province of Achaia can be drawn from inscriptions mentioning functionaries who can be put in relation with imperial properties, such as procurators (*procuratores*/ἐπίτροποι) or (imperial) ‘bailiffs’ (οἰκονόμοι/*vilici*; πραγματοῦται/*actores*). In most cases, however, the exact nature and location of these imperial domains remain uncertain. Generally speaking, the evidence at our disposal gives the impression of a substantial scarcity of imperial estates in the province of Achaia.

Imperial estates represented the most important item amongst the properties (luxurious mansions, villas, mines, quarries, salt flats) possessed by the emperors. By a certain time there must have been imperial estates in most of the provinces of the Empire, yet their extension in relation to other properties is difficult to estimate due to the scarcity of direct evidence, except for the African provinces, Egypt and Asia Minor¹. In Greece (Province of Achaia) imperial estates seem to have been very limited, at least judging from the evidence at our disposal². Some information can be obtained through the literary and epigraphic sources.

The most well-known (and cited) case is that of the Athenian Ti. Claudius Hipparchus, grandfather of the famous Herodes Atticus, whose estates were confiscated by the emperor Domitian following his condemnation and exile due to tyrannical behaviour³. Hipparchus' lands thus became the property of the emperor and were assigned either under Domitian himself or under Trajan or Hadrian on particular conditions, as we learn from a passage of the famous Hadrianic oil law. This important Athenian epigraphic document – which is still visible in the Roman agora – states that the tenants of “Hipparchus’ lands (τὰ Ἰππάρχου χωρία) which had been sold by the imperial *fiscus*” were obliged to deliver only one-eighth of the oil crop instead of the one-third due by the other tenants⁴. One can suppose that the imperial state had maintained the full ownership of these lands, leasing them to private cultivators through the principle of the *emphyteusis*,

* We warmly thank Michael Metcalfe for kindly revising the English text.

1. In general, on imperial estates see D.J. CRAWFORD, “Imperial estates”, in M.L. FINLEY (ed.), *Studies in Roman property*, Cambridge 1976, p. 35-70; D.J. THOMPSON, “Imperial estates”, in J. WACHER (ed.), *The Roman world*, II, London/New York 1987, p. 555-567; in particular for imperial properties in the Italian peninsula see most recently D. PUPILLO, *Le proprietà Imperiali nell’Italia romana. Economia, produzione, amministrazione, Atti del Convegno Ferrara-Voghiera, 3-4 giugno 2005*, Firenze 2007.
2. J.A.O. LARSEN, “Roman Greece”, in T. FRANK (ed.), *An economic survey of ancient Rome IV*, Baltimore 1938, p. 259-498, espec. p. 460-461; S. ALCOCK, *Graecia capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, p. 74-75. For imperial properties in Macedonia see P. NIGDELIS, “*Kalendarium Caesianum*: Zum kaiserlichen Patrimonium in der Provinz Makedonien”, *ZPE* 104 (1994), p. 118-128.
3. Philostr. *VS* 547-548. Cf. S. BYRNE, *Roman citizens of Athens*, Leuven 2003, *Claudii*, nos 4, 7-8.
4. *IG II-III*² 1100; J.H. OLIVER, *Greek constitutions of early Roman emperors from inscriptions and papyri*, Philadelphia 1989, no. 92, ll. 2-6.

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i.e. by means of contracts of *locatio perpetua*: after a period of several years of free exploitation by the new tenants in order to permit them to capitalize on new crops, they were required to pay an annual rent in kind⁵. This regulation is in line with the policies of exploitation of public and imperial land pursued by some Roman emperors, especially Domitian, Hadrian and the Severans⁶. In light of such measures, aimed at favouring the exploitation of public land for cultivation, one could also interpret another well known Athenian epigraphic document of the middle of the 2nd c. AD which records names of men and women, plots of land (with their location) and sums of money⁷. The interpretation of this text is highly debated, and several explanations have been proposed. One possibility is to interpret it as the registration of land rents: the men and women recorded in the inscription might be the (perpetual) tenants of public lands who were required to pay an annual rent for the exploitation of their plots⁸.

5. Cf. F.F. ABBOTT, A.C. JOHNSON, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton 1926, p. 412-413: "The lands of Hipparcus formed an imperial estate within the territory of Attica in spite of the fact that Athens was in possession of the status of a *civitas foederata et libera*". A.D. RIZAKIS, "L'emphythéose en pays grec", in S. FOLLET (ed.), *L'Hellénisme d'époque romaine: nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (Ier s. a. C.-IIIe s. p. C.)*, Paris 2004, p. 55-76, espec. p. 62-63 (with n. 29-30) and A. RIZAKIS, "Rural structures and agrarian strategies in Greece under the Roman Empire: peasant and market-oriented farms in the Greek landscape", (in this volume), p. 20-51, for further bibliography.
6. Most of these regulations concerned the imperial estates of Africa. A *Lex Manciana* of the early empire regulated the allotment of *subseciva* and of marginal or 'surplus' lands; it was put in place above all by Domitian [cf. Front. *De controversiis agrorum* (La.53); Suet. *Domit.* 9,7; Hyg. *De limitibus* (La.111)]. The *lex Hadriana de rudibus agris et iis qui per X annos continuos inculti sunt*, which was renovated by the Severans (*FIRA* I, nos 101-102), as well as Pertinax' regulation referred to by Herodian (2, 4, 6) as concerning the whole of the Empire, envisaged the distribution of long uncultivated imperial lands (*saltus*) provided that the tenants engaged in new cultivation. All these measures envisaged a first period of free exploitation necessary to guarantee return of the initial investment and thus the possibility, afterwards, to pay the annual rent. It is plausible to suppose that similar measures were applied also to other provinces of the Empire. Cf. D. FLACH, "Die Pachtbedingungen der Kolonen und die Verwaltung der kaiserzeitlichen Güter in Nordafrika", *ANRW* II.10.2 (1982), Berlin/New York, p. 427-473; *idem*, *Römische Agrargeschichte*, München 1990, p. 88-117; F. QUASS, "Zum Problem der Kultivierung brachliegenden Gemeindelandes kaiserzeitlicher Städte Griechenlands", *Τεχνηροια* 2 (1996), p. 82-119, espec. p. 95-97; RIZAKIS, "L'emphythéose ..., *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5), p. 60-61.
7. *IG* II-III² 2776; cf. S.G. MILLER, "A Roman monument in the Athenian agora", *Hesperia* 41 (1972), p. 50-95 and most recently D. D'ACO, *L'epigrafe IG II² 2776: proprietari, proprietà e sistemi insediativi dell'Attica tra l'età adrianea e l'età antonina*, Tesi di Specializzazione, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene 2010.
8. RIZAKIS, "L'emphythéose ..., *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5), p. 64. Even though most sums are quite modest, however, the high figures are difficult to justify. With regard to this, it is worth citing D'ACO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 17-24, who makes the hypothesis that the inscription refers to the landholdings of the family of the famous Herodes Atticus: the figures registered for each plot would represent the sums of the annual rents due by tenants of lands belonging

Other similar cases which do not regard imperial estates but public lands are attested epigraphically in the Greek peninsula. Probably between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd c. AD the Roman proconsul M. Ulpius [- -] ‘invited’ the citizens of Thisbe to take possession of public lands in order to cultivate them anew. According to the provisions of this *senatusconsultum* – whose main scope was to increase Thisbe’s revenues through the cultivation of unoccupied and uncultivated communal lands – each tenant who obtained a plot of land following an official request to the city *archontes* was required, after a period of five years, to pay an annual rent; neither the nature nor the amount of this sum, which will have likely varied based on the quality of soil, are specified. The civic authorities of Thisbe were entitled to retake the plots from the tenants if the latter had not entirely satisfied the conditions (*i.e.* capitalisation of the plots with new planting) or in the case of usurpation of one plot by illegitimate occupants⁹.

A similar measure had been taken in the 2nd c. AD at Delphi, as documented by a civic law which regulated the distribution to the whole of the citizen body of unoccupied plots of public land located in a sector of the *chora* of the *polis*¹⁰. Following a request to the city *archontes*, the beneficiaries could exploit the land and pass the plots to their legitimate heirs, while the city of Delphi maintained outright ownership of the land and the right to recover it (with the improvements realized by the tenants) in the absence of legitimate heirs. In this respect this measure can be compared to the Thisbean *senatusconsultum* and more generally to emphyteutic schemes, with the remarkable difference, however, that in this case it seems that the tenants were exempted from payment of a rent as a counterpart for the occupation and exploitation of the plots. As in the *senatusconsultum* of Thisbe, a Roman functionary is also mentioned in the Delphic inscription: L. Aemilius Iuncus, a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* who is known to have acted as *corrector* of the free cities of Achaia in the last years of Hadrian’s reign (AD 132-135)¹¹. Although he must have intervened in matters concerning the Delphic *chora*, we cannot state whether the law in question was a direct consequence of Iuncus’ intervention, which may instead have concerned a previous matter. Therefore, in this particular case it is not possible to prove that the distribution of public land was determined by a direct intervention of the imperial administration¹².

The examples discussed above document initiatives aimed at improving and ameliorating the exploitation of unoccupied land in the Greek peninsula during the 2nd (and 3rd) centuries. Although it is only in the case of Hipparchus’ estates that the relative measure concerned an imperial property, a direct imperial intervention in the distribution of plots of uncultivated land is certain at least in the emphyteutic scheme of Thisbe as well. Indeed, imperial concern for agriculture

to Herodes’ family, who after Domitian’s confiscation of Hipparchus’ properties would have ceased to deliver the rent; as an alternative, but in his opinion lesser probable, hypothesis D’Aco suggests that the inscription could register mortgaged lands given as a guarantee for debts owed to Herodes’ family.

9. *Syll*³ 884; see most recently RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5), p. 68-74.
10. J.-L. FERRARY, D. ROUSSET, “Un lotissement de terres à Delphes au II^e siècle ap. J.-C.”, *BCH* 122 (1998), p. 277-342.
11. *PIR*² A 355; A.D. RIZAKIS, S. ZOUMBAKI, Cl. LEPENIOTI, *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman personal names in their social context*, *MEΛETHMATA* 36, Athens 2004, LAC 20.
12. Cf. FERRARY, ROUSSET, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 295 and 341; as noted by the two scholars, ll. 1 and 2 of the inscription, where Iuncus is mentioned, could represent the final part of a different document.

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is also shown, for example, by the epigraphic dossier from Koroneia, in Boeotia, on the draining works which took place under Hadrian in the Kopaic basin. The flooding of the Kopais was an ancient threat for the cultivations in the plain and had caused a consistent reduction of settlements through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In order to cope with this problem, the Philhellene emperor decided to put the sum of 65,000 *denarii* at the disposal of Koroneia, almost eleven times higher than the sum Epameinondas of Akraiphia had spent about one century earlier for restoration works on the dyke which protected Akraiphia from the waters of the Kopais¹³.

It is worth mentioning another case similar to that of Hipparchus, which is referred to by Dio Chrysostomos in the *Euboean Discourse*: a rich landowner of Euboea had his land confiscated by the emperor Domitian following his condemnation to death¹⁴. Given the idealistic and philosophical nature of Dio's discourse, however, we cannot be certain that the rhetorician is reporting a real fact. In this respect, it is to be noted that in the same oration, some passages below, Dio exposes in some detail a programme of exploitation of the Euboean land based on the system of the emphyteusis: this programme was never to be realized in Euboea, yet it is somehow indicative of a phenomenon that, as the examples cited above show, must have been quite widespread throughout the empire¹⁵. Furthermore, a hint of the existence of an imperial domain in Phocis could be drawn from "Pausanias' enigmatic remark about the excellent olive-oil of Tithorea", which was sent to the emperor¹⁶. Still more enigmatic (and problematic) is another passage in Pausanias' *Periegesis*, referring to "a certain law whereby provincials who were themselves of Roman citizenship, while their children were considered of Greek nationality, were forced either to leave their property to strangers or let it increase the wealth of the emperor"; Antoninus Pius abrogated this law, "choosing rather to show himself benevolent than to retain a law that swelled his riches"¹⁷.

13. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), nos 108, 110, 112 (Koroneia letters on flood control); *IG VII* 2712, ll. 34-37 for Epaminondas' benefaction. Cf. J.M. FOSSEY, "The Cities of the Kopais in the Roman Period", in *ANRW* I.7.1 (1979), Berlin/New York, p. 549-591, espec. p. 568-570; *idem*, "The city archives at Koroneia, Boiotia", *Euphrosyne* 11 (1981/1982), p. 44-59 (= *idem*, *Epigraphica Boeotica* I, Amsterdam 1991, p. 5-26); U. FANTASIA, "Aree marginali nella Grecia antica: paludi e bonifiche", in D. VERA, D. (ed.), *Demografia, sistemi agrari, regimi alimentari nel mondo antico. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma 17-19 ottobre 1997*, Bari (ed.) 1999, p. 65-116, espec. p. 83 sgg.; RIZAKIS, "L'emphythéose ..., *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5), p. 61, n. 25.
14. Dio Chrys. 7, 12.
15. On emphyteusis in the Greek peninsula during the empire see most recently RIZAKIS, "L'emphythéose ..., *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5).
16. Paus. 10.32, 11-19; the quotation is by F. MILLAR, *The emperor in the Roman world*, London 1977, p. 185.
17. Paus. 8.43, 5 (trans. W.H.S. Jones, Loeb); cf. Ch. HABICHT, *Pausanias' guide to ancient Greece*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1985, p. 124.

Other indirect hints of the presence of imperial estates in the province of Achaia can be drawn from inscriptions mentioning functionaries who can be put in relation with imperial properties, first of all imperial procurators (Lat. *procuratores* – Gr. ἐπίτροποι)¹⁸. Some procurators were employed in the State central administration, being in charge of various services (*ab epistulis, a libellis, a rationibus*, etc.). Other procurators served in the provincial administration. The latter could a) serve as governors of a procuratorial province, b) be charged with tasks of financial administration in a given province, or c) be assigned some specific military command, especially in the fleet. As for the procurators of group (b), they can be further divided into two subcategories, depending on the type of province in which they served. In the imperial provinces the procurators acted as public functionaries in charge of the financial administration of the entire province (including the imperial *patrimonium*), while in the senatorial provinces they were agents of the emperor, whose properties and interests they managed. The equestrian procurators were assisted by imperial freedmen. During the High-Empire the latter performed several functions, even very high, and were strictly connected with the figure of the emperor. Apart from those in the private service of the emperor and some others employed in the fleet or as managers of the gladiatorial barracks, the imperial freedmen were employed above all in the financial administration, serving mainly as accountants (while the task of materially keeping funds was usually performed by slaves). The same fiscal administration is also attested in the provinces, where we usually find a couple of procurators, one equestrian and one freedman, assisted by an *adiutor*¹⁹, a few *tabularii* who kept the account registers²⁰, a few *a commentariis* who kept the archives, and also *dispensatores* (chief cashiers)²¹ and *arcarii*, these latter being slaves. Freedmen also managed the *stationes* of the *portorium* or administered the imperial granaries (*horrea*): both these functionaries held the title of *vilicus* (they were assisted by a *contrascriptor*). The same system holds true for the imperial estates

18. The procuratorial posts of the Roman administration were very numerous, more than 300 according to Pflaum, even though not all of them were active at the same time, and some of them were quite exceptional in their nature. Equestrian procuratorships were differentiated based on the annual salary, from 60.000 (*sexagenarii*) up to 300.000 (*tricenarii*) sesterces per annum; the latter salary was applied for the first time in the age of Marcus Aurelius to the already existing *procurator a rationibus*; other such posts were then created starting from Septimius Severus. In the middle there were the *centenarii* (100.000 sesterces of annual salary) and the *ducenarii* (200.000 sesterces). This hierarchy was introduced by Claudius but the different grades were not mentioned in inscriptions before the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and especially Septimius Severus. There were also freedmen procurators, even though it should be noted that the distinction between equestrian and freedmen procurators is not always simple: the *procurator a rationibus*, a sort of minister of finances of the Roman state, for example, was an imperial *libertus* until Trajan, when this post started to be assigned to *equites*. Cf. H.G. PFLAUM, *Les procureurs équestres sous le haut-empire romain*, Paris 1950.
19. Cf. *CIL* III 6107 (Athens): funerary inscription for the imperial freedman Onesimus, *adiutor ab admissione*.
20. Cf. *Corinth* 8.3, no 67 (Corinth; middle of the 3rd c. AD?): dedication to the *Genius Augusti* set up by the imperial freedman Phileros, *procurator* of the inheritance tax of the province of Achaia and *tabularius* (= treasurer) of the emperor and the province.
21. *CIL* III 493 = *IG* V 1, 1569 (Krokeai; AD. 161-168?): this imperial *dispensator* is to be connected with the marble quarries of green porphyry located in Krokeai; see *infra*, n. 30; *CIL* III 563 and 12289 (Eretria). See also E. TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU, “Από την κοινωνία της Θεσσαλονίκης των αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων: νέα επιγρὰμμάτια”, *Αρχαία Μακεδονία* V (1993), Thessaloniki, p. 1539-1591, espec. p. 1557-1560.

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and for the minting of coinage. It is possible to distinguish between lower functions, whose holders did not bear the title of *procuratores*, and higher ones, whose holders bore, like the *equites*, that title²².

Inscriptions attest the existence of several procurators in the province of Achaia during the first three centuries of the Empire. The greatest number of epigraphic references to procurators comes from the Roman colony of Corinth²³, while other references come from Athens, Delos, Delphi, Megalopolis, Megara and Sparta²⁴. Of them, only very few regard freedmen procurators such as the Theoprepes who was *procurator* of the purple dye industry for the provinces of Achaia, Epirus and Thessalia during the reign of Severus Alexander²⁵. All of the other known procurators are of equestrian rank. In several cases they are

22. Cf. G. BOULVERT, *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le Haut-empire romain. La condition de l'affranchie et de l'esclave du prince*, Paris 1974, p. 127-156, who recognizes twelve subclasses, equally divided between the first and the second group; see also *idem*, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain. Rôle politique et administratif*, Naples 1970, p. 374-437.
23. *Corinth* 8.2, nos 65-66 (first half of the 2nd c. AD), 67 (ca. middle of the 2nd c. AD), 68 (ca. middle of the 2nd c. AD); *Corinth* 8.3, nos 67 (middle of the 3rd c. AD?), 130-131 (reign of Claudius), 132 (first half of the 1st c. AD), 135 (AD 107-114), 137 (reign of Hadrian), 146 (ca. middle of the 2nd c. AD), 147 (beginning of the imperial period); *CIL* III 535 (2nd/3rd c. AD), 536 (3rd c. AD).
24. Athens: J.H. OLIVER, *Marcus Aurelius. Aspects of civic and cultural policy in the East*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 13, Princeton 1970, p. 85 ff., no 4, l. 39 (ca. AD 178); *Agora XVIII* H440 (AD 176-192 or 218-222); see also the recently published honorary inscription for an anonymous ἐπίτροπος of both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (N. PAPA-ZARKADAS, "Δύο τιμητικές επιγραφές υπέρ ρωμαίων αξιωματούχων από την Αθήνα", *Γραμματεῖον* 1 [2012], p. 17-25, espec. p. 20-25). Delos: *ID* 1861 (1st c. AD). Delphi: *FD* III 4, 48 (beginning of the 2nd c. AD), 445 (ca. AD 150-175), 473 (beginning of the 3rd c. AD). Megalopolis: *IG* V 2, 435. Megara: *IG* VII 92. Sparta: *IG* V 1, 495 (reign of Antoninus Pius), 501 (2nd/3rd c. AD), 546 (2nd/3rd c. AD).
25. *CIL* III 536 (3rd c. AD). As evidence of purple dye production in Greece during the Hellenistic and Roman periods one can also mention Pausanias' information (3, 21, 6) on the coasts of Laconia which were rich in shell-fish for the manufacture of purple dye as well as some relevant archaeological data; see e.g. S. DAKARIS, *ΠΑΕ* 1969, p. 31; *idem*, *Cassopaia and the Elean colonies*, Athens 1971, p. 17 no 57, 96 no 365, 106 no 410 (Cassope, Hellenistic); S.G. SCHMID, "Decline or prosperity at Roman Eretria? Industry, purple dye works, public buildings, and gravestones", *JRA* 12 (1999), p. 273-293, espec. p. 275-279 (Eretria); Γ. ΠΛΙΑΚΟΥ, Β. ΓΚΙΖΑ, "Μια ρωμαϊκή αγροικία στη χώρα της αρχαίας Λευκάδας", in this volume, p. 726-741 (Leukada, Hellenistic). During the imperial period purple dye production was widespread and was put under imperial administration; on purple dye manufacture during Roman times cf. B. LOWE, "The industrial exploitation of murex: purple dye production in the western Mediterranean", in L. CLELAND, K. STEARS, G. DAVIS (eds), *Colours in the Ancient Mediterranean world, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1267*, Oxford 2004, p. 46-49; see also G. STEIGERWALD, "Die antike Purpurfarberei nach dem Bericht Plinius des Alteren in seiner 'Naturalis historia'", *Traditio* 42 (1986), p. 1-57. For other freedmen procurators see *Corinth* 8.3, no 67 (middle of the 3rd c. AD?): Phileros was *procurator* of the inheritance tax for the province of Achaia; see also *Corinth* 8.3, no 145, a very fragmentary inscription mentioning a procurator of the inheritance tax, maybe also of freedman status.

styled as procurators of the province of Achaia, but in other instances the reference to the province is lacking and they are simply mentioned as procurators of the emperor(s). In both cases, however, they are to be interpreted as imperial agents charged with the management and supervision of the emperor's properties and other economic interests in the territory of the province. Unfortunately, in the absence of further and more specific evidence, we are not informed about the precise nature of these procuratorships so that we cannot state if they are indeed connected with imperial domains, whose exact character (land estates; mines; quarries, etc.) and location would however remain unknown to us. It seems in any case that there existed procurators attached to specific areas. Around the middle of the 2nd c., for example, the Delphians honored a certain P. Aelius Myron, a *libertus* of the emperor Hadrian, who was "procurator of Boeotia" (ἐπίτροπος Βοιωτίας)²⁶: one can wonder if his post may be related to some imperial domain in that region. The case of C. Iulius Laco and his son C. Iulius Spartiaticus, two notables belonging to the famous Spartan family of the Euryclids, who served as imperial procurators under Claudius and Nero respectively, is indicative of the difficulties of interpretation referred to above²⁷. Rather than acting as procurators of the whole of the province of Achaia – which is definitely unlikely – they may have been put in charge of some imperial property in the territory of Sparta or even in another part of the Peloponnese. As an alternative, their title of *procurator* might refer to the administration of the city of Sparta on behalf of the emperor, even though this would somehow imply, as noted by Spawforth, the need to accept the unlikely hypothesis that Sparta had formally become an imperial property²⁸. Be that as it may, there must have been a relation between the assumption by Laco and Spartiaticus of the functions of imperial *procurator* and the personal hegemony established by Laco's father (and Spartiaticus' grandfather) the famous C. Iulius Eurycles²⁹. Thanks to the latter's privileged relationship with Octavian, who awarded him Roman citizenship, Eurycles succeeded in securing a sort of personal *dynasteia* over Sparta and Laconia (as well as other parts of southern Peloponnese). This 'patronage' (κηδεμονία) found expression first of all through the control and protection of the harbours and sea lanes; it also envisaged the task of looking after

26. *FD III 4*, 445 (*SEG* 29, 1979, 465).

27. On these individuals see *Corinth* 8.2, nos 67-68; H. DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, I: *Litterae A-I* (1976), II: *Litterae L-V: Ignoti-Incerti* (1977), III: *Indices* (1980), IV-V: *Suppl. I-II* (1987-1993), Leuven 1976-1993, I, p. 128 (and *Suppl. I-II*); H. G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut Empire romain* I-II (1960), III (1961), *Supplément* (1982), Paris 1960-1982, I, p. 63-65, no 24bis; S. DEMOUGIN, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens (43 av. J.-C. - 70 ap. J.-C.)*, Rome 1992, nos 503 and 564; P. CARTLEDGE, A.J.S. SPAWFORTH, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A tale of two cities*, London/New York² 2002, p. 102-103; RIZAKIS, ZOUMBAKI, LEPENIOTI, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 11), LAC 468 and 509; J.-S. BALZAT, "Les Euryclides en Laconie", in C. GRANDJEAN (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Bordeaux 2008, p. 335-350, espec. p. 336.

28. CARTLEDGE, SPAWFORTH, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 102. On the interpretation of the procuratorships of Laco and Spartiaticus see J.-S. BALZAT, "Le pouvoir des Euryclides à Sparte", *Les Études Classiques* 73 (2005), p. 289-301.

29. Cf. G. STEINHAEUER, "C. Iulius Eurycles and the Spartan dynasty of the Euryclids", in A.D. RIZAKIS, Cl. LEPENIOTI (eds), *Roman Peloponnese III. Society, economy and culture in the Imperial Roman order: Continuity and Innovation, MEΛETHMATA* 63, Athens 2010, p. 75-87, espec. p. 79, 83, 85 (and n. 42). On the individual cf. RIZAKIS, ZOUMBAKI, LEPENIOTI, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 11), LAC 461.

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imperial financial interests in the extraction and commerce of Laconian marbles (the *rosso antico* from Tainaron and the *porfido verde antico* from Krokeai)³⁰ as well as Roman activities in the major harbours of Gythium and Boiai³¹. The Euryclids were very wealthy and possessed estates in Laconia as well as in several Peloponnesian cities and on the island of Cythera. The latter was donated by Augustus to the city of Sparta in 21 BC and assigned to the patronage and protection of Eurycles, thus *de facto* becoming – and remaining also in the following years – a personal property of this family³². About one century later Eurycles' descendant, the Roman senator C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus³³, who died with no male heirs, bequeathed the family's estates on Cythera to the emperor Hadrian following a common practice among Roman aristocracy.

30. Strab. 8.5, 7: Εἰσὶ δὲ λατομῖαι λίθου πολυτελοῦς τοῦ μὲν Ταϊναρίου ἐν Ταϊνάρῳ παλαιαί, νεωστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ταυγέτῳ μέταλλον ἀνέωξάν τινες εὐμεγέθεις, χορηγὸν ἔχοντες τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων πολυτέλειαν (“And there are quarries of very costly marble – the old quarries of Taenarian marble on Tainaron; and recently some men have opened a large quarry in Taygetos, being supported in their undertaking by the extravagance of the Romans” – transl. H.L. Jones, ed. Loeb [1968]). In Strabo's times the quarries of green porphyry at Krokeai must have been exploited by private individuals, but starting from the reign of Domitian they had become part of the *patrimonium Caesaris*, as indicated by the existence of an imperial *dispensator*, in all probability a freedman with administrative duties in relation with these quarries (*CIL* III 493 = *IG* V 1, 1569; see Chr. LE ROY, “Un relief des Dioscures à Krokéai”, *BCH* 85 [1961], p. 206-215). On Laconian marbles cf. R. BALADIÉ, *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique*, Paris 1980, p. 197-210. The green porphyry from Krokeai was used in the baths that “the Spartan Eurycles” – the Augustan ‘partisan’ or his descendant of Hadrianic age C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus (RIZAKIS, ZOUMBAKI, LEPENIOTI, *op. cit.* [supra, n. 11], LAC 462) – had financed in Corinth (Paus. 2.3, 5); cf. BALADIÉ, *op. cit.*, p. 330: this marble “rappelait aux moins connaisseurs l’origine de la pierre et la personnalité du donateur” (Eurycles); CARTLEDGE, SPAWFORTH, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 27), p. 104 (Herculanus); see also A.D. RIZAKIS, “Supra-civic landowning and supra-civic euergetic activities of urban elites in the imperial Peloponnese” (www.nottingham.ac.uk/csp/ documents/beingpeloponnesian/rizakis.pdf) 2008, p. 5-6.
31. STEINHAEUER, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 29), p. 79; cf. G. BOWERSOCK, *Augustus and the Greek world*, Oxford 1965, p. 91; BALADIÉ, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 30), p. 329-330; A.D. RIZAKIS, “Controverses territoriales et stratégies impériales. Territoire et ressources économiques de Sparte sous l’Empire”, in L. LAMOINE, C. BERRENDONNER, M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI (eds), *Gérer les territoires, les patrimoines et les crises. Le Quotidien municipal* II, Clermont-Ferrand 2012, p. 127-146, espec. p. 133-135. Gythium remained one of the most important Laconian harbours in the imperial period; Strab. 8.5, 5; Paus. 3.21, 6; cf. K.M.T. CHRIMES, *Ancient Sparta: a re-examination of the evidence*, Manchester 1949, p. 436; N.M. KENNEL, *The public institutions of Roman Sparta*, Diss. Toronto 1985, p. 25, 28, 30; Chr. BÖHME, *Princeps und polis. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsform des Augustus über bedeutende Orte in Griechenland*, München 1995, p. 79, 248; M. MAUSE, “Augustus: Friedensfürst in einer unruhigen Zeit”, *Klio* 81 (1999), p. 142-155, espec. p. 146 and 152.
32. Cf. Strab. 8.5, 1; Cass. Dio 54.7, 2. STEINHAEUER, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 29), p. 81 (it is Steinhauer's contention that the greater part of the island was distributed in the form of allotments to the Spartans); RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 31), p. 133, n. 30.
33. RIZAKIS, ZOUMBAKI, LEPENIOTI, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 11), LAC 462.

In that way these estates became an imperial property; Hadrian, however, decided to give the entire island back to Sparta, stipulating that the revenues derived from its exploitation be used, among other things, to finance new games in memory of Herculaneus, the *Eurycleia* (which some years later were associated with the *Kaisareia*)³⁴.

Other functionaries who can attest to the existence of imperial estates are the *οικονόμοι* and *πραγματευταί*, usually corresponding to the Latin terms *vilici* and *actores* respectively³⁵. Generally speaking, apart from those properties which were managed directly by the owner, there existed two main systems of exploitation of the land, both public and private: a) by *coloni* who cultivated the land upon payment of a rent or b) through ‘bailiffs’ (Lat. *vilici; actores*), of servile or free status, who managed the land cultivated by slaves (or hired laborers) on behalf of the owner³⁶. As the same systems of exploitation of land, with the same personnel, were used both in public and private estates, functionaries referred to generically as *οικονόμοι* or *πραγματευταί* – without any reference to the emperor(s) – cannot be used to infer the presence of an imperial estate. Moreover, not all of the references to *οικονόμοι* and *πραγματευταί* have to do with the administration of estates³⁷.

34. G. STEINHAEUER, “The Euryklids and Kythera”, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 19-20 (2006-2007), p. 199-206; F. CAMIA, *Theoi Sebastoi. Il culto degli imperatori romani in Grecia (provincia Achaia) nel secondo secolo d.C.*, *ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 65, Atene 2011, p. 115-117; RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 142 and n. 83. In an inscription first published in Pirrus Ligorius’ notebooks as coming from Kerkyra (*IG IX 1, 1057*) the imperial freedman L. Aurelius Ferecydes is referred to as *ἐπιστ(άτης) Κερκυραίων*; the inscription, however, is most likely a forgery, as already noted by Dittenberger.
35. But there are exceptions to this ‘rule’: in Egypt, for example, the term *οικονόμος* is used as the equivalent of the Latin *dispensator*, who was a sort of treasurer, a functionary concerned with financial matters. Cf. J. CARLSEN, “The *vilica* and Roman estate management”, in *De agricultura. In memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve*, Amsterdam 1993, p. 197-205, espec. p. 204.
36. CRAWFORD, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1), p. 44-54. On *vilici* see in particular J. CARLSEN, *Vilici and Roman estate managers until AD 284*, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, Roma 1995; cf. also E. VOUTIRAS, “*In locum domini: un vilicus et sa famille*”, *ZAnt* 47 (1997), p. 227-238, espec. p. 229-230, nos 9-11.
37. Already from the Hellenistic age *οικονόμοι* of a city are attested epigraphically, to be interpreted as financial managers/controllers who oversaw the expenditure of public funds (cf. B.H. MCLEAN, *An introduction to Greek epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman periods from Alexander the Great down to the reign of Constantine (323 B.C.-A.D. 337)*, Michigan 2002, p. 308, n. 23 for further bibliographical references); when referring to a city of Roman status the term *οικονόμος* may indicate the *aedilis* (cf. H.J. MASON, *Greek terms for Roman institutions*, Baltimore 1974, p. 71, s.v. «*οικονόμος*», no 4). Cf. *SEG* 45, 1995, 418 (Patrai, mosaic inscription of the imperial age mentioning an *οικονόμος τῆς κολωνείας*); see also *IG V 1, 40*, ll. 6-7 (Sparta; catalogue of magistrates of the late 2nd c. AD); W. PEEK, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidaurus*, Berlin 1969, no 40, l. 17 (Epidaurus, a text of the 3rd-4th c. AD concerning a distribution of money and food). *Οικονόμοι/vilici* could also serve as assistants in the imperial tax service; see *IG II-III² 11492* (Athens, bilingual funerary inscription of the 2nd c. AD for Phyletos, a *vilicus/οικονόμος (sic)* of the *XX libertatis*); *Achaia II 128* (funerary inscription of the 2nd c. AD (?) for Ti. Claudius Satyrus, *vilicus* of the *vicesima hereditatum*). As for the Greek term *πραγματευτής*, it was also used to translate the Latin *negotiator*; cf. e.g. *IG II-III² 3607* (Athens, a little before AD 161), l. 9: *οἱ ἐν Πειραιῶν πραγματευταί*. For *πραγματευταί* in connection with a private estate cf. the three ‘agents’ of C. Iulius Eurycles attested in the city of Asopos, near Sparta, likely in relation to some landholdings of the Euryclids; see E. LANE, “Un unpublished inscription from Lakonia”, *Hesperia* 31 (1962), p. 396-398, (*BE* 1964, 191); BALADIÉ, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 30), p. 329. For other (generic) epigraphic references to *πραγματευταί* in Greece cf. the two funerary inscriptions *IG II-III² 13075* (Athens, 2nd c. AD) and *SEG* 42, 1992, 493 (Phthiotic Thebes, 5th c. AD).

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As far as we know, in Greece there is only one certain reference to an imperial οἰκονόμος, a votive inscription from Demetrias in Thessaly, evidently attesting to the existence of an imperial estate in that region³⁸. An inscription from Larissa mentions the dedication to the emperor Augustus as well as to Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus Minor of a ‘sacred’ property (including the whole of its structures, both human and animal workforce as well as current and future revenues derived from it) by Augustus’ *libertus* C. Iulius Apollophanes, φροντιστῆς of the inheritance tax³⁹. From the reference to the Φεραϊκῆ (*scil.* γῆ) one can argue that this imperial property was located in the territory of the city of Pherai, if it did not consist of the entire *chora* of this city, as suggested by B. Helly⁴⁰. Given the vicinity between the latter and the city of Demetrias, the imperial property in question might be identical with that whose existence can be inferred from the above mentioned inscription from Demetrias⁴¹. Moreover, a nearby imperial property may have included the large quarries of green marble located at Chasambali, 10 km east of Larissa⁴².

Other imperial freedmen are attested in the province of Achaia, but in the absence of further indications it is not possible to know if any of them were directly involved in the administration of imperial estates⁴³. T. Flavius Monomi-

38. *IG IX 2, 1124*: dedication to Asklepios and Hygeia by a certain Φιλολι[---]. Σεβασ[τοῦ vel τῶν] οἰκον[ό]μο[ς].
39. A. ARVANITOPOULOS, “Θεσσαλικαὶ ἐπιγραφαί”, *AE* (1910), p. 354-361, no 6 (AD 4-14); A. AVRAMEA, “Ἀπό τις κτήσεις του αυτοκράτορα: οι θεσσαλικοί σάλτοι”, in V. KREMMYDAS, Chr. MALTEZOU, N.M. PANAGHIOTAKIS (eds), *Αφιέρωμα στον Νίκο Σβορώνο*, I, Rethymno 1986, p. 1-4, espec. p. 2. The Greek term φροντιστῆς can render either the Latin *procurator* or *curator*. In *IG V 1, 1208* (Gythium; middle of the 1st c. AD) the term φροντιστῆς is used in association with κύριος to indicate the guardian and curator of the interests of the rich *liberta* Phaenia Aromation, on whom see A.D. RIZAKIS, “Les affranchi(e)s sous l’Empire: richesse, evergétisme et promotion sociale”, in V.I. ANASTASIADIS, P.N. DOUKELLIS (eds), *Esclavage antique et discriminations socio-culturelles, 28^{me} colloque international, GIREA, Mytilène, 5-7 décembre 2003*, Berne 2005, p. 233-241. It is worth noting that there were still large private landholdings in Thessaly at the beginning of the twentieth century, as noted by ARVANITOPOULOS, *op. cit.*, *supra*, p. 359.
40. B. HELLY, “La Thessalie à l’époque romaine”, *Centre Jean Palerme, Memoires II* (1980), Saint-Étienne, p. 37-50, espec. p. 41-42.
41. It might be identified with the two *saltus* referred to in the *Synekdemos* of Hierocles (Σάλτος Βουραμήσιος and Σάλτος Ιόβιος) (E. HONIGMAN, *Le Synekdèmos d’Hiéroklès et l’opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, Bruxelles 1939, p. 643, ll. 1-2); cf. AVRAMEA, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39).
42. HELLY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 40) 1980, p. 42-43.
43. *IG II-III² 7155a-b* (Athens; beginning of the 1st c. AD); *ILGR 83* (Sicyon; first half of the 1st c. AD); *I.Achaia III, 14* (Dyme, 40-27 a.C.) and 24 (Dyme; 1st-2nd c. AD); *CIL III 12289*, ll. 10-11 (Eretria). See also *CIL III 6107* (Athens); *Corinth 8.3*, no 62; *ILGR 164* (Paramythia, Thesprotia); *IG IX 1, 1057* (Kerkyra - probably a forgery; see *supra*, n. 34). In general on imperial freedmen and slaves cf. BOULVERT, *Esclaves et affranchis.... op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22) and *idem, Domestique et fonctionnaire.... op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22).

tus, an imperial freedman (of Vespasian) was sent as *χωρομέτρης* to deal with the secular controversy between Sparta and Messene over possession of the *ager Denthaliatis*⁴⁴. A similar task must have been performed some years later by Iulius Victor, *evocatus Augusti mensor*, who was sent by the emperor Trajan to deal with a controversy between Lamia and Hypata in Thessaly⁴⁵. The *ensores* usually depended directly on the service of the imperial *patrimonium*; as indicated by G. Boulvert, they were “nécessaires à l'établissement des diverses opérations de delimitation des territoires de cité et des domaines impériaux”⁴⁶. The controversies mentioned above, however, seem to have been just a matter of civic borders, as it was, again during the reign of Trajan, in the case of the controversies between Delphi and three Phocidian cities (Ambryssos, Amphissa-Myania, Antikyra) resolved through the intervention of the *legatus Augusti* C. Avidius Nigrinus⁴⁷. Indeed, by the imperial age the dispatch of functionaries (sometimes called *iudices dati*) charged with the resolution of territorial conflicts between civic communities had become a common practice of the imperial administration⁴⁸. The presence of such imperial functionaries as the *ensores* cannot therefore be directly linked with the existence of imperial estates. The intervention of the *χωρομέτρης* in Messene might also be linked to the reorganization of the territorial province by Vespasian following the return of Greece to provincial status after Nero had granted it *eleutheria* in AD 67⁴⁹.

To sum up, the evidence at our disposal gives the impression of a substantial scarcity of imperial estates in the province of Achaia. Little information is provided by literary sources and inscriptions, and in most cases what we are left with is just an indirect hint of the possible presence of imperial properties, whose exact nature and location remain uncertain. This situation is not too surprising if one compares the geomorphologic situation of Greece with that of those areas such as North Africa and Asia from which most of the imperial estates are known⁵⁰.

As for the Late Antiquity, generally speaking the imperial estates in the eastern part of the Empire must have been transferred into the property of the Byzantine Empire, but there is only limited information on these lands. As regards Greece, among the imperial estates attested between the

44. IG V 1, 1431, ll. 40-42 (Messene; AD 78); on this controversy cf. most recently F. CAMIA, *Roma e le poleis. L'intervento di Roma nelle controversie territoriali tra le comunità greche di Grecia e d'Asia Minore nel secondo secolo a.C.: le testimonianze epigrafiche*, Atene 2009, p. 32-43 (with previous bibliography).

45. ILS 5947a (l. 7).

46. BOULVERT, *Esclaves et affranchis...*, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 22), p. 119. On *ensores* cf. F.T. HINRICHS, *Die Geschichte der gro-matischen Institutionen. Untersuchungen zu Landverteilung, Landvermessung, Bodenverwaltung u. Bodenrecht im römischen Reich*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 158-170.

47. D. ROUSSET, *Le territoire de Delphes et la terre d'Apollon*, BEFAR 310, Paris 2002, nos 7-15 (and p. 143-154).

48. Cf. CAMIA, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 44), p. 214-215 (and n. 575).

49. Plu. *Flam.* 12, 8; Suet. *Nero* 24, 2; cf. CAMIA, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 48), p. 42.

50. Cf. LARSEN, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 2), p. 461: “the general conditions in Greece ... do not imply the existence of extensive imperial estates”. See also M. ROSTOVITZ, *The social and economic history of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1957², p. 254: “As an agricultural country Greece is probably the poorest land in the Mediterranean area”.

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7th and the 9th c. AD one may have been located in the area of Athens⁵¹. Moreover, at the end of the 11th c. AD, under Alexius I Comnenus, the area of the mountain Kissavos in Thessaly, where the Kellia (“Ὄρος των κελλίων”) of byzantine sources were situated, was an imperial property, which after 1204 AD was probably transferred to the Latin Emperor of Constantinople⁵². We know that during the period of the Turkish domination this property belonged to the Church and became a monastic community with several churches⁵³. It seems in any case that the number of imperial estates had significantly decreased by the 9th c. AD. It has been suggested that the Byzantine state used some of its estates to settle soldiers, who thus could acquire a source of sustenance⁵⁴.

51. Cf. G. ZAKOS, A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine lead seals*, Basel 1972, I, n. 3014; see also W.T. TREADGOLD, “The military lands and the imperial estates in the Middle Byzantine empire”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), p. 619-631, espec. p. 630, n. 37.
52. Cf. J. KODER, F. HILD, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Hellas und Thessalia*, Wien 1976, p. 186; V. PENNA, Y. TOURATSOGLOU, “Ο θησαυρός Παλιοθεολόγου Μελίβοιας/1988. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της κυκλοφορίας χρυσών υπερπύρων της δυναστείας των Κομνηνών στον Ελλαδικό χώρο”, *ΟΒΟΛΟΣ* 7 (2004), Αθήνα, p. 365-408 espec. p. 367, 374.
53. S. MAMALOUKOS, S. SDROLIA, “Αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα στο «όρος» των Κελλίων”, in *ΑΕΘ-ΣΕ* 2 (2009), Βόλος, p. 585-601.
54. TREADGOLD, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 51).

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ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟ
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ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 68
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ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟ Ν. ΖΩΡΖΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΙΑ Ο.Ε.
Η ΒΙΒΛΙΟΔΕΣΙΑ ΕΓΙΝΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΔΕΤΕΙΟ
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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.

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