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For my father, Gregory S. Jeck,

who shared with me his love for the ancient world and curiosity about all manner of things.

This dissertation is poor tribute to such a good, hard-working man,

but, knowing dad, he would have smiled at its small triumphs nonetheless.

Love you forever.

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Abstract

The effects of Roman rule in mainland Greece are typically sought out in the countryside, often in terms of depopulation and economic decline, rather than within the urban realm of the elite, where social continuity is emphasized. This dichotomy, problematic on its own terms, masks the ways in which Roman rule affected political identity (founded as it was on land ownership and the idea that a polis' *chora* was the exclusive resource of its citizenry), as well as the social structures of agricultural production and civic administration founded thereupon. This dissertation therefore highlights the interconnected nature of urban and rural life in Roman Greece (from the second century BC through the Antonine dynasty). Chapter 1 charts the rise of suburban communities as areas of social display, political activity, and agricultural production—much like the *suburbium* of Rome itself. By reinterpreting archaeological survey materials as proxies for social and agricultural investment, this chapter shows that in the Roman period "elite" artifacts become more concentrated in suburban nodes of regional connectivity, while the material proxies of agricultural investment remain roughly consistent from the late Classical through Roman periods. Chapter 2 investigates patterns in land tenure and agricultural tenancy, arguing that interrelated changes in labor strategies and elite social behaviors increasingly tied landowners and rural workers into a more vertically integrated provincial hierarchy. Chapter 3 studies the well-documented colonia of Corinth as a representative example of the relationships between metropoleis and their *chorai* during the Roman period, illuminating the vertical social relationships that structured Corinthian society from urban center to rural periphery. Chapter 4 looks at the role of rural nostalgia in conceptually framing the new provincial landscape—including its urban, suburban, and rural communities—as part of a coherent imperial whole. This dissertation thereby argues that, while rural depopulation was likely negligible and high levels of

agricultural production continued without serious interruption, Roman rule did indeed usher in significant changes to the social landscape of Greece.

Introduction

The Allure of Abandonment: Conceptualizing the Countryside of Roman Greece

He was a big man, says the size of his shoes
on a pile of broken dishes by the house;
a tall man too, says the length of the bed
in an upstairs room; and a good, God-fearing man,
says the Bible with a broken back
on the floor below the window, dusty with sun;
but not a man for farming, say the fields
cluttered with boulders and the leaky barn.

A woman lived with him, says the bedroom wall
papered with lilacs and the kitchen shelves
covered with oilcloth, and they had a child,
says the sandbox made from a tractor tire.
Money was scarce, say the jars of plum preserves
and canned tomatoes sealed in the cellar hole.
And the winters cold, say the rags in the window frames.
It was lonely here, says the narrow country road.

Something went wrong, says the empty house
in the weed-choked yard. Stones in the fields
say he was not a farmer; the still-sealed jars
in the cellar say she left in a nervous haste.
And the child? Its toys are strewn in the yard
like branches after a storm—a rubber cow,
a rusty tractor with a broken plow,
a doll in overalls. Something went wrong, they say.

— Ted Kooser, "Abandoned Farmhouse"

Something went wrong. This sentiment underlies many studies of the changes wrought upon the Greek landscape during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. The rural terrain of Roman Greece is imagined as a desolate expanse of abandoned farms and empty fields created by widespread socio-economic decline, depopulation, or a mass exodus toward large cities—or some combination of

these factors.[1] Indeed, from Polybius to Plutarch, these are the very terms in which Greek (and Roman) authors described the changes that they perceived in the surrounding Greek countryside. "The tillers of the soil have been disappearing,"[2] Strabo frets. Dio laments, "Does the Peneus not flow through a desolate Thessaly?"[3] A nostalgic sense of an old rural world now lost, similar to that which frames Kooser's poem, permeates these ancient sources. And the survey data—ceramics and other material traces retrieved from the surface of mainland Greece over the last few decades—have been understood, like the artifacts in Kooser's poem, as corroborating signs of economic struggle and rural abandonment.[4] Despite recent research that nuances this portrayal and questions traditional interpretations of these literary and material sources, Roman Greece is still often depicted as a time of relative social and economic decay, a time when large metropoleis grew at the expense of the countryside.[5]

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[1] See a review of such scholarship in Alcock 1993. Rizakis 2010 depicts the late Hellenistic period is this way and argues for economic rejuvenation under the Augustan regime. For nuanced discussions of how some regions of Greece were affected differently, see Rizakis 2016: 51-52 and Shipley 2005. This standardized narrative has trickled down into more popular forms of media in rather dramatic iterations: e.g. the prolific popular historian Isaac Asimov writes, "The Roman Empire brought two centuries of absolute peace to the Mediterranean world […] but for Greece it was the peace of death. In its period of expansion, Rome had treated Greece with reckless cruelty. The destruction of Corinth, the deliberate ruin of Rhodes, the sack of Athens, the batter of the Roman civil war on Greek soil had made Greece a wasteland. The Greek geographer, Strabo, has left a description of Greece in the time of Augustus. It is a melancholy picture of ruined towns and depopulated areas." (1965: 275-276) Similar themes of decline can be found expressed in numerous museum and archaeological site didactics around Greece: e.g. "In the ethical decline of Roman times, various cultures were mingled together" (placard titled "Mithraion" at the Archaeological Site of Eleusis, photographed December 2015); and "In the Greek mainland, the art of the Roman period is marked by the exhaustion of creative powers and the decline of technical skill" (placard titled "The Roman Period," Archaeological Museum of Andros, photographed October 2016).

[2] Strabo 8.8.1: τήν τε χώραν οἱ γεωργήσαντες ἐκλελοίπασιν

[3] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.25: οὐχ ὁ Πηνειὸς δι᾽ ἐρήμου ῥεῖ Θετταλίας; See also: Polybius 36.17.5-8; Dio Chrys. *Discourses* 1.51-5 and *Euboia* 7.34-6; Plut. *Mor.* 413F-414C.

[4] Alcock 1993. Specific examples of data from individual surveys interpreted thus: Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985: 145-7; Runnels and van Andel 1987: 318.

[5] E.g. Stirling 2006: 85. "While the need for surplus to pay taxes stimulated agricultural intensification in Libya (and elsewhere), annexation into the Roman Empire seems to have had the opposite effect on Greece […] Contemporary literary sources, scant as they are on such a non-elite topic, create an image of instability followed by rural depopulation in Roman times, and modern scholars have sometimes taken this as an indication of extensive population decline in Greece in the Roman period." Also, Lolos 2011: 330. "However

There are a number of problems with this depiction, but one salient concern—which will form the over-arching interest of this dissertation—is that it divorces the urban from the rural, the *astu* from its *chora*.[6] This fracture is not endemic to studies of Roman Greece: there is a common assumption shared across many studies of ancient civilizations that *urban* development and *economic* development are positively correlated, and that rural areas do not enjoy the fruits of the latter.[7] This assumption derives in part from associating the countryside with economic stagnation and social conservatism (associations deeply embedded in Western culture), which deepens the perceived separation of urban and rural spheres, "as if everyone in the city and no one in the countryside were involved in non-agricultural production."[8] Southern mainland Greece, whose major cities gained unprecedented size in the Roman period, seems to fall in line with this (problematic) rule: an alleged example of rapid urban growth that left the countryside impoverished.[9]

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exaggerated [Polybius'] statement may be, following the Hellenistic literary motif of decline in comparison to the glorious Classical past, it must contain some truth."

[6] For instance, the rural landscape of Greece is often reconstructed without attention to its role within regional networks or political geography. For an extended critique of this problem, see Rousset 2008: 336-337.

[7] Morley 2011: 150.

[8] Morley 2011: 152.

[9] Lolos 2011, for example, follows this dichotomy: "The question is whether the decline of the countryside went hand in hand with the urban decline, as Polybius suggests, or whether the abandonment of the rural landscape favored the growth of the city. The data from the intensive survey of the Sicyonian plateau (2004-2009), currently under study, point toward the latter scenario." (330, continuation of quotation from n. 5) In Rizakis 2010, the phenomenon of metropoleis in the Roman period is discussed as an intensification of the Hellenistic trend of increasing urbanization in tandem with the abandonment of the countryside (16). Elsewhere Rizakis defies this correlation, charting distinct regional changes in urbanization and rural populations (Rizakis 2016), including the apparent exception of Roman Patrae, whose urban population grew alongside its rural population (Rizakis 2014). Bintliff 1998 postulates a zero-sum game between city and countryside, insofar as he argues that "the inner decay of the Empire" (436) in the third century AD was a result of the fact that, as the catchment area from which agricultural resources are drawn for an urban center get larger and larger, the urban core begins to decay, and the focus of social structures are shifted to areas less distant from supporting resources in more peripheral zones of the *chora*.

Of course, this strict dichotomy between the urban and the rural does not exist in practice,[10] and this research will demonstrate the lack of such separation in a number of ways particular to the historical context of Roman Greece: the rise of suburban communities as areas of both political activity and agricultural production (Chapter 1 and 3), new social structures that tied land owners and rural workers into a more vertically integrated imperial hierarchy (Chapter 2 and 3), and the deployment of rural nostalgia in conceptually framing the new provincial landscape as part of a coherent imperial whole (Chapter 4). This dissertation will thereby argue that, although depopulation was likely negligible and high levels of agricultural production continued without serious interruption, Roman rule did bring significant changes to the social landscape of Greece.

Generally speaking, the impact of Roman rule in mainland Greece has been looked for out in the countryside, rather than within the urban circles of the elite, where continuity with Hellenistic social behaviors has been emphasized.[11] I do not disagree with this general sense of social continuity (e.g. increasing socio-economic disparity and elite mobility in the Roman period continued trends that were already underway in the Hellenistic period) but, given the apparent similarities in the social and cultural life between Hellenistic and Roman Greece, we ought to be all the more attentive to the

[10] From a theoretical standpoint, see Polanyi 1944: "What we call land is an element of nature inextricably woven with man's institutions. Traditionally, land and labor are not separated; labor forms part of life, land remains part of nature, life and nature form an articulate whole. Land is thus tied up with the organization of kinship, neighborhood, craft, and creed—with tribe, and temple, village, gild, and church." (178) For various pitfalls in drawing such lines between city and country, see Witcher 2005 and Rich and Wallace-Hadrill 1991. For an example of this idea (the zero-sum game between urban and rural spheres) being challenged in the context of Roman Italy, see Mattingly and Witcher 2016. For a detailed discussion of the interconnected nature of the rural economy with wider regional and urban economies, see, for example, Erdkamp 1999.

[11] E.g. Parker 2014: "The end of political independence had meant little culturally, and the eastern half of the Roman Empire remained stoutly Greek." (427). For arguments that Roman rule changed Greek society and culture very little, see Jones 1963; Kapetanopoulos 1965; Millar 1981: 195-6; Syme 1979; 1988; Rhodes 2014: 208-9. See also a discussion of this topic in Alcock 1993: 1-2; 19. Such arguments tend to focus on the lives of the elite. This dissertation will show how certain elite behaviors (e.g. investment in suburban social display, euergetism outside hometowns) are connected to changes in the relationship between the urban and rural spheres of Greek society.

meaningful changes that did occur. In fact, as Onno van Nijf has noted, the study of Roman Greece has been troubled not only by narratives of decline but also the notion of cultural immunity to Roman rule, as if Achaea were "a province in demographic and moral decline, yet hardly touched by the effects of Roman occupation."[12] This dissertation therefore seeks to reconnect the rural and urban spheres in order to highlight the ways in which Roman rule did change Greek social life at all levels of society, from the time of large-scale Roman interference in mainland Greece (the second century BC) through the Antonine dynasty (192 AD).

I. Brief political and administrative history of Roman Greece

The Romans first became involved in the wider politics of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Illyrian Wars at the end of the 3rd century BC. Soon after, in 215 BC, while at war with Hannibal, Rome was successfully persuaded to help the Aetolians in their fight against the Macedonian king, Philip V. In the aftermath of the First Macedonian War, Rome expressed little interest in shaping the terms of peace; but when war with Philip picked up again in 200 BC and he was resoundingly defeated three years later, this time Rome was highly active in shaping the post-war political map. T. Quinctius Flamininus declared the Greek poleis free and subject to no tribute,[13] yet worked to articulate Roman power in more indirect forms. Flamininus himself and other Roman magistrates dominated post-war negotiations and were involved in re-establishing local governments (notably imposing property requirements for certain levels of government participation and privileging the

[12] van Nijf 1996: 115.

[13] Flamininus declared that the Greek poleis would be ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρήτους, ἀφορολογήτους, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις (Polybius 18.46.5).

propertied classes in general) and reorganizing territorial boundaries.[14] Thus, even though Rome left no garrisons behind,[15] Greece hereafter was firmly in Rome's orbit—a fact soon proved, hardly five years later, by a war with Rome's erstwhile allies, the Aetolians (in league with Antiochus III), who were dissatisfied with their territorial allotment after the Second Macedonian War.[16] This conflict was followed seventeen years later with the Third Macedonian War. Although this was a confrontation primarily with Philip's successor, Perseus, a number of Greek poleis—mostly members of the Aetolian League who felt particularly abused by the Romans—entered the fray on the side of Perseus. In the aftermath, Rome systematically punished and rewarded different poleis with land confiscations and territorial rewards based on their perceived level of loyalty during this conflict. (For instance, the whole area of Haliartos was given to Athens.) A number of poleis deemed disloyal suffered heavy indemnities and/or retaliatory destruction, particularly in Boeotia and Epirus. Large swathes of land from these areas were confiscated and became property of the Roman state, and the center of the former Macedonian Kingdom became a Roman province. Dissatisfaction with this new status quo—and significantly, dissatisfaction with the lack of land awarded in repayment for their military assistance—caused the Achaean League (much like the Aetolian League in years prior) to revolt. After "destroying" Corinth and confiscating the Corinthian

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[14] Paus. 7.16.9: ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυε, καθίστα δὲ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς. This had the effect of leaving in power those who were most favorably disposed toward Rome: see Ando 2006: 181. Polyb. 39.5.1–2; Walbank 1979: 734–5; RDGE 43, ll. 9–10 (Dyme, 115 BCE, referring back to 146), who in turn rewarded Mummius and the senatorial commissioners with statues at Olympia (e.g. SIG 676; cf. Polyb. 39.6, with Walbank 1979: 735–7).

[15] Or at least, this was Flamininus' promise. It seems Rome rather quickly garrisoned some of Philip's former "fetters" in anticipation of Antiochus' pivot toward mainland Greece, some of which remained after the Syrian War. See, e.g., Livy 33.31 and 34.23, as well as Eckstein's discussion of the development and limits of Flamininus' "Isthmian policy" (Eckstein 1990).

[16] Livy 34.23.7: "the Aetolians, foes to Philip from the beginning, allies to the Romans at all times, although they had agreed in the treaty that the cities and fields were to be theirs when Philip was defeated, were being cheated out of Echinus and Pharsalus." …Aetolos, primos hostis Philippi, semper socios Romanorum, pactos in foedere suas urbes agrosque fore devicto Philippo, fraudari Echino et Pharsalo…

plain,[17] Rome had Mummius and his team of surveyors reorganize the territorial map of mainland Greece. Poleis that had been hostile to Rome during the Achaean revolt were now placed under the authority of the governor of Macedon. Southern mainland Greece may not have been an official province just yet, but it was entirely under Roman control.[18]

War with Mithridates and the following Civil Wars caused even greater suffering in Greece: not only were many of the battles fought on Greek soil, but also, yet again, massive land transfers were imposed throughout Greek territory, including the foundation of five Roamn colonies, all of which entailed large land reallocations and population resettlements. When war broke out between Rome and Mithridates VI in 88 BC, Athens and several other poleis sided with the eastern potentate. Sulla's siege of Athens during this conflict entailed vast destruction, and many Boeotian poleis suffered similar fates. Moreover, in the aftermath, Sulla reorganized territorial boundaries and confiscated Greek land, including two thousand hectares on Euboea, which he offered to Archilaos of Cappadocia.[19] During the Civil Wars (both that between Pompey and Caesar, and that between Octavian and Antony), several battles were fought on Greek land and Greek seas, and many Roman troops were stationed in, and dependent upon, Greek poleis—a heavy burden to bear in terms of finances and foodstuffs. At the same time, Greek troops were drawn into Rome's internal disputes; those who chose the losing side (notably, again, Athens) suffered retaliatory punishment later.

[17] A detailed discussion of the sequence of events at Corinth, and the extent of this alleged destruction, can be found in Chapter 3.
[18] To understand the position of mainland Greece vis-à-vis Rome in the context of the ad hoc development of the provincial system, see Lintott 1981.
[19] Plutarch *Sulla* 23.2.

In 27 BC,[20] with the Civil Wars over and Augustus securely in power, southern mainland Greece officially became a Roman senatorial province governed by a *proconsul pro praetore* (in conjunction with a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* and a *quaestor*). This area included Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Euboea, parts of Thessaly, and the Ionian and Cycladic islands. From 15-44 AD, Achaea was made an imperial province, lumped together with Macedonia under the province of Moesia,[21] and sometime under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, Epirus, northern Acarnania, and the Ionian islands became the separate procuratorial province of Epirus.[22] Except for a very brief stint of liberty and tax immunity under Nero,[23] southern mainland Greece (albeit with the borders between Achaea, Epirus, and Macedonia sometimes shifting slightly) otherwise remained the senatorial province of Achaea until Diocletian, who placed Achaea under control of equestrian *praesides*. Constantine I would later revert the province back to senatorial status, and eventually Achaea became the Byzantine *thema* of Hellas at the end of the 7th century AD.

Despite the tumultuous years of military interference in Greece leading up to its official integration into the empire as a province, Achaea was thereafter well insulated from the military ventures of the Rome.[24] In this respect, mainland Greece enjoyed the fruits of "Pax Romana" without heavily contributing to the Roman military or hosting Roman troops (aside from special recruitments under Marcus Aurelius and later Caracalla, and Trajan's stopover in Achaea en route to Parthia): only a

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[20] Cass. Dio. 53.12; Strabo 17.3.25.

[21] Tacitus *Annals* 1.76 attributes this change to complaints from Greeks about heavy taxation. Alcock 1993 suggests that the decision was likely made for more efficient administration (16).

[22] Ptol. 3.14.

[23] Vespasian revoked these privileges two years later after Nero's death. Pausanias records Vespasian as saying that the Greeks had "forgotten how to be free." (Paus. 7.17.4: ἀπομεμαθηκέναι φήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν), while Apollonius complains that "Nero freed the Hellenes in play, but you have enslaved them in all seriousness (Philostratus *VA* 5.41: Νέρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας παίζων ἠλευθέρωσε, σὺ δὲ αὐτοὺς σπουδάζων ἐδουλώσω).

[24] That is, until the mid-third century, but this is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

small contingent of Roman soldiers would have accompanied the provincial governor, and perhaps some troops oversaw operations at imperial marble quarries. While some have pointed out that Greece was thus spared the strain on local resources of provisioning troops or aiding in military transport, others have argued that the absence of Roman troops was economically damaging to Achaea in comparison to other frontier provinces, which enjoyed a "stimulus package" from the Roman state as resources from across the empire were reallocated to these areas, in addition to the economic boost provided by the consumer demands of the Roman soldiers.[25]

The Hellenistic system of federal leagues continued under the Romans, but was of lesser political importance. The primary political structure, through which most aspects of Roman governance were carried out, was an informal hierarchy of Greek poleis and Roman coloniae. At the top were the provincial metropoleis: Patrae, Nicopolis, Corinth, Sparta, Athens, and to a lesser extent, Argos and Messene. The development of this hierarchy was not unintentional. In the Augustan land reorganization program, each colony received huge land grants, as did Sparta.[26] As mentioned above, a common claim in the scholarship of Roman Greece is that the formation of these metropoleis entailed a depopulation of the surrounding countryside, which in turn depressed the agricultural economy of Achaea. This dissertation will offer a different look at the relationship between these large urban centers and their hinterlands, in part by focusing on the suburban satellite communities that arose around them, and by questioning the evidence for agricultural decline.

The primary administrative job of this hierarchical organization of coloniae and poleis was the collection of taxes. Whereas the poleis of the pre-Roman era generally avoided regular forms of

[25] Alcock 1993: 18.
[26] Rizakis 2010: 6.

direct taxation,[27] instead depending on *ad hoc* systems of tax collection for specific purposes, Roman rule introduced the obligation of consistent financial subsidies to the Roman state. Direct, regular taxation may have occurred as early as 146 BC, but the chronology and methods of Achaea's integration into the Roman tax system are not entirely clear. Pausanias reports that *phoros* was imposed on Greece after 146 BC,[28] but this perhaps only applied to those cities that had been disloyal to Rome and who were now under the authority of the governor of Macedon.[29] Whatever the extent of the tax base, under the Republic, these taxes would have been collected by *publicani* and the governor of Macedon. By 27 BC, all of southern mainland Greece was subject to regular taxation, and the *publicani* system of collection was replaced with local collection methods provided by these regional urban centers.[30] There is no direct evidence for the modes of taxation in Achaea, but on the basis of comparison with other provinces, we can gain a likely picture. Taxes were collected in cash rather than kind (until the 3rd century AD) and were non-graduated. Taxation on landholdings, the *tributum soli*, was likely the most important and widespread form of tax, followed by a simple head tax, the *tributum capitis*. On top of these regular obligations, exceptional levies could be requested by the Roman state in times of need. For all of these taxes, a central authority would declare the amount of revenue obliged, and local *decuriones* would assess the worth of individual properties, set the rate of taxation, and organize the method of collection. It is important to note that, whereas taxes collected before Roman conquest were essentially used for the benefit of the

[27] That is, aside from those that had been under the official domain of a Hellenistic monarch.
[28] Paus. 7.16.9: ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυε, καθίστα δὲ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς.
[29] For argument of a late imposition of taxation, see Gruen 1984: 525-6; for argument of early tax imposition, see Crawford 1977: 50-1. See also Larsen 1938: 306-8 and Rostovtzeff 1941: 748-9. Part of this debate is tied to different interpretations of Rome's incentives in imperial expansion, see Alcock 1993: 20.
[30] For change from Republic to Empire, see Brunt 1990: 53-95. The provincial tax collection system did not operate by the same methods in all provinces, and there is little direct evidence concerning the circumstances of collection specifically in Achaea and Epirus. See Alcock 1993: 21.

collecting polis, the destination of Greek tax revenue was now largely outside Greece, to Italy and the frontier provinces.[31]

This system allowed for local elites to pass on the burden of imperial taxes to lower class members of society—the opportunities for abuse and peculation are clear.[32] However, without underestimating the financial burden (especially on the lower classes) to meet these new tax quotas, there are a few relatively non-exploitative aspects of this system to note. First of all, Roman taxes altogether were comparatively low (roughly around 10% on average),[33] and some Greek cities were designated *civitates liberae* for much of the early imperial period and enjoyed tax immunity.[34] (These cities were still obliged to give occasional payments in the form of "friendly contributions.")[35] Moreover, it is clear that, while imperial taxes probably hit lower classes the hardest, the elite class still maintained—if not increased—its local euergetic practices, thereby furnishing Greek municipalities with the civic revenue that the imperial tax system did not provide.[36] Thus, insofar as agricultural production was the base of ancient economies, the Roman tax system introduced added incentive to produce a greater agricultural surplus at all levels of society.[37] It would perhaps be rather

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[31] Hopkins 1980: 101; Garnsey and Saller 1987: 95-6.
[32] Cic. *Att.* 6.2.5; Polybius 6.56.13. See also Crawford 1977: 45 and Corbier 1991: 231.
[33] Hopkins 1980: 120.
[34] Athens (Pliny *HN* 4.24); Sparta (Strabo 8.5.5); Nicopolis (Pliny *HN* 4.4). See Oliver 1973: 389. The exact dates of duration for such special status for any one city are unclear. These privileges were ended wholesale under Diocletian. See Alcock 1993: 22.
[35] Strabo 8.5.5: ἀναλαβόντες δὲ σφᾶς ἐτιμήθησαν διαφερόντως καὶ ἔμειναν ἐλεύθεροι, πλὴν τῶν φιλικῶν λειτουργιῶν ἄλλο συντελοῦντες οὐδέν.
[36] Which could include, at times, local elites paying large portions of the regular tax burden as a civic gift. See, e.g. *IG* XII 5 724, 946 (Andros, Tenos) and Jones 1940: 140 (Lykosoura) on the high priest of the Macedonian League, Q. Popillius Python, paying the entire *tributum capitis* for Macedonia. See also discussion in Millar 1966: 389-90.
[37] See, for example, Hughes 1994 arguing that the added pressure created by Roman taxes to increase production led to eventual ecological degradation on farms where people resorted to practices that depleted the land's nutrients. This, in turn, privileged large-scale estates that could operate at a high enough profit without upsetting the natural balance.

surprising, then, if agricultural production should have slowed under Roman rule; and indeed, as we shall soon see, it almost certainly did not.

II. Previous scholarship on land and agriculture in late Hellenistic and Roman Greece

Compared to earlier studies that had focused primarily on literary evidence, Ulrich Kahrstedt's 1954 monograph on the economic conditions of Achaea, which used a synthesis of literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources (after retracing Pausanias' steps himself on a tour through Greece), stands out as an exceptionally nuanced investigation of the landscape of Roman Greece. Kahrstedt posed important questions about the nature of land tenure and civic continuity, and rightly questioned the extent of depopulation, redirecting his focus to questions of demographic shifts rather than population loss. His work largely concurred, however, with the general depiction of Greece as a devastated backwater of the Empire, and some of his conclusions have since been proven problematic—one that concerns us here is his claim that agricultural activity waned as forests and pastures increased under the Romans.[38]

Following Kahrstedt, relatively little scholarship on Roman Greece was published. Noting this lack of research, Glen Bowersock contributed a monograph on Roman Greece in 1965, comprised of eleven chapters, each tackling a different aspect of Roman rule in Greece, using literary, epigraphic, prosopographical, and numismatic evidence. This work pushed back on the idea of Roman Greece as a political backwater, emphasizing Augustus' efforts to fully unite the Greek East with the Western empire. Bowersock discussed the growth of metropoleis as centers of wealth and imperial

[38] Kahrstedt 1954: 161. See comments in Cavanagh et al 2002: 128-9.

administration, but he did not directly challenge the idea of economic or rural decline elsewhere in the province of Achaea, nor did he generally discuss the landscape or agricultural sphere.

Indeed, the standard characterizations of the Greek landscape under Roman rule—depopulation, rural abandonment, and economic decline—were not substantially updated until 1993 with Susan Alcock's seminal work, *Graecia Capta,* which synthesized data from the relatively new work of archaeological surveys with the purpose of tracking population patterns across time.[39] Alcock's overarching arguments are that, 1) while depopulation must have occurred, it was perhaps not as bad as previously believed, and that part of the perceived rural abandonment can be accounted for in terms of 2) settlement nucleation and 3) a newfound preference amongst the elite for urban life. Alcock does not question the idea that agricultural activity declined in the Roman period.

Research on Roman Greece, particularly that pertaining to landscape studies, has largely been conducted in Alcock's shadow ever since. Graham Shipley, for instance, while agreeing that field survey generally demonstrates fluctuating population levels and settlement preferences, questions whether depopulation was very significant in the early Roman period, pointing out that the military contests of the late Hellenistic age were not likely to have had a higher level of casualties than prior eras. Moreover, the areas that were hit the hardest, such as Argos and Sparta, can be shown to have rebounded in a short span of time.[40] Emily Mackil, although using examples from the pre-Roman era, has studied how settlement abandonment can be a form of social flexibility and adaptability, rather than a sign of outright economic decline.[41] Denis Rousset directly takes on many of Alcock's arguments, highlighting areas needing greater nuance. His 2008 article opens with a review of survey

[39] As well as Alcock's earlier articles: see Alcock 1989 and Alcock 1991.
[40] Shipley 2005.
[41] Mackil 2004.

projects since Alcock's 1993 monograph, outlining those that match Alcock's pattern of population loss and settlement nucleation from the late Hellenistic through early Roman periods (South Boeotia, the Skourta Plain, Nemea Valley, Messenia, Island of Kos, and Oropos), and those that do not fit this pattern (Melos, the deme of Atene, the Berbati region, the Southern Argolid, Methana, Aetolia, Dyme, Megalopolis, Asea Valley, Eurotas Valley, Nichoria, and Pylos).[42] Rousset then launches into the interpretive problems of Alcock's work: how accurately can survey results be used in demonstrating population levels and settlement change when many sherds cannot be dated to a single century? If we widen the chronological scope far enough to be accurate, can we still identify meaningful change? Rousset also criticizes the periodization schemes used by survey projects, forcing breaks in chronology on a historical rather than material or archaeological basis. On these grounds, Rousset argues that 1) Roman rule did not bring a huge disruption to agricultural production and private land tenure practices in Greece (this dissertation will agree with the former, but not the latter); 2) that Roman rule wrought widespread change to the rural Greek landscape in the form of cadastration and the alienation of civic territories, but these acts likely did not occur until much later, in the twilight of the Hellenistic age (rather than in the 2nd century BC); and 3) that widespread depopulation and settlement nucleation was not as drastic as even Alcock suggests (let alone the more pessimistic scholars who preceded her).

[42] Rousset 2008. The extent to which these survey projects' data do not match Alcock's pattern varies widely—some listed here are actually quite close to Alcock's model. Melos: decline in the early Hellenistic, followed by growth from the late Hellenistic through late Roman periods. Atene: declined and never recovered starting in the early Hellenistic period. Berbati and Southern Argolid: decline began in early Hellenistic. Methana: growth in early Hellenistic, decline 2nd century BC, followed by more drastic decline in the 1st century BC. Aetolia: entire Hellenistic period demonstrates higher population levels than in Classical. Dyme: early Hellenistic period shows population levels higher than Classical, followed by decline in late Hellenistic. Megalopolis: larger sites do not decline until 1-2nd century AD. Asea Valley: densely occupied from the Classical through early Roman periods. Eurotas Valley: late Classical to early Hellenistic decline, followed by growth from late Hellenistic into the 1st century BC, followed by decline. Nichoria: site numbers increase in late Hellenistic period. Pylos: Hellenistic and Roman site numbers higher than in Classical period.

The most prolific scholar of the Greek rural landscape in the past few decades has been Athanasios Rizakis, whose work further nuances Alcock's narrative. Rizakis largely agrees with Alcock that the late Hellenistic period brought agricultural and economic decline due to the burden of Roman warfare and taxes.[43] But Rizakis does not see such rural decline extending into the imperial period: following official integration into the Roman Empire in 27 BC, Roman policies effectively propped up the failing agricultural economy of Greece. Rizakis argues that part of the agricultural decline of the late Hellenistic period was due to the fractured *koinon* system, which hindered regional trade. Under Augustus, however, a new model of socio-economic centralization was fostered: the growth of regional metropoleis functioned as trade centers. Select cities (e.g. Corinth, Patrae, Sparta) were granted particular privileges in order to perform their roles as regional centers in the form of land grants, tax revenue from dependent cities, and administrative apparatus.[44] Eventually this system shifted the focus of Greek agriculture from production geared toward local markets to production intended for regional markets and international export.[45] The beneficial effects of these policies led to a full recovery of the agricultural economy by the Flavian period. However, this recovery came at the cost of greater socio-economic disparity.[46] This agricultural revival was achieved in part, Rizakis suggests, through the advent of villas, which appear most heavily in the vicinity of metropoleis.[47] Rizakis interprets the increasing number of villas as evidence for new agricultural strategies: the introduction of new crops for special markets and the intensification of production.[48] Overall, Rizakis emphasizes the *variation* in local responses to Roman administration, land redistribution, and

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[43] Rizakis 2014: 51; 2010: 3-4.
[44] Rizakis 2010: 7-8.
[45] Rizakis 2014: 250; Kokkorou-Alevra 2001: 319-48.
[46] Rizakis 2010: "a new hierarchical structure was now established, with the aim of transferring the agricultural surplus of the *chora* to the areas where power was concentrated and where the privileged social groups resided." (16)
[47] That is, in suburbs, although Rizakis does not use this term.
[48] Rizakis 2014: 252.

economic policies.[49] For instance, leading his own survey project at Patrae, Rizakis notes that here, in the rural hinterlands of a major metropolis, the survey data do not exhibit depopulation and settlement nucleation, but rather growth throughout the Roman period.[50] Other areas, however, such as more mountainous regions[51] or territories where peasant classes were forced off the land by reorganization schemes,[52] would have enjoyed less prosperity under the Romans. Nevertheless, everywhere, Rizakis argues, Roman rule encouraged greater concentration of land into fewer hands through economic liberalism and the reduction of legal and social barriers that prevented such investment in the past. This trend brought, if not immediately or noticeably, significant social change:

> the changes introduced to the rural organization and the status of both land and people in the framework of the Roman colonies were revolutionary because they completely reversed the previous rural structure as well as the traditional status of the land. A novelty of the period, very important for the economic and social evolution which unfolded, is in the creation of new urban centers of consumption, which—threatened by famine—could not be better satisfied than by the large farms and large-scale agricultural exploitation placed near cities.[53]

Moreover, Rizakis is a founding member (and original director) of The Southern Greece Programme, which evolved into the program on "Economy and Society: the Evolution of the Greek World in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods" hosted by the Institute of Greek and Roman Antiquity

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[49] Rizakis 2016: 52.
[50] Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994; Rizakis 2014: 252.
[51] Rizakis 2016: 52 (in agreement with Alcock 1993: 49).
[52] Rizakis 2016: 52.
[53] Rizakis 2016: 60. "les changements introduits aussi bien dans l'organisation rurale que dans le statut des terres et des populations dans le cadre des colonies romaines furent révolutionnaires puisqu'ils renversèrent complètement la structure rurale antérieure ainsi que le statut traditionnel des terres. Une nouveauté de la période, très importante pour l'évolution économique et sociale qui va suivre, consiste dans la création de nouveax centres urbains de consummation des populations urbaines—menacées par la famine—ne pouvait être mieux satisfaite que par les grandes exploitations agricoles et les grandes fermes placées à proximité des villes."

(KERA), a branch of the National Hellenic Research Foundation. The research objective of this group is to use an integrated approach to primary source materials in order to address questions of the finance and functions of markets, the social structure of Greek poleis and Roman colonies, and the relations between their citizens and the Roman state. Many of their publications were formative in the development of this dissertation.[54]

In many ways, this dissertation continues the dialogue with Alcock's work, by redirecting these fraught questions about population levels and settlement patterns to more productive questions about shifting loci of economic investment, and by nuancing her claims about the urban lifestyles of the elite by investigating the development of Roman-style suburban communities. In doing so, this dissertation will further challenge the idea that the Roman period was a time of rural agricultural decline and urban immunity to Roman political culture.

This question about the levels of agricultural production must be addressed in light of recent contributions from the biological sciences in the form of palynological data—pollen grains preserved in the bottom sediments of water basins. From this work, we know that overall the production of the central Mediterranean crops (i.e. cereals, vines, and olives) did not diminish during the Roman period in southern mainland Greece,[55] and in some regions the palynological data show

[54] Namely, Rizakis and Lepenioti 2010 on society and economy in the Roman Peloponnese, Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2013 on Roman villas in Greece, and their onomastic studies, Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001 and Rizakis, Zoumbaki, Lepenioti 2004.

[55] Bonnier et al. 2017. Pollen samples demonstrate general expansion in the cultivation of olives, cereals, and vines during the early Roman period (at the expense of, for example, woodland plants). For a review of methodology, see Izdebski et al. 2016. There is a noted decrease, however, in *Olea* cultivation in the area of Mesogogaia in Attica during the Roman period (Kouli 2012).

that agricultural production intensified (or at least extensified) during this time.[56] Palaeo-climatological research may indirectly support a picture of an especially productive landscape, insofar as the so-called "Roman Climate Optimum" roughly coincides with the expansion of Roman rule in the East.[57] This period of warming may be conversely construed as having wrought greater dry periods to the Mediterranean, making crop yields lower and agricultural pursuits generally more difficult.[58] But regardless of the additional boon or adversity created by the climate, the pollen samples suggest either that opportunities were exploited or challenges were met to maintain a high level of agricultural production.

We can therefore no longer imagine an empty, unproductive countryside, but rather a countryside still rendered productive, if perhaps under different labor strategies and social structures. We must also re-construe the relationship between urban and rural spheres in order to understand the development of metropoleis, especially in relationship to their hinterlands, during this period. To this end, the first goal of this dissertation is to identify points of continuity and change in rural Greece from the Hellenistic through Roman periods, in terms of land tenure, agricultural investments, and the social structures of agricultural production—the formal and informal frameworks in which agricultural activity took place. The second, larger goal is to examine how these changes reflect Greece's integration into the Roman provincial system. This dissertation thus seeks to uncover the social landscapes of Roman Greece, from urban centers to suburban communities to

[56] Particularly agricultural intensification in lowland areas: there is an expansion of Cerealia-type pollen in the Lerna and Kotychi archives. See Weiberg et al. 2016: 49.
[57] Also known as "The Roman Warm Period." McCormick et al 2012 have identified the span of this warming period from c. 100 BC to c. 200 AD. Harper 2017 places this period slightly earlier, between 200 BC – 150 AD. Hin 2013 argues that this warmer climate lasted for a longer span of time, from c. 300/200 BC to 300 AD, with the warmest temperatures peaking in the 1st century AD.
[58] Bresson 2014: 56-7. For evidence of wetter conditions during this time see McCormick et al 2012: 180-3; for a more tentative discussion of this evidence, see Hin 2013: 81-85.

agricultural peripheries, and offer a new analysis of the increased urbanization and heightened elite mobility that has so often been noted (and sometimes linked to problematic narratives of rural decline) in the transformation of mainland Greece into the Roman province of Achaea.

This dissertation therefore takes as its point of departure the mounting refutations of this traditional narrative (reviewed above): if population and productivity levels did not change, what did? How can we understand this new social world—the "revolutionary" changes to which Rizakis alludes? One answer to this question, put in broad terms (which the following chapters will illuminate in detail), is the suburbanization of Greek society in a way similar to that of the imperial capital itself: increased investment in individualized forms of social display within suburban satellite communities, increased inter-poleis patronage practices, and the transformation of local social hierarchies into systems that prioritized vertical cross-class relationships,[59] which in turn helped integrate Greek poliadic societies into the Roman imperial system, at the cost of greater class coherence amongst the old traditional elite classes of the independent Greek poleis.

III. The Roman *suburbium* and rural central Italy: a useful historiographical parallel

Because this phenomenon of suburbanization in Greece shares important parallels with the development of the suburban communities around Rome itself, it will be helpful to discuss the original Roman *suburbium* here. Moreover, historiographically speaking, the case of central Italy will be a good reference point in discussing the interpretive problems in using survey archaeology to assess population levels, settlement patterns, and agricultural productivity. (In fact, the methodologies and interpretations of John Ward-Perkins and the South Etruria Survey, one of the

[59] In fact, Alcock similarly hypothesizes the development of a more vertically-oriented social system (113).

earliest archaeological survey programs in the classical archaeology, will be closely examined in Chapter 1.)

The traditional story of rural central Italy is a tale similar to that of Roman Greece insofar as both focus on the role of depopulation in producing economic distress. On the basis of literary sources, it was long thought that, sometime in the 2nd century BC, large capitalistic, slave-run estates with associated elite residences (i.e. villas) came to comprise the vast majority of arable land, squeezing out small family farmsteads, which were already struggling due to continuous warfare. According to textual sources, this large-scale rural depopulation was the backdrop to the Gracchan land crisis.[60] The advent of survey archaeology promised a "check" on this narrative by providing evidence for settlement patterns: did the number of small sites (identified as farmsteads) decline as the number of large sites (identified as villas) rise, as the historical sources would lead one to expect? The survey data, first from the South Etruria Survey[61] and followed by many later survey projects,[62] were not entirely clear, however, and, at first, seemed even to contradict the traditional historical narratives. This apparent incongruity between literary and material evidence led to extensive debates about how the survey data should or could be interpreted, either on their own or in conjunction with historical texts.[63] (And many of the problems raised in this debate—e.g. the recovery rates of sherd scatter, how precisely ceramic chronologies can be divided into sub-phases, whether or not sites dated to the

[60] Appian. *BC* 1.7; Plutarch *TG* 8.1-3; Pliny *HN* 18.35.
[61] Potter 1979: 1-14; Ward-Perkins 1964.
[62] Re-studied comprehensively as part of the Tiber Valley Project: Patterson, di Giuseppe, and Witcher 2004; Patterson 2004.
[63] For arguments that the survey evidence does not show a decline in small farm sites, see Frederiksen 1971: 344-6; Nagle 1979: 487; Gigli 1994; Morley 1996; Roselaar 2008: 590-7. For arguments that the evidence does exhibit such a decline, see Celuzza and Regoli 1982: 41-4; Liverani 1984; Carandini 1989; Patterson, di Giuseppe, and Witcher 2004. For discussions of the interpretive problem at hand, see Brunt 1971: 352-3; Skydsgaard 1969:.28-34; Garnsey 1979: 3-4; Potter 1979: 95-6, 109-10; Di Giuseppe 2005: 49; Roth 2007: 77-94; Witcher 2006a: 49-52. See also summary of this scholarship in Witcher 2008.

same period were actually occupied contemporaneously, changing trends in the consumption and production of ceramic goods, and the problem of differential diagnosticity—will be discussed in detail in the first chapter.) Whereas, in the case of Roman Greece, the survey data appear unequivocally to confirm the population decline described in ancient texts, in the case of Republican Italy, the use of survey data as markers of population levels and settlement patterns has been debated much more intensely, and therefore utilized in more nuanced ways. While survey data have not been entirely abandoned as a metric of population or settlement changes, their use in verifying specific historical narratives and detecting change at the level of the century (or half century) has been largely rejected.[64]

Moreover, this debate spurred greater theoretical discussion of how smaller farms and larger estates could operate alongside one another.[65] Earlier scholarship had surmised that Republican Italy witnessed a shift from individually owned, subsistence-level farmsteads to large *latifundia*-style, market-oriented estates.[66] However, more recently, this narrative of rural depopulation and the rise of *latifundia* has been picked apart,[67] and a new general consensus about changing agricultural labor

[64] Witcher 2006a; Shipley 2002: 181-2; Patterson 1987. Witcher 2008: "In summary, the South Etruria data cannot contribute directly to the specific issue of second century BC settlement (and population) decline. More generally, caution should be exercised when applying archaeological data to any text-based narrative; improving chronological resolution is not the panacea it often seems." (280)

[65] van Dommelen 1993.

[66] See discussion in Roselaar 2008: 583-4; Dyson 2003: 27-34; Terrenato 2001: 18-24. This narrative employed the Second Punic War as its turning point: after Hannibal ravaged the Italian countryside, the rural population suffered a dramatic decline—much to the advantage of Roman elites who then purchased large tracks of land with recently acquired wealth from wars abroad, and replaced the free agrarian smallholders with foreign slaves. With Roman expansion came expanded markets, and market-driven agricultural intensification led to the rise of the villa system over the course of the second century BC.

[67] For instance, archaeologists have failed to find any evidence for 'transitional' villa structures (upon which this narrative partly depends), or indeed, to find a second century decline in small farmsteads (see Terrenato 2001: 21-24; Rosenstein 2008: 3; Francovich and Hodges 2003: 33); while evidence for agricultural intensification (such as large scale networks of amphorae) has been shown to precede the first identifiable villa by about 150 years, suggesting that the villa had little to do with any (archaeologically visible) change in agricultural production (see Terrenato 2001: 27). Also, from an economic standpoint, Rome and other urban

strategies has formed: from a mix of varied land use strategies in the Republic toward a growing dependency on, and uniformity of, tenant structures under the Empire.[68] Examining the legal evidence, P. W. de Neeve and Dennis Kehoe have noted that the particularities of legal obligations between lessee and lessor are expressed only in early legal sources. De Neeve suggests that the reticence of later sources indicates that tenancy had become the norm (and thus fewer disputes occurred and fewer legal specifications were necessary to regulate what had become accepted practice).[69] More recently, Kehoe has argued that during the Empire, the Roman state invested in stable landlord-tenant relationships by protecting tenants' rights.[70] This trend toward tenancy as a structural component of Roman agriculture will become a central point of Chapter 2. It is not only important for understanding agricultural practices in rural central Italy, but also in understanding Roman social structures: tenancy as a structural labor strategy reinforced cross-class vertical

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centers in Italy did not host populations large enough to produce the requisite demand to incentivize increased agricultural production (see Rosenstein 2008: 3-18; Roselaar 2008: 584-6)—and this is despite the possibility that Italy's population at this time, rather than facing problems of decline, was actually growing (see Launaro 2011; Roselaar 2008: 590-7; de Ligt 2004: 725).

[68] The sense of scholarly agreement conveyed in Bowman and Wilson's introduction to *The Roman Agricultural Economy* is exemplary. While offering broad characteristics of Roman agriculture, they claim there were two predominant types of land management: the villa estate and increasingly (especially in the 2nd century AD onward) large estates parceled out to collections of tenant farmers. (Bowman and Wilson 2013: 20-21.) Much of such research is, however, embroiled in questions of Roman demography. For example, Launaro 2011 postulates a growing population count (until the 1st century AD) in arguing that the growth of external markets destabilized the Italian agricultural economy, leaving in its fallout an expansion of tenant structures. Similarly, by comparing calculations of per-family caloric requirements with estimates of average land ownership and daily labor, Rosenstein 2004 suggests that the prosperity from wars abroad instigated an over-population problem in the 2nd century that contributed to an increased use of tenancy farming. See Erdkamp 2007 for potential problems of these demographic arguments and alternative analysis of population growth.

[69] de Neeve 1984a: 10; for Salvian Interdict, 53. Significantly, de Neeve also speculates that there was initially a greater use of slave-run estates within the suburb due to greater status display; but increasingly in the later empire these estates also turned to tenant structures. Neville Morley likewise postulates a shift from heterogeneity to greater use of tenancy, but with a different narrative. Here, the initial heterogeneity of the Late Republic is due to the advent of market-driven villa estates that operated alongside small independent landholdings and large leased estates. But around 100 AD, as these slave-run villas were later unable to compete with Spanish and Gallic wine and oil in the Roman market, they were slowly abandoned and replaced with (less intensive) tenant production structures. (Morley 1996)

[70] Kehoe 2007: 18-25.

relationships and helped link all regions of the expanding empire back to the upper political class of Rome—that is, the patron-client system that permeated Roman society.

In this context, the role of the Roman *suburbium* became an important component of the central Italian social and agricultural landscape.[71] The socio-economic strategies employed in managing land that was densely populated, of high property value, and easily connected to a large urban market engendered trends that were particular to the suburb.[72] Both socially and economically, many have noted that the area generally understood as the *suburbium* held a special "Goldilocks" advantage in the context of the growing metropolis that it surrounded: not too close to the city proper but not too far away.[73] The *suburbium* was therefore an area of agricultural intensification and investment in "cash crops,"[74] as well as the site of intensified elite social display.[75] Elite estates within the *suburbium* were distant enough to enjoy the pleasures of the countryside, yet close enough and well enough connected by roads to come and go easily, and thereby derive revenue from perishable produce and maintain one's social and political responsibilities in the city. This dual role as an elite retreat and place of specialized agriculture is reflected in the types of materials collected from survey and excavation in the *suburbium*: dense collections of villas, agricultural tools, and other such items

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[71] See Witcher 2005: 122 for discussion of the *suburbium* as a place for plebeian residential life and leisure activities, a space for challenging official decisions of the Roman state, and an area that hosted different types of *collegia* wishing to express allegiance to Rome (123).

[72] Morley 1996 offers observations on these particularities: "The demands of Rome for perishable goods […] supported the development of particular forms of production in the *suburbium*, resulting in intensive exploitation of the land and in increased prosperity. This led in turn to dramatic changes in the social landscape, seen above all in the fate of urban centres in the region. The fortunes of the *suburbium* became increasingly bound up with those of Rome […] and drew in people and resources from the region." (107) See also Purcell 2007.

[73] Adams 2012: 178; Goodman 2007: 8; de Neeve 1984b: 17-19; Champlin 1982: 98.

[74] E.g. de Neeve 1984b: 17-19; though, for reasons to reject the use of the term "cash crop" in the context of the ancient world, see Horden and Purcell 2000.

[75] Adams 2012: 178; Wallace-Hadrill 1998; Purcell 1995; Champlin 1982; D'Arms 1970.

signifying agricultural production and social display. The Roman *suburbium* was therefore "a landscape of both intensive and extensive patronage, production, and consumption."[76]

The function of the *suburbium* as a platform for expressing elite identity has been the focus of much research. The suburbs of Rome were not like modern suburbs (an "expressionless half-urban steppe")[77] nor Medieval suburbs of homes and businesses belonging to marginalized members of society.[78] As an area of both intense agricultural production and elite residence, the Roman *suburbium* connoted *amoenitas*, *otium*, and *salubritas* (charm, leisure, and health), while also signaling the austere moral values associated with hard work and agricultural productivity (which will become an important theme in Chapter 4 on rural nostalgia). Significantly, these leisure qualities were bolstered by a close proximity and easy access to Rome, as well as by a detachment from the civil life of the host locality.[79] Villa owners formed an exclusive social group within their particular suburban communities and interacted with "native" locals only to a minimal degree.[80] Nicholas Purcell therefore identifies the *suburbium* as an alternate space for activities or monuments that reaffirm the urban social groups of Rome—the suburb came to be a "show-piece façade" for the social life of urban communities.[81]

This luxury stood in stark contrast to the agricultural functions of these estates. For, from the Roman perspective, in all places located outside the city everything was about production and

[76] Witcher 2006b: 123.
[77] Dyos 1961: 21, cited in Champlin 1982: 99.
[78] Champlin 1982: 99.
[79] Champlin 1982: 100-101.
[80] Champlin 1982*:* 104.
[81] Purcell 1987b: 41.

extracting a livelihood from the environment.[82] Much has been made of these conspicuous displays of wealth alongside the showcasing of an elite estate's productive features. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill discusses the villa's *pars rustica* and *pars urbana* as a dichotomy through which moral antitheses might be contemplated (e.g. luxury and austerity, indigenous and foreign, urbane and rustic).[83] Therefore, perhaps contrary to our own expectations of luxury residences, but perfectly fitting within this idiom, villas often highlighted the productivity of the estate by placing processing equipment, storage units, and other "rustic" features in centrally located or high-traffic areas of the villa. We find, for example, olive and wine presses near entryways or flourmills just off main peristyles.[84] The central location of these presses and storage areas suggests that they were meant to be on display. Pompeii's Villa of the Mysteries provides a good example of this phenomenon.[85] Here, a large *torcularium* and storage vat are placed between both the primary and secondary entrances to the building. When using the primary entrance, which opens into the peristyle of the house, one would also pass a storage room for farming equipment on the right and a "rustic" kitchen on the left.[86] In homes such as these, a visitor could be impressed not only by his host's wealth but by his dedication to agricultural pursuits—regardless of the extent of the attached farmland or how personally involved the owner was in its cultivation. Indeed, Nathan Rosenstein has highlighted how villa estates could lend "an aura of respectability" to financial gains made elsewhere (e.g. provincial exploitation, money-lending, urban business ventures), allowing aristocrats to project personas of

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[82] Purcell 1995: 151.
[83] Wallace-Hadrill 1998: 46.
[84] E.g. Grottarossa, Pian della Civita, Villa Prato; see Marzano 2007: 504, 270, 462, respectively.
[85] Indeed, it is the one villa that perfectly fulfills Vitruvius' principles, according to Wallace-Hadrill 1998: 47.
[86] The effect, however, is hardly appreciable for the modern visitor, who is led to approach the villa from the Southwest, entering the building from behind. This backwards layout is at the insistence of the excavation director Amedeo Maiuri, who was convinced that the beautiful *pars urbana* must have greeted guests rather than the *pars rustica*. Maiuri believed that the impressive *torcularium* must have been a later addition, at a time when tastes became more vulgar, and that the room originally served as a dining hall. In the words of Wallace-Hadrill: "The deep implausibility of Maiuri's construction […] flows from the refusal to accept the *morality* of the Roman villa, the value system which agricultural writers set out." (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 205)

traditionalism.[87] In other words, a suburban estate was necessary for the urban elite to look the part of ancestral Romans.[88] Both Rosenstein's and Wallace-Hadrill's research suggest that the villa was a heavily value-laden feature of the suburb, and that different values could be expressed through the emphasis of any one of these moralized aspects in layout, décor, or use.

Given the tendency to equate the rural with the past[89] and to read landscapes as a form of history, the land of central Italy became a powerful *topos* in discourses on politics and "Roman-ness."[90] The changing landscape was an effective way of framing political and social change, as the very land the Romans could call theirs was drastically expanding from the third century onward, alongside the citizenry itself. And at the same time that the boundaries of Roman territory and citizenship were becoming hazier, the landscape of central Italy was observably changing through an on-going process of centuriation. This process of dividing land into neat parcels gave the landscape an appearance of egalitarianism. This became symbolically significant as the modesty and fairness represented by small, equally distributed plots took hold of the Roman nostalgic imagination: although centuriation began on a small scale only in the later fourth century,[91] the idea of equal land allotments was retrojected into the mystical past of early Rome.[92] The villas of the late Republic,

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[87] Rosenstein 2008: 24. "Certainly senators owned farms and derived a portion of their incomes from them, but agriculture was not where they expected to make their money. Apart from direct provincial exploitation, money-lending and urban enterprises offered much more enticing business opportunities. And while some senators undoubtedly may have used a portion of the spoils from their conquests or provincial administration to increase their landholdings, prestige more than profit is likely to have been the end in view, the accumulation of symbolic rather than economic capital." See also Terrenato 2001: 28.

[88] For example: assertions of production over luxury in Varro *Rust.* 1.13.6-7; emphasis on *pars rustica* in Vitruvius 4.6 and Varro *Rust.* 1.11.13; importance of visible productivity in Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.1 and Cic. *Off.* 3.58-60. Relevant discussion in Purcell 1995: 159 *et passim.*

[89] Both today and in the Greco-Roman world. North 1995: 137.

[90] Purcell 2007. (See page 10)

[91] Adkins and Adkins 1998: 141

[92] Varro (*Rust.* 1.2.10) and others use the term "seven iugera" to refer to a farm, because ostensibly this was the amount of land given to all citizens after the expulsion of the kings. And later, we hear Pliny the Elder

then, were striking interruptions of this centuriated landscape, a sign not only of wealth and dominance,[93] but of how Rome had changed. These ostentatious disruptions of the otherwise neatly centuriated landscape could therefore be "read" as a historical reality: that there had once been a more egalitarian time before the morally corrosive effects of excessive wealth took hold. Anxieties about wealth and austerity abounded in late Republican society, especially given the perception of widening socio-economic disparities, and feelings of compromised cultural integrity that came on the coattails of imperial conquest. In this context, the social value of agricultural labor and production was greatly magnified (this will be an important theme of Chapter 4).[94] Therefore, as a space that straddled both austere and luxury lifestyles, the suburb served as a rich territory for negotiating social concerns. In this way, the *suburbium* was a powerful way of conceptualizing the Italian landscape both socially and historically.

Just as the *suburbium* of Rome was deployed as a vehicle to express ideas about Roman-ness and Roman social values (while at the same time reshaping the social geography of conquered territory), so too we will see that *suburbia* in Greece were not only a significant addition to the extra-urban landscape but a powerful idea that could be invoked to contemplate Greece's role within the Empire. As this dissertation works to contribute an updated vision of social landscapes in Roman Greece, the case of central Italy will be an important parallel for many of the ensuing discussions.

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declare: "in those early days, two iugera of land were considered enough for a citizen of Rome." (*HN* 18.2: *bina tunc iugera p. r. satis erant, nullique maiorem modum adtribuit*…)

93 For instance, Purcell has suggested that large storehouses conveyed the ability to control surpluses, and stood as visual assertions of the social hierarchy. (Purcell 1995: 169.)

94 For example, in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* (8) action is identified as constitutive of Roman character: "among the Romans there was never any such abundance of writers; for, with them, the most able men were the most actively employed. No one exercised the mind independently of the body: every man of ability chose to act rather than narrate, and was more desirous that his own merits should be celebrated by others, than that he himself should record theirs." *At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissumus quisque maxume negotiosus erat: ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat, optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis benefacta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.*

IV. Chapter summaries

Chapter 1. The Suburbanization of the Greek Landscape: Reexamining the Contribution of Survey Archaeology

This chapter begins with a critique of survey practices, and then presents several published reports of relevant survey projects, reinterpreting their data in terms of agricultural vs. social investments (rather than in terms of site types, settlement patterns, and population density). The argument of this chapter is that "elite" materials in the Roman period become more concentrated in suburban nodes of regional connectivity, while material signs of agricultural investment remain roughly consistent across time from the late Classical through Roman periods. This chapter ties into the larger research question of the dissertation by showing how the rise of metropoleis was accompanied by corollary changes in the extra-urban spaces of the provinces and the growth of suburban satellite communities characterized by rich material goods. This chapter also identifies what changes were *not* occurring by arguing that, on the basis of survey data, there is no substantial difference in the level of investment in agricultural production throughout the rural landscape of southern mainland Greece.

Chapter 2. Tenancy and the Social Structures of Agricultural Production in Roman Greece

This chapter compares Greek and Roman traditions of agricultural tenancy, and then argues that Roman rule would have disturbed the social ramifications of prior Greek practices in the following ways: (1) due in part to the diminishing social and economic importance of leasing public/sacred lands to members of the local elite (a phenomenon characteristic of the pre-Roman period), members of the elite were less incentivized to reside and invest in smaller hometown poleis. (2) Roman leasing strategies and the rise of imperial estates likely provided greater stability in terms of land tenure and labor practices, a contributing factor to the increasing number of absentee land

owners. Lastly, (3) the vertical social hierarchy prioritized by this Roman tenancy system offered agricultural tenants and laborers a potentially greater voice in local institutions, greater access to agricultural equipment and markets, as well as increased stability (albeit at a rather low socio-economic level). But it also brought adverse effects: fewer options for labor strategies amongst lower-status families and the eventual entrenchment of long-term, automatically renewed contracts that bound impoverished families to particular plots of land and decreased their mobility. These are contributing factors to be considered in the growth of certain cities over others, as well as in the development of new local social structures under the Empire.

Chapter 3. Suburbs, Agriculture, Supra-civic Elite, and Empire: a Case Study of the Greater Corinthia

This chapter uses Corinth for a more in-depth look at one metropolis' relationship to its vast *chora* in terms of the phenomena discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, as well as a discussion about the mobility of Corinth's elite population amongst other metropoleis (as well as the smaller hometowns of its newer elite residents). This chapter therefore outlines the same patterns in agricultural and social investment exhibited by the survey data from the Corinthia, and incorporates within this picture the evidence from excavated Corinthian villas. This chapter also endeavors to illuminate the vertical social relationships that structured Corinthian society and highlight how these relationships are tied to land tenure and agricultural practices. To this end, the activities of the Corinthian elite are closely examined, showing how they played multiple, socially powerful roles in both local and regional food systems. As landowners they were stewards of the countryside; as public benefactors and successful businessmen in the regional trade of foodstuffs (among other things), they were providers, converting the natural wealth of the Corinthia into public goods enjoyed by all; and as civic

magistrates, especially in the office of the *curator annonae*, they were caretakers feeding the local citizenry.

Chapter 4. Conceptual Landscapes: Rural Nostalgia and Imperial Geography in Greek and Roman Literature

Since the idea of a depopulated, depressed countryside originates from literary descriptions of the Greek landscape, this chapter will address these texts using an approach to rural nostalgia borrowed from the fields of psychology and sociology. This chapter highlights ways in which this *conceptual* landscape is dependent on literary tropes problematic for reconstructing a *historical* landscape—namely, the descriptions of depopulation, as well as increased pastoralism in the absence of farming. It then focuses on how rural nostalgia shaped conceptual landscapes of Greece within the new provincial system from both Greek and Roman perspectives, discussing how nostalgic thought figured within the creation of large-scale imperial geography (i.e. as a moral claim justifying Roman power based on agricultural productivity), while also considering within this context the appearance of Roman-style suburbs in descriptions of the Greek East at this time, and the role of the suburb in conceptualizing the Roman Empire as a polis. The chapter concludes with a reading of Pausanias that identifies layered landscapes within his work—a blend of imperial geography and nostalgic landscapes. The larger research questions of the dissertation are addressed by further questioning the use of these literary sources as straightforward evidence for the historical landscape of Roman Greece (in a positivist sense), and by showing how the changes identified in the previous chapters (i.e. the rise of suburban communities and the symbolic role of the elite classes as guarantors of the food supply) feature within these conceptual landscapes.

* * *

As stated at the outset, one of the goals of this dissertation is to set aside the rural-urban dichotomy that so often contributes to narratives that imagine a zero-sum game between urban centers and their rural hinterlands, and instead to present a more coherent picture of the Greek landscape, as well as a deeper understanding of the relationship between different regions of Greece, old poleis, and new coloniae. This work is partly premised on the idea, described by Neville Morley, that changing levels of urbanization change the loci of economic demand. Therefore, rather than imagining a rivalry for resources between city and countryside, we might do better to consider the different types—the full gamut, one might say—of competing or cooperative relationships that obtained between communities across the provincial landscape:

> Considered at a regional or national level, however, the critical relationship is not solely between town and countryside or mass and elite, but between different cities competing for influence and resources. This competition leads to the development of a more elaborate urban hierarchy between cities at different levels: the local centre opposed to the over-bearing metropolis.[95]

This process of an emerging hierarchy between the poleis and coloniae of mainland Greece, and how agricultural practices fit into this picture, is the over-arching focus of this research.

[95] Morley 2011: 157.

Chapter 1

The Suburbanization of the Greek Landscape: Reexamining the Contribution of Survey Archaeology

I. Introduction: 20th century philosophies of history and the origins of archaeological survey

To understand how the traditional objectives of survey archaeology (i.e. determining population density, settlement patterns, and agricultural intensity) became so entrenched within this sub-field of archaeological research, it is necessary to appreciate the intellectual currents influencing the field of history when survey methods were first developed. A good place to start is with Oswald Spengler, whose work may not hold much weight today, but was highly influential in the early 20th century, and is therefore representative of important trends in historiography at this time. Spengler believed that history was by necessity a history of *urban* life, and that all civilizations, insofar as they were rooted in the development and growth of urban centers, were inherently mortal. In his 1918 best-seller about the inevitable collapse of Western society, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes,* Spengler argued that cities followed a basic life-cycle from "barter center" (e.g. the early polis) to "culture city" (e.g. the Classical polis), from which an urban center might progress to the status of a "world city," whose cosmopolitanism and dense population mark the imminence of its own demise (e.g. metropoleis such as Alexandria and Rome). It is notable that Spengler outlined this city life-cycle using exempla from ancient Greece and Rome.

Spengler is, of course, best known for his cyclical approach to history. But much more relevant to the study of historical landscapes is Spengler's conceptualization of the relationship between city and countryside. Spengler envisioned a zero-sum game between urban and rural realms, in which both eventually lose:

> Beginning and end, a peasant cottage and a tenement-block are related to one another as soul and intellect, as blood and stone. […] Long, long ago the country bore the country-town and nourished it with her best blood. Now the giant city sucks the country dry, insatiably and incessantly demanding and devouring fresh streams of men, till it wearies and dies in the midst of an almost uninhabited waste of country. Once the full sinful beauty of this last marvel of all history has captured a victim, it never lets him go. Primitive folk can loose themselves from the soil and wander, but the intellectual nomad never. […] Home is for him any one of these giant cities.[1]

Thus, according to Spengler, the growth of the city necessitates the decline of its surrounding countryside, fostering increasingly unsustainable economies. Because urbanites are incapable of "returning to the land," urban civilizations will tend toward more precarious modes of acquiring foodstuffs (e.g. conquest). A depopulated countryside is therefore the death knell of a civilization.

Moreover, Spengler's strict dichotomy between urban and rural spheres leads him to a curious claim about the nature of Greco-Roman cities:

> Whereas the giant cities of our present confess our irresistible tendency towards the infinite—our suburbs and garden cities, invading the wide countryside […] the classical World-City ever strove, not to expand, but to thicken […] an entire unwillingness to live in suburbs or even to make suburbs possible. […] The synœcism that in the early classical age had gradually drawn the land-folk into the cities, and so created the Polis structure, repeated

[1] Spengler 1918. (Atkinson, transl.)

> itself at the last in an absurd form. […] The new synœcism formed, instead of suburban zones, the world of upper floors.[2]

Granted, there are different ways one might define a suburb. Modern suburbia with cookie-cutter houses and strip-malls are not comparanda for the ancient world; nor are Medieval suburbs, which largely comprised the housing and businesses of a marginalized underclass.[3] But in the most basic sense of an extramural expansion of semi-urban built space, Spengler here is flatly wrong, most obviously in the case of Rome, whose suburban outgrowth was so expansive that Dionysius of Halicarnassus observed: "if anyone wishes to estimate the size of Rome by looking at these suburbs he will necessarily be misled for want of a definite clue by which to determine up to what point it is still the city and where it ceases to be the city; so closely is the city connected with the country[.]"[4] Spengler's denial of ancient suburbia stems from his uncompromising sense of social geography, which imposed a strict delineation between urban and rural landscapes (i.e. that the properties and population of the former expand only at the expense of the latter), as well as a strict dichotomy between *abstract* urban and rural spheres (i.e. the idea that rural activities are somehow wholly separate from those that take place within city walls).

This dialectical positioning of the "city" and "countryside" is not unique to Spengler, but is a rather common theme in twentieth century theorizations of history. In fact, the city-countryside relationship frames many of the early social scientific approaches to the classical world. Writing well

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[2] Spengler 1918. (Atkinson, transl.)

[3] Champlin 1982: 99.

[4] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.13.3-4: προσωτέρω δ᾽ οὐκέτι προῆλθεν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐῶντος, ὥς φασι, τοῦ δαιμονίου, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἰκούμενα χωρία, πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα, γυμνὰ καὶ ἀτείχιστα καὶ ῥᾴστα πολεμίοις ἐλθοῦσιν ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι: καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰς ταῦτά τις ὁρῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἐξετάζειν βουλήσεται τῆς Ῥώμης, πλανᾶσθαί τ᾽ ἀναγκασθήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἕξει βέβαιον σημεῖον οὐδέν, ᾧ διαγνώσεται, μέχρι ποῦ προβαίνουσα ἔτι πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται μηκέτ᾽ εἶναι πόλις, οὕτω συνύφανται τὸ ἄστυ τῇ χώρᾳ[.] (Cary, transl.)

before Spengler, Weber developed the idea of the "consumer city" (later championed by Moses Finley), positing that the ancient city was dependent upon the economic subjugation of its associated countryside, accumulating the majority of its revenue from rural rents and taxes.[5] Rostovtzeff would postulate that, at least at Rome, the critical source of urban revenue came instead from commercial enterprises,[6] but he still maintained a similarly strict categorical separation of urban and rural spheres, imagining an uneasy relationship between the two, since the hinterlands of large cities would not have been able to fulfill the urban center's demands for foodstuffs. And much like Spengler, Rostovtzeff believed that urban centers had a naturally limited lifespan. For instance, he claimed that the urbanization of Roman Greece was part of "a natural tendency of the provinces towards urban life."[7] And although he interpreted the "rapid urbanization" under the Empire as a praiseworthy feat, brought about only through the peace and stability guaranteed by the Roman state, he nevertheless explicitly notes the "gloomy feeling of coming decay"[8] in Roman authors less cheerful than Aelius Aristides.[9] Moreover, Rostovtzeff outlines the evolutionary process of societal decay using a rather Spenglerian-esque hierarchy of urban development:

> The cities of the Roman Empire were of course not all of the same type. They varied in accordance with their historical evolution and with local conditions. First come the large and rich commercial and industrial towns, mostly centres of an extensive sea or river traffic, some—like Palmyra, Petra, and Bostra—important meeting-places of merchants engaged in a lively caravan trade. To this class belong most of the cities which have been enumerated above as the most beautiful and the richest cities of the Empire [cf. Spengler's "world city"].

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[5] In part, this dichotomy stems from Weber placing the ancient "consumer city" in opposition to the Medieval "producer city." For more recent responses to Weber's (and Finley's) consumer city model, see Bresson 2016: 2-18 and Erdkamp 2001.
[6] Rostovtzeff 1926: 145.
[7] Rostovtzeff 1926: 130.
[8] Rostovtzeff 1926: 129.
[9] Rostovtzeff cites Annaeus Florus, "for whom the period of the Roman Empire represented the old age (*senectus*) of human civilization." (129)

> Behind these leaders of civilized life follow many large and well-built towns—centres of extensive and fertile agricultural districts, capitals of provinces or of subdivisions of provinces [cf. "culture city"] […] Of practically the same type are the smaller cities which gradually developed out of villages in more or less rich agricultural districts [cf. "barter-center].[10]

These top-tier "world cities" are placed in a precarious position, however, always needing more foodstuffs than their own countryside can provide,[11] which the urban elite must acquire through proto-capitalist commercial ventures.[12] Again, this idea is reminiscent of Spengler's observation about the increasingly risky modes of securing food supplies pursued by larger cities. Unfortunately, according to Rostovtzeff, in the context of a global market like that of the Roman Empire, the commercial economy will inevitably tend toward decentralization, and thus old centers of commercial power (i.e. Italy) will suffer when new provincial merchant classes enter the imperial market economy (e.g. Gaul).[13] And this is the beginning of the end for Rostovtzeff's metropoleis. Some of Rostovtzeff's views may be dated now,[14] but overall Rostovtzeff's work has enjoyed continued relevance to studies of historiography and the Roman economy—and thus, these parallels with Spengler's work are significant.

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[10] Rostovtzeff 1926: 133.
[11] Rostovtzeff 1926: 137.
[12] Rostovtzeff 1926: 145.
[13] Rostovtzeff 1926: 150-161.
[14] E.g. Bang 2012: 212. "The economic history of the imperial monarchy is not one punctuated by a succession of organizational and commercial innovations. Instead one is faced with a scenario where difference provinces, at different times, make their entry to wider Mediterranean networks with the same types of goods. Italian exports of wine and ceramic tableware, for instance, were replaced by Gallic. Later, Spanish olive oil was eased out by North African exports of oil and tableware. This was the key discovery of the great historian and archaeologist, Rostovtzeff; but more of the same was not the economic tragedy that he made it out to be. It was a sign that landowners around the provinces gradually became able to benefit from the privileges offered by empire and introduce a more intensive exploitation of land and people to sustain urban lifestyles with conspicuous consumption in the imperial mode."

This popular concept of the zero-sum divide between urban and rural domains—and all that this division entails about the health of an urban society—would come to influence the development of survey methods, in part, through the work of Arnold Toynbee. Influenced by Spengler's global history, Toynbee composed his own twelve-volume philosophy of history, which also espoused ideas of cyclical social phenomena. And his two-volume monograph, *Hannibal's Legacy*, took a rather Spenglerian stance on the relationship between city and countryside. Here, Toynbee suggested that the Second Punic War devastated the middling rural Italian class, due to long military service and other disruptions caused by war that forced families to leave the countryside. The loss of this stable smallholder population to both the military and the city led to predatory *latifundia* and an increasing dependence on conquest to keep the overly urbanized, and politically unstable, Roman population afloat.[15]

While Toynbee was conducting his research for *Hannibal's Legacy*, a younger scholar, John Ward-Perkins, initiated one of the very first survey projects in classical archaeology. Ward-Perkins studied archaeology, worked at the London Museum, and excavated a Roman villa in Britain before the outbreak of World War II. Although stationed in North Africa for most of the war, as one of the "Monuments Men," Ward-Perkins worked in Italy both during and after the war protecting and restoring Italian art and antiquities. When this work concluded he became director of the British School at Rome, at which point he picked up his correspondence with Toynbee, while collaborating with Toynbee's sister Jocelyn, another classical archaeologist. In the early 1950s, Ward-Perkins obtained aerial photographs from the RAF reconnaissance of Italy and set out on an extensive field-

[15] Toynbee 1965, Vol 2, especially sections III ("The Deracination of the Peninsular Italian Peasantry by Military Service in the Second Bout of the Double War and in this Bout's Sequels"), VI ("The Roman Government's Agrarian Policy, 211-134 BC"), and VIII ("The New Plantation Agriculture in Post-Hannibalic Peninsular Italy").

walking campaign, which came to be known as The South Etruria Survey—one of the first surveys in classical archaeology (the Minnesota Messenia Expedition in Greece was roughly contemporaneous.) Ward-Perkins' survey was specifically aimed to address similar issues of demography and land use raised by Toynbee's claims about the impact of the Second Punic War on rural Italy. His survey work was thereafter employed as a tool to evaluate a presumed transformation of the countryside (i.e. from a well-populated terrain of modest polyculture farms toward depopulation and large-scale monoculture) by charting the decline of sites identified as small towns and farmsteads and the rise of sites identified as villas.[16]

The point of this historiographical narrative is not to suggest that the philosophies of history espoused by Weber, Spengler, or Rostovtzeff, are wrong, but to highlight the prevalence of urban-rural dialectics in twentieth century theorizations of history—and, more importantly, their associated narratives of societal decline—and to show how, through the figures of Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, these ideas set the agenda for the archaeological survey projects of today. Indeed, Ward-Perkins' South Etruria Survey was highly influential in establishing the goals and methodology of survey: the central objectives that he established have changed very little since. Thus, the majority of survey projects still focus their research objectives on identifying settlement patterns, population density, and levels of agricultural intensity—all attempts to measure the state of the countryside vis-à-vis its urban center.

Although the urban-rural dichotomy is not an inappropriate focal point for understanding many aspects of Greek and Roman life, as the *default* approach to historical landscapes, it risks over-simplified or reflexive notions of social, rural, and/or economic decline. Moreover, these traditional

[16] Fracchia 2013: 182-184.

survey objectives have persisted as the standard research imperatives driving most survey work, despite known methodological problems and mounting criticism that survey data are unable to answer questions about population and settlement patterns.

Roman Greece, the material footprint of which exacerbates these methodological problems, is especially predisposed to misrepresentation by this research agenda. This chapter therefore offers a new approach to survey data, one that focuses not on sites and settlements but attends to the artifacts themselves in order to identify broad areas of collective investment. By paying attention to shifting spatial investments across time, this work will nuance old narratives of widespread decline and depopulation under Roman rule. This approach will insist on a more fluid boundary between urban and rural spheres in order to study the social importance of increasing suburban investments during the Roman period. Henri Lefebvre's phenomenological concept of "urban fabric" offers a productive way of conceptualizing the social impact of the changing Greek landscape:

> The urban fabric grows, extends its borders, corrodes the residue of agrarian life. This expression, "urban fabric," does not narrowly define the built world of cities but all manifestations of the dominance of the city over the country. In this sense, a vacation home, a highway, a supermarket in the countryside are all part of the urban fabric.[17]

In this way, the growth of suburban communities extended not only the built elements (e.g. roads, baths, and villas) of the urban fabric into semi-rural spaces, but also the social influence of the urban center over its associated hinterland while simultaneously blurring the lines between them.[18] This is one way in which we can conceptualize the changing relationship between the urban and rural

[17] Lefebvre 2003: 3-4. Lefebvre still posits a dialectical relationship between city and countryside, but does so with greater abstraction and geographic flexibility in order to theorize the perceptual range of 'the urban' across society.

[18] This is similar to the conceptualization of the Roman *suburbium* in relation to the urban center of Rome and central Italy outlined by Witcher 2005.

spheres during the Roman period: a period that achieved a higher level of integration between these spheres both physically (in built structures and other material investments) and socially (in terms of human interactions with this landscape, as well as the role of this landscape in shaping relationships across society).

Before presenting my own approach to survey data, however, I will first discuss the pitfalls of traditional methodologies, showing how survey data are a rather problematic measure of population levels, settlement patterns, and agricultural intensity, and highlighting how survey data have unduly depicted Roman Greece as a desolate, depopulated corner of the Roman Empire.

II. Survey data and narratives of decline in Roman Greece

For Roman Greece, the advent of survey created an apparent confirmation of the rural decline described in ancient literary testimony. Strabo describes how "the tillers of the soil have been disappearing,"[19] while Dio Chrysostom laments, "Does the Peneus not flow through a desolate Thessaly?"[20] And Plutarch wonders why anyone would expect the gods to speak in a desolate landscape, to let prophecies "run to waste like water, or echo like the stones with the voices of shepherds and flocks in wasted places."[21] Even though these expressions of loss and rural nostalgia have long been identified as a literary trope (prevalent in literature before and after the Roman period), deployed more for the purposed of drawing unflattering conclusions about contemporary

[19] Strabo. 8.8.1. τήν τε χώραν οἱ γεωργήσαντες ἐκλελοίπασιν

[20] Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 33.25. οὐχ ὁ Πηνειὸς δι᾽ ἐρήμου ῥεῖ Θετταλίας; οὐχ ὁ Λάδων διὰ τῆς Ἀρκαδίασἀναστάτου γενομένης; (H. L. Crosby, transl.)

[21] Plutarch. *Mor.* 414C. νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔδει θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν, εἰ περιεώρα τὴν μαντικὴν ἀχρήστως δίκην ὕδατος ἀπορρέουσαν ἢ καθάπερ αἱ πέτραι ποιμένων ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ βοσκημάτων φωναῖς ἀντηχοῦσαν. (Babbit, transl.)

society than for depicting the rural landscape in any positivist sense of accuracy,[22] such sentiments have nevertheless dominated historical depictions of life in Roman Greece, painting in broad strokes a narrative of continuous and widespread economic decline premised upon a loss of population and agricultural production. Once survey projects had proliferated across Greece, their results were therefore accepted somewhat unblinkingly as corroborating evidence that Roman rule had ushered in an era of rural decline. Anthony Snodgrass describes the rural landscapes of Roman Greece as a matter of scholarly consensus in his 1987 monograph, *An Archaeology of Greece*: "There seems little to contradict the picture that is emerging, in which the changing face of the landscape revealed by our survey is matched by accounts of shrinking or deserted country towns, with all that implies about the decline of cultivation."[23]

As discussed in the introductory chapter, Susan Alcock nuanced this general consensus in her frequently cited 1993 monograph, *Graecia Capta*, in two significant ways: (1) she observed that not all regions or rural towns fit within the pattern of decline and site abandonment, most notably in the vicinity of colonial foundations and regional metropoleis; and (2) she suggested that a decline in sites and artifacts may indicate a change in settlement pattern rather than absolute depopulation (as per Polybius' testimony), and therefore suggested that the late Hellenistic through early Roman era was a time of rural settlement nucleation and increased urbanization spurred by the replacement of dispersed farms with expansive elite estates.

With Alcock's interpretation of synthesized survey data, a loose consensus thus formed concerning the development of the Greek countryside: the Classical and early Hellenistic countryside was well

[22] E.g. Evans 2008.
[23] Snodgrass 1987: 116.

populated with private landholders living on family farmsteads in a dispersed, roughly egalitarian settlement pattern, practicing intensive polyculture farming; while the late Hellenistic through early Imperial periods (c. 146 BC – 300 AD, i.e. the the chronological focus of this dissertation) is characterized by a sparse sprinkling of small farming communities lying in between large elite estates, both of which pursued less intensive farming strategies. The resulting drop in agricultural production led to widespread economic depression in the province of Achaea. This narrative ends with a late Roman revival of agricultural intensification and the return of a dispersed settlement pattern. This rough consensus has remained largely intact since 1993,[24] even though significant criticisms of survey collection and interpretation methods (which had been weighed before and after Alcock's monograph—some of which were voiced by Alcock herself) problematize this narrative.

While the narrative outlined by Alcock and others *may* have occurred, survey archaeology is not able to offer sound evidence one way or the other on the matter of population levels, settlement patterns, or agricultural intensity; while other forms of evidence, such as palynological data, rather show that agricultural production may have intensified (or extensified) across southern Greece in the Roman period,[25] and that Achaea enjoyed considerable wealth, even if it was more restricted to the uppermost classes. Literary and epigraphic testimony, for instance, records the increasing potential for larger elite estates during this period.[26] But how such estates impacted general settlement patterns, intensification levels, or labor strategies is not a story that survey archaeology can clearly tell. Other chapters will attempt to address (some of) these questions, but the focus of this chapter is to show what survey archaeology *can* tell us: the spatial organization of collective investments.

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[24] See discussion of previous scholarship in the Introduction.

[25] Pollen samples demonstrate an expansion in the cultivation of olives, cereals, and vines during the early Roman period (at the expense of other wild and domesticated plant species). See Bonnier et al. 2017 and Weiberg et al. 2016.

[26] Bresson 2016: 149-152.

III. Review: Critiques of survey archaeology

Problems in determining population levels

First, there is the age-old question of whether or not population levels can be inferred from survey data,[27] a question tied to specific interpretive issues such as: What sort of people are visible in the artifactual carpet? At what point on the socio-economic ladder do people become archaeologically invisible? What are the accessibility and consumption rates of plain and coarse wares for different socio-economic classes? Would a subsistence farmer living alone in a small farmstead with his family leave an artifactual footprint at all? And if so, how would his artifactual signature compare to a middling smallholder or an elite residence? And would the hypothetical artifactual footprints distinguishing these types of habitation remain stable across time?[28]

These issues are also entangled with questions about formation processes. From the beginning, survey projects endeavored to identify discrete sites through surface scatter, but as projects became more intensive in the late 1980s, it quickly became apparent that a continuous low-density "artifactual carpet" covered the Greek landscape. This ubiquitous sprinkling of artifactual material has been interpreted as attendant site-related activities (such as the manuring of fields adjacent to farmsteads with ceramic-laden compost),[29] but this still left the methodological problem that the boundaries between "site" and "off-site" scatter were often rather blurry if not downright arbitrary[30]—a problem exacerbated by post-depositional, human or geomorphological processes that

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[27] Witcher 2006a.
[28] Sanders, *forthcoming*; Foxhall 2001.
[29] Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988; Forbes 2013 uses ethnographic comparanda to argue that the disposal of refuse is typically governed by complex culturally determined rules, which suggests that the mixing of organic and artifact waste together as general fertiziler is unlikely to have been the norm in the ancient Mediterranean. But Forbes goes on to argue that artifact waste could still inadvertently make it into manuring processes.
[30] Pettegrew 2001.

disturb the archaeological record, like plowing or erosion.[31] Problems in interpreting modes of material discard and site abandonment further frustrate our attempts to determine the formation of surface scatter.[32] An important factor for understanding issues of consistency in archaeological visibility is the likelihood that most households, if not abandoned in a state of panicked flight, would have been stripped of all movable items of value—i.e. nearly all the material goods that would leave an archaeological trace, including roof tiles.[33] This greatly compromises our ability to interpret surface scatter, since any given artifactual assemblage may have been formed through long-term continuous site usage, a high rate of material disposal, and/or a less complete process of abandonment. In other words, does a small assortment of plain and coarse ware sherds represent a subsistence level family who occupied the site for multiple generations, or a wealthier landowner who lived there for a few years but with a higher rate of ceramic consumption and disposal?[34]

The inability to determine finite periods of occupation or activity at these "sites" produces the illusion when plotted on a map that every site was occupied at the same time, creating a false perception of site continuity within or across periods.[35] This should problematize the apparent dramatic drop-off in sites in the Roman period, because we do not actually know how many of the pre-Roman sites were actually in use—or in what sort of use—at the tail end of the Classical or early Hellenistic era. This false impression is perhaps further exacerbated by the problem of differential diagnosticity, the fact that the ceramic profiles of different periods are not equally "diagnostic." Not

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[31] Bintliff *et al.* 1999; Wright *et al.* 1990.
[32] Schiffer 1972 and 1985.
[33] Osborne 1985b; Pettegrew 2001.
[34] An overview of these questions, such as they stood in the 1980s, can be found in Keller and Rupp 1982; a more recent overview can be found in Brunet 2001 and Bresson 2016: 56-61.
[35] Witcher 2006a. Shipley 2002 discusses the problem of arbitrary chronological markers employed by different surveys. Most dating is based on fine wares and those rest on very limited sets of published pottery types from excavations at Athens and Corinth—when most pottery from survey is unpainted local wares that can only be dated in the most tenuous terms on the basis of similar forms with fine ware examples (180).

all pottery types can be used as comparable data points because of differences across time in how certain ceramic types can be dated and whether those datable types are functionally analogous.[36] William Caraher and David Pettegrew have argued that the apparent late Roman burst of rural occupation has been exaggerated by the easily identifiable nature of popular coarse wares in this period: Combed Ware and Spirally-grooved Ware can be identified with the smallest body sherd, whereas the popular coarse wares of the early Roman period have plain, untreated surfaces, making them hard to distinguish from the course wares of other periods without a rim, handle, or other more diagnostic fragment.[37] Ergo, the early Roman period suffers from a lack of ceramic "chronotypes" that are easily identifiable and functionally comparable to the ceramic materials of the pre-Roman and late Roman eras, which is partly why, Caraher and Pettegrew argue, there are so few Roman dots on survey maps.

Problems in determining settlement patterns

It should now be clear how the above problems would also confound site-based interpretations of settlement patterns. Survey archaeology took off with the objective of identifying "sites" on the basis of surface scatter, and in the case of classical rural landscapes this became a hunt for the elusive farmstead. One of the most crucial questions that has plagued this hunt is what artifact assemblages unquestionably represent a habitation site: a certain density of ceramic material? The presence of cooking ware? Roof tiles? And how well can a permanent habitation site be distinguished from, say, seasonal outposts or communal sites of cooking, dining, and/or agricultural processing? Every survey project therefore defines "site" differently,[38] as well as the descriptors used

[36] Witcher 2006a; Caraher *et al.* 2006.
[37] Caraher *et al.* 2006: 22-23.
[38] Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988 and Alcock et al 1994 agree that the central criteria for distinguishing between farmsteads and other site types is density and size of sherd scatter alone. Cf. Lohmann 1993 who at least

to further distinguish sites from one another to create a hierarchy of habitation types, which hinders meaningful comparison of data across survey projects.[39] For instance, many have opted to make site distinctions based on the spread of artifact scatter, while others have employed more artifact-based definitions.[40] This inconsistency is in part fueled by a lack of fully excavated paradigms for classical farmsteads, but it is unclear whether the excavation of more rural structures would alleviate this particular problem, given that there is much difference in the artifactual assemblages, as well as disagreement over their interpretation, of the rural structures that have been excavated. The so-called Dema and Vari houses were long assumed to both be examples of modest family farmsteads, but, as has been more recently argued, they are more likely wealthy residences (which need not preclude agricultural activity).[41] It may be worth noting that both of these structures were surrounded by very little surface scatter.

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identifies site types based on artifact assemblage (i..e the presence of structures and materials associated with agricultural activities, such as storerooms, looms, threshing floors, field walls, etc.) Osborne 1992 argues that both sherd scatter density and artifact assemblage should be considered in site identification. This debate is played out across a sequence of articles: Pettegrew 2001; 2002; Osborne 2001; Foxhall 2001; Bintliff et al 2002.

[39] Osborne 1985b, 1991, and 1992; Pettegrew 2001; Wright *et al.* 1990; Shipley 2002: 180-1. Shipley suggests that the answer to this problem is to study survey data in aggregate at very broad chronological scales, but, as Witcher has warned, tinkering with the chronological resolution is not a perfect solution to these problems and risks taking so wide a view as to obscure more than illuminate (2008: 280).

[40] Below are sample definitions of "farmsteads" and other habitation site types from different archaeological survey projects.

Sample definition of a farmstead based on artifactual assemblage:

Sikyon Survey: a diffusion of diverse objects, "typically tiles, pottery, loomweights, mortars, and millstones"

Sample definition of a farmstead based on artifactual assemblage and the extent of surface scatter:

Nemea Valley Survey: "artifact scatters exhibiting a single phase of use, covering 5,000 m², and containing a variety of domestic materials, including fine-wares, tablewares, coarsewares, loomweights, lamps, and querns"

Sample definitions of different habitation sites based on the extent of surface scatter:

	Farmstead	Villa/Farmsteads	Hamlet	Village
Southern Argolid	< 20,000 m²		10,000-50,000 m²	
Methana	< 2,000 m²		up to 10,000 m²	over 10,000 m²
Lakonia	< 1,400 m²	up to 3,000 m²	up to 30,000 m²	

[41] Jones et al. 1973 on Vari: "a comfortable family house, if one of no great pretension" (421). Jones, Sackett, and Graham 1962 on Dema: "probably a farmhouse, but it is not so termed as no subsidiary structures or

Thus, the ability to identify discrete sites of material scatter as large estates, family farmsteads, rural hamlets, isolated livestock pens, seasonal shacks, etc. is ultimately futile. The unscientific nature of such efforts has been demonstrated by the few times in which a habitation site identified by survey was actually excavated:[42] the original interpretations of the surface scatter have typically been incorrect. For example, The Peasant Project in Italy proposed to excavate what their survey work had identified as a Republican "village" at Pievina and a "rural house" at Case Nuove. But excavations at Pievina revealed three non-residential structures (a tile-kiln, a possible granary, and a cistern),[43] while excavations at Case Nuove likewise failed to uncover any walled structures that could be interpreted as a house. Instead, a dump, well, cistern, square pit, basin, press base, and a structure interpreted as a "work surface" were excavated, and this assemblage has been designated a "small-scale agro-processing point."[44] Outside ancient Sparta, a site with surface scatter so insignificant that it did not warrant its own site number turned out to be a giant Roman villa with monumental olive presses when excavated in a roadside rescue operation.[45] Using material so tenuously associated with any specific form of habitation or activity for ultimately unknown durations of time is a weak foundation for constructing an argument about settlement patterns.

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furnishings directly connected with agriculture […] were located." (102-3). Others thereafter, however, have been less cautious in applying this term and use Dema alongside Vari as excavated examples of rural farmhouses (e.g. Alcock and Osborne 2012: 130-1). See Winther-Jacobsen 2010 and Foxhall 2004 for arguments that Dema and Vari were wealthy non-agricultural residences. A brief review of this debate can be found in McHugh 2017: 3-5.

[42] See comments in Bresson 2016: 57 on the imprecise nature of interpreting survey without excavation.

[43] Ghisleni et al. 2011: 101-7.

[44] Vaccaro et al. 2013.

[45] G. D. R. Sanders, pers. comm.

Problems in determining agricultural intensity

Lastly, even if it were possible to make sound claims about population levels and settlement patterns, it is not at all the case that increased and more dispersed habitation in the countryside affects more intensive agricultural practices. Nevertheless, there are those who have tried to find ways to read the survey data as evidence of how the land was exploited.[46] For instance, Snodgrass claims that "the period of maximum rural dispersal is also the period of maximum population and prosperity"[47] assuming that such patterns in the survey data reflect trends of intensified agriculture. But this is demonstrably not always true: the survey data from Laconia in the late fifth century BC, the height of Spartan power, shows a "collapse in rural farmsteads."[48] Such questions about agricultural productivity are fraught by problems similar to those outlined above: just as it is difficult to identity farmhouses from animal shelters, it is virtually impossible to distinguish what types of labor these structures may have hosted. In other words, a small farmstead could belong to a smallholder just as easily as to a tenant, a slave, or someone of serf-like status.[49] Comparative evidence from around the world demonstrates this and, moreover, demonstrates a common preference among agricultural laborers and landowners to live within more nucleated communities, so it is entirely unclear why the isolated farmstead should be the index of a healthy rural landscape—it is largely a historical anomaly.[50]

[46] Shipley 2002 suggests that change in site size and density are indicative of changes in how the rural landscape is cultivated, but suggests that it is poor evidence for levels of agricultural intensification (185).
[47] Snodgrass 1989: 63.
[48] Shipley 2002: 188.
[49] Jameson 1992: 135, 145-6; Shipley 2002 179.
[50] Foxhall 1990 (discusses evidence from India); Osborne 2001.

IV. A new approach to interpreting survey data

Many of these criticisms have been around since the 1980s, and yet, insofar as they undermine the narrative of rural decline in Roman Greece, they have not been brought to their natural conclusions. The apparent resistance to update our understanding of the Greek rural landscape, with at least a healthy skepticism toward notions of sweeping rural decline, perhaps still stems from a conceptual reliance on a Spenglerian binary between urban and rural domains, and the inclination to envision a zero-sum game between the two, not only in terms of population, but also of social and financial investment. Whereas historians of the ancient economy have been keen to nuance Weber's (and Finley's) "consumer city,"[51] which likewise rests on a strict dichotomy between urban and rural spheres of investment, interpretations of survey data still often operate upon this premise. Given the deep entrenchment of this conceptual framework, it is difficult to reimagine what questions survey can answer without somehow trailing back to the original research objectives that this framework established at the outset via John Ward-Perkins: that is, to determine population levels, settlements, and the intensity of agricultural production. In other words, the few instances in which this narrative has been challenged (most notably by the efforts of David Pettegrew) still wind up, if quite grudgingly, challenging this narrative in similarly dubious terms of settlement patterns. For instance, the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey was conducted as a siteless survey, but in the interpretation of their results, Pettegrew and his colleagues still felt obliged to "translate" what they called "Localized Cultural Anomalies" into the well-known categorical constructs of "farmstead," "small town," and so on.[52]

[51] E.g. Erdkamp 2001.
[52] Taraton et al. 2006.

As an alternative, I suggest an approach through which the survey record might be interpreted without relying on the subjective identification of sites or farmsteads, and without imposing an arbitrary dichotomy between urban and rural spheres. (Although, because this project is based on published survey materials, I am to some extent reliant upon the distinctions made by survey teams.) Instead of looking for site-based changes in population and settlement patterns, I have interpreted artifact scatter more simply as "activity"—in other words, as signifiers of different forms of collective investment representing social, political, and/or agricultural interests, viewing the Greek landscape not simply as countryside but in many ways and places as extensions of Greece's large metropolitan centers (in Lefebvre's sense of an expansive "urban fabric"). The end goal is to identify potential points of continuity or change in how social and political priorities relate to agricultural production across the province of Achaea, both within and outside the city walls of its constituent poleis. Attending to the artifacts themselves, this approach avoids the identification of sites, while still being geographically rooted, simply at a much broader scale. The agency behind these activities and investments is construed at the broadest level as collective, communal interests, or occasionally as "elite" interests. In the end, rather than absolute economic and agricultural decline, the changes evident in the artifactual carpet point toward social suburbanization under Roman rule with continued investment in agricultural production throughout much of Achaea. We might still entertain notions of decline in terms of growing socio-economic disparity between different types of landowners and agricultural laborers, but that is a question best answered with a different set of evidence (as will be examined in Chapters 2 and 3).

The rest of this chapter will focus on interpreting survey data from across the Roman province of Achaea (excepting surveys conducted in the Corinthia, which will be examined in conjunction with excavated structures and epigraphic testimony from this region in Chapter 3). Not all survey projects

have published comprehensive catalogues of their survey materials (in fact, the postponement of publication is a growing problem, limiting the use of the most recent survey projects),[53] and not all publications organize or provide the same types of information. Thus, by necessity, the data from each survey are analyzed somewhat idiosyncratically.

Using this larger scale of localization to analyze long term spatial investment, the results from these surveys suggest that the landscape of Roman Greece was not an empty countryside dappled only with booming metropoleis and struggling small towns, but of continued agricultural production and the proliferation of *suburbium*-style extraurban communities around Greece's growing metropoleis. These concentrations of collective social investment appear around nodes of suburban connectivity, demonstrating the growing importance of inter-poleis activity within the Roman province.

V. A Survey of Surveys: Reviewing the data from Achaea

The Laconia Survey

Before reviewing the data from the extensive Laconia Survey, some historical background on Roman interference in this area may be helpful. At the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War, Sparta initially supported Macedon, at which time Philip V granted Sparta control over Argos. When the tides turned against Macedon, however, Sparta defected to Rome, which saved her from punishment in the immediate aftermath of the war. But in 195 BC, the Achaean League persuaded Flamininus to demand that Sparta relinquish control over Argos. When Sparta's King Nabis refused, Flamininus invaded Laconia, and Sparta was quickly subdued. Now Sparta suffered at the hands of

[53] Todd Whitelaw, Keynote Lecture at *Fields, Sherds, and Scholars: Recording and Interpreting Survey Ceramics* Conference, at The Danish Institute at Athens, sponsored by the Netherlands Institute at Athens, February 2017.

Rome with much of her *chora* confiscated, including all extra-Laconian posessions and perioikic communities, as well as the port of Gytheum, Sparta's main access to the sea.[54] To add insult to injury, Sparta was obliged to join the Achaean League. In the first century BC, it appears that Sparta had largely recovered, even regaining substantial territory, as Megalopolis and Tegea fell from Rome's good graces and Eurycles, a wealthy and influential Spartan, pursued a profitable relationship with Augustus (Eurycles commanded a ship for Octavian at Actium, for which he was given Cythera as a personal possession). Although, the literary evidence is not entirely explicit about the return of these territories, indirect evidence from Strabo, Pausanias, and epigraphic sources provide a rough outline of Roman Sparta's *chora* for the imperial period. Strabo mentions the return of some perioikic communities to Sparta's domain, which Augustus, when Eurycles eventually fell from favor, organized into a new league, the *Eleutherolakones*. Epigraphic sources suggest that the relationship between these towns and Sparta remained strong, however, especially as Eurycles had heavily patronized them.[55] From Pausanias, we learn that Sparta's *chora* in the second century AD included Belminatis in the north[56] and Croceae in the southeast;[57] and we can further glean that it likely extended to the eastern areas of Helos and Pleiae (but excluded, for much of the early Roman period, the western territory of Messenia).[58] In the end, although Sparta's rural hinterlands may have diminished under the Romans, given that Sparta's pre-Roman *chora* was exceptionally expansive,[59]

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[54] Livy 34.23-41; Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 76.
[55] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 101-3.
[56] Paus. 3.21.3.
[57] Paus. 2.3.5
[58] See discussion in Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 136-139.
[59] Thuc. 1.10.2 claims that two-fifths of the Peloponnese belonged to Sparta. The extent of territory under Spartan control (Laconia, Messenia, and all the perioikic communities) at the peak of Spartan hegemony (550-371 BC) has been estimated at 8,500 km^2. Isager and Skydsgaard note that, like much about Sparta, Sparta's territory is not a true *chora* in the traditional Greek sense of the word (1992: 131). The average Greek *chora* was about 100 km^2 or less (Ruschenbusch 1985: 259 and Oğuz Kırca 2015).

the extent of Roman Sparta's *chora* was still likely of a similar scale to that of her peer metropoleis.[60] The urban center of Sparta held a rather privileged status within the Roman Empire, holding a special place in Roman hearts as a cultural center and tourist destination. Without resorting to claims about demographic numbers, the urban population must have been at the very least comparable to pre-Roman levels—Strabo explicitly excludes Sparta's urban populace from his long discussion of Laconia's population decline[61]—and these extensive hinterlands, especially the fertile lands along the Eurotas, must have been well cultivated to support the urban population. Signs of widespread investment in agricultural activities should therefore be expected across the non-mountainous areas of Laconia, and this is more or less what the results from the Laconia Survey show.

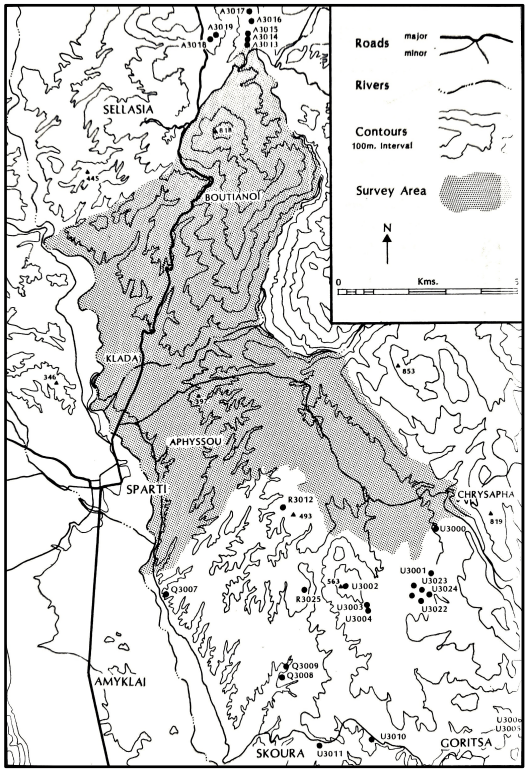

Figure 1.1.1 The Laconia Survey
(Cavanagh et al. 1996)

Conducted from 1983-1988, the Laconia Survey was an intensive survey in a ninety square kilometer area north and west of Sparta, led by William Cavanagh, Joost Crouwel, R. W. V. Catling, and Graham Shipley. Their interpretation of the survey data closely follows the traditional narrative (à la Strabo) of agricultural decline in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. Revisiting a subset of sites

[60] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 140.
[61] Strabo 8.4.11. "Even Laconia itself is deficient in population, if we compare its present state with its ancient populousness. For, with the exception of Sparta, the remaining small cities are about thirty[.]" ὅπου γε καὶ ἡ Λακωνικὴ λιπανδρεῖ κρινομένη πρὸς τὴν παλαιὰν εὐανδρίαν. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς Σπάρτης αἱ λοιπαὶ πολίχναι τινές εἰσι περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν:

in 2005, Catling and Shipley provide the following overarching narrative of settlement in this area:[62] a settlement boom took off in the early fifth century with mostly small sites (<0.15 ha), which were interpreted as single household farmsteads. Some larger sites (0.5-0.3 ha) were interpreted as "villas" or "clusters of farmsteads," in addition to a few "hamlets/villages" and a single "town" (that of Sellasia, site A118). The late fifth and fourth centuries, however, witnessed a great reduction in site numbers (from a high of 87 down to 46). At this time, sites interpreted as small single household farmsteads were virtually absent, and settlement in the countryside was more nucleated, which, they argued, implied "that the land must have been less intensively cultivated."[63] Of course, as mentioned above, settlement nucleation—if that is what was happing during this time—need not entail less intensive agricultural production. And the data appear to bear this out.

Using agricultural processing equipment and storage wares as proxies for investment in agricultural production, the data from the Laconia Survey show a maintained level of agricultural activity—if not a notable increase. First of all, pithoi in the Hellenistic period seem to have become larger than their Classical counterparts, and in the second half of the period the diameter of most pithoi become larger still—a trend that continues into the Roman period with pithoi growing larger and larger.[64] Of course, the larger the pithos, the greater the expense, and these pithoi were not just increasing in size but in numbers. After an almost negligible decline in distribution during the Hellenistic era, the prevalence of storage wares increases significantly in the Roman period: 61-67 Archaic-Classical sites included storage wares, while 52-60 Hellenistic sites did, and 71-77 Roman sites. (And this trend occurred during an alleged decline in "site" numbers.) Ignoring the question of site identification, we can therefore still say that in the Hellenistic and Roman period a larger percentage of ceramic goods

[62] Cavanagh *et al.* 2005: 6-10.
[63] Cavanagh *et al.* 2005: 8.
[64] Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, vol. II: 110.

were used for storage purposes. Granted, some of these vessels may well have been used to hold something other than agricultural produce, but overall this trend indicates increasing agricultural production rather than declining production. And indeed, in her analysis of the Roman pottery, Lawson notes that the scarcity of imported amphorae during this period likely indicates a "largely self-sufficient rural community."[65]

There are precious few examples of agricultural processing equipment from the Laconia Survey, and, especially in the context of a multi-period artifactual spread, many cannot be dated. The few pieces that can be dated with some measure of confidence perhaps show a small decline in numbers from six Archaic-Classical pieces to one Hellenistic and three Roman pieces (albeit when counting objects in the single digits, this is not terribly meaningful). Much more significant is the apparent change from smaller, cheaper devices to larger, more expensive, and less mobile equipment. The Archaic-Classical pieces include three handstones and three small querns (H31; P274; P279; R275; R526; S509). Only one small quern (M175) was found datable to the Hellenistic period, although it is possible that an olive press (J219), olive mill (Q359), a few millstones (U491; U490), and a couple of hoppers (A118; U511) also date to this time (but as they were found in multi-period contexts, dating was not confidently determinable). Two millstones and an olive press were attributed to the Roman period, while another millstone and an olive mill are quite possibly from this era (U490 and Q359, respectively). Again, the number and types of objects found in this survey would suggest a change in agricultural processing practices rather than a decline in production. This point is supported by the change in spatial distribution of these goods: in the Archaic-Classical period, there is a notable concentration of storage wares in the southeastern sector of the survey area, along the road to Prasiae (see **Fig 1.1.2**). But moving through the Hellenistic period and into the Roman era (**Figs.**

[65] Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, vol. II: 123.

1.1.3-4), these goods become more evenly spread throughout the survey area, which may be indicative of changing practices in agricultural production.

Turning to items that could be used as proxies for investment in social display, we can detect a few significant changes beyond the oft-noted decline in fine wares. As discussed above, it is problematic to compare the absolute quantity of fine wares across periods, but fine wares can be used as one proxy among others for gauging the spatial distribution of investment in social display within a single period. Again, it is important to not focus on the sheer number of fine ware pieces (or lack thereof), because, compared to the Archaic-Classical period, there is greater difficulty in identifying Hellenistic fine ware. Since the same fabrics were used for both plain and fine wares during this time, many worn fine ware sherds from this period have likely been misidentified as plain ware.[66] Moreover, the basic fabric of Roman red-slipped ware is very similar to Hellenistic red-glazed pottery, and therefore the latter may not have been accurately identified as such. Exacerbating these problems is the fact that most of the Hellenistic material has been found at sites of long-term occupation with materials dating to the late Classical and/or early Roman periods. Only six sites appear to be "single-period" Hellenistic sites (Q181, R281 B, M348, K407, k408, and S436).[67] These problems must be kept in mind when thinking about claims of decline: despite these acknowledged hurdles, it was nevertheless surmised by the Laconia Survey team that "small towns and agricultural centres cannot be identified from the ceramic evidence," and that "close trading links, involving, among other things, the exchange of "luxury" goods between urban centre and its rural catchment area, do not seem to have developed, at least not after the battle of Sellasia in 222 BC."[68] The same

[66] Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, vol. II: 109.
[67] Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, vol. II: 109.
[68] Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, vol. II: 110. This interpretation is partly based specifically on the prevalence of *imported* fine wares. Virtually no imports aside from coarse ware amphorae were identified for the Hellenistic

is also supposed of the Roman period,[69] even though similar issues of differential diagnosticity problematize this narrative. For instance, although red slip did appear quite often in the Laconia Survey, it was usually worn to almost undetectable traces; ergo, Red Slip must have been much more prevalent throughout this area but its traces are no longer detectable.[70] Moreover, the presentation of the data in the Laconia Survey is not consistent across these periods: the Archaic-Classical ceramics are organized by fabric (e.g. fine ware), the Hellenistic ceramics by function (e.g. table ware), and the Roman ceramics by both fabric and function. Therefore, the apparently very low quantity of Hellenistic fine ware presented here may also be attributed to the mixed modes of presentation within the survey publication.

The following figures (**Figs. 1.1.5-7**) thus map out the find spots of fine wares as just one of four different proxies for investment in social display within each period. The goal here is not to compare the number or relative wealth of "sites" across time, but to detect shifts in the general areas where material signs of social display are concentrated. The other proxies used here are glazed tile,[71] floor tiles, and a miscellany of other items, such as marble vessels or cut stone structures. Tiled floors vary widely in labor intensity and expense, but even the most basic tiled floors would be a marked investment in social display compared to more prevalent forms of cheap non-tiled *pavimenta* or

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period (although some materials may have been 'imported' locally from elsewhere in the Peloponnese). The apparent drop in imported fine ware is placed in stark contrast to the quantities that have been uncovered at Sparta itself during this period, and also to the amount found in the hinterlands of the Archaic-Classical period. This absence of imported fine ware more or less continues into the Roman period, even as a large amount of fine ware from North Africa, Italy, Antioch, and other production centers around the Aegean were used in Sparta itself to the virtual exclusion of local fine wares (111).

[69] Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, vol. II: 123. Almost verbatim.

[70] Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, vol. II: 122-123.

[71] Lawson notes that glazed tile may be the best proxy for elite display in the Roman period, given the very limited range in table and household wares recovered across all rural sites (122).

stamped earth floors,[72] often reserved only for the most important rooms of the house in which guests might be received. Other high-cost items uncovered in the survey are often difficult to date within multi-period contexts, so the number of individual items confidently assigned to each period is not high. The Archaic-Classical items include some marble (B103, U3024)) and cut stone (H31, T512). In the Hellenistic period, a marble basin (M175), a marble vessel (R421), some cut stone (M175), and a fragment of painted plaster (B123) were collected. Proxies of social display investment in the Roman period comprise numerous glass fragments (A3013, D306, H28, N415, P284, U488), including a glass mosaic tessera (H34), a few marble items (D306, M341, P284), cut stone (A3013, D306), and lapis lacedaimonium (H45). It is perhaps notable (or perhaps not, given such few pieces) that the variety of high-cost goods increases in the Roman period.

The geographical distribution of these goods, vis-à-vis the distribution of storage wares and processing equipment, reveals shifting loci of collective investment across time. During the Archaic-Classical period, materials of social display concentrate in the southeastern sector along the road to Prasiae, but by the Roman period such goods are concentrated just northeast of Sparta, clustering around the intersection between the road to Prasiae and the road leading North to Corinth and Argos—a crucial node of inter-poleis traffic. Also, in the Archaic-Classical period storage wares and agricultural equipment (serving as proxies for agricultural investment) largely overlap with material proxies for investment in social display, with a notable concentration of these agricultural goods in the same southeastern sector where a concentration of social display goods can be found. But in the Roman period there is no such correlation between agricultural and social investment; storage wares proliferate more evenly across the survey area than in the pre-Roman era. As Lawson argues, the presence of such single-period Roman sites must be "the result of population movement in reaction

[72] Pliny *NH* 36.60-4, see also Donderer's discussion thereof (Donderer 1987: 365-77).

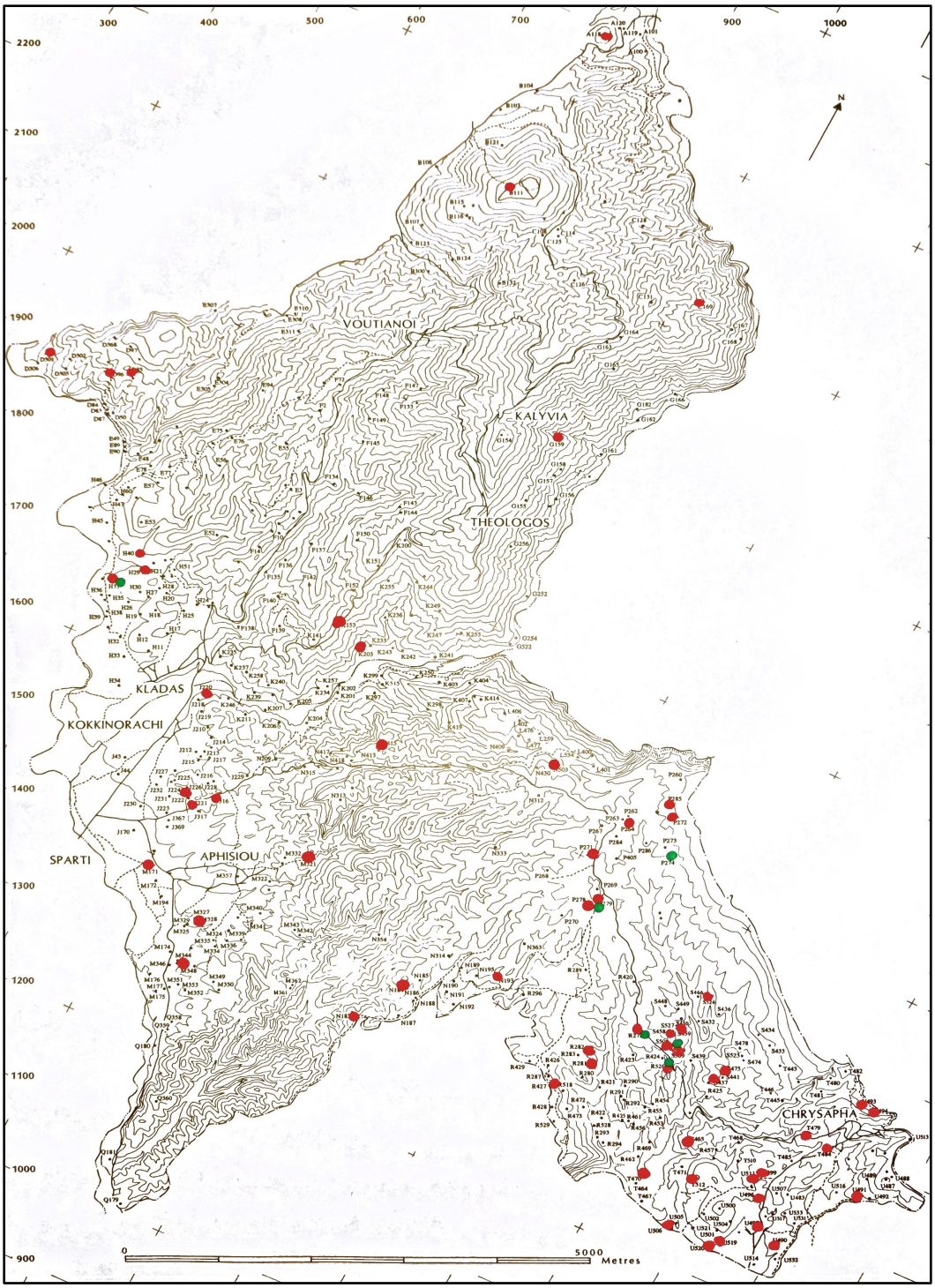

Figure 1.1.2 Laconia: Storage wares and agricultural equipment in the Archaic-Classical Period (red = pithoi and/or amphorae; green = processing equipment)

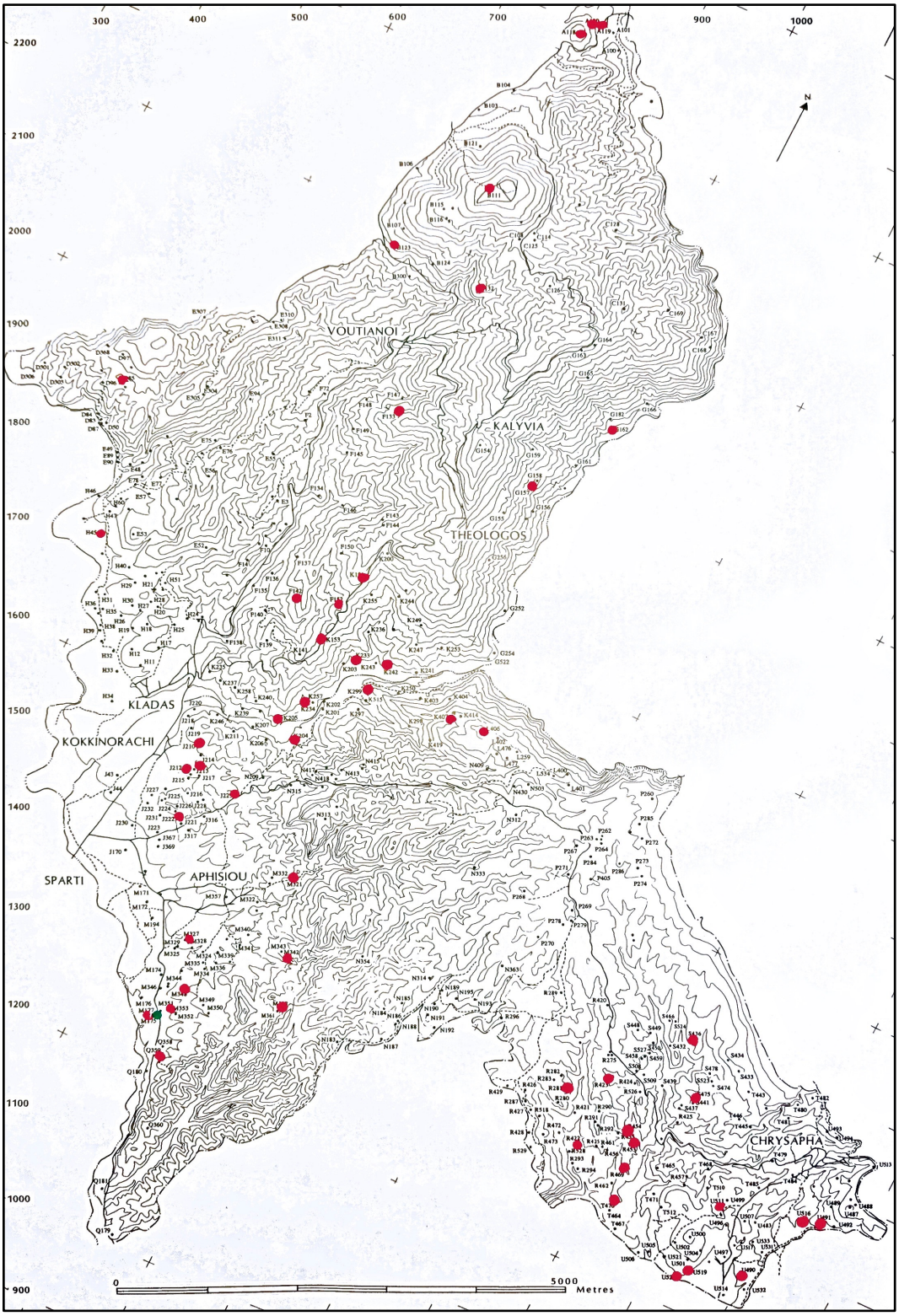

Figure 1.1.3 Laconia: Storage wares and agricultural equipment in the Hellenistic Period (red = pithoi and/or amphorae; green = processing equipment)

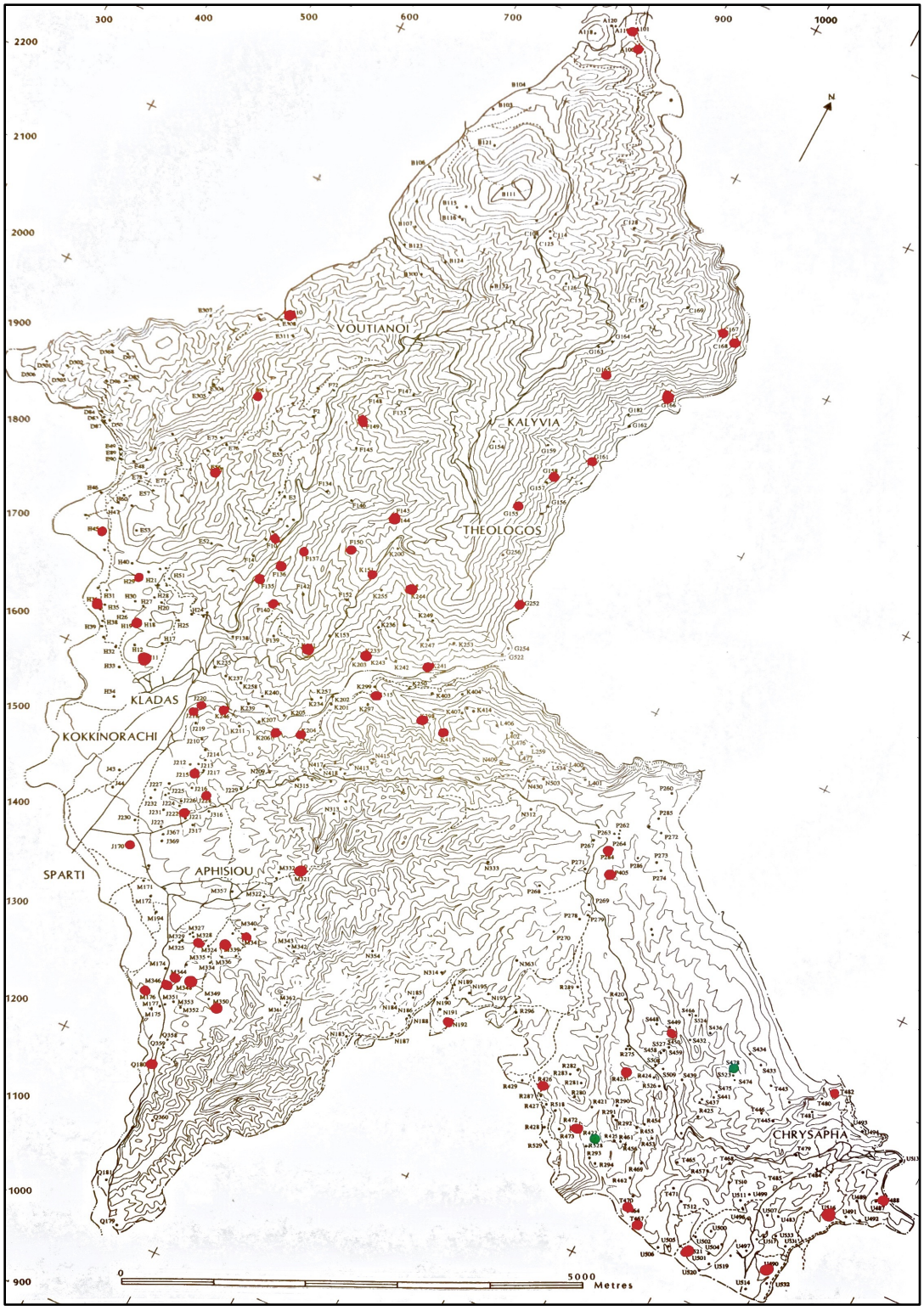

Figure 1.1.4 Laconia: Storage wares and agricultural equipment in the Roman Period (red = pithoi and/or amphorae; green = processing equipment)

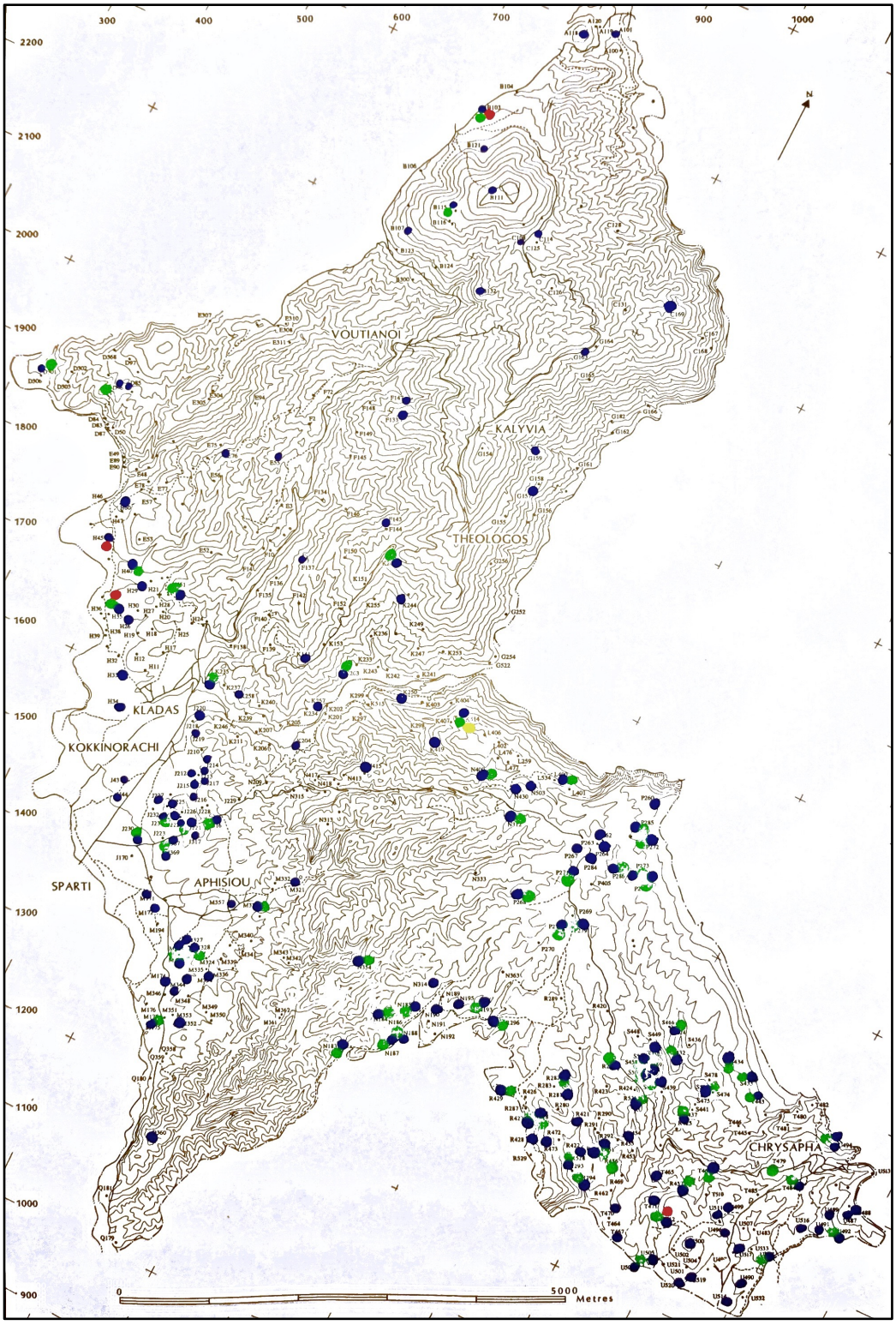

Figure 1.1.5 Laconia: Social display goods in the Archaic-Classical Period
(blue = fine ware; green = glazed tile; yellow = floor tile; pink = miscellaneous high value product)

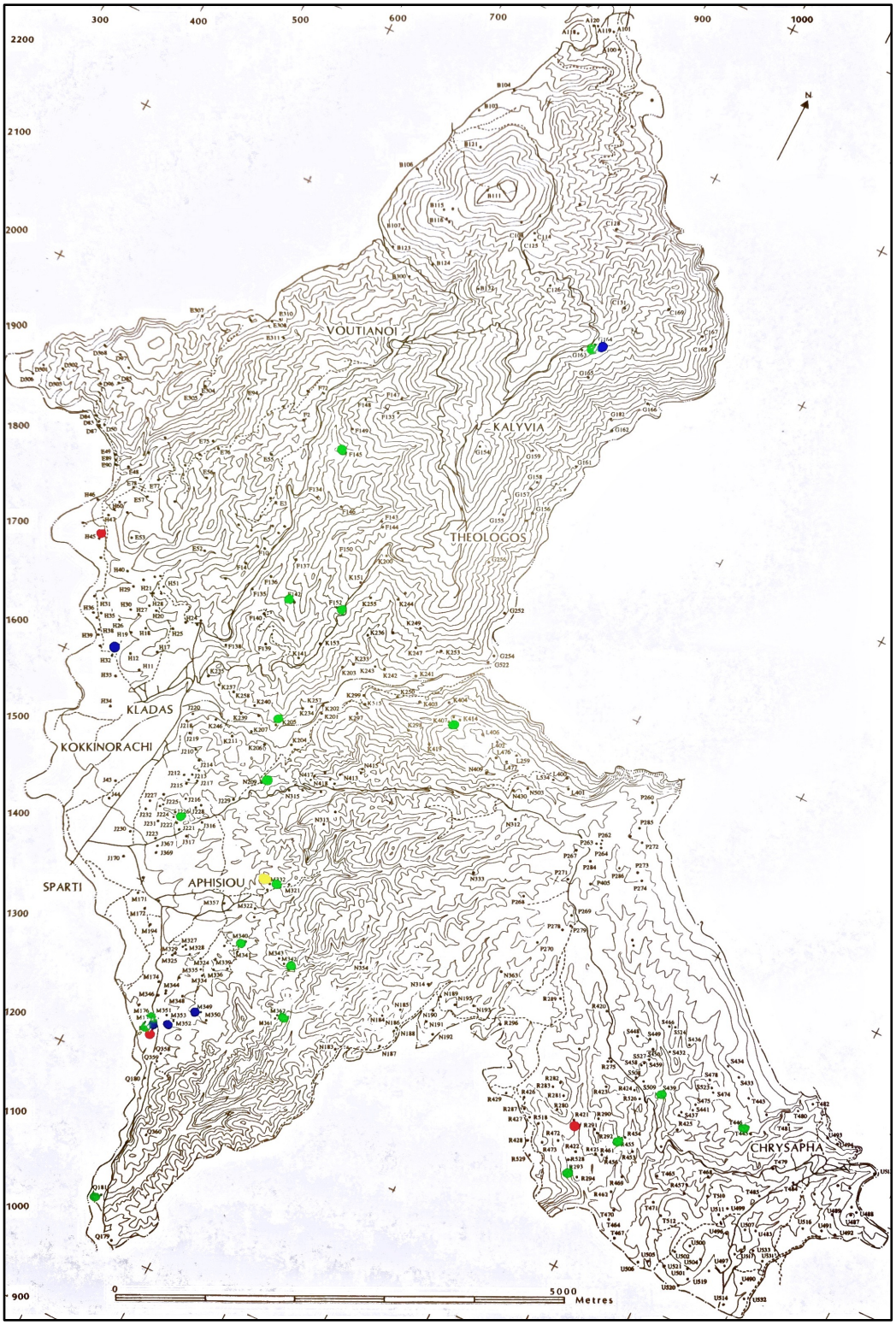

Figure 1.1.6 Laconia: Social display goods in the Hellenistic Period
(blue = fine ware; green = glazed tile; yellow = floor tile; pink = miscellaneous high value product)

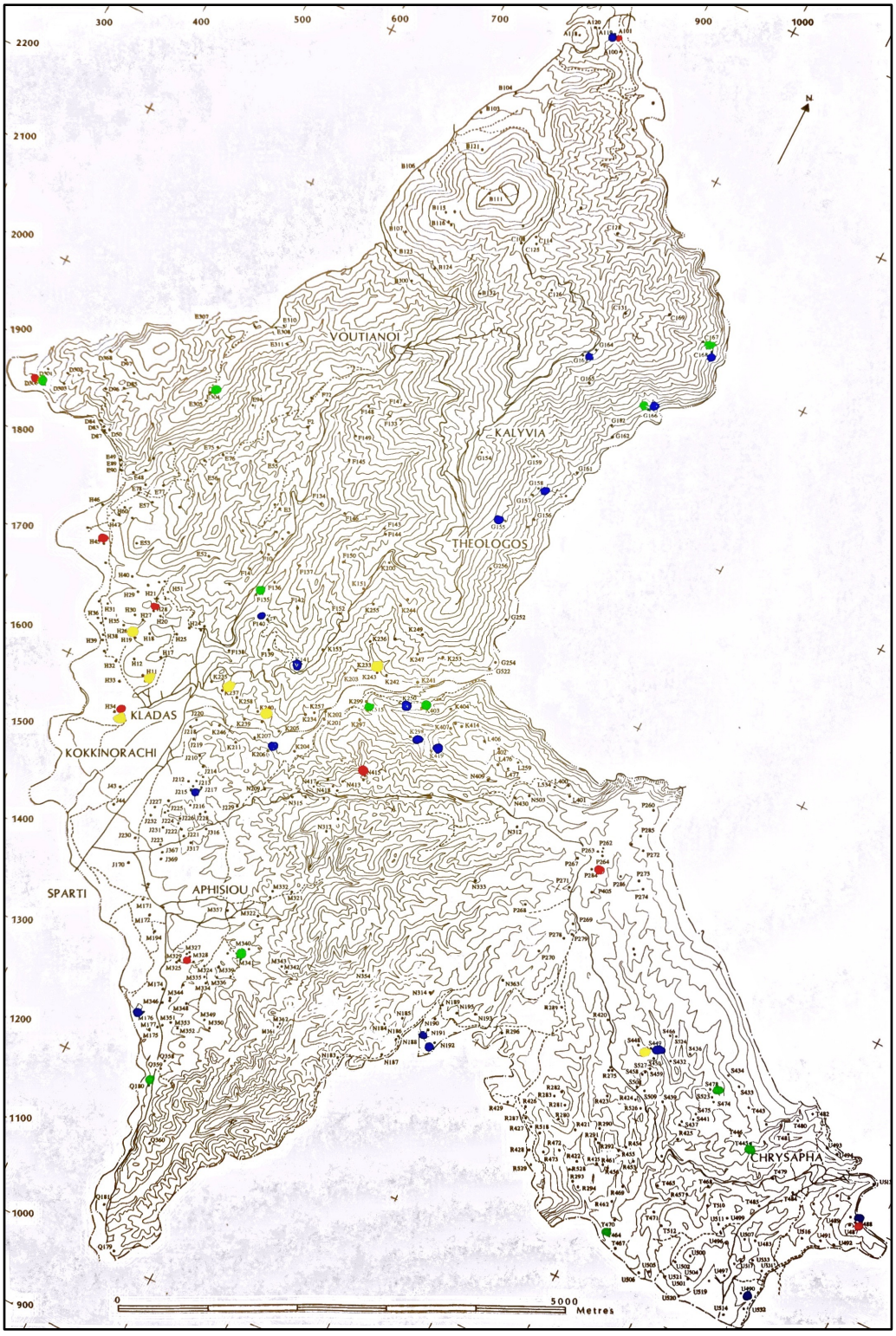

Figure 1.1.7 Laconia: Social display goods in the Roman Period
(blue = fine ware; green = glazed tile; yellow = floor tile; pink = miscellaneous high value product)

to the demands of a prosperous urban community."[73] Perhaps we should be reading the survey data here not as a sign of weakening agricultural production, but rather as an appreciable increase in agricultural investment across the survey area.

The Asea Valley Survey

Similar trends can be observed in the neighboring region of Asea. A Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish team under the direction of Jeanette Forsén conducted The Asea Valley Survey between 1994-1996, covering roughly forty square kilometers, of which about eighteen were intensively surveyed.

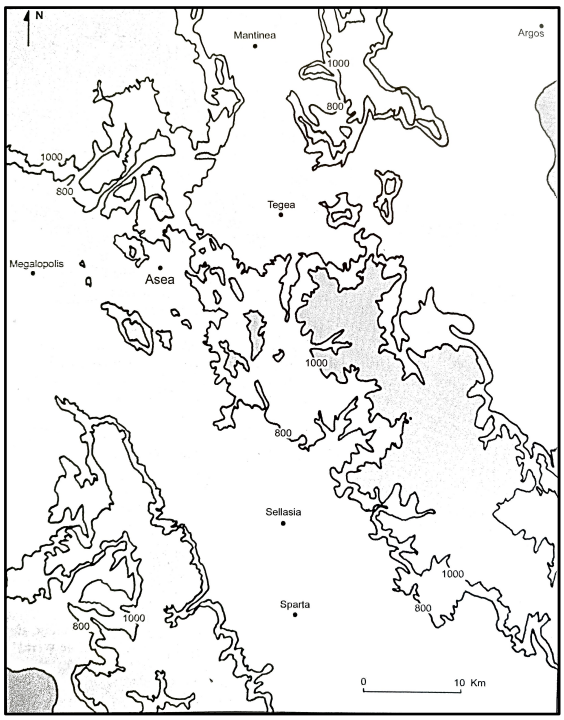

Figure 1.2.1 The Asea Valley Survey *(Forsén 2003)*

The polis of Asea rests in a small valley that functioned as a major intersection of the main thoroughfares crossing the Peloponnese, connecting the Corinthia and Argolid to Messenia and Laconia. Sitting just beyond Spartan boundaries, sometime after Megalopolis was founded as a counterweight to Spartan power in 368/7 BC, Asea was eventually incorporated into Megalopolitan territory.[74] Although Megalopolis never grew to become a critical provincial metropolis, the city certainly survived as a sizable polis (despite Strabo's claim that "the Great City is a great desert").[75]

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[73] Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, vol. II: 123.

[74] This may have occurred as late as 146 BC, during the Roman reorganization of Peloponnesian land. See Forsén 2003: 260.

[75] Strabo 8.8.1. ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στὶν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις.

The urban center of Asea appears to have fared less well. Pausanias describes its ruins in a single sentence: "About twenty stades from Athenaeum are the ruins of Asea, and the hill that once was the citadel has traces of fortifications to this day."[76]

Indeed, according to the survey data, the urban center of Asea (S60) was essentially abandoned as a locus of communal investment in the Roman period, especially in comparison to the wealth of materials collected from the area of the urban center dated to the pre-Roman period. In addition to bronze pieces dating to the Classical era and twelve Classical-Hellenistic figurines of varying size, 382 sherds of glazed fine wares dating between the Archaic-Hellenistic periods were collected (of which, 24 can be dated more specifically to the Late Archaic-Classical era; 31 to the Classical-Hellenistic; 16 to the Classical; and 25 to the Hellenistic periods). A paltry 21 fine ware sherds were collected for the entirety of the Roman and late Roman era (1st century BC – 7th century AD), 8 of which can be dated to the early Roman era and 3 to the late Roman. So Asea may be an example of a small town polis whose population rate suffered under Roman rule. But even if this is true of the urban center, it does not mean that the general area of Asea was completely empty. In fact, outside the urban center of Asea, there is good evidence for continued activity with multiple loci of collective investment in social display during the Roman period. Notably, these loci crop up along major roadways at the edges of the valley (see **Fig. 1.2.2**). In fact, as a whole, the distribution of high-value Roman goods is altogether much denser than the material footprint of Classical or Hellenistic social investment (see **Figs. 1.2.3-5**)—this is true even of fine wares, which (as discussed above) have far less diagnostic visibility for the Roman period. In addition to the relative proliferation of Roman fine wares, in two different locations (S1 and S90) hypocaust bricks and

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On the survival of Megalopolis, see Roy et al. 1989: 146-150.

[76] Paus. 8.44.3. τοῦ Ἀθηναίου δὲ μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἐρείπια Ἀσέας ἐστί, καὶ ὁ λόφος ἀκρόπολις τότε οὖσα τείχους σημεῖα ἔχει καὶ ἐς τόδε.

associated structural elements have been identified as Roman baths, which were most likely part of full-fledged villa complexes. These villa sites are situated along the roads heading out to Tegea, Argos, and Corinth (S1), and south to Sparta (S90). Along the road heading west to Megalopolis (S61), glass and mosaic tesserae have been collected, suggestive of more elite activity within this area. The find spots of Classical and Hellenistic fine wares are markedly fewer in number and less widespread; other than fine ware, the only high-value item dating to the Classical-Hellenistic age is a single piece of glazed tile (S17). Otherwise, there are only some marble fragments with even more ambiguous dating found at two different areas identified as cult sites (S82 and S46).

Turning to the question of agricultural investment, the evidence becomes even sparser. But again, Roman goods appear more prevalent: in addition to a Roman rotary quern (S1), Roman storage wares were found in ten different locations (S26, S42, S1, S15-16, S23, S76, S90, and tracts BA26, BA45, HB139, and KB42), whereas Classical-Hellenistic storage wares were found in only three different locations (AA73, S55, S91), in addition to one handstone dated to the Classical-Hellenistic period (S38).

Asea is thus an excellent example of the shifting spatial investments typical of the Roman period. Political infrastructure shifted away from small poleis such as Asea, hence the near depletion of the

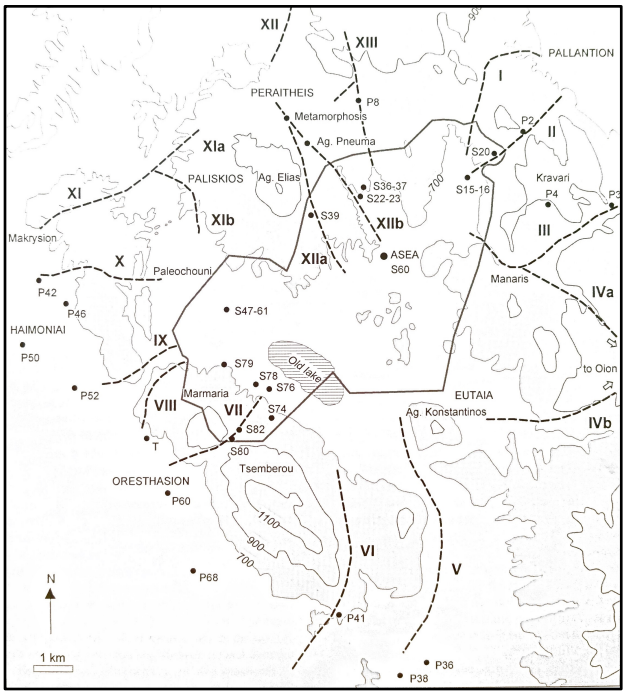

Figure 1.2.2 Road network of the Asea Valley
(Forsén 2003)

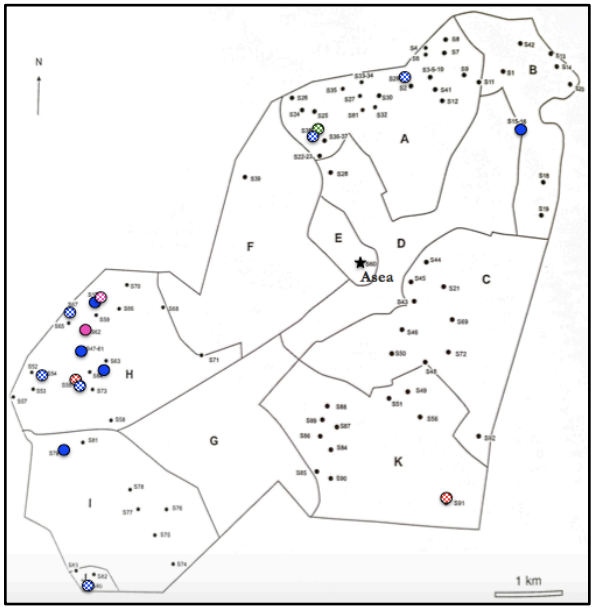

Figure 1.2.3 Classical Asea
(blue = fine ware; pink = misc. high-value item; red = storage; green = agricultural equipment; checkered circles = Classical to Hellenistic)

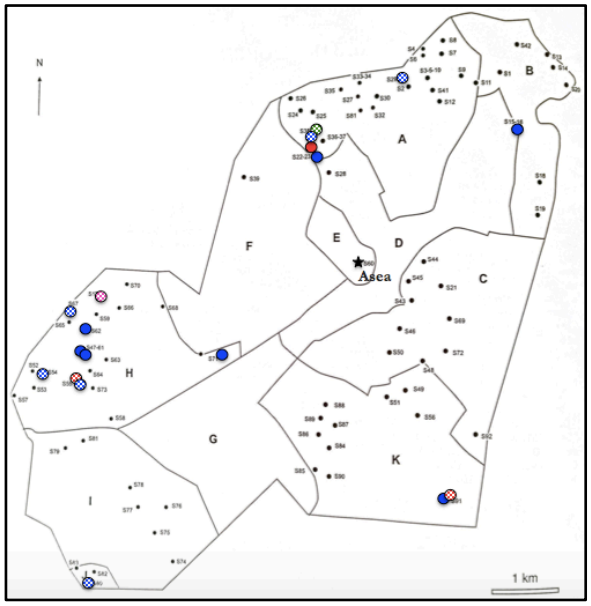

Figure 1.2.4 Hellenistic Asea
(blue = fine ware; pink = misc. high-value item; red = storage; green = agricultural equipment; checkered circles = Classical to Hellenistic)

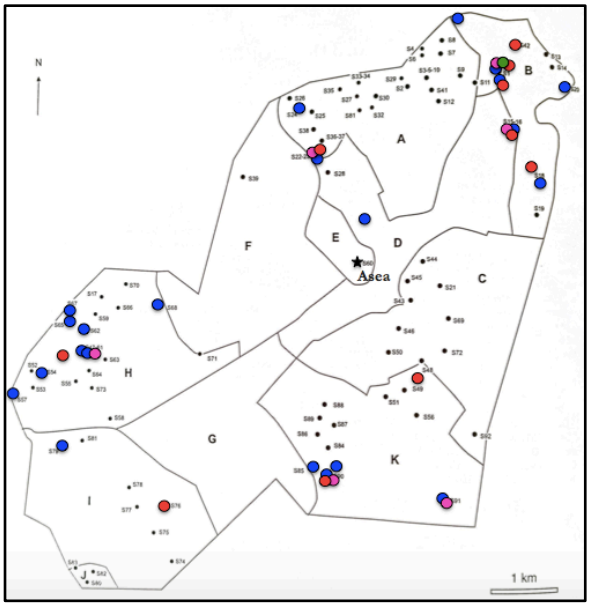

Figure 1.2.5 Roman Asea
(blue = fine ware; pink = misc. high-value item; red = storage; green = agricultural equipment)

material signs of social investment within the old urban center. But as a node of connectivity in the suburban ring of Megalopolis, lying just outside Sparta's extensive hinterlands, the general area surrounding the city of Asea was still of marked social importance, with fine wares and high-cost material clustering around the roads coming in and out of the valley. It is particularly notable that two such clusters, one that formed around the northeastern road and another around the southern roadway (the main arteries heading to the major provincial metropoleis of Corinth/Argos and Sparta) had very few material signs of activity before the Roman era. This suggests that, in terms of their social value, these areas became increasingly important during the Roman period. Indeed, setting aside the urban center, the Asea Valley boasts a rich material carpet from the Roman period that demonstrates overall increased investment in both social display and agricultural production.

The Methana Survey Project

In the 1980s, Christopher Mee, Hamish Forbes, and Lin Foxhall pursued plans for an intensive survey of the Methana Peninsula. After a few summers of exploratory sessions, full field seasons took place between 1984-1987 with the support of the British School at Athens. On the surface, the Methana Survey seems to provide evidence for a period of decline coinciding with Roman rule, and indeed the artifactual carpet of Methana in the Roman period is not so rich compared to the variety of high-value goods recovered elsewhere on the Peloponnese. For this very reason, the Methana

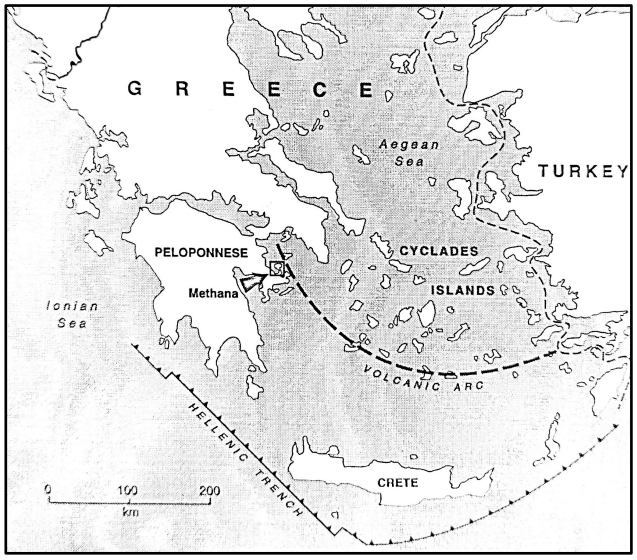

Figure 1.3.1 The Methana Survey Project
(Mee and Forbes, 1997)

Survey provides a good example of an area effectively beyond the domain of any metropolitan center. Unlike Laconia and the Asea Valley, this peninsula, known for its near isolation from the rest of mainland Greece,[77] was rather outside the orbit of any metropolis within Achaea. Yet even here we can detect a somewhat similar pattern: continued investment in agricultural production and a centralization of social display, albeit on a much smaller scale.

In their interpretation of settlement patterns on the peninsula, the Methana Survey team suggests that the number of farmsteads increased in the early Hellenistic period, and that therefore more lands were being farmed more intensively at this time. Around the 3rd century BC, many of these small farm sites begin to disappear (which may or may not be related to the volcanic explosion of 230 BC), reaching a nadir in the 1st centuries BC and AD, followed by a slow recovery through the middle Roman period. But, despite an overall decrease in ceramics datable to the Roman period (and therefore an alleged decrease in sites), storage wares in specific, as a proxy of agricultural investment, show relative consistency across the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, followed by an explosion of amphorae and pithoi in the late Roman era. While there are about fifty find spots of late Roman storage vessels, the find spots of Classical storage wares number only between 14-21, Hellenistic between 17-25, and Roman between 17-18. It is therefore notable that, while there are fewer detectable Roman fine wares on the Methana Peninsula, there is not an appreciable decline in the prevalence of storage vessels (see **Figs. 1.3.2-4**).

The spread of agricultural equipment on the Methana peninsula more or less mirrors that of storage wares, although it is difficult to detect shifts within the Roman period since most of these later pieces cannot be distinguished with greater specificity than "Roman-Late Roman." Nevertheless, the

[77] Mee and Forbes 1997: 2.

overall long term stability—if not a possible increase—throughout the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods is apparent: only one rotary olive crusher (MS67) can be confidently attributed to the Classical period;[78] whereas Hellenistic materials number at least five (MS70: olive press; MS106: press bed, mortarium, press weight block, assortment of grinding stones).[79] In addition to the thirty-some pieces of agricultural equipment that cannot be dated more specifically than Roman-late Roman, an early Roman bee hive (MS8) was collected, as well as a late Roman press weight (MS167), press bed (MS210), and mortarium (MS101).[80]

More notable is the severe lack of any high-cost items within this survey area. Aside from the remains of a seaside thermal spa (MS57)[81] and some Roman-late Roman glass fragments (MS10, MS214), there are virtually none of the typical Roman proxies for investment in social display located on the Methana peninsula—no marble, lapis lacedaemonium, or precious metals. Given that the Methana peninsula is relatively removed from the territory (or even geographic sphere of influence) of a provincial metropolis, this pattern in the survey data fits the overall pattern of spatial investment in social display for the Roman period, which seems to concentrate within suburban satellite communities of major metropoleis. Thus, the lack of these goods should be expected of the

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[78] Five other find spots may also contain Classical agricultural equipment but the dating of these items is less certain (MS100: Classical-Hellenistic trapetum orbis; MS120: Classical-Late Roman rollers; MS121: Classical-Hellenistic hopper-rubber mill; MS123: Classical-Late Roman press beds; M211: Classical-Late Roman assemblage of press bed, press weight blocks, trapetum base, patitiri).

[79]Other possible Hellenistic agricultural equipment includes the items listed in the above footnote and a Hellenistic-Late Roman trapetum (A9.1).

[80] MS19/20: trapetum and press bed; MS69: press weight; MS109: moratorium and orbis, press bed, stone mortar; MS114 variety of rollers and mortaria; MS115 trapetum orbis; MS116: installation holes for press beam, rotary quern, trapetum, press bed; MS117: rollers and press weight; MS118: installation holes for beams that may be part of a press; MS122: press bed, press weight, hopper mill; MS209: crusher and press bed; MS216: trapetum base; MS218: press equipment (reused as part of later site); A18.2: press weight.
This is in addition to other pieces dated with even less specificity listed in the previous two footnotes.

[81] Probably built in the Flavian period to take advantage of the natural hot spring created by the eruption of Kaimeno Vouno. Mee and Forbes identify this bath with that described by Pausanias (2.34.2), and suggest that this thermal spa would have been a retreat destination for the elite of Corinth and Athens. Mee and Forbes 1997: 81.

Methana peninsula. And yet, even here we can detect a slight concentration of what few Roman fine wares have been found in this survey area (see **Fig. 1.3.5**), grouping around the southwest coastline near the polis of Methana, where human activity has been continuously concentrated extending back to the pre-Classical period. Unlike the eastern ports of this peninsula, the ancient city of Methana on the western side had a more easily protected harbor, which Mee and Forbes highlight as the probable reason for the "western bias of settlement" in the Roman period.[82] As the most accessible point of entry/departure, aside from the thin land bridge, the location of this slight concentration of Roman fine wares parallels the Roman preference for investing in social display at nodes of connectivity found elsewhere throughout the province.

In terms of spatial investment, the picture of Methana that begins to form is one of continuity in agricultural pursuits from the Classical through Roman periods, followed by significant intensification in the late Roman period. It is also a picture of slackened investment in social display when compared to the pre-Roman era—although this claim is perhaps somewhat more precarious given that fine wares alone form the bulk of our evidence for this region. Without other material proxies for social investment, it is difficult to stake such a claim given the problems of differential diagnosticity. But the almost total absence of other high-value items dating to the Roman period, in and of itself, is quite telling.

[82] Mee and Forbes 1997: 80.

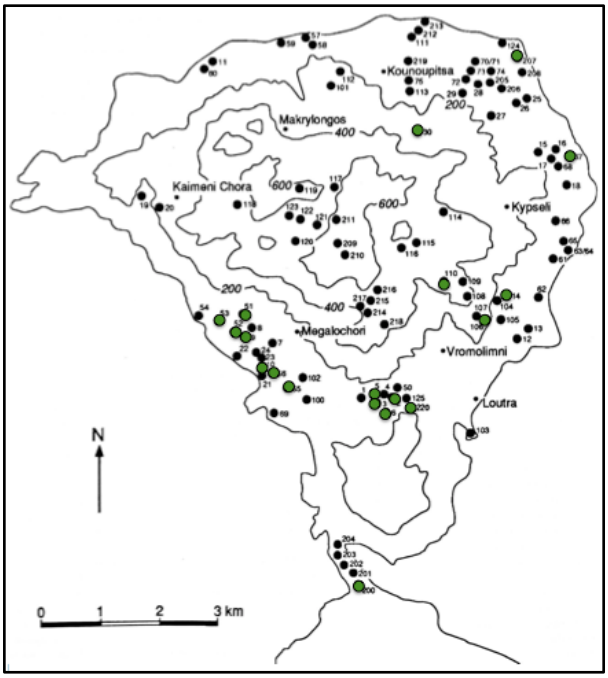


Figure 1.3.2 Methana: Storage wares in the Classical Period

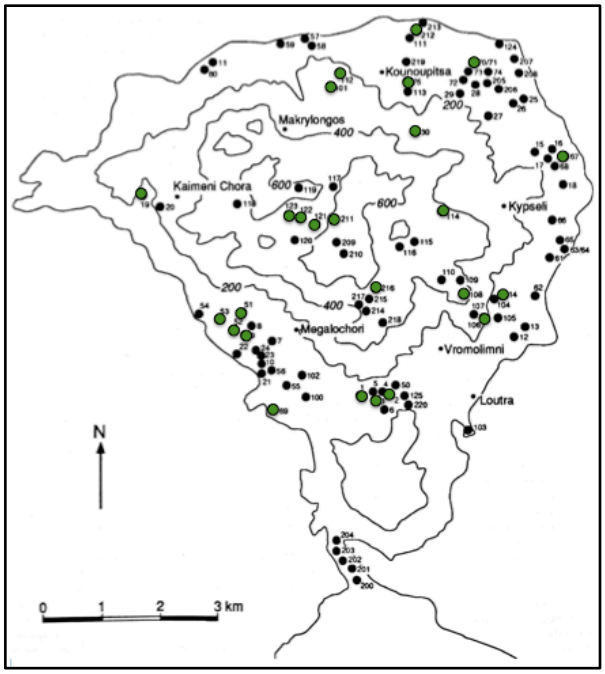


Figure 1.3.3 Methana: Storage wares in the Hellenistic Period

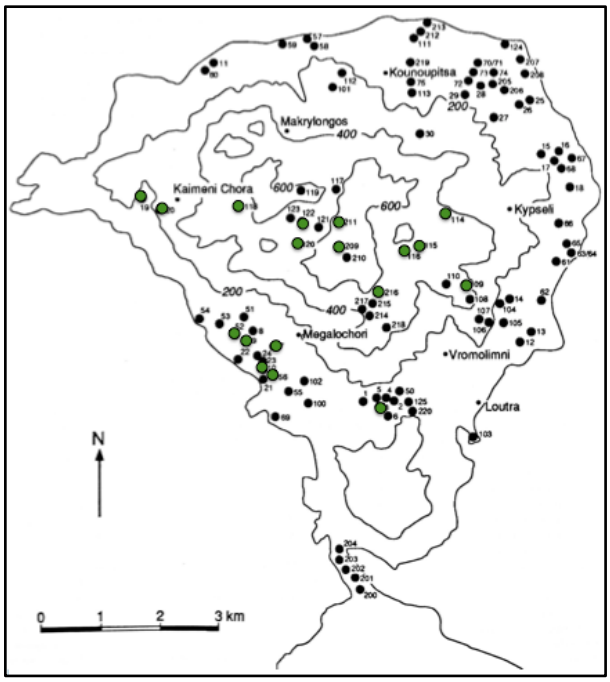


Figure 1.3.4 Methana: Storage wares in the Roman Period

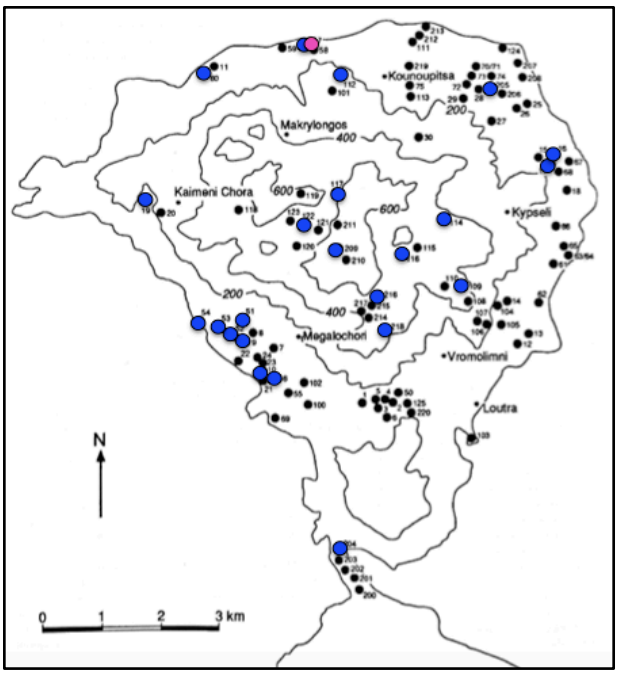


Figure 1.3.5 Methana: Fine wares (blue) and thermal baths (pink) in the Roman Period

The Thesprotia Expedition

Moving north, we can catch a glimpse of how these trends played out at the periphery of Nicopolis' vast *chora*. The Thesprotia Expedition was conducted from 2003-2010 in an area of about 7x4 km within the Kokytos Valley, just south of the probable but little known Roman colony of Photike.[83] This project was primarily sponsored by the Finnish Institute at Athens, and used photo magnetometry in the identification of sites and performed targeted excavations at many of the sites identified by survey. The survey catalogue includes not only the excavations conducted as part of the Thesprotia Expedition Project but also previous excavations within their survey area. With such a small survey area, it is somewhat difficult to derive meaning from the spread of material goods. Moreover, because so little is known about the possible nature and extent of Photike, the broader context of this survey area and its relationship to the metropolitan center of Nicopolis is somewhat obscured.

Roman rule brought big changes to the region of Epirus. After the Third Macedonian War, the armies of Aemilius Paullus reportedly pillaged the whole region of Epirus in order to punish the Molossians and Thesprotians who had betrayed Rome and supported Perseus. Seventy *oppida* are said to have been destroyed, and 150,000 inhabitants enslaved—allegedly the largest slave-hunting operation in Roman history.[84] The countryside of Epirus was said to have been abandoned thereafter[85]until Julius Caesar established colonies at Buthrotum and possibly Photike (just north of the survey area), followed by the imposed synoecism for the foundation of Augustus' Nicopolis.

[83] Possibly founded by Caesar, see Rizakis 1990: 271-2.
[84] Liv. 45.34.1-6; Plut. *Aem.* 29; Pol. 30.16.
[85] Strabo 7.7.9.

Other survey projects in Epirus, near Nicopolis and Buthrotum,[86] have collected an unexpectedly large amount of Roman material compared both to the pre-Roman materials collected within these areas and to surveys conducted further south in Greece. This has been tentatively interpreted as evidence for the positive impact that the foundations of Nicopolis and Buthrotum had on local population levels.[87] However, the same problems of using survey data to judge population levels are just as applicable here as further south, and given the pre-Roman preference in Epirus for hilltop residences that are more difficult to survey intensively, there may be a problem of collection bias contributing to this discrepancy between Roman and pre-Roman materials.

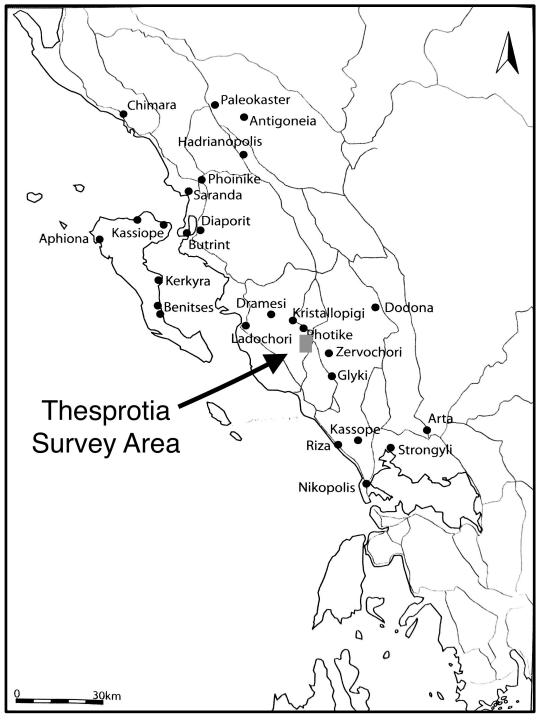


Figure 1.4.1 The Thesprotia Expedition
(Forsén and Tikkala, 2011)

In any case, the data collected by the Thesprotia Expedition similarly exhibit an increase of materials during the Roman period. Given the restricted survey area and small sample size, it can be somewhat difficult to trace meaningful patterns. Nevertheless, we can see a relatively stable, if slightly increasing, distribution of storage wares and agricultural equipment across time (see **Figs. 1.4.2-7**). There is, however, no sign of the monumental agricultural machinery that appears further south. Here, well outside the suburban catchment of Nicopolis, smaller grinding stones remain the

[86] For Nicopolis, see Isager 2001. For Buthrotum, see Pluciennik 2004. Neither publication includes a thorough catalogue of sites or survey units, and so, unfortunately these projects are not directly used as part of this study in spatial investment.
[87] Bowden 2009: 171; Bowden and Përzhita 2004: 424.

predominant form of processing equipment, suggesting stable investment in agriculture and perhaps little change in production methods. Looking at high-value material, we again might detect a slight increase of materials over time; but more importantly, it is possible to see a subtle concentration of these goods in the Roman period, accumulating more closely at the bottom of the river valley—not unlike, if on a much smaller scale, the patterns witnessed elsewhere further south (see **Figs. 1.4.8-10**).

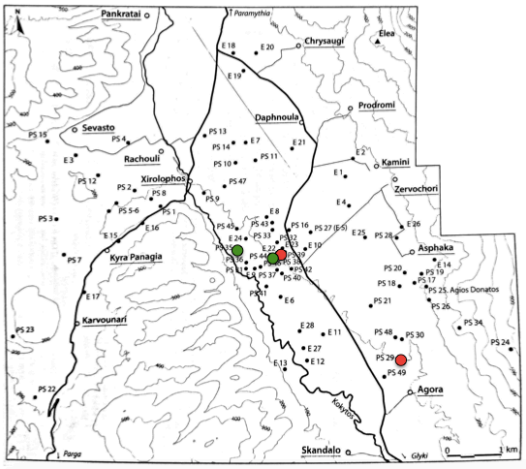


Figure 1.4.2 Thesprotia: Late Classical proxies for agricultural investment

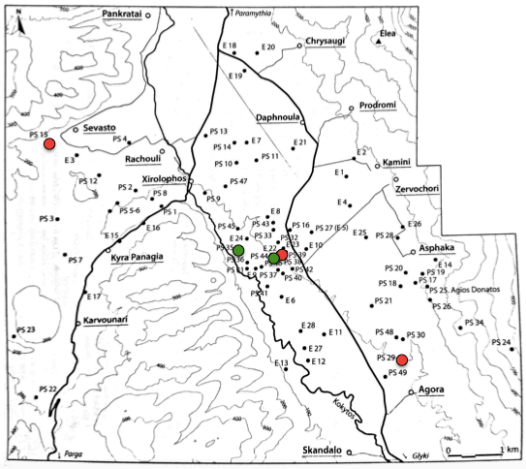


Figure 1.4.3 Thesprotia: Early Hellenistic proxies for agricultural investment

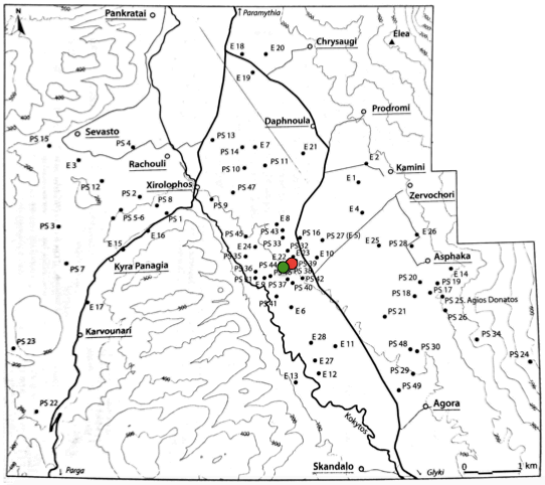


Figure 1.4.4 Thesprotia: Mid-Late Hellenistic proxies for agricultural investment

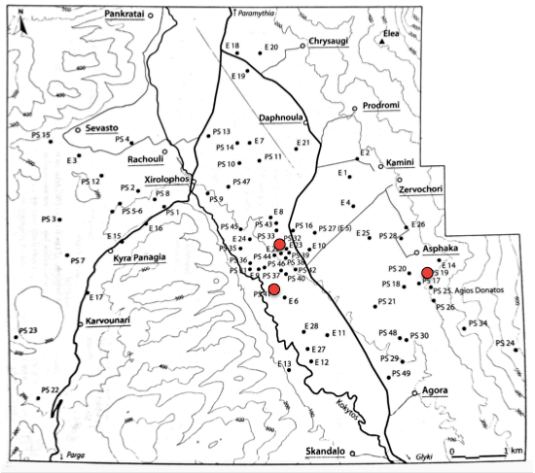


Figure 1.4.5 Thesprotia: Early Roman proxies for agricultural investment

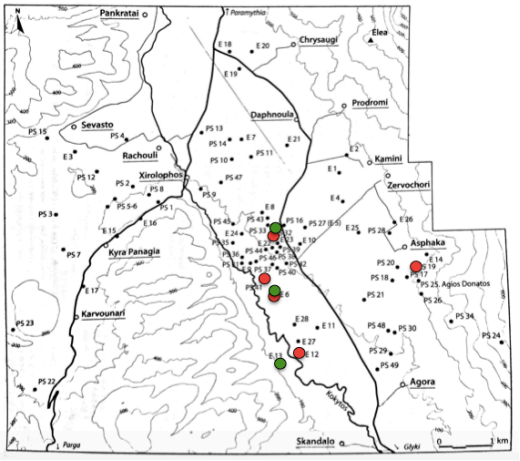


Figure 1.4.6 Thesprotia: Middle Roman proxies for agricultural investment

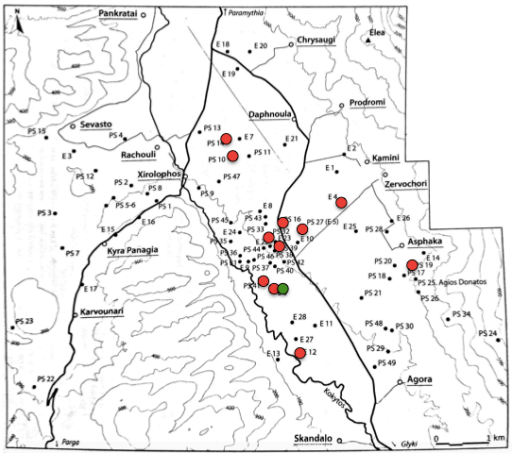


Figure 1.4.7 Thesprotia: Late Roman proxies for agricultural investment

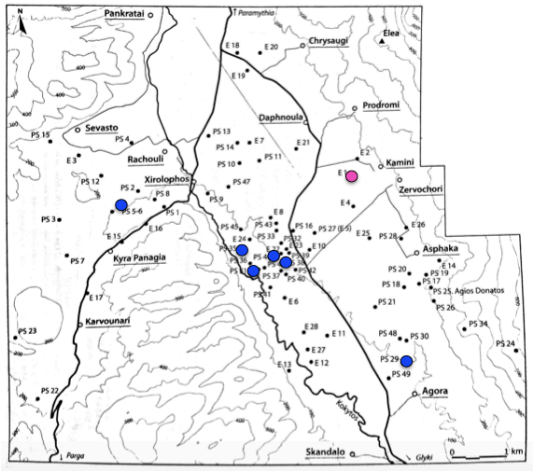


Figure 1.4.8 Thesprotia: Classical proxies for social display

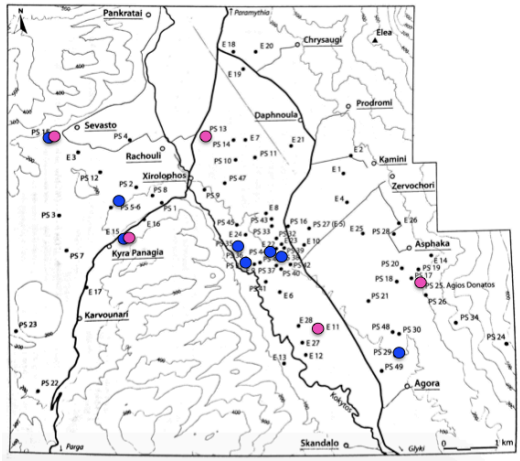
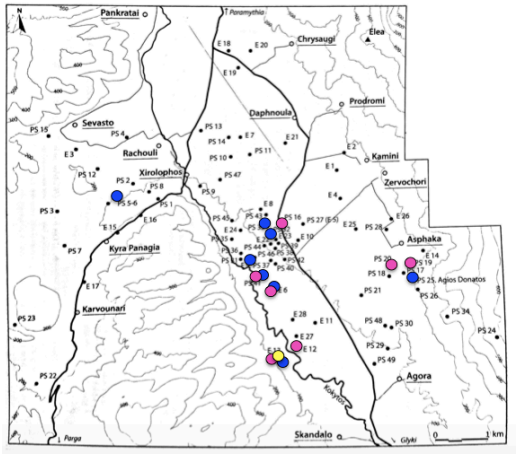


Figure 1.4.9 Thesprotia: Hellenistic proxies for social display



KEY
Red = Storage
Green = Agricultural Equipment
Blue = Fine Ware
Pink = Misc. High-value Item
Yellow = Floor Tile

Figure 1.4.10 Thesprotia: Roman proxies for social display

The Argolid Exploration Project

One of the early intensive surveys, the fieldwork for the Argolid Exploration Project was conducted between 1979-1982 with support from Stanford University. Because the second volume of the comprehensive artifact catalogue covering the historical periods has yet to be published, and the brief, often non-specific descriptions of the material finds provided in the site catalogue of *A Greek Countryside* are of limited utility, the data from the Argolid Exploration Project, insofar as it can be accessed, are of limited service to the present study. Nevertheless, even here some important parallels can be drawn.

Again, because thorough descriptions of finds were reserved for those items that dated to the identified time-span of the "site" (so, for example, the Classical materials from an area identified as a Classical farmstead are more thoroughly enumerated and described than any stray Roman sherds also found within that area), it was not possible to track the distribution of certain goods across this survey area. But those sites identified by the survey team as "Roman" included assemblages of both fine wares and storage wares, and these dense deposits of Roman goods are fairly well contained

within the northern section of the survey area (see **Figs. 1.5.2-3** compared to **Figs. 1.5.1** and **1.5.4**)—following the upper loop of the roundabout road connecting the Argolid peninsula to the arteries of mainland traffic (see **Fig. 1.5.5**). Without making any claims about settlement patterns and population levels, it is possible to see here a shift in collective investment and activity toward those areas that are best connected to the rest of the province.

Of course, if one focuses on settlement numbers and population levels, on the basis of these maps, the Roman period does seem like quite a lonely place compared to the Hellenistic and late Roman eras. In *Graecia Capta*, Alcock interprets this later resurgence of "site" numbers as a "reoccupation" of an empty countryside—an area underutilized and un-serviced by provincial infrastructure—which brings her to understand the late Roman period as a time of a reemerging "regional settlement hierarchy."[88] But that is not entirely fair to the Roman period, when patterns in social display suggest a marked interest in inter-poleis hierarchies and provincial connectivity. Moreover, assuming that the distribution of storage wares and agricultural equipment is similar to that observed elsewhere in the province (unfortunately, the presentation of the survey data in current publications prevent us from mapping this for the Southern Argolid), then neither is it fair to interpret the landscape of Roman Greece as one lacking localized hierarchies, which presumably structured the production of foodstuffs within this this region.

[88] Alcock 1993: 42.

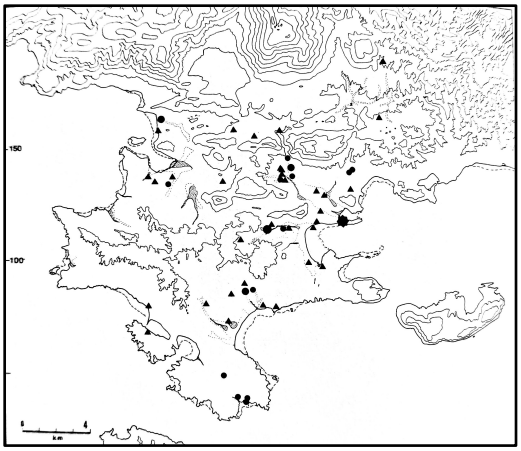


Figure 1.5.1 Hellenistic Argolid

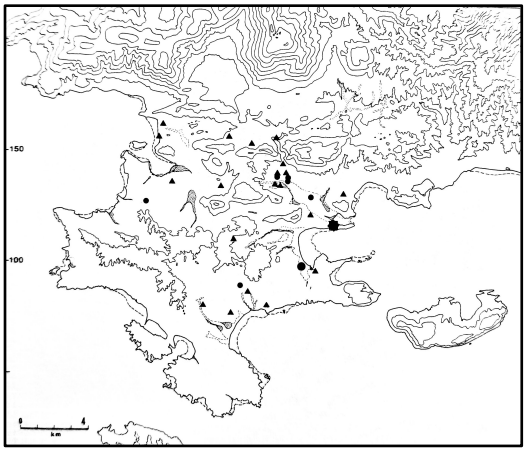


Figure 1.5.2 Early Roman Argolid

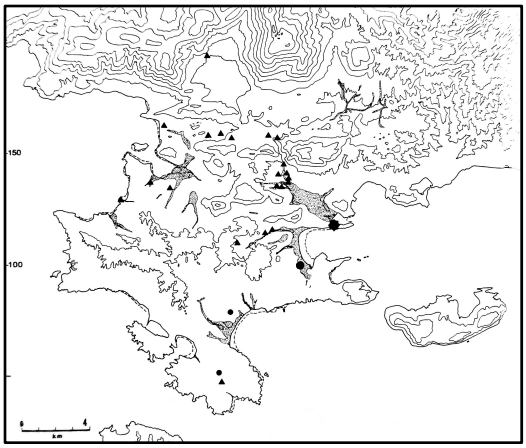


Figure 1.5.3 Middle Roman Argolid

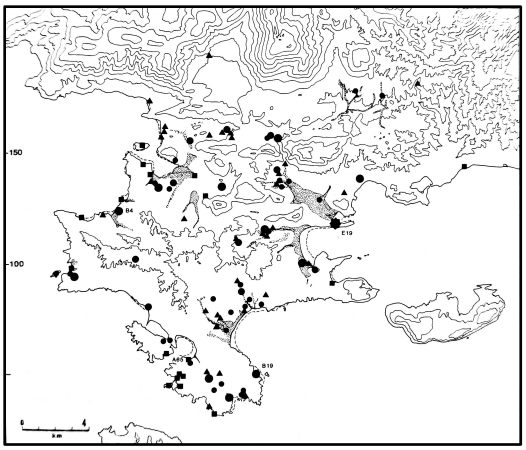


Figure 1.5.4 Late Roman Argolid

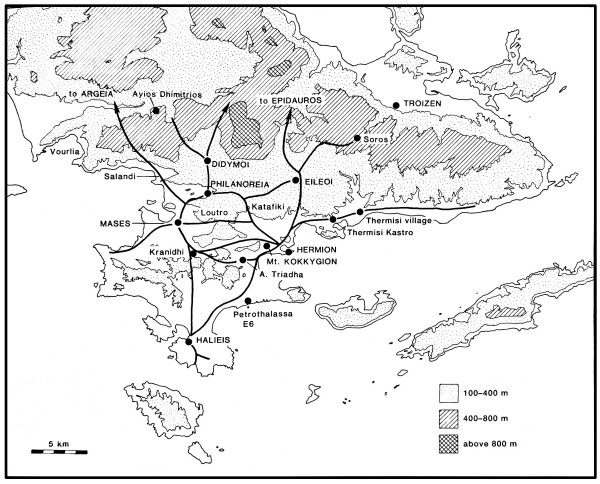


Figure 1.5.5 Road system of the Southern Argolid
(Jameson et al. 1994)

VI. Survey projects without artifact catalogues

Patrae

Patrae was surveyed in the late 1980s, but the subsequent publications have only provided somewhat cursory descriptions of their findings. Nevertheless, the survey data from the immediate surroundings of Patrae bear further testament to this phenomenon of suburbanized investment in the Roman period. Here, the early Hellenistic period witnessed a growth of artifactual scatter, which halted in the late Hellenistic period, only to resume full strength in the 1st century AD. The survey team identified many new "sites" that had been established for the first time in the Roman period. The artifacts from these sites are indicative of both agricultural and social investment: there was evidence of mosaic floors and fine wares, paired with large storage vessels and large-scale presses or grain mills.[89] We need not designate these artifact assemblages as "villa" sites to note that these features are signifiers of the same elite interest in both social and agricultural activities expressed by Roman villas.

The Aetolian Studies Project

Started in 1985, The Aetolian Studies Project published a thin volume after two years of field work, including a chapter that describes the ceramic finds by period. There was a noted dearth of fine wares for the Roman period throughout the majority of their survey area, but pockets of concentrated fine wares were found at large coastal sites to the east. Western sigillata was the most prevalent fine ware type from these areas.[90] This evidence is vague and indirect, but it could be indicative of concentrated investment in social display along the coast, which was clearly well connected to the western empire via active trade routes.

[89] Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994.
[90] Vroom 1987: 31.

VII. Conclusion: Suburbs and agriculture

The rural landscape must have looked much different under the Romans, and indeed the changes within the artifactual carpet dating to this time appear rather abrupt. But we need not be seduced by the plummeting number of alleged sites throughout mainland Greece, or the sudden loss of fine wares in many areas, into reading the Roman landscape as one of barren fields and gross economic decline. Of course, it is possible that settlement nucleation occurred at this time and that there were fewer families and workers living independently in the rural hinterlands of Greek poleis, but the evidence, for reasons outlined above, cannot confirm such changes in population density or settlement patterns (and regardless, it is not clear why such changes would be indicative of less intensive agricultural production). Instead, we can note the more or less even distribution of storage wares and agricultural processing equipment from the Classical through Roman periods, and see that—despite the other distinct changes in the artifactual carpet that coincide with Roman rule in Greece—there was not a noticeable change in the level of collective investment in agricultural production. We can also note an apparent shift in the types of processing equipment used, from smaller, cheaper, more mobile devices in the Classical-early Hellenistic period to more monumental, permanent machinery for pressing and grinding in the Roman era. The numbers of agricultural processing equipment—especially pieces that can be dated with any confidence—are so low, however, that we might question whether this apparent trend actually represents meaningful change in agricultural practices.

It is possible that the early Roman period was a time of comparatively strained resources across wide sections of society: there may have been some amount of economic hardships arising in the

Hellenistic period, which could have had repercussions in the Roman era.[91] Responses to these hardships, and/or to the changes in land tenure and territorial boundaries imposed by the Romans, may have created greater socio-economic disparity between landowners and laborers—but that is a question for a different set of evidence. On its own, the survey data does not speak of economic decline, but of shifting loci of collective investment: in terms of social display, from a more scattered spread of high-value goods (a plethora of fine wares but little else of high-value outside of cult centers) toward more discrete concentrations of such goods within the suburban zones of metropoleis, particularly alongside major nodes of regional connectivity. It is notable that these suburban areas also hosted sites of agricultural processing and storage.[92] This evidence suggests that (1) higher value was placed on inter-poleis and provincial relationships at this time, and (2) a blurring of the urban-rural division as Roman-style urban amenities (baths, mosaics, marble revetment, etc.) infiltrated these previously more "rural" spaces.

Together, these trends in agricultural and social investment are strikingly similar to that found in Roman Italy. This is not to suggest that such suburban zones were intentionally developed by Italian colonists or Roman governors on the model of the Roman *suburbium,* nor planned by provincial elites in imitation of the imperial capital and its environs. Rather, these trends grew organically in response to the growth of both urban centers and hinterlands far larger than those witnessed in the pre-Roman period. Contrary to Spenglerian thought, the growth of the urban center need not entail the absolute decline of the countryside. Spengler specifically denied the existence of suburban

[91] A relative shortage of manpower, for instance, may have posed a problem in this transitional period (Rizakis 2013). That said, however, on a broad macro-economic scale, the evidence of shipwrecks suggests a dramatic increase in trade and commercial activity across the Mediterranean precisely in the late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods (see Leidwanger 2017 and Wilson 2009). For the fraught question of depopulation, see Chapter 4.

[92] As evident in the pattern of storage wares and processing equipment outlined above. See also, Baladié 1980: 175-85 and Greene 2000: 29-59 on agricultural intensification and specialization in suburban areas.

development in classical cities, a blind spot due to his insistence on a strict separation between urban and rural domains. But by thinking in terms of a suburban landscape, and a suburban reorientation of social behaviors, this dichotomy becomes less clear—and the negative implications of societal decline so often associated with an abandoned countryside become less compelling. We may more profitably think of the Roman period as a step closer to Lefebvre's "critical zone" of urbanism: "From this moment on society no longer coincides with the countryside. It no longer coincides with the city either. The state encompasses them both, joins them in its hegemony[.]"[93] In this regard, it is worth noting the role of these elite suburban communities as spaces of alternative political activity, extensions of the urban political sphere into a city's hinterlands.[94] Suburbanization can thus be interpreted as contributing to the development of a more comprehensive political structure under Rome (an idea that will be explored in Chapter 4). By revealing these new centers of social investment clustering around suburban nodes of connectivity and (especially western) coastlines, the evidence of survey data depicts a landscape much more integrated into a larger whole—the provincial system of the Roman Empire.

[93] Lefebvre 2003: 12.
[94] Champlin 1982; Purcell 1987b.

Chapter 2

Tenancy and the Social Structures of Agricultural Production in Roman Greece

I. Introduction

Tenancy was a ubiquitous phenomenon throughout the Greco-Roman world, but distinct Greek and Roman land holding and leasing patterns suggest that the practice of tenancy, as a whole, manifested divergent priorities within Greek and Roman society. Discussions of Roman tenancy generally focus on the relationships between wealthy landowners and lower class tenants on private estates; but for the Greek world, attention shifts to the leasing of public and corporately-held land amongst elites (what I will refer to as "intra-elite tenancy"). In part, this difference in focus stems from a difference in evidence: legal testimony at Rome and a peculiar epigraphic habit in late Classical and Hellenistic Greece. However, as I will argue here, it is also apparent that Rome lacked the robust intra-elite rental sector that existed in Hellenistic Greece. Moreover, the evidence suggests that private tenancy was relatively less common as a structural labor strategy amongst Greek communities than in Roman Italy, and the nature of leasing practices differed significantly between the two as well. The Greek practice of intra-elite tenancy reinforced *horizontal* social bonds at a local, poliadic level—that is to say, the relationships within the participating elite circle were reaffirmed and differentiated from those of lower class or foreign origin—while Roman tenancy, embedded within a broader system of patron-client relationships, in both public and private contexts, emphasized the *vertical* bonds within

an extended social hierarchy. The question for Roman Greece, then, is whether the Greek pattern of landholding and leasing was maintained under Roman rule.

The first half of this chapter will therefore survey the evidence for both Greek and Roman tenancy practices: I will discuss both private and intra-elite tenancy within the Greek world, and then look at how these practices differed in the Roman context, highlighting their respective social implications. Then, in the second half of the chapter, I will suggest a few ways in which 1) land confiscations, colonization, and provincial governance undercut the social significance, if not the form, of Greek intra-elite tenancy in Achaea, and 2) pressures of immigration and Roman governance encouraged the spread of Roman-style private tenancy. In closing, I will venture even further to suggest that these factors fostered greater independence and mobility amongst elite families, while perhaps effecting some modicum of improvement to the welfare of lower class tenants—and that all these factors played into the development of a new inter-poleis hierarchy dominated by a few metropoleis.

II. Evidence of tenancy practices in late Classical and Hellenistic Greece

In late Classical and Hellenistic poleis, the leasing of orphan estates and corporately-owned private property, which both took place between fellow members of the elite, had much more in common with the leasing of public land than with that of individually-owned private estates. Thus, I will be interpreting these two particular types of private land leases alongside those of public and sacred property, as one broad category of lease contracts that perpetuate elite social bonds—what I am labeling intra-elite tenancy.

Individually-owned private estates

The evidence for land leases in Classical and Hellenistic Greece is not vast: the intra-elite lease contracts essentially comprise the entirety of the epigraphic corpus related to tenancy, leaving but a handful of stray literary references. This relative dearth of evidence somewhat explains both the long-held scholarly focus on the leasing of public land to the near exclusion of private property and the impressionistically negative estimates concerning the extent of private tenancy in pre-Roman Greece, an issue to which we shall turn momentarily.[1]

Given what little evidence we have, it seems that private leases were typically short-term contracts, perhaps only a single year was standard, and no longer than five years.[2] Private leases were conducted without legal control, so the length of contract and other terms could include whatever conditions the lessor and lessee agreed upon.[3] The *locus classicus* for these short-term leases, and the rapid turnover rate of tenants that it could induce, is a passage from Lysias. In the defense of a landowner charged with the removal of a sacred olive stump from his property, his tenants past and present are provided as witnesses:

> But when I took over the plot, after an interval of five days I let it out to Callistratus, in the archonship of Pythodorus. He cultivated it for two years [...] In the third year it was worked by Demetrius here for a twelvemonth; in the fourth I let it to Alcias, a freedman of Antisthenes, who is dead. After that Proteas too hired it in the same state during three years.[4]

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[1] Burford 1993: 177.
[2] Osborne 1988: 317.
[3] Osborne 1988: 311.
[4] Lysias 7.9-10. ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐγὼ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον, πρὶν ἡμέρας πέντε γενέσθαι, ἀπεμίσθωσα Καλλιστράτῳ, ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος: ὃς δύο ἔτη ἐγεώργησεν, οὔτε ἰδίαν ἐλάαν οὔτε μορίαν οὔτε σηκὸν παραλαβών. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Δημήτριος οὑτοσὶ εἰργάσατο ἐνιαυτόν: τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ Ἀλκίᾳ Ἀντισθένους ἀπελευθέρῳ ἐμίσθωσα, ὃς τέθνηκε: κᾆτα τρία ἔτη ὁμοίως καὶ Πρωτέας ἐμισθώσατο. (Lamb, transl.)

Another passage of Lysias likewise suggests that lease contracts were quite brief, and furthermore, that leasing a property could be a short-term contingency plan in the event of a precarious situation, such as a property dispute. The claimant in *On the Property of Eraton* tells the court that since acquiring the disputed property he has leased it for three years, and then calls multiple tenants (τοὺς μεμισθωμένους) to the stand as witnesses.[5] Another pertinent passage comes from Theophrastus' *De Causis Plantarum*, in a discussion of fruit trees and the apparent paradox that well-tended trees whose fruits are harvested annually age more quickly than unattended trees whose fruits are left alone. Here Theophrastus comments, "when the Thasians let out their orchards for cultivation they are unconcerned about any year of the lease but the last, and even welcome bad husbandry, but for the last year they stipulate that the lessor shall recover the very trees that he is renting out."[6] This seems to indicate that the length of these Thasian lease contracts, although longer than a single year, are still rather brief, and the stipulation that the lessor should take possession of the trees in the last year further indicates that the properties in question either reverted to the owner's care at the end of the contract (who wanted healthy, fruit-bearing trees) or were leased out to a different tenant (and the lush trees were desirable for fetching a high rent rate). This implicitly suggests that such property leases were not often renewed with the same tenant, rather it assumes regular turnover. Again, in Xenophon, we find the assumption that tenancy involved non-renewed, short-term leases in an extended analogy concerning bodily lust:

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[5] Lysias 17.5-8. "As long as the relatives of Erasiphon were contesting this property, I claimed the whole as mine, because Erasistratus lost his case when he pleaded against my father's suit for the whole debt; and for the last three years I have let out the property at Sphettus […] And to convince you of the truth of this I will produce to you, as witnesses, first the persons who rented from me the estate at Sphettus[.]" (Lamb, transl.)
ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ Ἐρασιφῶντος οἰκεῖοι τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἠμφεσβήτουν, ἅπαντα ἠξίουν ἐμὰ εἶναι, διότι ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ χρέως ἀντιδικῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος ἡττήθη: καὶ τὰ μὲν Σφηττοῖ ἤδη τρία ἔτη μεμίσθωκα […] ἵνα οὖν εἰδῆτε ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ ἐστι, μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς μεμισθωμένους παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὸ Σφηττοῖ χωρίον[.]

[6] Theoph. *Caus. Pl.* 2.11.3. ὅθεν καὶ Θάσιοι, τὰς γεωργίας ἀπομισθοῦντες, οὐ φροντίζουσι τῶν ἄλλων ἐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βούλονται κακουργεῖν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου συγγράφονται πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν κατάληψιν.

> I will now show that the companionship of a man who takes pleasure in the body rather than the soul is servile. […] it seems to me that the man who pays attention only to looks is like a tenant farmer: his concern is not to increase its value but to gain from it the biggest harvest he can. By contrast, the man whose goal is friendship is more like the owner of a farm: he draws from all resources to enhance his beloved's value.[7]

That a land-owner would take better care of his land than a tenant is perhaps a natural assumption, but the presumed difference between the two would be less striking if the hypothetical tenant occupied the property long-term and his welfare therefore depended on his care of the land. This passage highlights the assumption that a tenant would only be interested in the short-term benefits of the land and its immediate harvest.

Such short-term tenancy may not have encouraged the most effective farming practices, but it did offer lessors certain conveniences. First of all, short-term contracts provided liquid capital. With properties scattered in disparate places across the countryside, tenancy required fewer visits to distant estates and less active involvement in its agricultural production. Rents paid in kind are not unknown, but insofar as our evidence can demonstrate, they were not the norm. Thus, leasing one's land provided a solution to the potential problem of lacking liquid cash that is sometimes endemic to landed wealth.[8] Moreover, year-long contracts meant that tenants could be swapped out whenever a particular arrangement proved unsatisfactory; or that the proprietors could quickly revert to slaves and seasonal hired hands for labor, which may have been the more favored labor strategy on large Greek farms during this period.

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[7] Xen. *Symp.* 8.23-25. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερος ἡ συνουσία τῷ τὸ σῶμα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγαπῶντι, νῦν τοῦτο δηλώσω. [...] καὶ γὰρ δὴ δοκεῖ μοι ὁ μὲν τῷ εἴδει τὸν νοῦν προσέχων μεμισθωμένῳ χῶρον ἐοικέναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως πλείονος ἄξιος γένηται ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλεῖστα ὡραῖα καρπώσεται. ὁ δὲ τῆς φιλίας ἐφιέμενος μᾶλλον ἔοικε τῷ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀγρὸν κεκτημένῳ· πάντοθεν γοῦν φέρων ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται πλείονος ἄξιον ποιεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον. (Todd, transl.)

[8] Finley 1973: 48.

Indeed, this last point poses a crucial question: how extensive was the practice of private tenancy in pre-Roman Greece? Initially many believed that land tenancy hardly figured in Greek agricultural production at all. In 1911, Alfred Zimmern claimed that "tenancy in our sense of the word was practically unknown in Greece,"[9] and in 1940, economic historian Humfrey Michell supposed that "[t]enant farming never spread far in Greece […] Except for the state and the temples[.]"[10] Even Moses Finley, in his work on land and credit in ancient Athens, discussed only leases of public and "quasi-public" property, and did not touch upon the question of private tenancy.[11] But a dearth of evidence does not necessarily indicate a lack in practice, and the role of tenancy in pre-Roman Greece has increasingly gained recognition in recent studies,[12] especially since Robin Osborne's work in the 1980s.[13] Nevertheless, what little indirect evidence we have perhaps suggests that private tenancy never became a popular structural form of agricultural labor. For instance, in many Greek colonization and land distribution programs from the late Archaic and Classical periods, there is a great deal of concern expressed about the alienation of family property,[14] and a couple of inscriptions explicitly stipulate restrictions on leasing private property.[15] Such legal constraints seem to have fallen away during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods,[16] so we might surmise that the level of tenancy grew at this point. But an overall silence on the topic from Greek sources, and the picture of short-term, incidental leases that is painted by the few sources we do have, suggests that private tenancy was never a preferred land management strategy. Therefore, a rough scholarly

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9 Zimmern 1911: 234.
10 Michell 1940: 44.
11 Finley 1985.
12 E.g. Jones 2000.
13 Osborne 1988; 1985a; 1985b.
14 Asheri 1963.
15 From 6th century Athenian colonies at Salamis and Lemnos: *SEG* X I. l. 4; III 73 b/c l. 3 ff.
16 Asheri 1963: 4.

consensus has formed that (especially when compared to Roman tenancy) leasing private property in Greece was a less widespread and perhaps more stigmatized practice, perhaps more often a temporary arrangement than a permanent investment.[17]

And indeed, we certainly have more evidence concerning the stigmatization of renting than concerning its prevalence.[18] Especially set against the numerous comments in Greek literature proclaiming the noble qualities of the land-owning farmer, aspersions and stereotypes of tenants (such as Xenophon's analogy between tenants and lechers) perhaps represent a cultural bias against renting. Another telling example can be found in Theophrastus' depiction of the Fraudulent Man, who "when living in a rented house, he tells someone who doesn't know that it belongs to his family[.]"[19] This character sketch describes a man who is at least wealthy enough to attempt passing himself off as high society, and in this attempt he finds it necessary to hide his tenant status from

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[17] Burford 1993: 178. Osborne 1988 is somewhat an exception, but his work includes urban housing rentals as well, and essentially argues that the scale of private leasing is "large" because no literary sources complain of too few properties available for rent. Hanson 1995, on the other hand, represents the extreme end of this consensus: in pursuing his own ideological objectives concerning "middle class" citizen-farmers and Greek exceptionalism, Hanson posits that rejecting tenancy was a crucial step in the development of the polis, and that, beginning in the late Archaic period, tenancy became an atypical and unfavorable agricultural strategy throughout mainland Greece. For example, "An equally important change at the beginning of the *polis* period was a transformation in the mind, a radical change of attitude, as farmers learned to invest their efforts in the land in an entirely novel way. This alteration in the Greek mentality involved a new ideology of work derived from land ownership, not tenancy" (93). And also: "For those Greeks who lacked capital or were unable to find underdeveloped land, and so entered into *unfavorable* rental agreements or other forms of early repressive tenancy, agricultural success was questionable from the start and was left unresolved for generations" (40).

[18] For instance, a passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Lys.* 32), in which he states that 5,000 Athenians were landless in Lysias' day, has been cited as evidence for the low rate of tenancy in Attica. But there are at least three problems with this: 1) that number could be completely erroneous; 2) nor do we have a solid idea of the Athenian population altogether for this period, therefore 5,000 could be anywhere between about 6-18% of the male citizen population (based on a population estimate of 30,000-60,000 male citizens total, see French 1964: 136-138; Hansen 1988 argues for the low end of this range, c. 30,000, which is higher than the c. 20,000 that others had previously estimated); and 3) owning land does not preclude one from renting other properties. Therefore I am not convinced that this passage reveals much about the level of tenancy in Classical Athens. See discussion in Burford 1993 about Greek ideas about how tenancy developed out of practices of sharecropping and debt bondage (177-8).

[19] Theoph. *Char.* 23.9 καὶ ἐν μισθωτῇ οἰκίᾳ οἰκῶν φῆσαι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πατρῴαν πρὸς τὸν μὴ εἰδότα, καὶ διότι μέλλει πωλεῖν αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ ἐλάττω εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ξενοδοχίας.

others. As we will see in the case of Roman private tenancy, no such stigma attached to renting private property, a practice in which Romans at all levels of society can be found participating, as both lessees and lessors.

On the grounds that private tenancy was, insofar as the evidence allows us to judge, not a very prevalent form of agricultural labor and carried a certain amount of social stigma, I would venture to suggest that tenancy in Classical and Hellenistic Greece (unlike Roman Italy), was more often "incidental" than "structural:"[20] the leasing of private land here is used as a strategy suited for special circumstances, such as the sickness or death of the owner or, as we saw above, in the midst of a property dispute. Such arrangements may have become long-term, but nevertheless functioned as temporary stop-gaps. What little evidence we have suggests that Greek agricultural production largely depended on direct farming by landowners, slaves, and wage labor, while tenancy played an important but incidental role.

This tradition of land management has certain social and economic implications for how we understand the agro-economies of polis life in pre-Roman Greece. A system of tenancy comprised of unstable, short-term lease contracts does not encourage high agricultural productivity. For the lessee, given the variable climate of mainland Greece, investing limited resources in a property rented for only a few years was a gamble of high stakes without promise of a big pay off, even if those few years proved a success.[21] This is in contrast to the productivity levels of Roman tenancy, characterized by long-term and automatically renewed leases. Victor Davis Hanson has made

[20] de Neeve 1984: 18-19. P. W. de Neeve introduces these terms in his work *Colonus:* 'structural tenancy' describes situations wherein the landowner permanently plans not to exploit a property directly (perhaps because he lives far away or because he is not a farmer by profession).
[21] On agricultural risk, see e.g. Halstead 2014 and Gallant 1991.

sweeping claims that a high rate of tenancy is linked to low productivity, citing certain anthropological studies as evidence.[22] But not all forms of tenancy are alike, and as we shall see, the Roman system of long-term, structural tenancy, embedded in a patron-client social network that emphasized vertical ties, proves that tenancy need not result in poor productivity. Indeed, there are a number of anthropological parallels from other pre-mechanized farming cultures that suggest Roman-style tenancy would have yielded rather high levels of agricultural production than land farmed directly or by slave labor.[23] In any case, it would seem that for either a Greek land-owner or a potential tenant to agree on a short-term lease contract, both would have to be, in some sense, desperate—whatever the precise level of private land tenancy in the Greek world, it does not appear as the ideal farming strategy.

In terms of private tenancy's social implications for Greek society, it is important to note that Greek lessees appear to have come quite strictly from the lower echelons of society. That these leases operated so grossly in favor of the lessor points toward the low social station of most lessees.[24] By contrast, in the Roman world, we know that tenants came from relatively diverse socio-economic backgrounds.[25] It is possible that, in the Greek tradition of mixed agricultural strategies, some tenants of middling or even upper class means existed too, but we do not have the evidence to say so affirmatively, and what evidence we do have suggests that the status of a tenant was one of poverty. For instance, in a speech following the Social War, Isocrates, while advocating a return to pre-Periclean politics, describes the noble generosity of the days of yore: "Those who possessed wealth, on the other hand, did not look down upon those in humbler circumstances, but, regarding

[22] Hanson 1995: 35, citing Barlett 1980.
[23] See Foxhall 1990, which cites studies by Cooper 1983, Taussig 1982, and Bharadwaj 1974.
[24] Osborne 1988: 317.
[25] Foxhall 1990.

poverty among their fellow-citizens as their own disgrace, came to the rescue of the distresses of the poor, handing over lands to some at moderate rentals[.]"[26] Isocrates is reveling in conservative nostalgia to be sure, but his comments operate upon certain shared assumptions: that contemporary lessors charged unreasonably high rents, and that more altruistic tenancy practices could be a form of poor relief. Both assumptions link the practice of renting land with poverty—which certainly does not preclude the possibility of wealthier lessees, but is indicative of the common social connotations of private tenancy. By exploiting this vast social divide, landowners simultaneously reinforced class boundaries. The ultimate motive behind such practices is unquestionably to drive a profit (rather than to instantiate class distinctions), but these comparatively harsh limitations on tenant farmers also reflect particular social priorities: valuing the horizontal over vertical relationships within local social hierarchies.[27]

Intra-elite tenancy

In the late Classical and Hellenistic poleis of mainland Greece, the leasing of public, sacred, and corporately owned property can all be characterized by 1) the relatively long duration of lease contracts—ten years or longer, 2) a non-exploitative cost of rent, 3) relatively relaxed limitations on, or demands of, agricultural activity, and 4) the relatively upper class status of both lessors and lessees. As stated, the majority of evidence for intra-elite tenancy comes from epigraphic sources, but there are a few helpful literary references—unsurprisingly, they concern public land at Athens.

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[26] Isoc. 7.32. οἵ τε τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες οὐχ ὅπως ὑπερεώρων τοὺς καταδεέστερον πράττοντας, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνοντες αἰσχύνην αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορίαν ἐπήμυνον ταῖς ἐνδείαις, τοῖς μὲν γεωργίας ἐπὶ μετρίαις μισθώσεσι παραδιδόντες[.] (Norlin, transl.)

[27] By comparison, the evidence for Roman private tenancy (discussed below) indicates that practices in Italy were perhaps a degree less exploitative: the typical Roman lease lasted for five years, and there were social incentives in place to maintain tenants even if they had fallen into arrears. See, for example, de Neeve 1984: 10-11.

The *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, for instance, offers a brief overview of the administrative process for leasing Athenian public land:

> Also the Arkhon Basileus introduces the letting of domains, having made a list of them on whitened tablets. These also are let for ten years, and the rent is paid in the ninth prytany; hence in that prytany a very large revenue comes in. The tablets written up with the list of payments are brought before the Boule, but are in the keeping of the official clerk; and whenever a payment of money is made, he takes down from the pillars and hands over to the receivers just these tablets showing the persons whose money is to be paid on that day and wiped off the record, but the other tablets are stored away separately in order that they may not be wiped off before payment is made. There are ten Receivers elected by lot, one from each tribe; these take over the tablets and wipe off the sums paid in the presence of the Boule in the Boule chamber, and give the tablets back again to the official clerk; and anybody that has defaulted in a payment is entered on them, and has to pay double the amount of his arrears or go to prison; and the legal authority to impose this fine and imprisonment is the Boule.[28]

This is a hefty penalty for defaulting on rent: worth twice the original rental sum, or otherwise prison. And from Demosthenes we learn that defaulting on a lease of sacred land could incur the loss of citizenship until payment was fulfilled: "Those who do not pay the rents due for the lands of the goddess or of the gods and the eponymous heroes shall be disenfranchised, themselves and their

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[28] *Ath. Pol.* 47-8.
εἰσφέρει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν, ἀναγράψας ἐν γραμματείοις λελευκωμένοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ μὲν μίσθωσις εἰς ἔτη δέκα, καταβάλλεται δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς θ πρυτανείας. διὸ καὶ πλεῖστα χρήματα ἐπὶ ταύτης συλλέγεται τῆς πρυτανείας. εἰσφέρεται μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ γραμματεῖα κατὰ τὰς καταβολὰς ἀναγεγραμμένα, τηρεῖ δ᾽ ὁ δημόσιος: ὅταν δ᾽ ᾖ χρημάτων καταβολή, παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ ταῦτα καθελὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων, ὧν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δεῖ τὰ χρήματα καταβληθῆναι καὶ ἀπαλειφθῆναι: τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ἀπόκειται χωρίς, ἵνα μὴ προεξαλειφθῇ. εἰσὶ δ᾽ ἀποδέκται δέκα κεκληρωμένοι κατὰ φυλάς: οὗτοι δὲ παραλαβόντες τὰ γραμματεῖα, ἀπαλείφουσι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόασιν τὰ γραμματεῖα τῷ δη- μοσίῳ. κἄν τις ἐλλίπῃ καταβολήν, ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἐγγέγραπται, καὶ διπλάσιον ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν καταβάλλειν ἢ δεδέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσπράττειν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ δῆσαι κυρία κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐστίν. (Rackham, transl.)

family and their heirs, until they shall make payment."[29] Prison, doubled payments, and loss of citizenship are harsh penalties to be sure, especially given the boom-and-bust nature of agriculture. This perhaps reflects the upper class status of the people renting out such properties. While ten years is a fair amount of time to recoup any losses from a poor harvest over the long term, in the short term—in the first year or two of the contract—if a bad harvest struck, the lessee must have been able to draw upon other sources of income to make rent or otherwise potentially face rather serious consequences.

That said, it appears that these penalties might have occasionally proved to be empty threats, or sometimes only haphazardly enforced. One Euxítheus, for instance, bewails the anger he incurred simply by requiring that "some of the demesmen pay the rents which they owed for sacred lands[.]"[30] Demosthenes records a proposed decree that would allow rent defaulters to walk free upon providing a surety[31]—a loophole that would favor only the elite (as Demosthenes himself points out), but would perhaps legalize what was already common practice. This apparent ambivalence in enforcing the terms of lease contracts is, I think, indicative of the elite reciprocity inherent within the system, as well as the long-term stability that it provided.

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[29] Dem. 43.58: τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδόντας τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀτίμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος καὶ κληρονόμους τοὺς τούτων, ἕως ἂν ἀποδῶσιν. (Murray, transl.)

[30] Dem. 57.63: εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὴν δημαρχίαν λέγειν, δι᾽ ἣν ὠργίζοντό μοί τινες, ἐν ᾗ διάφορος ἐγενόμην εἰσπράττων ὀφείλοντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν μισθώσεις τεμενῶν καὶ ἕτερ᾽ ἃ τῶν κοινῶν διηρπάκεσαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν βουλοίμην ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος ὑπολήψεσθε ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι. (DeWitt, transl.)

[31] Dem. 24.

The epigraphic evidence bears this out: leases on public, sacred, and corporate land were non-exploitative[32] and a stable way of converting landed property into cash for the collective lessors. A sizable collection of inscribed lease contracts—primarily from Athens but including a handful from elsewhere[33]—attests to the large swathes of land owned by poleis and sanctuaries. Dating from the mid 5th through the 2nd century BC, these thirty-five inscriptions from southern mainland Greece, documenting over a hundred individual lease contracts, provide evidence for the nature and administration of intra-elite tenancy. The Athenian contracts include leases administered at the deme, tribe, and polis level. The revenues from these tenant arrangements were used to fund civic projects, cult activity, and the maintenance of temples. Of the leases or series of leases for which the length of contract is known, at least seven are for ten years or longer,[34] and four offer contracts "for all time".[35] It also appears that the rental rates were non-competitive, in the sense that (unlike the costs of leasing quarries or mines) the extant rent prices are round numbers, which may indicate that these properties were not distributed by auction, but decided in a closed committee setting.[36] And of these hundred-some contracts, very few stipulate any conditions under which the land was to be

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[32] Burford 1993 suggests these are lower rent costs compared to private short-term leases (260, n. 30), and others have made similar suggestions. Osborne 1988 suggests that these properties were sound investments from which the lessees expected a return, but, that the rental rate was not so generous that the tenant did not have to intensively cultivate the fields. Osborne cites the example of *IT* 62, in which the lessee can be calculated to have produced a crop yield of about 1000 kg. of wheat per hectare, suggesting intensive methods. That said, the evidence for evaluating rental rates on the basis of the size of the rented property is unfortunately slim. Alternatively, Jameson 1982, suggesting that some of the rented public lands at Rhamnous went un-farmed, interprets these leases as *de facto* liturgies. In the sense that poleis and sanctuaries needed the revenue from leasing their properties, Jameson is surely right; but whether the lessee gained something out of the deal as well, I suppose, was entirely up to him. Osborne 1988 mentions that some of the smaller plots (for example, the leasing of land that was nearly coterminous with the cult building itself) would have effectively been donations to the corporate or civic body from the lessee (286), but this is in contrast to the larger more clearly agricultural plots.

[33] Nineteen from Attica; one from Olympia; eight from Thespiae; six from Phocis; and one from Aetolia. There are many other public tenancy contract inscriptions from the islands and Asia Minor (including eighty-nine from Delos, where a much different public tenancy program seems to have been in use, see Osborne 1988). These are all collected in Pernin 2014.

[34] *IG* II² 2493; *SEG* 32.225; *IG* II² 2498; *IG* II² 2492.1; *IG* II² 411; *IG* I³ 252; *IG* II² 1241.

[35] *IG* II² 2497; *SEG* 21.644; Pleket *Epigraphica* I (1964) no. 41.

[36] Osborne 1988: 290-291. However, see interpretation of Brunet, Rougement, and Rousset 1998: 217.

cultivated: three simply dictate that the tenant not over-crop the land or neglect biennial fallow;[37] two contain generic statements about responsible cultivation;[38] and one, concerning an olive grove, states that the deme should receive a portion of any money made from the felling and selling of olive trees.[39] The tenants of these properties were largely at liberty to cultivate crops, orchards, or livestock as they saw fit.[40]

These reasonable rental rates were not relief for the plight of lower class farmers,[41] but perks amongst an elite class.[42] Although the literary and epigraphic evidence by no means explicitly exclude persons of lower socio-economic status, the prosopographical evidence reveals that both lessees and lessors[43] were predominantly from the upper echelons of Greek society. Among eighty-six named

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37 *IG* II² 2492.1; *SEG* 32.225; *IG* II² 2493.
38 *IG* II² 1241; *IG* I³ 252.
39 *IG* II² 2492.1.
40 Brunet, Rougement, and Rousset 1998: 217.
41 Even if these rates were non-exploitative, they seem to be for large enough parcels of land that the rates would have been beyond lower class means. At the average day-laborer *per diem* wage of 1 drachma (Scheidel 2010: 441-2, 455-6, based on epigraphic and literary sources collected in Loomis 1998 and Markle 1985), the majority of these leases, (costing more than a couple hundred drachmae) would likely be too expensive for lower class persons. The Attic inscriptions do range from 40-742 dr. per year, but the examples from the lower end of this scale appear to be less agriculturally viable plots (one such lease is for land nearly coterminous with the cult center building itself). Osborne therefore interprets these smaller scale contracts, unlike the larger properties with great agricultural potential, as *de facto* donations (1988: 286). Even in the case of the deme properties, where the cheapest rental rates are found, 11.5% of the named lessees can be identified as members of the liturgical class, while another 18.5% can be identified as members of the general upper class. Osborne therefore emphatically states that the lessees must have been from substantial wealth (1988: 291).
42 Brunet, Rougment, and Rousset 1998: 218-9.
43 The Athenian *Boule,* in charge of the leasing of certain public and sacred lands in Attica as described in *Ath. Pol.* 47-48, would of course include persons from more or less all ranks of society. But the lessees, as discussed above, are demonstrably upper class, and arguably it fell to fellow members of the political and economic elite in the management of this system, as reflected in the Demosthenes passage mentioned above. In fact, due to the expenditure of time needed for participation in the *Boule,* it has been argued that richer citizens tended to fill more seats than their poorer counterparts (see Thorley 1996: 58-9). More importantly, for much of the Hellenistic period, to which well over half of these inscriptions are dated, many poleis were but nominal democracies. At Athens in the early Hellenistic period, property qualifications disenfranchised many Athenian citizens, effectively creating an oligarchic government of the wealthiest citizens (a "moderate oligarchy," in the words of Habicht 1997: 46). Significantly, Graham Oliver argues that disenfranchisement "seems to have affected the *Boule* more than any other area" (Oliver 2003: 50). Therefore, during this time,

tenants in the Attic inscriptions, fifteen can be shown to be part of, or connected to, families that performed liturgies, and numerous names of both lessees and lessors are found elsewhere as magistrates.[44] Eight leases from Thespiae demonstrate how members of the local leasing committee were themselves the lessees on more than one occasion,[45] and the system of required sureties at Thespiae increases the likelihood that the interested parties were from the same upper class.[46] And from all these lease inscriptions, only four metics can be found as tenants on public land, two of which had gained citizenship at some point and all four are of known high status.[47] The low number of metics is curious: since landownership was not obligatory for renting public lands, there was no legal barrier for metics to do so. It may be that the long-term contracts actually dissuaded some noncommittal wealthy foreigners from renting public properties.[48] But it may also be the case, given that this was civic and sacred property intimately connected to the welfare and daily life of the citizen community, that metics, if not actively excluded, were perhaps not encouraged to rent.[49]

The evidence for the scale of intra-elite tenancy is unfortunately slim and unsuited for a quantitative approach, especially outside Athens. None of the extant contracts describe the geographic extent of the leased property, nor its capital value. Ergo, judging the scale or economic impact of these practices remains a rather subjective exercise. Nevertheless, at least at Athens, the extent of public and sacred lands appears quite vast. As evidence of the widespread nature of public leasing throughout Attica, Robin Osborne points to the fact that an administrative structure for leasing

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the members of the *Boule* leasing out these properties were very likely from the upper classes. Elsewhere (e.g. at Thespiae, in corporate land, and orphan estates) the lessors are also demonstrably upper class.

[44] Osborne 1988: 289.

[45] *IT* 44-7; 49-52; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57; 62.

[46] Osborne 1988: 295, 297.

[47] Osborne 1988: 289.

[48] As Osborne tentatively suggests (289).

[49] As Papazarkadas argues (2011: 323-5).

public property was already in place by the fifth century BC (and essentially stayed the same for centuries to come)—in addition to the fact that public leases were often the solution to the question of what to do with newly acquired state land.[50] (The establishment of sacred lands and cleruchies in conquered territory has commonly been interpreted as giving the gods' their due,[51] a form of punishment on the local population, or as an ever-present reminder of Athenian power—but it was also a mode of sharing wealth among interested elite bodies and generating income for the polis.) We can gain some sense of the economic scale of intra-elite tenancy at Athens by looking at Stele 1 of *IG* II^2 1590: a fragmentary fourth century inscription recording lease contracts for a few different Attic cult properties,[52] which has a total rent yield estimated at five talents.[53] If rent equates to roughly 8% of capital value (a loose estimate based on a passage of Isaeus),'[54] then the land concerned in this one inscription has a net value of about sixty talents.[55] Given that the total value of all Attic land in the fourth century was assessed at 5,750 or 6,000 talents,[56] this testimony suggests that the leasing of public property formed a critical segment of the local economy.

Social implications

The socially bifurcated practice of tenancy in late Classical and Hellenistic Greece—wherein those outside the local landed elite were *de facto* excluded from the leasing of public, sacred, corporate and orphan estates—bears a number of implications for the social structure of the pre-Roman polis. But the aspect of this system that I would like to emphasize—because I think it is the one most

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50 In Euboea (*IG* I^3 418), Nea (*SEG* 18.13), and Oropos (Langdon 1987). Osborne 1988: 285.
51 Polinskaya 2009: 253-254.
52 *IG* II^2 1590.
53 Walbank 1983.
54 Isaios 11.42: land valued at 2.5 talents is let for 12 minae.
55 Osborne 1988: 285. Public land in Attica has been estimated as one tenth of all Attic land (Brunet, Rougement, and Rousset 1998: 219.
56 Polybius 2.62.7; Demosthenes 14.19. See discussion in Oliver 2006: 301.

disrupted by Roman conquest—is the positive reinforcement of horizontal social bonds—the relationships between the elite involved in the administration and leasing of these properties. That these lease contracts lasted for periods of a decade or longer means that lessees entered into long-lasting and stable bonds with the association, civic official, or administrative council responsible for leasing the property. And in some cases a third party surety was pledged for the lease contract,[57]creating yet another process through which individual elite interests were intertwined over an extended period of time. If the majority of Greek elites were participating in intra-elite tenancy—and the available evidence suggests that they were[58]—then this system implies the existence of a rooted elite in-group at the localized level of the polis (or tribe or deme, in the case of Attica). Elite foreigners (Greek or otherwise) may take up residence within a new polis, but as the prosopography has shown, it appears they were unlikely to become part of this long-term, entrenched subset within the local elite body—at least not until the twilight of the Hellenistic age.[59]

Moreover, such a system of low rental costs, lengthy lease contracts, and relaxed stipulations of cultivation practices could only operate on a system of reciprocity. And indeed, the civic or sanctuary officials acting as lessors, as fellow individual members of the elite, would benefit from similar treatment when they rent, in turn, from the state or local sanctuary. As a collective, the group benefits from mutual investment in the polis and each other. This is not to say that the polis and its sanctuaries were uninterested in generating revenue: certainly they were, and these contracts are not so generous that the lessor lost money in the venture. And because the lessees were elite persons with multiple investments, properties, and sources of wealth, they were presumably reliable tenants—if not in paying rent with total consistency (as we saw earlier), then at least as involved

[57] E.g. *IT* 44-7; 49-52; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57; 62.
[58] Osborne 1988: 313, 323; Davies 1981: 49.
[59] Brunet, Rougement, and Rousset 1998: 219.

citizens participating both monetarily and politically in the maintenance of the polis. In this broader context, light abuses within this system may have been prevalent, but were perhaps not urgently detrimental. For instance, in an inscription from the tribe of Erechtheis,[60] one Antisthenes of Lamptrai is honored for suggesting annual inspections of tribal property to ensure responsible cultivation and that boundary stones had not been moved. That such policies were apparently uncommon—that it took the brilliant Antisthenes to come up with such an idea—implies that minor offenses were overlooked, that the system did not operate to secure absolute maximum productivity, but to promote class coherency and interdependence through mutual profitability. To this end, it is notable that Antisthenes' proposal does not necessarily (or does not only) help generate more revenue for the tribe, but protects its lessees from taking advantage of each other, maintaining peace within the community.

Other peculiarities of these inscriptions further highlight the social importance of these leases, particularly ones that praise the tenants—creating an encomium out of a contract. For example, in a lease contract from the deme of Teithras, it is made explicit that their decision to lease a plot to one Xanthippos is because he is "a man good about their corporate property."[61] Such honors perhaps provided a check on potential bad behavior, but it also expresses the otherwise implicit honor in leasing such property and advertises one's membership in the upper tier of local society.

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[60] *IG* II² 1165 (c. 300-250 BC)

[61] *SEG* 24.151.

ἐπε[ι]δὴ Ξ-
[άνθι]ππό[ς] ἐστι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περ[ὶ] τ[ὰ κ]οινὰ τὰ [Τ]ε-
[ι]θ[ρασ]ί[ων], ἐ[ψ]ηφ[ίσ]θαι Τειθ[ρ]ασίοις μι<σ>θῶσαι [Ξ]-
ανθ[ίππω]ι [τ]ὸ [χ]ωρίον τὸ Τε[ί]θραντι […]

Since Xanthippos is a man good about Teithrasian property, the Teithrasians have voted to lease out Teithrasian land to Xanthippos. (Translation is my own.)

One last example, or subset, of intra-elite tenancy is the leasing of orphan estates, which shares some but not all characteristics of public, sacred, and corporate land leases. When propertied inheritances fell into the laps of youths who had not yet attained their majority, the polis often leased their landed estates, so that the property would be maintained and some profit generated. At Athens, it was law that a surety be pledged that could cover the value of the property. Hence, the leasing of orphan estates was effectively restricted to those with property larger than the orphan estate itself, and therefore a practice only among the very top tier of elite society.[62] The duration of the lease was dependent upon when the orphan was due to come of age (which occurred at age fourteen for girls, and either fourteen or eighteen for boys).[63] Therefore, unlike the other forms of intra-elite tenancy, many of these contracts could be for rather short periods of time. There were also restrictions on agricultural activity; given the circumstances, it was of high importance that the child's inheritance not be mismanaged.[64] Despite the possibly short lease contract and restrictions, these leases made appealing offers. So long as one's own landed wealth was sufficient to cover the value of the orphan estate and its rent, these valuable properties, already organized and set for production, could be acquired without making any capital expenditure.[65] Yet again, the broader social implications of this practice points to the importance of interdependence and mutual benefit amongst the local elite. Accepting a lease on an orphan estate was not only an opportunity to make money, but to do a favor to the family of the orphans and honor the deceased. It was not mandatory that orphan estates be leased, but there are hints that this was viewed as one of the more selfless and responsible

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[62] *Ath. Pol.* 56.7.

[63] *Ath. Pol.* 56.7. "He [the archon] grants leases of houses belonging to orphans and heiresses until they are fourteen years of age, and receives the rents[.]"
μισθοῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων, ἕως ἄν τις τετταρακαιδεκέτις γένηται, καὶ τὰ ἀποτιμήματα λαμβάνει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους, ἐὰν μὴ διδῶσι τοῖς παισὶ τὸν σῖτον, οὗτος εἰσπράττει.

[64] Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 56.7 and discussion in Osborne 1988: 308 *ff.*

[65] Osborne 1988: 317. Osborne suggests that the apparent eagerness to take on leases of orphan property may even be indicative of "the degree to which Athenians were regularly hard-pressed for liquid capital."

choices that an orphan's guardian could take.[66] Robin Osborne has pinpointed the leasing of orphan estates in particular as a practice that developed so that "old ties of obligation could be paid or reinforced, new ties created."[67] I would go further to suggest that this was part and parcel of a broader intra-elite tenancy system that fostered local interdependence.

III. The Roman tradition of land tenancy

Tenancy at Rome followed a markedly different social trajectory. Compared to the Greek tradition, the ratio of individually owned private property to public, sacred, and corporately owned land was weighted much more heavily in favor of the former. One significant contrast is that evidence for sacred land has rarely been found outside non-Hellenic parts of the Roman Empire[68]—one notable exception being Sulla's endowment of land to the temple of Diana Tifatina, and this could well be interpreted as an instance of self-aware Hellenizing.[69] In any case, the use of sacred land to generate revenue for cult activity was not within the Roman tradition.[70] Public property, the *ager publicus*, was leased out for revenues that subsidized civic projects and administration; but this land, ever increasing through conquest, was also ever decreasing. Continually amidst processes of privatization,

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[66] As when guardians are attacked for not permitting orphan estates to be leased, e.g. Lysias 32.23.
[H]ad he wished to act justly by the children, he was free to act in accordance with the laws which deal with orphans for the guidance of incapable as well as capable guardians: he might have farmed out the estate and so got rid of a load of cares, or have purchased land and used the income for the children's support; whichever course he had taken, they would have been as rich as anyone in Athens.
ἐξῆν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἳ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις τῶν ἐπιτρόπων καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις, μισθῶσαι τὸν οἶκον ἀπηλλαγμένον πολλῶν πραγμάτων, ἢ γῆν πριάμενον ἐκ τῶν προσιόντων τοὺς παῖδας τρέφειν: καὶ ὁπότερα τούτων ἐποίησεν, οὐδενὸς ἂν ἧττον Ἀθηναίων πλούσιοι ἦσαν.
[67] Osborne 1988: 316.
[68] Duncan-Jones 1990: 123. Two other exceptions: the use of the *ager Veiens* to support the augurs and the property of the Vestal Virgins. Festus p.204L and Hyginus p.117L, respectively.
[69] Velleius Paterculus 2.25.4. In gratitude for his victory over Norbanus in 83 BC, the first battle after his return from the East. Velleius reported that the benefaction was recorded in two inscriptions, one attached to the door-post of the temple, and the other, on bronze, located inside (neither extant). The boundaries were reconfirmed by both Augustus and Vespasian.
[70] For funding of Roman cult, see Horster 2007 and Gordon 1990.

the *ager publicus* was more often sold for revenue than leased, and also given as payment for military services, or occasionally doled out as a source of relief for impoverished Roman citizens. This pattern was established early on in Rome's imperial history;[71] the earliest attestation of a *lex agraria* legislating the transformation of public land into private property dates (ostensibly) to 486 BC, when, according to Livy, the lands of the Hernici were distributed to private citizens.[72] The historicity of this proposed law is doubtful,[73] but it is nevertheless significant that at least in the historical imagination of the first century BC, the privatization of *ager publicus* had been an ongoing process since the 5th century— essentially, since time immemorial.

Thus, public land in Roman Italy, rather than functioning as a source of social stability amongst the elite, was a perennial source of political discord, in large part due to this ongoing privatization process. As any textbook in Roman history will narrate, the story of the late Republic is wound up in the never-ending demands for more state land for private uses: veterans needing to be settled, the poor demanding redistribution, citizens claiming public land as their own, and the haphazard use of colonization as an answer to these problems—all forms of *de facto* privatization. Because of these pressures and the growing scarcity of desirable land, the transfer of public land to private hands offered great political rewards for the magistrates charged with such tasks. In the founding of new coloniae*,* a group of special commissioners selected by the senate were responsible for allocating land to colonists. Usually three men of consular or praetorian rank—the very top of Roman society—filled these roles,[74] and theoretically might look forward to political support from the new colonists pleased with their land allotments. More importantly, these men were the stars of all the

[71] Duncan-Jones 1990: 121.
[72] Livy 2.41.
[73] Crawford, Michael Hewson. "Agrarian laws." Brill's New Pauly. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Brill Online, 2016.
[74] Gargola 1995: 56.

public ceremonies and celebrations that attended the founding of a new colony: ritual performances that accompanied the distribution of land, as well as public events in Rome itself. These processes both reinforced and reflected the vertical hierarchies that comprised Roman society. By the late Republic, land commissioners were so powerful that they operated with an entire retinue of *praefecti, legati, finitores,* and surveyors (usually of equestrian rank). Thus land reform at Rome by the end of the Republic had developed into a professionalized process,[75] and the positions of the special commissioners were much coveted—as evidenced by the increasing extralegal usurpations of these roles in the late Republic. Sulla was the first to break with established protocol, choosing to organize land assignments for his veterans himself, rather than allowing the usual processes of the special commissioners (in fact, he did not ask for the opinion of the senate or a vote of the people before settling his veterans).[76] As Appian informs us, Sulla was much lauded by his soldiers for this act.[77] In a similar vein, during the Civil Wars, in an attempt to curry favor with Caesar's veterans, Antony took on one of these positions in the founding of Casilium in 44 BC, choosing the most prominent roles of the *lustrum* and tracing of the *pomerium* for himself.[78]

Only a small fraction of unassigned public land was administered to yield public revenues through tenancy, and the practice was usually employed as a means to a specific end (to fund a religious festival, a discrete function of a public institution, for military campaign, etc.) rather than as an

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[75] See Chapter 9 of Gargola 1995.

[76] Moatti 1993: 7-8.

[77] App. *BC* 96: "he placed colonies of his troops in order to hold Italy under garrisons, sequestrating their lands and houses and dividing them among his soldiers, whom he thus made true to him even after his death. As they could not be secure in their own holdings unless all Sulla's system were on a firm foundation, they were his stoutest champions even after he died." (Heinemann, transl.)
ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ στρατευσαμένους ἐπῴκιζεν ὡς ἕξων φρούρια κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐς τούσδε μεταφέρων διεμέριζεν· ὃ καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτοὺς εὔνους αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτήσαντι ἐποίησεν· ὡς γὰρ οὐχ ἕξοντες αὐτὰ βεβαίως, εἰ μὴ πάντ' εἴη τὰ Σύλλα βέβαια, ὑπερηγωνίζοντο αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάντος.

[78] Gargola 1995: 185.

ongoing source of state income, and just as often it was decided to raise such funds through the sale rather than leasing of public land.[79] This strategy of public income was also practiced on a local level by urban communities governed by Roman laws, as evidenced by the *lex* promulgated at Furfo authorizing the local aediles to sell or lease lands to raise money for the temple of Jupiter Liber.[80] Both the leasing and sale of public land were conducted by an auction, usually in Rome (though there are cases of far flung properties being auctioned closer to their location). A particular magistrate would be placed in charge of the auction, which he conducted in all the regalia that suited his rank (*toga praetexta,* curule chair or *subsellium,* and/or lictors), emphasizing his status, power, and responsibility for the land auction.[81] The terms of the leases seem to have been set no differently from standard private contracts, which were for five years and automatically renewed.[82] While in Greece, the upper echelons of society participated as both lessees and lessors in the leasing of public land, here we might presume that the lessees were not from the highest tiers of Roman society. Rent collection was managed just as state taxes, and the right to collect rent was auctioned off to *publicani,* who, as Daniel Gargola points out, "would have been of a relatively high social standing, but to be able to gather the money at all the successful bidder would have had to be more prominent or to have higher-ranking friends than the lessee[.]"[83] Here again we see how the management of public lands at Rome functioned not to bolster the power of the elite as a collective in-group, but the power of competing elite individuals, while reinforcing a vertical hierarchy.

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[79] Gargola 1995: 115.
[80] *CIL* I.2.756.
[81] Gargola 1995: 118.
[82] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rome* 8.73 and Hyginus p. 116L. mention five-year contracts; Gaius 3.145 states that public leases were renewed for as long as rent was paid. See Gargola 1995: 118-119 for the lack of distinction between the sale and leasing of public lands at some of these auctions.
[83] Gargola 1995: 119.

The *ager Campanus,* fertile agricultural land south of Rome, is a prime example of the Roman approach to public land: confiscated during the Second Punic War, parts of this valuable and conveniently located land were first leased in 210 BC in support of the continued war effort, but the land was not thoroughly or systematically utilized, and much of it lay open for decades to the advantage of private citizens. As Livy tells it, in the year 172 BC:

> as a result of the investigation conducted by the consul Postumius a great part of the Campanian land, which private individuals had occupied without making due distinction of boundaries, had been recovered for the state. Marcus Lucretius, tribune of the people, published a measure providing that the censors should issue leases for the use of the Campanian land, which had not been done for so many years after the fall of Capua that the greed of private citizens had a free field in which to wander.[84]

Even after Postumius and Lucretius' efforts, however, much of the *ager Campanus* remained unutilized. In fact, in considering the extent,[85] and more importantly the social and economic impact, of public tenancy in Rome, we should remember Appian's claim that most public land escaped exploitation.[86] Moreover, the abuses of the rental system here were notorious. It was especially this land that Ti. Gracchus, some forty years later, wanted to redistribute and officially privatize. Much of the public land throughout Italy bears similar histories, and thus the *lex agraria* of 111 BC officially

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[84] Livy 42.19.1-2. eodem anno, quia per recognitionem Postumi consulis magna pars agri Campani, quem privati sine discrimine passim possederant, recuperata in publicum erat, M. Lucretius tribunus plebis promulgavit ut agrum Campanum censores fruendum locarent, quod factum tot annis post captam Capuam non fuerat, ut in vacuo vagaretur cupiditas privatorum. (Heinemann, transl.)

[85] Roselaar 2010 thoroughly assesses the potential geographic extent of *ager publicus* in all its varying uses and forms (*ager occupatorius*, as well as *ager censorious* and *ager quaestorius*). In terms of its use, Roselaar essentially concludes that toward the later Republic, the Roman state owned much more land than it needed and therefore lacked the incentive to exploit such vast swathes of land more fully through widespread leasing systems.

[86] App. *B. Civ.* 1.1.7. "They had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part)[.]" (White, transl.) τὴν δ᾽ ἀργὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τότε οὖσαν, ἣ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπλήθυεν, οὐκ ἄγοντές πω σχολὴν διαλαχεῖν[.]

privatized much formerly public land throughout the Roman domain.[87] These problems of delayed action and underutilization were due in part to the time-consuming process of surveying and demarcating rural territories.[88] Within the increasingly burdened Roman bureaucracy, rendering public land profitable was perhaps not a top priority, especially as income flowed in from wars abroad and from an expanding tax base. Sometimes public land was declared *ager occupatorius*, whereby anyone could claim land for himself so long as he paid a certain fraction of produce to the state;[89] this practice is not clearly attested, however, and it is questionable if any such payments-in-kind were actually collected. In effect, the proclamation of *ager occupatorius* may have been a free-for-all land grab for Roman citizens.[90]

The diminutive scale of public land maintained for tenancy, the near absence of sacred property, and an alternative system for handling orphan estates (but one that still ultimately relied on standard Roman private tenancy practices)[91] show that practices of intra-elite tenancy were far less socially

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[87] Roselaar 2009: 25-26.
[88] Gargola 1995: 120-127.
[89] According to Appian (*B. Civ.* 1.1.7), one fourth of arable land and one fifth of orchards.
[90] See discussions in Roselaar 2008: 577 and Gargola 1995: 140.
[91] See Kehoe 1997: 22-76 and Saller 1994: 181-203, both provide thorough overviews. In Rome, orphans and their inheritances came under the legal guardianship of a *tutor* (or in the late Empire, a *curator*). An orphan's *tutor* was often his nearest agnate, but this position could be fulfilled by anyone. In the later Republic, it was common for an orphan to have two *tutores.* This position was honorable but not lucrative: there were too many legal strictures in place to take advantage of a ward's property, and a *tutor* could be sued for mismanaging an orphan's inheritance. It could be a burdensome position, and so many potential *tutores* declined; thus, eventually Roman law developed to outline the permissible excuses for declining to serve as a *tutor* (e.g. ill health, old age, impractical distance). Within this legal and social framework, *tutores* were encouraged to make safe investments with their ward's property, rather than pursue what might be more profitable, as protection against later litigation. Saller therefore notes that "any account of economic decision-making in the empire should take account of the fact that a substantial fraction of the property was owned by children and managed by guardians whose primary aim is likely to have been protecting themselves from legal liability through conservative management, rather than optimizing profits." (229) Kehoe demonstrates that the easiest way to achieve this aim was through investment in land and the leasing of agricultural properties, and indeed Roman jurists seem to anticipate this form of investment as standard (41). Unlike the management of orphan estates in Greece, the maintenance of orphan estates in Rome was therefore a liability for those who served as *tutores* and typical Roman tenancy practices were apparently the best safeguard against

significant at Rome. Instead, tenancy as a whole manifested very different social priorities: *vertical* ties that collectively spanned a much more diverse socio-economic hierarchy—or, in the words of Lin Foxhall, a "multi-stranded dependency relationship."[92] Individual relationships between private landlords and their tenants, who might come from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds, received greater institutional reinforcement through land tenancy than intra-elite relationships. With comparatively little revenue generated through public leases, civic administration and cult activities were much more dependent on revenue from taxation and euergetism, encouraging competitive benefactions from the elite. Moreover, the practice of selling, gifting, or compensating with public land meant that long-term ties were forged between the recipients and the specific elite individuals who were able to pass such legislation (as opposed to forging a connection with an office or council, whose membership might include a slow cycle of various local elites).

Turning to private tenancy, we find that Roman tenants received a slightly better deal than their Athenian counterparts.[93] In fact, those who have examined Roman tenancy through the lens of economic rationality have been confounded as to why Roman landowners would have invested in tenancy as an agricultural strategy,[94] and usually explain the rise of private tenancy as a response to a shortage in slaves and other sources of labor. For example, de Neeve has argued that tenancy only became widely profitable after a rise in grain prices around 100 AD, which made smaller, detached farms operated independently by tenants a more profitable labor structure.[95] Even Finley suggested that the decision to utilize tenancy "depended primarily on the availability of either slaves or tenants,

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accusations of mismanagement.

[92] Foxhall 1990: 99. See also, Kehoe 1992: 140-65, which outlines these multi-stranded tenant relationships in the well-documented context of Roman Egypt.

[93] For general overview, see De Ligt 2000.

[94] For a more detailed criticism of economic rationality in this context, see Foxhall 1990: 98-100.

[95] de Neeve 1984.

perhaps on local or family tradition (habit), not on notions of comparative profitability, of the comparative quality of the two types of work force, or of greater freedom from care for themselves." [96] However, others have shown how susch (relatively) non-exploitative tenancy practices presented a sound investment strategy for both the lessee and the lessor by providing stable labor for the lessor and much needed resources for the lessee. In fact, many Roman leases show both parties contributing different types of equipment (lessors often giving use of large-scale processing equipment, and lessees bringing in more movable goods such as draught animals).[97] This arrangement was beneficial to the tenant who might not otherwise be capable of affording necessary equipment or have access to land; and it benefitted the landlord as well, who might trust that the tenant would be a more responsible steward of the property having invested his own resources in the venture.[98] Moreover, such relationships in and of themselves offered social benefits, as attested by the couple of occasions on which tenants, like dutiful clients,[99] took up arms in support of their landlord.[100]

As mentioned earlier, the typical private lease contract at Rome was for five years (the *quinquennium* or *lustrum*) instead of one, and contracts were assumed to be renewed automatically so long as the tenant remained on the land and neither party terminated the lease (a practice that modern historians have dubbed *relocatio tacita*).[101] Longer contract lengths existed as well,[102] and in general it appears that long term leases and lease extensions were the norm in Roman agriculture, perhaps increasingly so

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96 Finley 1976: 110.
97 On the pooling of agricultural resources in Roman Italy, see Lirb 1993.
98 Rowlandson 1996: 213-36; Frier 1979.
99 For a discussion on similarity between lessor-lessee and patron-client relationships at Rome, see de Neeve 1984: 13-15.
100 Sall. *Cat.* 59.1-3; Caes. *B. Civ.* 1.34.1-3, 1.56.1-3. For Catiline and Ahenobarbus, respectively.
101 de Neeve 1984: 10.
102 E.g. a 10 year lease in Iav./Lab. *D.* 18.1.79, and leasing *in plures annos* in Iul. *D.* 19.2.32 and Paul. *D.* 19.2.24.5.

over time.[103] During the late Republic and early Empire, there is a detectable shift from greater heterogeneity in farming strategies, including large villa complexes (or what some might call *latifundia*), toward greater dependence upon smaller-scale tenancy structures.[104] Dennis Kehoe, analyzing the contractual relationships surrounding land tenure through the lens of New Institutional Economics, has argued that during the Empire, the Roman state invested in stable landlord-tenant relationships by protecting tenants' rights and encouraging private bargaining practices that would nurture long-term relationships.[105]

Indeed, Roman law encouraged the sort of amicable tenancy partnerships described above by incentivizing landlords to maintain tenants regardless of their agricultural fortunes and giving tenants recourse against corrupt or abusive landlords. The tenant's right of *remissio mercedis* ensured that his rent would be reduced commensurately in the event of unusually low crop yields due to any force majeure.[106] Thus, tenancy provided lessees with certain high-cost agro-economic inputs, like large equipment and animals, and tenancy relationships also offered some small access to power structures that were shaped by patron-client dynamics. By contrast, there is no suggestion from Classical and Hellenistic Greek sources that a tenant's status (or a landlord's for that matter) was

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[103] de Neeve 1984: 11.

[104] de Neeve 1984: 10: Noting that the particularities of legal obligations between lessee and lessor are expressed only in 'early' legal sources, de Neeve suggests that the reticence of 'later' sources indicate that tenancy had become the norm (and thus fewer disputes occurred and fewer legal specifications were necessary to regulate what had become accepted practice). Morley 1996, however, argues that the initial heterogeneity of the Late Republic is due to the advent of market-driven villa estates that operated alongside small independent landholdings and large leased estates. But around 100 AD, as these slave-run villas were later unable to compete with Spanish and Gallic wine and oil in the Roman market, they were slowly abandoned and replaced with (less intensive) tenant production structures.

[105] Kehoe 2007: on tenants' right, see pgs. 18-25; on the encouragement of private bargaining through Roman legal policies, see Kehoe's Chapter 3.

[106] This right existed from the last years of the late Republic. It could, however, be precluded in the specific terms of the contractual agreement (Ulp./Iul. *D.* 19.2.9.2). See de Neeve 1984: 8.

enhanced by association with the other.[107] Either party, the lessor (*locator*) or lessee (*conductor*),[108] could terminate the contract and/or hold the other legally culpable, if the latter failed to pay rent and properly maintain the land,[109] or if the former in some way blocked his tenant from the *frui* (use and enjoyment) of the leased property.[110]

A diversity of socio-economic stations between different lessors and lessees must be kept in mind when imagining these relationships. Unlike the apparent stigma around renting in the Greek world, Roman tenancy practices often included tenant-landlord relationships between two relatively wealthy members of society. The tenant in these cases would typically take over the managerial duties of the leased estate, which might entail the parceling of the land into further sub-leases.[111] At the other end of society, relatively poor smallholders might lease additional land from their economic superiors, but are also found in some cases lending their own land to their peers.[112] This extended, multi-stranded system of long-term tenant relationships proved very stable and productive. It is perhaps no surprise that tenancy became the labor strategy of choice on imperial estates throughout the empire.[113]

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[107] Burford 1993: 180.

[108] These terms do not translate to lessee and lessor directly: in agreements of *locatio conductio* (any contract of hiring/easing), a *locator* is the one who "places", i.e. makes available, something for lease or hire, while the *conductor* is the party that "takes along" that which has been made available. *Colonus* is a more fixed term for tenant-farmer.

[109] Iav. *D.* 19.2.51 pr. And Paul. *D.* 19.2.54.1.

[110] Ulp./Serv. *D.* 19.2.15.2; Afric. *D.* 19.2.33; Ulp./Marcell. *D.* 19.2.9.1; Paul. *D.* 19.2.24.4. See also, de Neeve 1984: 9-12.

[111] Kehoe 2006: 306.

[112] As mentioned earlier, Kehoe 1992 outlines these many different types of tenant relationships in the well-documented context of Roman Egypt (140-65).

[113] Imperial estates are discussed later in this chapter. On both imperial estates and the general stability of these tenant structures, see Flach 1978; Kolendo 1991; Kehoe 1988, 2006: 306-311.

This is not to say that all such relationships between Roman lessors and lessees were free from abuses, and certainly this system too was also designed to take advantage of marginalized persons,[114] but the subtle differences are perhaps suggestive of an alternative theorization of the relationship between landlord and tenant: as a vertical link within a broader social network characterized by patron-client relationships.

IV. Conquest, land redistribution, and the destabilization of Greek tenancy traditions

So how did these two sets of social priorities, these two different traditions of managing both public and private agricultural land, converge on the stage of Roman Greece? This question has only been addressed in passing, presuming either that Roman-style tenancy must have been imposed, or, conversely, that the traditional Greek system must have persisted without significant change (since it was not Roman policy to tinker with the minutiae of local governance). I propose that both traditions somewhat coexisted within their own distinct spheres: the mechanisms of generating civic revenue from leasing public land persisted in Greece, if on a lesser scale, while Roman-style tenancy slowly spread on both private and imperial estates. That the leasing of public and sacred lands continued in Achaea is known;[115] that these lands would continue to be leased out to local elite tenants seems probable, but remains an open question. But how much these lands were diminished,

[114] For example, although the longer contracts and automatic renewals in general would have provided a positive stability for the tenant, Foxhall notes that in a study of modern, pre-mechanized farming communities in Bengal, which had a similar tenancy scheme, the short-term contracts, even though they were almost always renewed, gave landlords a means to intimidate their tenants, by threatening to terminate or not-renew their lease. As Foxhall comments, "It is likely that less beneficent Roman proprietors were guilty of the same practice." Foxhall 1990: 101.

[115] SEG 26.121 and *IG* II^2 1035, two Athenian inscriptions, the latter of which stipulates the conditions under which the leasing of public land would continue in Attica. *Syll.*^{3} 884 mentions the continued leasing of public lands in second century Thisbe. See Burton 2004 for discussion of the continuation of public land tenancy in relation to civic financial audits imposed by Roman governors.

and how socially meaningful practices of intra-elite tenancy could remain in this new political context (if indeed it was still practiced), are questions that I will address here. Although the form of public land tenancy was perhaps never greatly affected, its social impact was compromised, initially by land reallocation processes, and later by the operation of provincial governance and the slow accumulation of imperial estates. Meanwhile, private tenancy, which now could be theoretically regulated under Roman law, grew in prevalence, perhaps initially in response to increased immigration, but later in response to the pressures of Roman taxes and the further incorporation of Greek agro-economies into Roman grain markets. This transformation holds important implications for how we conceptualize the changing relationship between urban centers and rural hinterlands, as well as the nature of Greek society under Roman rule.

Obscuring these transitions, however, is the fact that there are no extant examples of lease contracts from Roman Greece.[116] The epigraphic habit appears to have changed by the close of the 2nd century BC (precisely, one might note, when the Romans were becoming more involved in Greek land interests). And literary references to tenancy during this period are minimal. Most evidence must be derived from indirect sources and comparative examples from across the Greek-speaking East. To outline this evolution, I will quickly narrate the broad changes imposed on Greek agricultural land that took place over the course of Roman conquest in order to demonstrate the scale of land reallocations at this time. Afterward, I will address the question of how much public and sacred land might have been affected amidst these changes, both in terms of geographic extent and social impact. I will then examine the nature and spread of Roman-style tenancy in Greece. Lastly, this chapter will re-assess the role of *horizontal* vis-à-vis *vertical* social ties as instantiated by agricultural

[116] Osborne, Robin. "Lease, indenture of." Brill's New Pauly. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Brill Online, 2016.

management systems in Roman Greece, highlighting both the welfare of lower class agricultural laborers and the mobility of upper class landowners under Roman rule.

The growth of Roman interference in Greek agricultural land from the second century BC onward

The Roman state owned land and redistributed property in mainland Greece well before it became the province of Achaea. There are numerous examples beginning in the 2nd century BC: following the Second Macedonian War (200-197 BC) the Romans re-assigned land while settling territorial disputes,[117] and in the wake of the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC), the territory of the destroyed Haliartos was assigned to Athens,[118] while swathes of land in Northern Greece were confiscated and converted into the property of the Roman state.[119] There is some ambiguity concerning what exactly occurred after the "destruction" of Corinth and the dissolution of the Achaean League,[120] but the Romans were clearly involved at some level in reorganizing Greek agricultural land, given that Mummius and his ten commissioners sent out land surveyors across the mainland at this time,[121] and instituted what Polybius called a *politeia* and *nomoi*.[122] At the same time, the *chora* of Corinth was confiscated, and some of it leased and/or entrusted to neighboring Sicyon.[123] By the close of the second century, the Romans had accumulated enough state land on Greek soil, that its use was addressed in the *lex agraria* of 111 BC.[124] The 1st century BC witnessed heavy Roman involvement in the redrawing of territorial lines in Greece, a trend that continued under the Empire. For example, Sulla confiscated huge stretches of sacred land, then later re-

117 Rizakis 2013: 22-23.
118 Alcock 1993: 132.
119 Cic. *De Lege Agr.* 2.50; Larsen 1938: 460.
120 See Gruen 1984: 523-8 for a more detailed interrogation of the relevant evidence.
121 E.g. Romano 2003: 279-80.
122 Polybius 39.4.1; 39.5.1; Sherk *RDGE* no. 43, lines 9-10, 19-20 (dating to 115 BC, this inscription appears to refer to this *politeia*).
123 Romano 2003: 280.
124 Roman Statutes, no. 2.

allocated Theban land to these sanctuaries as a gesture of reimbursement.[125] Antony gave Athens a number of territorial gifts—only to be taken away by Augustus later.[126] And in the twilight of the Republic, a handful of cities were founded: Pompey settled several thousand at Dyme,[127] and Julius Caesar founded colonies at Corinth, Buthrotum, and possibly a refoundation at Dyme as well.[128] Each of these foundations included extensive land reorganization and expropriation: at Corinth, the lines of centuriation still visible today show that the extent of this city's hinterland under the Romans expanded far beyond its Classical or Hellenistic boundaries.[129] Once Antony had been defeated, Octavian immediately took up the trend, founding the city of Nicopolis through forced synoecism,[130] and a Roman colony at Patrae. The surrounding land in both areas was drastically reformed. Patrae was assigned large tracts of land on both sides of the Corinthian Gulf, causing the decline and abandonment of former Hellenistic poleis.[131] Meanwhile Nicopolis received huge land allocations, to the extent that its own *chora* was far larger than any Greek polis had ever known.[132] Moreover, huge transfers of land from one civic territory to another need not come only at the hands of the emperor, but apparently could be affected by other powerful elite individuals: one Gaius Julius Nikanor purchased the island of Salamis and (semi-)bequeathed it to Athens.[133]

This narrative should illustrate how dramatically Greek land was exchanging hands and territorial affiliations, increasingly from the mid-2nd century on and culminating in the land appropriation and

[125] Dignas 2002: 117-118. Sulla also offered two thousand hectares of confiscated land on Euboea to Archilaos of Cappadocia (Plut. *Sulla* 23.2).
[126] The "gifts" originally belonged to Aigina, Keos, and Eretria. See Alcock 1993: 132.
[127] Plutarch, *Pompey* 28.4.
[128] Alcock 1993, 133.
[129] Romano 2003: 291-295.
[130] Strabo 7.7.6; Paus. 5.23.2; 7.18.8-9. Paus. 10.38.4. mentions that, to avoid the move to Nicopolis, some residents of this area fled to Amphissa.
[131] For an overview of the foundations of Patrae and Nicopolis and the nature of the Greek and Roman communities there, see Purcell 1987a.
[132] Alcock 1993: 136.
[133] Dio Chrysostom 31.116.

reallocation policies of Augustus. There are two ways, however, that one might question the impact of these events: 1) by noting that Hellenistic kings had been founding colonies and confiscating land in the Greek East long before the Romans entered the picture, or 2) by positing that, despite these massive reallocations of land, middling land-owners, lower class tenants, and other agricultural laborers were unlikely to have been much disturbed throughout these processes. In response to the former point: in many important ways Roman land reallocations are indeed but a continuation of Hellenistic practices. However, aside from the sheer longevity of Roman rule (which of course no one in the first—let alone second—century BC could have anticipated), the Romans impacted Greek agro-economies in a few ways meaningfully different from their Hellenistic predecessors: the management of imperial estates, more systematic methods of tax collection, and the intentional maintenance of long-distance agricultural trade[134]—factors that should have affected practices of tenancy, as well as the agro-economic relationships between Greek poleis. In regard to the latter point, I will argue below (and also in Chapter 3) that the new pressures and influences introduced by Roman rule did affect how lower class agricultural laborers and landowners interacted with one another, how they produced and distributed foodstuffs, as well as how their land and labor functioned within a new forming hierarchy of Greek poleis—which is, of course, the broader interest of this dissertation.

Intra-elite tenancy under the Romans?

As stated, the Romans usurped plenty of property in the course of the late Republican and early Imperial period, and had few qualms about claiming sacred land:[135] Sulla confiscated lands from the

[134] For factors contributing to, and evidence of, increased agricultural exports and other forms of trade, see Leidwanger 2017; Rizakis 2014: 248; Bintliff 2013; Wilson 2009; Sirks 2007; Kokkorou-Alvera 2001: 319-48.
[135] Duncan-Jones 1990: 124.

major panhellenic sanctuaries at Delphi, Epidauros, and Olympia,[136] which he later "reimbursed" with confiscated Theban territory.[137] Pompey redrew the boundaries of sacred land in Asia Minor, while Augustus took over extensive temple properties in Egypt. Sacred lands were not uniformly expropriated,—nor, as mentioned above, were they all permanently confiscated[138]—but Augustus did maintain a policy of confiscating the land of prominent sanctuaries that could become rallying points for political opposition.[139] This is in addition to the land usurped by private Roman citizens and local Greeks eager to take advantage of this turbulent period. Greek elites continually fought such infringements on public land, a testament to the importance of public land to traditional polis societies (as well a testament to the acquisitive tendencies of the Roman state and private individuals).

Augustus and his successors, as well as Roman governors, often relented and returned confiscated lands to Greek cities, as evidenced by a handful of inscriptions from the Greek-speaking East thanking Roman officials for restoring lost land.[140] However, that some poleis considered themselves fortunate enough to express such gratitude implies that other poleis were much less fortunate. Given the broader context of large-scale reallocations and general instability, by the end of Augustus' reign, the net result in many places must have been a loss to civic landholdings. Moreover, local land management, as an important instantiation of independent civic authority, was undercut by the imperial processes through which these land disputes were contested. Therefore, even though, for

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136 Plut. *Sulla* 12.3-5; App. *Mithr.* 54; Diod. 38.7.
137 App. *Mithr.* 54; Paus. 9.7.5.
138 Or at least, by the time of Constantine there was still plenty of temple land around for him to confiscate. (Duncan-Jones 1990: 124)
139 Gordon 1990: 240-2. This was all the more true in Asia Minor where sacred lands tended to be much more extensive than in mainland Greece.
140 *I. Cret.* I 26, no. 2 (Gortyn, 63 AD); *AE* 1954 188 (Ptolemais, 88/9 AD); *I. Smyrna* 736 (Smyrna, 121/2 AD); *AE* 1934 596 (Cos, lands owned by the city on Cyprus, Augustan); *IG* IX, 1 61 (Daulis, 118 AD). For discussion of these sources, see Burton 2004: 333.

instance, Ulpian recommends to Roman governors that public land occupied by private persons be returned to civic governments,[141] the fact that the authority to arbitrate such land disputes rested with the Roman provincial governor posed a threat to civic autonomy and poliadic identity. In this way, the local political significance of a polis' *chora*, on which intra-elite tenancy drew its social import, was compromised.

Although the epigraphic evidence favors reports of claims successfully challenged by Greek cities, many such land disputes must have been decided in favor of Roman citizens, due to their advantages in the Roman court system, overlapping local and imperial jurisdiction, and some ambiguity in Roman jurisprudence on these matters.[142] Moreover, the nature of immigration in the tumultuous late Hellenisitic period likely became fertile ground for later land disputes in the Imperial period on both public and private land. Romans and other Italians had made their way to Greece well before Achaea became a province (particularly after 146 BC), in order to take advantage of Greece's farmland and its heightened accessibility brought by Roman hegemony.[143] Although the only official process for a foreigner to acquire land in the territory of a Greek polis was through the grant of *enktesis*, it appears that many Romans became *de facto* owners of Greek land through other means. *Enktesis* unofficially required a hefty out-pay of capital, following lavish benefactions to the granting city, and was therefore effectively limited to foreigners of substantial wealth.[144] Curiously, virtually all extant grants of *enktesis* to Italians are found in Central Greece (Thessaly, Boeotia, and Acarnania).

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141 *Dig.* 50.10.5.1.
142 Oliver 1979: 555 on the favored status of Romans. See Eberle 2016 on the somewhat ad hoc nature of judicial process in matters of land dispute, and Fournier 2010 on the relationship between local and imperial judicial institutions in Achaea.
143 Rizakis 2013: 22-23; Purcell 1987a: 74-5 on the *synepirotae* or *Epirotici homines* mentioned by Varro (*RR* 2.1.28; 2.5.1, 18) and Cicero (*Att.* 1.5.7).
144 Eberle 2016: 63-64.

Not a single grant survives from the Peloponnese and only one from Attica.[145] And yet, as Sofia Zoumbaki and Cédric Brélaz have shown, there was a considerable number of Romans and Italians, from a variety of socioeconomic stations,[146] who in many cases appear to hold ownership of Greek land throughout these areas, posing the question of how these people came into possession of land that should have been off limits.[147]

Lisa Eberle, investigating land disputes in the Greek-speaking East during the late Republic and early Principate, demonstrates some of the more dubious means through which such ownership could have been claimed. From literary and epigraphic references to property disagreements across mainland Greece, the islands, and parts of Asia Minor, Eberle shows the frequency with which Romans attempted to claim Greek land, public or private, for themselves by appealing to Roman law and jurisdiction. For instance, one brazen Roman named Decianus simply registered someone else's land under his own name in the Roman census.[148] The Roman state did not uphold every dubious claim that its citizens made—Decianus was ultimately denied his claim—but it did favor wealthier citizens who had claims of possession to the land (i.e. evidence that they occupied the property and some cash transaction had transpired), even if that claim was clearly invalid by local Greek legal standards.[149] Given the amount of Roman legal testimony outlining criteria for legitimate claims to land, which effectively elided local Greek land law,[150] as well as the expansive authority that Roman

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145 There are also a few from the Eastern Aegean Islands in the early Augustan period. See Zoumbaki 2013: 56.

146 Brélaz 2016 argues that many such names appear to belong to veterans (79-80).

147 Zoumbaki 2013; Brélaz 2016. Brélaz suggests that even without supporting we might imagine that these Romans acquired Greek land through transactions with the local government similar to *enktesis* (81).

148 Cic. *Flac.* 79-80.

149 Eberle 2016. The conflict partly arises from how Greek property rights were conceptualized on the basis of proper procedure, whereas Roman property rights were theorized through ideas of possession (60 *ff.*)

150 Interdict *uti possidetis* (Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 260): "As you now possess the estate that your dispute concerns, so you may possess it with the provision that neither one of you possess it from the other by force, in secret, or

governors enjoyed within their respective provinces,[151] there were presumably numerous cases of land disputes between members of the Roman diaspora and Greek cities—many of which must have been won by Roman citizens.[152]

Looking at disputes specifically over public and sacred land, we find more of the same: Roman citizens (as well as local Greeks) of questionable integrity attempting to take advantage of an unstable political environment. The treatment of Amphiaraos' sacred lands in Oropia is one such case. In 80 BC, Roman *publicani* attempted to levy taxes on these lands, which the Oropians resisted on the grounds that such property was sacred and should therefore be immune to taxes. In response, the *publicani* argued that the *Lex Censoria,* to which the Oropians had appealed, did not apply because Amphiaraos was not, strictly speaking, a god but a deified man, and therefore his property did not qualify as sacred. A verdict was reached in 74 BC on the side of the Oropians, but their ability to derive tax-free revenue from these lands was now contingent upon those funds being used for sacrifices to Amphiaraos as well as the deified Victory and Hegemony of the Roman people—an imposition that clearly emphasized with whom authority over this land ultimately rested.[153] Furthermore, such disputes are not confined to the early Imperial period: in the second

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on sufferance. I forbid that violence be used against these things." (Eberle, transl.) uti nunc possidetis eum fundum quo de agitur, quod nec vi nec clam nec precario alter ab altero possidetis <quominus> ita possideatis, adversus ea vim fieri veto. *Dig.* 41.1.64 (Scaevola, who had been governor of Asia in the 90s BC) states that someone else's property entered in the census as another's does not thereby become the latter's. *Dig.* 41.2.1.14 (Paul, Ad edictum, 54): from the first century AD, outlining what constituted legal possession of provincial estates. Cic. *Att.* 6.1.15: in a description of his edict as governor of Cilicia, Cicero emphasizes that it includes provisions concerning the possession and sale of property (*de bonis possidendis* and *de bonis vendendis*) because such provisions were necessary for governing. See discussion in Eberle 2016: 62-9.

[151] In fact, Decianus who had had claimed another man's land in the Roman census, had his case favorably heard by the governor Publius Globulus. Presumably in response to Globulus' judgment, the Apollonians then sent an embassy to Rome to obtain a *senatus consultum* against Decianus' claims, protecting the property of their citizen. (Cic. *Flac.* 78-9.)

[152] See argument of Eberle 2016 and 2014 (116-154) that such legislation helped make the diaspora a critical component of Roman imperialism.

[153] *Syll.*[2] 747; Cic. *N. D.* 3.49. The addition of these deifications was originally imposed by Sulla (*I.Oropos* 303).

century AD, at Aezani in Asia, the Roman governor was twice called upon to resolve disputes over sacred land between local city officials and their fellow citizens. The second time, the governor wrote to Hadrian for advice and the emperor himself delivered a comprising solution to the dispute.[154]

There are even a few examples of Roman officials becoming involved in the organization of Greek public land leases in the absence of any particular conflict.[155] This includes a case from Macedonia in which a rather Roman approach to public land use may have been imposed. A second century inscription[156] records the complaints of the local *Battynaioi* that non-local "provincials" (ἐπαρχικῶν) had fraudulently laid claim to public land. Interestingly, this inscription refers to a system of permanent land allotments organized by a previous Roman official.

> When the Politarch of the *Battynaioi*, Alexandros, son of Leonidas, held an assembly and many citizens complained that they were excluded from the use of public land by provincials (ἐπαρχικῶν), since they [the provincials] were not satisfied with what they had been allotted (and even that was not done honestly in all cases), obtained still more holdings in the countryside from previous owners who had released them with their own hands and surrendered them to public ownership. But now the more powerful of the provincials have expelled the poor [from these holdings] and they wish to possess that which ought not be theirs, and are cultivating the rest of the land as well, and thereby preventing citizens from [using this land for] enclosures and pasture, and even from passage [through these holdings]. The Politarch and the citizens have

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[154] *MAMA* IX 36 and 37 from 119/20 and again in 125/6. The dispute is over the extent of the public land and therefore whether the occupants of the land in question owed rent or not. The first governor ruled in favor of the city officials. Hadrian had land allotments reapportioned on the basis of plot sizes in neighboring communities. See Burton 2004: 333-4.

[155] *AE* 1967 531 (Apollonia in Cyrenaica, c. 73/5 AD); *Syll.*³ 884 (Thisbe, late second century AD); *SEG* 30.568 (Macedonia; the inscription dates to the second century AD but the timeframe of the Roman official's organization of public land is not clear. See following discussion.) For commentary on *Syll.*³ 884, see Ferrary and Rousset 1998; Burton 2004: 334-5.

[156] *SEG* 30.568. The precise date is uncertain, either 144/5 or 192/3 AD.

unanimously decided: the provincials are to possess only what they have been allotted in good faith according to the command of Gentianus. In the future, however, no provincial will be allowed to cultivate or buy or possess public land; nor will it be allowed to give to anyone [of the provincials?] a decree of citizenship or the use of public land; access to this land will be given only to those *Orestoi* who have been allotted [land]. The Politarch in office in that year should ensure this by going with the citizens and throwing out and keeping away those who take by force allotted land. But if a Politarch fails to do so, and gives someone a decree [of citizenship?] and surrenders public land, let him pay the fisc 5,000 denarii and the municipality another 5,000 denarii. It was decided to bring this decree to the governor of the province Junius Rufinus by envoys of the people, Junius Crispus, Philagros and Kleitos, the sons of Ptolemy. If he [the governor] ratifies this [decree] and it is inscribed by them [and set up?] in the agora, it should remain there for all time, since some of the old records have been lost. Likewise, if someone should succumb to a provincial and sell [him] some public land, he too will be subject to the aforementioned fine, and what is sold will be invalid and must not remain with the buyers. Done in the 340th year, on the 30th of Artemisios. Alexandros, son of Leonidas, the Politarch, sealed...[157]

Ἐκκλησίας ἀγομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαττυναίων πο-
λειτάρχου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Λεωνίδα, καὶ πολλῶν
ἀποδυρομένων πολειτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαρ-
χικῶν ἐξελαύνεσθαι τῆς τῶν δημοσίων
τόπων χρήσεως, οὐκ ἀρκουμένων αὐτῶν οἷς
ἀπετειμήσαντο — πολλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖ ψευσάμε-
νοι —, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιβαλλομένων ἄλλας ἑαυτοῖς κα-
τοχὰς ἐν χωρίοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ δια[κα]τέχοντες αὐτὰ
πρότερον ἔδοσαν χεῖρας ἀφιστάμενοι αὐτῶν καὶ
παραχωροῦντες αὐτὰ τῇ πολειτείᾳ, νῦν δὲ οἱ δυνα-

[157] Translation is my own, after Gschnitzer 1980.

τώτεροι τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν ἐκβιάζονται τοὺς πένη-
τας καὶ αὐτά τε ἐκεῖνα, ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς, βού-
λονται κατέχειν, καὶ προσεμπονοῦσιν τὴν <ἄλ>ληv
γῆν χαρακισμοῦ τε καὶ νομῆς ἀποκλείουσιν καὶ ἀφαι-
ροῦνται τοὺς πολείτας καὶ διόδων, ἔδοξε τῷ τε
πολειτάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς πολείταις ὁμογνωμονοῦσι·
μόνα κατὰ τὴν Γεντιανοῦ διάτα<ξ>ιν τοὺς ἐπαρχι-
κοὺς ἃ ἐτειμήσαντο καλῇ πίστει κατέχειν, εἰ{ι}ς
δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ἐπαρχικῷ ἢ ἐνπο-
νεῖν ἢ ἀγοράζειν ἢ κατέχειν δημοσίαν γῆν, μη-
δὲ δόγμα τινὶ διδόναι πολειτείας ἢ χρήσεως τό-
<π>ων δημοσίων, μόνοις δὲ ἀνεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν τοῖς
ἀποτετειμημένοις Ὀρεστοῖς· ἐπιμελεῖσ-
θαι δὲ τούτων τὸν κατὰ ἔτος γενόμενον πολει-
τάρχην ὥστε ἐπίναι μετὰ τῶν πολειτῶν καὶ ἐκβάλ-
λειν καὶ κωλύειν τοὺς εἰς τὴν μὴ ἀποτετειμημένην
γῆν βιαζομένους· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀμελήσῃ τούτου πολιτάρχ[η]ς
καὶ δόγμα τινὶ δῷ καὶ καταπροδῷ τὰ δημόσια, τοῦτον ἀ-
ποδοῦναι εἰς φίσκον δηνάρια πεντακισχείλι-
α καὶ ἄλλα τῇ πολειτείᾳ δηνάρια πεντακισχείλια· προσ-
ανενεχθῆναι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα ἔδοξε τῷ διέποντι
τὴν ἐπαρχείαν ἡγεμόνι Ἰουνίῳ Ῥουφείνῳ διὰ τῶν πρεσβευ-
τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους [Ἰ]ουλ. [Κρ]ίσπου καὶ Φιλάγρου καὶ Κλείτου τῶν
Πτολεμαίου· ἐ<ὰ>ν δ’ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸ κυρώσῃ καὶ στηλογραφηθῇ
πα[ρ’]αὐ[τ]ῶ[ν (?) ἐπὶ] τῆς ἀγορᾶς, εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς μένειν κείμε-
νον, ἐπ<ε>ί τινα τῶν παλ[α]ιῶν ἠφάνισται γραμάτων· ὁμοίως

δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἁλώσεται πωλῶν ἐπαρχικῷ τινα τῶν δη-
μοσίων, καὶ τοῦτον ὑποκεῖσθαι τῷ προγεγραμένῳ προσ{τ}-
τείμῳ, τά τε ἤδη πεπραμένα ἄκυρα εἶναι καὶ μὴ κρατεῖσ-
θαι τοῖς ἠγορακόσιν. ἐγένετο ἔτους τεσσαρακοστοῦ
καὶ τριακοσιαστοῦ, μηνὸς [Ἀρ]τεμισίου τριακάδι
Ἀλέξανδρος Λεωνίδου ὁ πολιτάρχης [ἐπε]σφραγισάμην.τ.φιμεπ. . . κυε

Granted this inscription does not offer much detail about the nature of Gentianus' allotments, but insofar as public land has here been systematically parceled out for individuals across a wide cross-section of society, this program seems to have more in common with the typical uses of *ager publicus* than of Greek civic land. Allotments were given to those explicitly identified as poor (πένητας) and apparently even to the much resented resident non-citizens, as the inscription seems to acknowledge that at least some claims of the "provincials" were legitimate (ll. 3-6, 17-18). This is a stark contrast to the usual practices of Greek public land tenancy, which essentially barred those outside the class of local elites. Moreover, it is noteworthy that, in response to these abuses of their public land, the *Battynaioi* sought redress by requesting the ratification of their own decree by the Roman governor in order to restore the status quo established by another Roman official.[158]

Another important instance of Roman legislation concerning public lands concerns a decree of Augustus recorded at Cyme, but which likely applied to the provinces generally. The so-called "Leyden inscription" records the decision of a local governor in 27 BC to restore land to the sanctuary of Dionysos and cites a *iussum Augusti* as the grounds for doing so. This *iussum* encouraged

[158] See Burton 2004 for discussion of this inscription as an example of Roman governors interfering in matters of local civic revenue (334), practices that would develop into the official position of *curator rei publicae* both in the provinces and in Italy (336-41). See also Gschnitzer 1980 for a thorough presentation of the inscription.

the return of public lands seized by private individuals to the control of Greek poleis.[159] The nature of this decree is ceratinly contested,[160] but it seems most probable that Augustus' *iussum* applied to the provinces more generally (rather than only the province of Asia).[161] If the Roman state felt thus compelled to issue this proclamation, it must have been in response to a heavy number of complaints about missing public property throughout these areas—poleis eager for the return of their land.[162] Notably, this document also reveals part of the process by which such lands could be reclaimed: an appeal to the provincial governor. This means that even after the promulgation of Augustus' decree, claims of stolen public land were still (at least in some cases) processed through the machinations of provincial government rather than settled locally. Moreover, by the continued appearance of land disputes concerning public property even in the age of Hadrian,[163] it is apparent that these problems were not immediately or completely resolved within the early Imperial period. We might well consider how many cases were not immediately pursued, or not initially resolved in favor of the municipality, or how much seized land was never contested.[164] To this point, the apparently delayed implementation of Augustus' decree restoring sacred lands at Athens may speak to such problems. The Attic inscription *IG* II^2 1035, arguably dating to 10-2 BC,[165] appears to cite

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159 *SEG* 18.555. See Sherk 1969, no. 61 for commentary.

160 There is much concern over the nature of Augustus' authority either over a senatorial province or over all the provinces, i.e. that Augustus may be overstepping the boundaries of his official authority (in 27 BC), which would not be in line with his normal deployment of power at that time. But I believe this is successfully explained by Sherk (*contra* Oliver 1972) that we may easily understand Augustus (and Agrippa) to be acting with the prior approval of the Senate (Sherk 1969: 315-319).

161 On the basis of Sherk's argument (see note above), the distributive use of ἑκάστης more likely attaching to ἐπαρχείας (than πόλεως) which implies application outside Asia in "each province" (see argument in Ando 2016: 264-5), and similarities in language with *IG* II^2 1035 (discussed below). For an overview of the problem, and an argument that this decree does *not* apply to other provinces, see Stasse 2009.

162 As Sherk 1969 suggests (317).

163 *Ann. Ep.* 1940 no. 44.

164 Oliver 1972: 197.

165 But it could perhaps more broadly be dated from the late second through first centuries BC. See argument of Culley 1975.

the same *iussum* of Augustus found in the Cyme inscription of 27 BC[166] in its proclamation of restored sacred land. This delay by about twenty years has been interpreted as strategic: because of the appeal process involved in pursuing these claims, Athens seems to have waited until she was on better terms with the emperor to request the restoration of sacred Attic property.[167] Further, this inscription explicitly outlines the process by which these lands would once again be leased—now at the notably reduced duration of four-year terms.

Lisa Eberle succinctly describes how the above impositions of provincial authority in Greek land disputes damaged the integrity of traditional land-based communal identity:

> These cities' property regimes construed their territories as a shared resource accessible only to members of the community. When Roman authorities recognized the rightfulness of Roman landholdings in the territories of Greek cities in contravention of these cities' property regimes, they gave access to this notionally shared resource to people who might not feel a particular sense of belonging or obligation towards the community in the midst of which their possessions were now situated. […] the potential of interdicts to infringe on the property regimes of Greek cities threatened to undermine the very fabric and definition of these cities as communities constituted around shared territories over which they made collective decisions.[168]

In regards to land management, this loss of local autonomy would undercut not only the practice of intra-elite tenancy (insofar as the polis and its constitutive governing bodies no longer held ultimate judgment over its own property), but also the conceptual basis on which the social ramifications of intra-elite tenancy were founded. We can perhaps see the impact of these new circumstances in the fact that, as mentioned above, when Athenian sacred properties were restored, the typical 10-year

[166] See Ando 2016: 265, n. 12 noting that ll. 8-9 of conjoined fragments A-C parallel the wording of ll. 5-7 in the Cyme inscription.
[167] Culley 1975: 223. Athens had sided with Antony in the Civil Wars, thus temporarily incurring Augustus' disfavor.
[168] Eberle 2016: 68.

lease contract—the gold standard of intra-elite tenancy[169]—was reduced to four.[170] On its own, this aberration from centuries-long practice seems strange,[171] but in the context of newly imposed forms of imperial governance, this reduction might be interpreted as a response to encroaching Roman authority and Roman traditions of land management and tenancy.

While there are numerous inscriptions recording the favorable decisions conferred by the Roman state in various Greek land disputes, how many trials were concluded unfavorably to Greek poleis and Greek peoples is an open question. We might imagine that unfavorable rulings denying the land rights of Greek cities were perhaps not inscribed. Given that the Roman state tended to uphold claims by wealthier citizens who could demonstrate occupation and payment, it would seem that Greek public land might have been ripe for either dubious claims or legal misunderstandings: these contracts lasted for decades, so proof of occupation would be easy, cash transactions would have transpired, and given that use of public land in the Roman tradition often blurred the distinction between lease and sale,[172] and often became private essentially on the basis of extended occupation, we might well imagine that these public and corporately-held properties were particularly prone to land disputes in the Roman period. With sparse evidence in this regard, the extent of such infringements is somewhat conjectural. Yet large-scale land confiscations and territorial reallocations, as well as the loss of self-governance in adjudicating land tenure, point toward the probability that the lands upon which intra-elite tenancy once operated were diminished or otherwise compromised to a considerable extent under the Romans. But even more to the point:

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[169] Brunet, Rougement, and Rousset 1998: 216.
[170] *IG* II² 1035.
[171] Papazarkadas 2011: 61. "By and large, there seems to have been no particular reason for ten-year agreements other than conventional practicality, in conformity to the decennial numerical system. In the Roman period the Athenians seem to have reconsidered the effectiveness of their ten-year leases, for they turned to four-year ones."
[172] Gargola 1995: 118.

however much public and sacred land was lost or restored during the late Republic and early Principate, the fact that the Roman state now held supreme authority over Greek land was a blow to traditional polis ideology. The case of Oropos is poignant: the Roman state protected these sacred lands but, by also imposing the worship of the Victory and Hegemony of the Roman people at this preeminent sanctuary, the Romans effectively coopted the political prestige associated with the institution of sacred land and its system of intra-elite tenancy. The idea of a civic community rooted in its own land was shaken by the intrusion of outsiders and the imposition of a supra-civic governing body—conditions which sometimes occurred under Hellenistic kings or leagues, but became a widespread and permanent reality under the Romans.

The spread of Roman-style private tenancy through immigration, Roman law, and imperial estates

Just as these Italian immigrants and Roman colonists affected the civic ideology on which intra-elite tenancy was based, so too did they likely impact the nature and rate of private tenancy in Greece. As stated earlier, prosopographical evidence demonstrates a large influx of Romans and Italians into Greece from the late 2nd century BC onward, and although some may have found their way around Greek laws restricting foreigners from owning land,[173] others surely would have been eager to rent land at rates that were perhaps somewhat generous given the relative instability of local Greek agro-economies in the late Hellenistic period.[174] If Greek tenancy can be characterized as incidental, short-term, and socio-economically stigmatized, we might imagine that these characteristics began to change against a wave of socio-economically diverse immigrants, who were protected by Roman laws that in minimal but significant ways protected tenants, and who were accustomed to long-term, stable leases. We might catch a glimpse of this change in Roman Egypt, whence a considerable

[173] Zoumbaki 2013.
[174] Rizakis 2013: 22-23.

sample of land leases have survived. Here, leases from the early first century BC typically had a term of only one year, while those of the second century AD varied from two to six years.[175] Meanwhile, tenancy practices would have been more immediately affected by the fact that Roman law could offer opportunities of redress for abused tenants on private property.[176] Also, the added pressures from Roman taxes and increased trade,[177] which would further integrate local Greek agro-economies into wider regionalized markets centered on metropoleis (a change in distribution that would demand more elaborate transportation operations and create higher information costs),[178] may have encouraged the adoption of less risky land management strategies.[179] As either a lower class agricultural laborer or a landowner, stable Roman-style tenancy would have been an appealing, stable option.

Moreover, the social implications of Greek tenancy were further challenged by the growth of imperial estates within Achaea. Here we may witness one of the ways in which the Romans differed significantly from their Hellenistic predecessors. Royal lands of Hellenistic kings might be owned by private persons but were subject to high taxes levied in money and kind. These appropriations were so onerous that the private "owners" of these lands suffered a loss of autonomy in managing both crops and personal finances.[180] Roman imperial estates, on the other hand, operated in essence as

[175] Osborne, Robin. 2016. "Lease, indenture of." Brill's New Pauly. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Brill Online.
[176] In terms of legal redress for tenants, see Kehoe 2007: 20-21; for a discussion on the social impact of legal redress through Roman law in the provinces generally, see Ando 2000: 73-100. On the penetration and accessibility of Roman law in the provinces, see Galsterer 1986 and Crawford 1988.
[177] Bintliff 2013; Sirks 2007. For increased agricultural exports, see Rizakis 2014: 248 and Kokkorou-Alvera 2001: 319-48. For evidence of increased trade from shipwrecks, see Leidwanger 2017 and Wilson 2009.
[178] Foxhall 1990: 111.
[179] Foxhall 1990.
[180] Bresson 2016: 111-112.

any private tenancy arrangement,[181] and rather than burdening the occupants, the emperor's estates offered relatively lucrative opportunities for middling to upper class tenants who then sub-let these farmlands to lower class laborers.

It is difficult to track and chart the growth of imperial landholdings across the empire (let alone within Achaea); the ways through which the emperor acquired land were varied and haphazard (and initially he did not often hold on to such property for long). After the initial round of property accumulated during conquest and civil war, emperors gained land (as well as liquid capital) primarily by three means: *bona vacantia, bona caduca,* and *bona damnatorum*—the property of those who died intestate, whose wills were invalid, or from those who were executed, exiled, or otherwise condemned. Of the three, the claim of *bona damnatorum* was by far the most prevalent mode of acquiring land—which the emperor needed, since, as in the tradition of *ager publicus*, much of his land was sold or gifted as private property. Over time, two trends within this practice can be witnessed: the extension of penal land confiscation to an increasing number of criminal offenses, including nonpolitical cases; and the retention, rather than the sale or gifting, of imperial estates.[182] It has been estimated that, by Late Antiquity, the crown managed somewhere between 1/4 and 1/5 of all agricultural land within the empire.[183] The fact that Augustus maintained a *procurator* in Achaea is a good sign that such permanent imperial estates were already being maintained in this province at the beginning of the Empire.[184] Moreover, literary testimony provides examples of imperial claims to land on the basis of *bona damnatorum* in Greece: Plutarch records an incident, probably under Nero, of two Greek brothers who quarreled and disturbed the peace so greatly that they were exiled and

[181] Millar 1977: 175 *ff.*
[182] Millar 1977: 165.
[183] Tacoma 2015: 72; MacMullen 1976.
[184] Millar 1977: 177; Pflaum *Carrières* 1044, 1070-2, 1092.

their land confiscated.[185] Under Claudius, a Greek man accused of rape and/or kidnapping also lost his property to the crown.[186] And Dio records an extreme case under Nero, in which multiple Greeks were executed, but in order to avoid the imputation of doing so only for their wealth, he allowed them to leave their property to families or freedmen, who were later forced to leave half their property to the emperor in their wills.[187] There are, of course, all sorts of sensational accusations concerning the land lust of greedy emperors—Lactantius claims that whenever Diocletian saw an especially well cultivated field, a criminal charge and capital punishment awaited its owner.[188] But even if these practices were exaggerated, it remains the case that the emperors exerted their power to reallocate rich lands either to themselves or to the upper echelons of imperial society, and that this was common enough to become a source of moral outrage.

So, how did this phenomenon of growing imperial lands affect the Greek tradition of tenancy? First of all, it further revoked local civic authority over land management, increasingly over time. For instance, the emperor's claim to properties of the intestate (*bona vacantia*) was a privilege previously enjoyed by the polis. Under Augustus, a few poleis ventured to confirm their traditional right to claim such land as civic goods,[189] but by Diocletian, it is an assumed right of the crown.[190] Moreover, the maintenance of imperial estates created the opportunity for both upper class investors and lower class tenants to rent from the emperor, forging ties with Rome rather than the local polis. Imperial

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[185] Plutarch *Mor.* 487F-8A.
[186] Plutarch *Mor.* 484A.
[187] Dio 63.11.1-3 (76-77).
[188] Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 7: "whenever he saw a field remarkably well cultivated, or a house of uncommon elegance, a false accusation and a capital punishment were straightway prepared against the proprietor; so that it seemed as if Diocletian could not be guilty of rapine without also shedding blood." (Fletcher, transl.) quod ubicumque cultiorem agrum viderat aut ornatius aedificium, iam parata domino calumnia et poena capitalis, quasi non posset rapere aliena sine sanguine.
[189] Millar 1977: 159-160.
[190] When does this change? From Tacitus' tale about Tiberius and a parchment from Dura-Europos, it appears early on.

estates were typically leased via the provincial governor or *procurator* to lower class *coloni*. Sometimes rent was collected by wealthier middlemen, *conductores*, who were also responsible for cultivating any lands under their supervision not occupied by the *coloni*— effectively a subletting system that fed the imperial fisc.[191] Imperial estates may have functioned as public land in terms of generating revenue for public purposes, but in its management, this land functioned just like any other Roman private property, emphasizing the vertical bonds between the emperor, provincial governor, *conductor*, and *colonus*— an indirect challenge to the social priorities inherent in traditional Greek tenancy systems.

Furthermore, in the context of imperial estates, we find further evidence for the possible improvement of the working conditions for Greek lower class tenants through tenancy practices that prioritized vertical relationships. As papyrological and epigraphic evidence demonstrates (albeit largely from North Africa and Asia Minor rather than mainland Greece), *coloni* could and did collectively appeal to the emperor as recourse against abuses.[192] In Africa, one group complained that the *procurator* and certain *conductores* were colluding to make more than their share of profits (and that they had been beaten);[193] while in Lydia, a group of *coloni* threatened to leave the land if the emperor did not help them avoid unfair demands imposed on them by neighboring poleis.[194] In this case, the *coloni* expressed that they did not want to move because the imperial estate had become their ancestral land. The fact that imperial estates provided long-term residential stability and could offer some recourse to abusive conditions is evident.

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191 Kehoe 1984: 194.
192 Kehoe 2007: 53 *ff;* Millar 1977: 180-181; Hauken 1998.
193 *CIL* VIII 10570 (Haywood, transl.)
194 Millar 1977: 181.

V. Conclusion

With less public land, diminished civic authority over property, and a competing land management system based on foreign social principles, intra-elite tenancy's promotion of a rooted and cohesive local elite seems to have been largely negated, especially given the increasing social and financial benefits that elite individuals could gain by participating in provincial governance. These factors seem to have engendered greater independence amongst elite families, visible in their heightened mobility—the florescence of inter-city patronage that lasted throughout the Roman period. Indeed, it is at this time that the elite increasingly accumulated swathes of land outside hometown civic limits,[195] and nonlocal names appear in the epigraphic testimony of civic governance. In Corinth, we find an ἀγωνοθέτης from Argos (Antonius Aristocrates);[196] city magistrates from Sparta (multiple members of the Euryclid family)[197] and Epidauros (Cn. Cornelius Pulcher).[198] These trends of elite mobility began in the Hellenistic age, and the depreciation of intra-elite tenancy under Roman rule would further encourage such behavior. If Greek elites were somewhat less bound to the elite circle of their own hometowns, it appears that they were ingratiating themselves more with the elites of those poleis and coloniae that would become the reigning metropoleis of the Roman period (this phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3).

This chapter also outlined possible shifts in the agro-economic structures that in turn shaped the relationships between the rural and urban spheres of Greek life. Contrary to the traditional narrative of a depressed countryside, the evidence provided here, on its own, is suggestive that successful and

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195 Rousset 2008; Rizakis 2013.
196 Corinth I-1973-4. Antonius Aristocrates is also mentioned in *IG* IV 581; *SEG* 53.1 293; *IG* II² 3889; and Plut. *Ant.* 69.1. For discussion of Antonius Aristocrates' career and acts of civic patronage, see Balzat and Millis 2013. See also Spawforth 1996: 173-4.
197 *Corinth* 8.2 no. 67; *Corinth* 8.1 no. 70; *Corinth* 8.2 no. 69.
198 *SIG³* 802.

widespread agricultural production was of high interest to the Roman state. This concurs with the picture of maintained agricultural production depicted by the evidence of survey data, as argued in Chapter 1. Once incorporated into the empire, Roman institutions were certainly capable of removing wealth from rural estates in the form of rents and taxes toward the capital and other urban centers—and the growth of metropoleis during this period attests to this phenomenon—but we should perhaps question whether so much wealth was removed that it significantly depressed local rural economies (or whether it even makes sense to speak of separate "rural" and "urban" economies).[199] Moreover, for potential tenants and lower class agricultural laborers, there were serious privileges to be gained under the Roman system, including a potentially greater voice in local politics and institutions, greater access to agricultural equipment and markets, as well as increased economic and social stability. That said, Roman tenancy did have its oppressive effects: there were probably increasingly fewer options of agricultural labor strategies for lower status families, as well as added pressure to remain on a given plot of land engendered by the long-term, automatically renewed contracts. While this created greater agricultural stability by ensuring that tenants were not likely to leave their rented properties, it also created an entrenched labor system with few opportunities for change or mobility amongst lower status families. In fact, sharecropping became increasingly popular through much of the eastern Mediterranean in the later Imperial period, and these trends would eventually culminate in the colonate of Late Antiquity, an institution at once more oppressive but also more stable with even fewer agricultural and financial risks—which makes sense in the context of the economic instability that plagued much of this later period.

[199] Kehoe 2007: 11.

Chapter 3

Suburbs, Agriculture, Supra-civic Elite, and Empire: A Case Study of the Greater Corinthia

I. Introduction: the Corinthian plain

Cicero once claimed that Corinth was one of only three cities *in terris omnibus* naturally situated such that it might sustain the *gravitas* of empire.[1] Indeed, sitting between the eastern port at Cenchreae and the western port of Lechaeum, with a fertile coastal plain stretching across its northern territory, Corinth enjoyed an advantageous location along the isthmus. As the port city *par excellence* of the Roman Empire, the role of the coastal plain in the city's long-term prosperity, compared to that of its commercial ties, has often been downplayed.[2] For instance, many have argued that Corinth's exceptional commercial strength is evident in the fact that the city could not possibly have fed all of its urban residents without importing grain.[3] But this point is debatable (if not more or less true of

[1] Besides Romes, of course. Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.87. …qui tris solum urbis in terris omnibus, Carthaginem, Corinthum, Capuam, statuerunt posse imperi gravitatem ac nomen sustinere.

[2] E.g. Vittinghoff 1952: 1302-3; Salmon 1970: 135; Engels 1990; Williams 1993. For a review of such scholars, see Pettegrew 2015: 290 and 2016: 136. Even Strabo introduces the city in saying, "Corinth is called 'wealthy' because of its commerce, since it is situated on the isthmus and is master of two harbors[.]" ὁ δὲ Κόρινθος ἀφνειὸς μὲν λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἐμπόριον, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ κείμενος καὶ δυεῖν λιμένων ὢν κύριος[.] (8.6.20) Likewise, Cicero comments on the fertile lands for sale around Corinth, but attributes the former city's power to its geographic position (Cic. *Agr.* 1.5; 2.51; 2.87; and Cic. *Rep.* 2.4). Pettegrew discusses the value placed on Corinth's position in ancient literature partially as a result of the development of the concept of an "isthmus" (Pettegrew 2016: 137-147).

[3] Salmon 1984: 65-69 (for the pre-Roman period); Engels 1990. Conversely, Rizakis 2014: 253 argues that Roman Corinth not only could feed itself, but would have enjoyed a considerable surplus on a regular basis.

any large city in the classical world).[4] And although Strabo calls the Corinthia infertile and rugged,[5] the proverbial richness of this northern coastal plain is reflected in more than one oracular response from Delphi. "Good indeed is the land between Corinth and Sicyon,"[6] the oracle proclaims; and in reply to a question about how to become rich, the oracle suggests, "if you acquire the land between Corinth and Sicyon."[7]Cicero likewise reflects on the great value of Corinth's land, calling it *agrum optimum et fructuosissimum Corinthium* and *Corinthios agros opimos et fertiles.*[8] It is well known that Corinth was a successful commercial hub, but the great agricultural potential of its territory, so clearly impressive to ancient contemporaries, is not often considered a significant component of the colony's prosperity or civic identity.[9]

This chapter therefore endeavors to demonstrate that the agricultural land of the Corinthia was a crucial part of the city's economic success, and, more importantly, its political success, serving as a medium through which new social structures of provincial society were expressed and reinforced. I will argue that an earlier form of Greek civic identity, premised on communal land, was replaced in part with new "provincial" expressions of political identity on the basis of agricultural land use structured by vertical social ties that extended from a city's *chora* to the Roman emporer. In doing so, I will examine Corinth from four different angles: (1) the political history of Roman interference in the management of the Corinthian plain, demonstrating Rome's active interest in this land following 146 BC; (2) an examination of the city's population at all levels of society, highlighting the ways in

[4] On the common need amongst large ancient cities to import grain, see Garnsey 1988 and Oliver 2006: 288. (Also B. Kowalzig. 2017. "Demeter, the Grain, and the Sea: between Religion and Political Economy in Ancient Greece." Lecture at the Swedish Institute at Athens.)
[5] Str. 8.6.23.
[6] Diod. Sic. 8.21.3
[7] Ath. *Deip.* 5.219.
[8] Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 1.5 and 2.51, respectively.
[9] Concerning the typical focus on Corinth's commercial properties, see Pettegrew 2015: 289.

which the use of agricultural land reinforced vertical social bonds; (3) material evidence from archaeological surveys and excavations in the Corinthia, which show shifting trends in spatial investments and the growth of suburban communities from the late Hellenistic to Roman period; (4) the politics of Corinth's "supra-civic" elite, looking at the role of this group in both local food systems and negotiations of power within the province.

Rhetorical flourishes from ancient authors aside (see above), Corinth is often considered highly exceptional, but for the most part, this perceived exceptionality is due to the fact that it has been so well documented and studied. The phenomena explored in Chapters 1 and 2 therefore appear most clearly in our evidence for Corinth, but as I will attempt to highlight throughout this chapter, in these regards, Corinth is likely representative of other metropoleis in the Roman period. Thus Corinth serves as a window to the changing strategies in agricultural production and inter-poleis politics that shaped the developing social structures of provincial life in Achaea.

II. The political history of Corinth and its *chora*

The importance of the agricultural potential of the northern plain is evident in its continued use following the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. Even after Corinth's urban center was demolished, people still lived in this area, and most presumably made a living cultivating this plain, which now officially belonged to the Roman state. There is plenty of evidence that at least a small population remained at Corinth between Mummius' sack and the foundation of Caesar's colony in 44 BC. First of all, the archaeological record suggests a partial destruction of select buildings rather than total

destruction. [10] Moreover, coins, stamped amphorae, and other datable small finds from this period have been uncovered on site. Fine ware was still being locally produced, and the particular location and relative chronology of wagon ruts within the city center indicate continued traffic flow during this time.[11] And, given that Cicero mentions people living in Corinth before the settlement of the Roman colony,[12] it seems certain that there was at least some level of continued occupation throughout the interim period:[13]

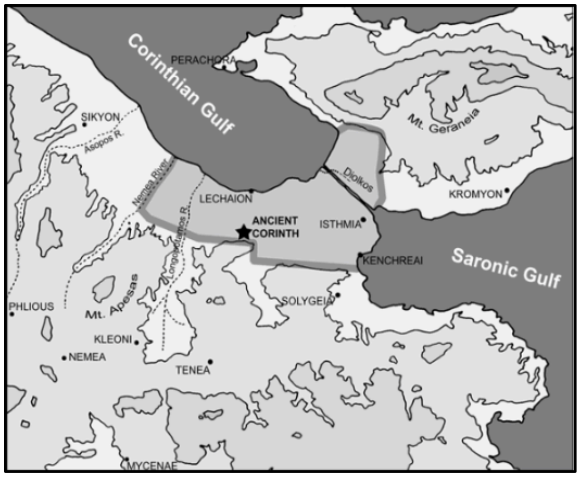

Figure 2.1 Centuriated land around Corinth
(Sanders 2014, drawing by J. Herbst)

> I have seen too in the Peloponnese in my youthful days some natives of Corinth […] Their features, speech, all the rest of their movements and postures would have led one to say they were freemen of Argos or Sicyon; and at Corinth the sudden sight of the ruins had more effect upon me than upon the actual inhabitants, for long contemplation had had the hardening effect of length of time upon their souls.[14]

[10] James 2014: 25; Wiseman 1979: 491-6. Buildings that exhibit signs of damage or destruction at this time include: the Columned Hall, which may have served as a tax office; the North Stoa, which may have functioned as an armory; and the theatre, which would have been used as a civic meeting place. Numerous public inscriptions were also smashed. But the South Stoa and the Temple of Apollo remained largely unharmed, as well as the Peirene Fountain.
[11] James 2014: 27-36; Williams 1978: 21-22.
[12] Cic. *Tusc. Disput.* 3.53-54.
[13] Some "miserable huts" were long cited as evidence for continued occupation, but see Millis 2006 for the unlikelihood of these structures.
[14] Cic. *Tusc. Disput.* 53-54: Vidi etiam in Peloponneso, cum essem adolescens, quosdam Corinthios. […] Eo enim erant vultu, oratione, omni reliquo motu et statu, ut eos Argivos aut Sicyonios diceres, magisque me moverant Corinthi subito aspectae parietinae quam ipsos Corinthios, quorum animis diuturna cogitatio callum vetustatis obduxerat. (King, transl.)

More importantly, it is certainly not the case that the Romans were inactive in Corinthia during the interim of 146-44 BC, but were availing themselves of the available farmland. Although the *lex agraria* of 111 BC included a provision for the sale of this land, the majority appears not to have gone into private hands—even during the large land confiscations of Sulla. So what did the Romans do with all this Corinthian land? On the basis of Roman practices elsewhere, Walbank presumes that Corinth's hinterland was surveyed and leased immediately after 146.[15] Strabo says that the Sicyonians came to own the majority of Corinthian land,[16] but they could not have held title to any land designated as *ager publicus*, which most of this land (and the best of this land), seems to have been throughout this interim period.[17] More likely, Sicyon had only *possessio,* not ownership, of this land, and was therefore responsible for sending tax revenue from the Corinthian *ager publicus* to Rome.[18] Given the dire financial straits the Sicyonians suffered later in the first century BC, this may not have been an especially beneficial arrangement for them.[19] We know the Romans were profiting immensely from this tax revenue,[20] which means we must imagine that a large workforce was in place to cultivate the land.[21] It is perhaps plausible that the Romans brought in slaves to work the

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[15] Walbank 2002: 253.

[16] Strabo 8.6.23. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔσχον Σικυώνιοι τὴν πλείστην τῆς Κορινθίας.

[17] Lintott 1992: 281. This is inferred from line 101 of the 111 BC *lex agraria* and Cic. *leg. Agr.* 1.5, 2.51. Conversely, Walbank 2002 suggests that at least some land was given to Sicyon after 146 BC. If some of this land had been *ager censorius*, then Sicyonians or any private individuals could have purchased the rights to collect rent from cultivators at renewable 5 year intervals, but there is no indication that Corinthian land was ever designated as such (On *ager censorius,* see Roselaar 2010: 128-33).

[18] Paus. 2.2.2; Strabo 8.6.23; Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 1.5. See discussions in Romano 2003: 280, n. 12 and James 2014: 19; Lolos 2011: 77; Hill 1946: 38.

[19] Cic. *Att.* 1.19.1, 2.21.6. See argument of Walbank 1998: 96-7. The possibility is also raised by Lolos 2011: 79.

[20] Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1.2.5 and 2.18.51 both identify the *ager Corinthius* as an important part of the *ager publicus*. The *lex agraria* of 111 BC marks out the Corinthia as a major source of revenue (*Lex agr.* 96). For discussion of the *lex agraria,* see Crawford 1996. For general argument see Hill 1946: 37-8.

[21] Tax revenue would also have been generated from Corinth's two harbors, but this is unlikely to have been enough to cover Roman tax demands. Regardless, it is unlikely that the Corinthian plain would have been left uncultivated for over 100 years until Caesar's foundation. See James 2014: 20, n. 12.

Corinthian plain at this time,[22] but it seems more likely that the original small landholders or tenant families of this area remained to work the land under new Roman ownership.[23] These people therefore would have likely entered into the Roman social structures of agricultural production, as outlined in the previous chapter. In any case, the evidence certainly shows that the Romans were managing and profiting from this land throughout the interim period.

Precisely when the Corinthian plain was first divided into centuriated plots remains a contested question, along with where those divisions lie and how many times thereafter they were re-drawn or expanded. Multiple people have attempted to trace centuriation lines in the Corinthia, and none are in agreement. Walbank first traced a 20x20 actus scheme, which she dated (primarily on the basis of literary evidence and historical context) to a colony foundation quickly aborted under Saturninus' *lex de provinciis praetoriis* in 100BC.[24] At least two others, Doukellis and Romano, have since suggested a more complex history of centuriation within this area, but their interpretations are mutually exclusive. Doukellis detects two centuriation plans: a pre-44 BC 16x16 actus plan, oriented 32.5 degrees NNE (aligned with the coast); and a 20x20 plan, oriented 3 degrees NNW, which he associates with Caesar's foundation.[25] Romano, however, identifies three phases of centuriation: (1) a 16x16 actus plan at 7 degrees NNE, which he connects with the 111 BC *lex agraria*; (2) a 16x12 plan oriented 3 degrees NNW, which he associates with the Julian colony; and (3) a Flavian phase with a 16x24 actus multi-grid pattern fanning out in alignment with the coast, extending to the cities of

[22] As suggested in Bookidis 2005: 150.
[23] James 2014: 18-9. Cassius Dio says that Mummius called for everyone in the region to convene and then seized and enslaved all of the Corinthians present (21.72); he adds that this was the end of the Romans' persecution of the Corinthians, so we can perhaps infer that a considerable number of Corinthians not present at this meeting remained.
[24] Walbank 1986.
[25] Doukellis 1994.

Sicyon, Cleonae, and Tenea.[26] The sparse and disconnected remnants of ancient boundary lines exacerbated by centuries of continued agricultural use within this area[27] make it difficult to decipher the evidence of centuriation with certainty.[28] But even if the boundaries and dating are impossible to pin down with exactitude, there are a few points of consensus within this debate to consider: (1) pre-colonial Roman interest in developing the confiscated land around Corinth; (2) continued attention to the countryside in terms of re-drawing centuriation lines and/or expanding the centuriated area throughout the colony's early history; and (3) following the foundation of Corinth as a Roman colony in 44 BC, the new *chora* of Roman Corinth extended well beyond that of the earlier Greek polis.[29] Regardless of when centuriation actually occurred, the Romans were laying out plans for the Corinthia right after 146 BC, again in 111 BC under the *lex agraria*, and in 100 BC with Saturninus' *lex de provinciis praetoriis*. The question of whether any colonists were actually settled around Corinth in 100 BC before the abandonment of Saturninus' project is perhaps unanswerable,[30] but again, regardless, *someone* was living in the Corinthia and cultivating the land around this time, as evidenced by archaeological evidence, Cicero's remarks upon seeing agricultural workers in this area,[31] and the fact that Rome was receiving revenue from the Corinthia at this time (see discussion above). Further, it is clear from Cicero's attack on Rullus' land bill in 63 BC that this area remained a crucial source of revenue for the Roman state at the end of the Republic. All of this points to the fact that

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[26] Romano 2003.
[27] Walbank 2002: 255. New farming methods involving deep ploughing have further obscured the remaining centuriation lines.
[28] Guy Sanders, former director of the ASCSA's excavations at Corinth (and former land surveyor) is skeptical that, in a case like Corinth's, the original centuriation pattern can be soundly reconstructed. (pers. comm.)
[29] Romano 2003; Walbank 2002, Doukellis 1997. The centuriated area to the north of the city is roughly equivalent to 340 km^2; the non-centuriated area to the east, south, and west must also have formed part of Corinth's *chora* (Romano 2005: 44). Its pre-Roman size is estimated at 900 km^2 (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 466).
[30] Walbank 2002: 258.
[31] Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 3.22.53.

the coastal plain comprising Corinth's northern territory was of continued importance from the Hellenistic era, even following the urban center's partial destruction, and into the Roman period.

Whatever the exact population and land management system that characterized this interim period, the structure of daily life would have been drastically interupted by the major changes imposed on the Corinthia as soon as the Roman colony was formed in 44 BC—not just at the site of the city itself but across its hinterland. Religious spaces were immediately refurbished (e.g. the Temple of Apollo, the Asklepieion, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore). A forum was created, in part by remodeling earlier structures, such as the South Stoa, which was converted from a commercial space of small rooms into larger halls that better suited administrative purposes. A new series of buildings running parallel to the South Stoa divided the forum into upper and lower areas, and this space was bounded on the East end by two basilicas.[32] Such drastic changes to the city center were matched by processes of land redistribution in the countryside, as outlined above. It is important to note that even if centuriation occurred prior to the founding of Roman Corinth, *agrimensores* would have arrived at that time to reassign land allotments to the colonists. Given the huge change in population size and demographics, this reorganization of land ownership would have been highly disruptive to the pre-existing social structures of this area.

The populus of the new colony, as in other Roman cities, was divided between citizens (*cives*) and resident aliens (*incolae*). Some *incolae* may have had the right to vote, but they were not allowed to hold office. Full citizenship could be obtained through adoption or a gift from the emperor or the local *decurio* (*boule*).[33] This should be kept in mind when considering the large number of families

[32] Wiseman 1979: 509-521.
[33] For overview of the colony's civic government, see Engels 1990: 17-18 and Kent 1966.

from outside Corinth who, later in the colony's history, would often come to hold the city's highest public offices.

The foundation of Corinth was likely intended as a key step toward integrating mainland Greece into the expanding empire, in part, by reviving a major commercial center, and thereby reviving the wider regional economy,[34] which would help increase not only local economic stability but also revenue for the Roman state. Imported ceramics from Corinth's two harbors show dramatically increased trading activity with the West by the end of the first century BC and increasing commercial activity with the eastern Mediterranean from the first century AD onward. Major refurbishment work on the harbor of Cenchreae can be dated to the first half of the first century AD. Moreover, Corinth was a communication and commercial hub, not only because of these East and West harbors, but because of the Roman road system[35] and its centrality as a "high-order" market within the greater Corinthia region.[36] Some believe that Corinth served as the provincial capital of Achaea, but the evidence is not sufficient to prove this conclusively.[37] Perhaps more likely, as one of the largest and best-connected metropoleis of the province, the colony simply played host to a larger number of visiting Roman magistrates than her peers.

It has been argued that Caesar's colony was intended as a commerce-based city rather than the "typical" Greek city supported by an agricultural economy.[38] But regardless of where one puts Corinth on the spectrum between "agro-town"[39] and commercial center, the importance of

[34] Engels 1990: 17.
[35] Sanders and Whitbread 1990.
[36] Engels 1990: 173-8.
[37] Stansbury 1990: 166-9; Wiseman 1979: 501-2.
[38] Williams 1993; Engels 1990.
[39] Engels 1990: 29.

agricultural production at Corinth should not be discounted as a minor element of the colony's economic and social structure. It is possible that the city could have operated as part of a redistributive, centralized system of food production. Corinth may have shipped grain (either that which she produced herself or had imported from elsewhere) to other cities as part of a trans-poleis system of agricultural distribution; some evidence for this may exist in a series of food storage facilities built in the heart of the city under Claudius.[40] But we need not imagine quite such a grandiose role to appreciate the importance of the fertile Corinthian plain to the new colony, as the preponderance of evidence demonstrating active Roman control and management of this land makes clear. If we accept Romano's thesis that a final centuriation plan was redrawn under the Flavians, then there is further evidence for direct Roman involvement in Corinth's agricultural affairs well into the Empire.[41] Romano's case is supported by circumstantial evidence from across the Empire, which suggests an ongoing survey and centuriation project under the Flavians designed to incentivize greater agricultural productivity by imposing taxes on land regardless of whether it was under cultivation.[42] This continual imperial interference in the management of agricultural land shows that, although mainland Greece was not a "bread basket" of the empire like Egypt and Sicily, the Roman state nevertheless consciously identified the maintenance of agricultural production in the Greek provinces as a component of imperial success.

III. Cross-section of Corinthian society: imagining the social geography of a Roman colony

So who lived on this land, and who performed the labor of producing foodstuffs for local consumption or regional trade? This section attempts to draw distinctions concerning the political

[40] Williams 1993.
[41] Romano 2003.
[42] Ando 2011.

roles and material footprints of Corinth's different social groups in order to reconstruct, however roughly, the social ties that structured both agricultural practices and local politics in the Roman colony.

A brief overview of the changing nature of Corinthian society following the foundation of the Roman colony

Post-146 Corinth was primarily a community of small-scale farmers and a few administrators who ensured that tax revenues were sent to the imperial capital.[43] With a devastated urban center and now a primarily agricultural population, G. D. R. Sanders has argued, on the basis of an earlier economic study of different ancient income distributions by community type, that Corinth in the interim period (and at the outset of its colonial foundation) had a "simple economy," in which a large majority of the population lived at or around subsistence level and only a small surplus was produced to support a small elite class. In terms of income distribution, post-146 Corinth and early Roman Corinth would have therefore mirrored the average income inequality levels charted by Scheidel and Friesen for the Roman Empire,[44] where approximately 65-88% of the population lived around subsistence level, about 20-30% live at a slightly higher income level as artisans, landlords, and tradesmen, and a top 2% comprised an elite class, living at eight or more times the income level of the poorest members of society.[45] (More or less, this would have been the rough income distribution for the vast majority of mainland Greece from the Mycenaean period and into the

[43] Sanders 2014: 122-3. See discussion above concerning continued occupation at Corinth following 146. We need not take Cicero's comments (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 3.22.53) about sparse field workers as hard evidence for a diminished urban population, but as James 2014 argues from the archaeological evidence, while an urban population continued to live at Corinth, it was not nearly on the scale of the preceding or succeeding periods.
[44] Scheidel and Friesen 2009: table 10.
[45] Friesen 2005: 364-69.

modern period.)[46] But following the foundation of the Roman colony, as land became more concentrated in fewer hands, and as the new colonia grew into a major transport hub and commercial center, the local scale of income distribution would have shifted away from the empire-wide average (outlined by Scheidel and Friesen). With the changing scale of consumer demands from the growth of middling and upper classes[47] afforded by the increased support of Rome and expanding trade routes,[48] this discrepancy between income levels between the poorest and wealthiest members of society would have grown in tandem. While a larger proportion of people, those that were a part of a more robust commercial and managerial class, might now have enjoyed two to three times the subsistence level, the economic status of those at the bottom of society would have changed very little. Therefore, Corinthian society, a generation or so after the colony's foundation, likely had a larger consumer class than most places throughout the empire, but one similar to other Roman metropoleis.[49] This spread of income distribution and consumer habits may be imagined for Athens, Nicopolis, Patrae, and to perhaps a lesser extent, Sparta, Messene, Megalopolis, and Argos. At these places as well as Corinth, we might expect this growing non-subsistence, sub-elite group to have consumed a wider variety of accessible social display goods. Therefore, those living three to four times the subsistence level might be recognized in the archaeological record as the consumers of fine ware and decorated ceramics, glass vessels, storage pithoi, and garbage middens containing higher levels of animal bones, while those with incomes greater than four times the subsistence level

[46] Sanders 2014: 121. Presumably this "early" phase of Roman Corinth did not last long—especially if we are to follow Williams' suggestion that the freedmen colonists of Corinth maintained ties to Roman families as part of an expansion of trade and commercial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. See Williams 1993.
[47] Changing consumer demands of larger cities, see Morley 1996. See also von Thünen's model of agricultural land use corresponding to city size. These ideas are reflected in the ancient sources themselves, that there is money to be made in specialty products close to large urban centers: Cato *Agr.* 8.2 and Varro *RR* 1.16.3.
[48] Bintliff 2013; Sirks 2007; Leidwanger 2017; Wilson 2009; Rizakis 2014: 248; Kokkorou-Alvera 2001: 319-48.
[49] Sanders 2014: 123.

may be seen as the elite consumers of mosaic floors, small scale sculpture, and wall paintings.[50] This shift from a "simple economy" toward an income distribution with a larger consumer class can be witnessed in the survey data from the Corinthia presented later in this chapter (as well as in the environs of Sparta and Megalopolis, as discussed in the previous chapter). Noticably, in these places the *spread* of fine wares may have declined in the Roman period, but the *variety* of social display goods increased, even as such goods became more concentrated in the suburban areas of metropoleis such as Corinth. This trend within the artifactual carpet is likely correlated with both a growing consumer class and the development of a more mobile provincial elite. Below we will examine each of these constituent "classes" of Corinthian society, highlighting how agricultural land formed an important part of the basis on which their inter-class, vertical social bonds were structured.

The lowest levels of Corinthian society: a view from the more recent past

What peoples constituted the lowest echelons of this new Roman colony? It would seem, as indicated above, that a large number among the lower social groups, which comprised the major agricultural workforce of the Corinthia, may well have been local Greek Corinthians who had never left, even after 146 BC. In addition to this native population, the foundation of the Roman colony would have entailed the immigration of lower class persons, although the scale of such immigration is unclear. The primary political incentive for founding the colony is commonly thought to have been a way for Caesar to drain Rome's excess of impoverished freedmen,[51] but ultimately we know precious little about the origins and lives of these lower social groups.[52]

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[50] Sanders 2014: 124.

[51] See, for example, Engels 1990: 17.

[52] Woolf 2017: 40 highlights how little we know about how and whence new colonists came to Roman Corinth, especially as concerns such lower classes. Woolf points out that, given the dearth of evidence

Because these people are virtually invisible in the evidence from the ancient world, it is useful to consider the economic and social station of their counterparts in later, better-documented historical periods. Thus, on the basis of two documents describing tenant arrangements in Corinth shortly after the War of Independence, Sanders outlines a probable income level and livelihood for a Corinthian farmer in the Roman period. The first document is the diary of Samuel Gridley Howe (husband of Julia Ward Howe), who after the war founded Washingtonia a few kilometers east of Corinth (the village now known as Hexamilia) as a model farm and settlement plan for Greek refugees. Howe was granted 1,000 ha of the former local Ottoman magnate's land, tax-free for five years from the new Greek government. Comparing the portions of harvest that tenants were able to keep for themselves under his regime to that of his Turkish predecessor, Kiamel Bey, it appears that the rental rates in both systems effectively worked out to more or less the same level. Howe records that Corinthian farmers in the early nineteenth century under the Ottomans kept approximately 25-33% of their produce (not counting the portion set aside for seed).[53] And this system is remarkably similar to that operated by the new Greek state, which rented out confiscated Turkish land to Greek citizens: after the extraction of taxes, seed, and various fees, tenants kept around 25% of their harvest.[54] With these percentages, to produce enough to feed a family, approximately fourteen ha of rented property would be necessary (or, if owning rather than renting, about 7-8 ha), which is essentially what the Greek government calculated in distributing land to citizens: families needed either four ha of irrigated land in the plain (a rarity), eight ha of un-watered land in the plain, or

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informing us otherwise, there is a real possibility of "deportation" or some other form of involuntary emigration from Rome or elsewhere to the new colony.

[53] Richards 1909: 352-4.

[54] McGrew 1985: 170.

twelve ha of land on hill slopes.[55] Sanders demonstrates that this size land plot was typical in the Corinthia (until mechanization in the late twentieth century) for tenant and smallholder families. Sanders estimates that the land just within an hour's walk of the urban center of ancient Corinth could have supported about 700-800 families of such subsistence farmers (about 2,500-4,000 people).[56] With these numbers, we can very roughly estimate how large this lower echelon of Corinthian society could have been in the Roman period. Moreover, these documents can help us conceptualize the relationships these people had to their landlords, civic administrators, and local artisans. In this world, the cost of draught animals and other equipment is shared between landlords and tenants, as well as smallholders living slightly above subsistence, who might lease their animals to other farmers. Civic administrators serve as a source of recourse in the event of disputes or agricultural crisis, but such services came at the cost of harvest fees.[57] This social structure look remarkably similar to that depicted by Roman legal testimony (as discussed in Chapter 2), which shows mutual investment between landowners and lessees in the project of structural agricultural tenancy and the role of the state in safeguarding stable relationships between lessees and lessors—in contradistinction to the pre-Roman Greek world where structural agricultural tenancy appears to have been much less common.

The income of such families, even of those who owned the land themselves and possibly managed their own tenants or sharecroppers, was around subsistence level. Looking at patterns of material consumption for such people, we should expect such families to be more or less archaeologically invisible. Most residences belonging to families at this level of society were probably much like that

[55] McGrew 1985: 170.
[56] Sanders 2014: 116.
[57] Sanders 2014: 107-115. See also Halstead 2014.

of a Laconian house described by William Martin Leake at the beginning of the 19th century (that is, aside from its apparently unusual thatched roof):

> The house is constructed, in the usual manner, of mud, with a coating of plaster; the roof is thatched, which is not a very common mode of covering the cottages of Greece. There is a raised earthen semi-circle at one end for the fire, without any chimney; towards the other, a low partition, formed of the same material as the walls, separates the part of the building destined for the family from that which is occupied by the oxen and asses used on the farm, one door serving for both apartments. The usual articles of furniture of a Greek cottage are arranged, or hung around, namely a loom, barrel-shaped wicker baskets plastered with mud for holding corn, a sieve, spindles, some copper cooking-vessels, and two lyres. The floor is bare earth covered, like the walls, with a coat of dried mud. An oven attached to the outside of the building and in the garden some beans, artichokes, and a vine trailed over the roof, indicate a superior degree of affluence or industry.[58]

This social group cannot be imagined as regular consumers of fine ceramics, nor even of large storage wares, which were also considerably expensive.[59] Such families would have left a negligible imprint in the archaeological record. The nature of their lives must be inferred from other forms of documentation, such as legal and epigraphic testimony (as discussed in Chapter 2), as well as comparative material from later historical contexts, such as presented here. These families likely lived in the more rural and suburban spaces of Corinth's territory, but their settlement patterns and consumer habits (such as they were), given the currently available evidence, are rather undetectable in the material record. From what little evidence we do have, however, we can imagine that Roman rule, through the sort of patron-client relationships fostered by Roman-style agricultural tenancy,

[58] Leake 1830: 222-4.
[59] Sanders, *forthcoming*.

created greater socio-political connectivity between these lower echelons of Corinthian society and the landowning political elite.

Merchants, tradesmen, and other middling social groups

While the language of public inscriptions was predominantly Latin (until the time of Hadrian), Greek remained the dominant language of private inscriptions even in the early history of the Roman colony, as well as in graffiti on personal objects and manufacturers' marks on building blocks, tiles, and pottery.[60] This suggests that the middling (semi-)literate social groups living throughout the Corinthia, even from the beginning, were largely of Greek rather than Italian stock. Again, this supports the idea that many Corinthian families remained after the destruction of the urban center and were later incorporated into the colonial community, even if not as citizens.[61]

Many foreign merchants and tradesmen would have increasingly taken up residence at Corinth after the foundation of the Roman colony, and this is evidenced by onomastic studies of the early colony, which suggest that many of these middling families had connections to established merchant families elsewhere in the Greek East.[62] Italian *negotiatores* already working in Greece also made the move to the new colony: for instance, a number of Italian merchants living in Boeotia came to Corinth soon after its re-foundation.[63] This middling social group of artisans and traders would have largely resided in the urban center itself (or the urban areas surrounding Corinth's two ports). But this group did not live separately from the world of agriculture, and we can see ways in which this class too was bound to the other social groups of Corinth through agricultural land. For starters, many of

[60] Millis 2010: 26-29.
[61] James 2014: 36.
[62] Spawforth 1996.
[63] Spawforth 1996: 172.

these people were likely small landowners and/or part-time agricultural laborers themselves.[64] Also, on the basis of comparative examples from pre-mechanized Greece, it is likely that this group was sometimes paid in kind for their services, taking an established cut of agricultural produce, to ensure that artisans remained active in, and therefore accessible to, rural communities.[65] Corinthian society was thus structured so that the middling classes, formed by greater urban consumer demands, also served the outlying rural population.

Of course, Corinth is not special in its capacity of hosting a larger base of middling consumers: large cities throughout the Greek East hosted such social groups, who were in general very mobile—a sub-elite stratum of gladiators, craftsmen, *negotiatores*, and freedmen who lived and worked between multiple Greek cities.[66] Of the latter group, we can also catch glimpses of their activities at Corinth as *seviri Augustales,* commemorating their sacrifices to the emperors—expressions of imperial loyalty strikingly similar to those of their elite counterparts.[67]

The formation of a new elite class: wealthy Greek and Italian families in the new colony

Even before Corinth's refoundation, there is plenty of evidence of upper class Romans and Italians immigrating to the Corinthia and insinuating themselves into local civic politics. We hear from Cicero's letters, for example, that Atticus, as a private citizen, came into the position of lending the polis of Sicyon a huge sum of money, and when they defaulted, Atticus turned to Rome for help. The Roman senate "advised" Sicyon to pay up,[68] which, if not immediately effective, this likely forced a payment eventually (and we later hear that all the paintings of Sicyon were brought to

[64] See discussion in Erdkamp 1999.
[65] For examples of such relationships, see Sanders 2014: 107-115 and Halstead 2014.
[66] See, for example, the evidence of funerary epigrams charted by Tacoma and Tybout 2016.
[67] E.g. *Corinth* 8.3, nos. 52, 53, and 69. See discussion in Kantiréa 2007: 190.
[68] Cic. *ad Att.* 1.4, 9, 13, 19-20; 2.1-2, 10, 13, 21.

Rome, having been sold to pay off public debt).[69] Cicero's brother Quintus was also active in Sicyon around this same time,[70] and Cicero mentions one M. Aemilius Avianius, who owned a banking establishment in Sicyon, locally operated by a freedman.[71] Cicero himself recommends Demokritos of Sicyon to the proconsul, playing a role in Sicyonian politics from abroad.[72]

Although many Corinthian residents remained on the land in the interim period and were incorporated into the later Roman colony, this group of stragglers did not likely include any prominent families of Corinth's original Greek elite class. Therefore, at the founding of the Roman colony, a new governing class had to be established, and was apparently done so *en bloc* by a group of people with pre-established commercial ties throughout the Greek East and political ties to Rome. Although many of Roman Corinth's wealthiest residents are identifiably freedmen (or their descendants), this does not necessarily reflect an atmosphere of increased social mobility at the new colony, even though this is sometimes how Roman Corinth is depicted in both ancient and modern sources.[73] Rather, these freedmen were likely already successful and powerful businessmen before settling in Caesar's colony, and would have remained invested in protecting their class interests from newcomers.[74]

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[69] Pliny, *NH* 35.127.
[70] Cic. *ad Att.* 11.7-8.
[71] Cic. *ad Fam.* 13.21
[72] Cic. *ad Fam.* 13.78.
[73] The idea that the elite of Corinth comprised mostly freedmen who came to the colony with humble means and rose to the top tier of society can be found in ancient sources critical of Roman Corinth (Crinagoras, *Anth. Pal.* 9.284 and Appian, *Pun.* 136), and has been repeated by modern scholars "finding the potential for social mobility a compelling and appealing narrative that resonates strongly with the ideals promoted by Western, and particularly American, society." See discussion of the problematic nature of ancient anti-Corinth, and modern pro-Corinth, rhetoric in Millis 2014: 40.
[74] See discussion in Millis 2014.

Altogether, the people who formed the governing elite class at Corinth essentially came from three different affluent backgrounds: (1) freedmen, mostly of Greek heritage with pre-established commercial interests; (2) elite Roman citizens, may of whom were already active or even settled in the Greek-speaking East at the time of the colony's foundation; and (3) members of the Greek provincial elite who eventually made the move to Corinth. These groups immediately worked to preserve their special status in their new home, quickly creating an entrenched, closed elite class at Corinth.[75] The following sub-sections will focus on the local activities of these three groups alongside evidence for their supra-civic mobility, while Section V of this chapter will concentrate on their collective relationship to the lower classes of Corinth through food production and distribution.

Freedmen of the Corinthian Elite

It is unclear how long these Greek freedmen had been away from Greece, or if they ever left at all. Assuming the epigraphic habit across these three groups is essentially the same, then, on the basis of their numbers in the epigraphic record, freedmen appear to have formed the majority of the local Corinthian elite. Although these freedmen were already of substantial means, due to the fact that freedmen are normally barred from public office,[76] Corinth offered significant political benefits to this group. The elite freedmen of Corinth appear to have been initially less active in the provincial politics of inter-poleis patronage than in the following two groups of Greek and Roman elites. However, this may have had more to do with complicating factors in their freedmen status in, say,

[75] Millis 2014.

[76] Caesar made an exception for his colonies, but this privilege was revoked later in Augustus' reign. See Treggiari 1969: 52-64.

holding public offices in other cities, than with a limited scope of their political ambition.[77] In fact, more recent epigraphic finds demonstrate that the descendants of these freedmen were very active well outside the Corinthia.[78]

Cn. Babbius Philinus is a good, well-documented example of the political activities typical of this freedmen segment of the new Corinthian elite. As evidenced by his Greek cognomen and lack of filiation, Philinus can be securely identified as a freedman,[79] and his career is representative of the opportunities at Corinth open to affluent freedmen in the first centuries BC-AD. With wealth likely acquired through commerce, Philinus served as aedile, duovir, and pontifex maximus for the colony.[80] He also funded a number of construction projects on the west end of the forum, such as the Fountain of Poseidon and the so-called Babbius Monument, a circular aedicule that may have been ordered from Athens at considerable expense.[81] For all his wealth and activity at Corinth, Philinus is not documented outside Corinthia, but his descendants are—in fact, as Spawforth notes, the Babii became part of the provincial aristocracy of Achaea.[82] One Cn. Babbius Maximus was honored at Delphi as ἱερος παῖς of Apollo, and also donated honors to his Thessalian friend, L. Cassius Petraeus (a wealthy friend of Plutarch). He was also a Delphic archon sometime after 120 AD—just like his father had been c. 105 AD.[83] And later members of this family, Gellia Babbia and Aurelius Babbius Nicobulus, even appear as part of the exalted senatorial class.[84]

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[77] As West 1966 imagines, describing this group as "local commercial tycoons whose political ambitions did not extend beyond the borders of their own city." (21)
[78] Spawforth 1996: 169.
[79] West 1931: 108.
[80] *Corinth,* 8.2, no. 132; *Corinth,* 8.3, no. 155.
[81] Williams 1989: 162, n. 14.
[82] Spawforth 1996: 169.
[83] *SIG³* 825C-D; *F. Delphes* III no. 84.
[84] *SEG* 16.340; *SEG* 22.482.

Even if freedmen are rarely attested outside Corinth itself, their connections to imperial politics are frequently highlighted in local epigraphic testimony. For example, P. Licinius, uses the epithet *philosebastos,* laying claim to special ties with the emperor.[85] And if, as freedmen, their political activities were somewhat circumscribed to local matters due to legal limitations elsewhere, it is clear that the local concentration of freedmen benefactions was a great boon to the city. Although the role of freedmen at Corinth is often highlighted as a unique aspect of this colony, similar political activities and benefactions of successful freedmen and their descendants can be found back home in Italy and throughout the empire.[86]

Roman citizens at Corinth

The foundation of a colony in Greece would have been a great opportunity for Roman citizens to acquire Greek land, since (theoretically at least) Romans could otherwise only gain Greek land by special grant (*enktesis*). With a famously fertile plain sitting between two active harbors, Corinth would have been very appealing indeed for Roman elites who wished to pursue respectable agricultural pursuits,[87] while also being well situated to manage their commercial interests. Thus many Roman members of Corinth's upper class (such as L. Castricius Regulus,[88] L. Furius Labeo,[89]

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[85] *RP* I COR 375; Spawforth 1996: 179-80. On the use of the epithet *philosebastos,* see Buraselis 2000: 101-10.
[86] Famously the monumental architecture of the sanctuary at Aphrodisias was funded by the freedman Zoilos (Smith 1993). In Suessa (Italy), a mother records the career and benefactions of her freeborn son (*CIL* 10.4760). Freedmen at Pompeii organized an annual neighborhood festival, the *Compitalia* (*CIL* I² 777; 2984a). Also at Pompeii, a freedman benefactor is responsible for a distribution of grain to the public (*CIL* 10.1030). There are more examples of Greek freedmen abroad, e.g. *IGUR* 570 (Rome), *AE* 1989 196 (Brundisium). For examples of freedmen activities on Delos, see *ID* 2013, 1802, and *ID* 2440 = *ILLRP* 289. See discussions in Mouritsen 2011 (especially on the corpus of *Augustales* inscriptions, 251-258) and Adams 2003 (especially discussion of the concentration of Greek freedmen families in Ostia, 478).
[87] On the respectability of agricultural vs. commercial pursuits, and how this played out in the business operations of the Roman elite, see Rosenstein 2008.
[88] *RP* I COR 146; Spawforth 1996: 177.
[89] *RP* I COR 284; Spawforth 1996: 178.

A. Vatronius Labeo,[90] and possibly M. Novius Bassus)[91] can be identified as Roman citizens with long-standing commercial ties in the wider Greek East. There is even a documented case of a wealthy Roman woman, one Iunia Theodora, who took up residence in Corinth under Claudius and was honored by the Lycian League across the sea in Asia Minor (she even named the League as a beneficiary in her will).[92] Of course, this class also had commercial ties to the western Mediterranean: the second century Appalenus was active at both Corinth and the Apulian port of Barium,[93] and the T. Manlii had ties to Ostia (as well as Thespiae).[94]

The well-documented life of Ti. Claudius Dinippus gives a more detailed case example of the supra-civic activities that characterize this upper Roman class at Corinth. Dinippus was a Roman citizen belonging to the *equites* class, who came from a family of hellenized *negotiatores* that had been established in the Greek East for nearly two centuries. Extant epigraphic records show that Dinippus held all the high magistracies at Corinth, as well as several important priesthoods and other minor offices,[95] and earlier members of the Ti. Claudii family can be traced in the epigraphic records of Corinth,[96] which firmly places him and his family as regular Corinthian residents. Nevertheless, Dinippus' political interests extended well beyond Corinth, and even beyond the province of Achaea.[97] Thus, his political engagement at Corinth was but one part of his wider imperial ambitions.

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90 *RP* I COR 611; Spawforth 1996: 181.
91 *RP* I COR 432; Spawforth 1996: 180.
92 D. I. Pallas, S. Charitonidis, J. Venencie, *BCH* 83 (1959) 496-508. See also Spawforth 1996: 172.
93 Spawforth 1974.
94 *Corinth* 8.2 no. 81; *Corinth* 8.3 no. 154. See Deniaux 1993 no. 66 for discussion of Ostian connections.
95 IKorinth West, 71-76. See Danylak 2008 on Dinippus' benefactions during food shortages. See also discussion of Dinippus' career in Millis 2014: 43.
96 *RP* I COR 170; Spawforth 1996: 177-8.
97 Millis 2014: 43.

Although it has been long assumed that the highest echelons of Roman society would not have deigned to share Corinthian magistracies with wealthy freedmen, there are a few suggestive examples of senatorial Romans who held the office of duovir and were otherwise involved in Corinthian politics: C. Pinnius,[98] P. Tadius Chilo,[99] and M. Insteius Tectus.[100] Chilo, duovir of Corinth in 43/42 BC[101] may have come from a senatorial family already resident in Athens in 79 BC, who were serving as informal bankers for the Roman elite in their eastern commercial ventures;[102] and C. Pinnius, duovir between 39-36 BC,[103] is probably related to T. Pinnius, Cicero's outlandishly wealthy friend who loaned Bithynian Nicaea HS 8 million in 51 BC.[104] Again, Corinth is not exceptional in its number of resident members of the Roman elite; the diaspora of such Romans around the growing metropoleis of the Greek-speaking East is well documented.[105]

Greek provincial elites making a second home at Corinth

This is the group perhaps most pertinent to the over-arching claims of this research, i.e. that the restructuring of land tenure and attendant agricultural structures fostered a more mobile elite class. By adopting multiple residences throughout the province of Achaea, these elite families formed a supra-civic elite whose political interests linked local civic structures to broader imperial politics.

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98 *RP* I COR 475; Spawforth 1996: 180.

99 *RP* I COR 579; Spawforth 1996: 181. Part of the problem in identifying either Pinnius or Chilo securely as members of the highest ranks of Roman society is the phenomenon of recent citizens taking the name of unrelated high-ranking Romans. See Millis 2014: 44-5, n. 35.

100 *RP* I COR 320; Spawforth 1996: 179; Amandry 1988: 36. This literature does not include an inscription found on Temple Hill that complicates the reconstruction of Tectus' career. See Millis 2014: 43, n. 25.

101 Amandry 1988, Cat. No. 27.

102 Cic. *Ver.* 1.100. But he may also have been a freedmen of the family, see discussion in Spawforth 1996 and Millis 2014. Millis warns against assuming that any senatorial family name must indicate a freedman of that family.

103 Amandry 1988 Cat. No. 22.

104 Spawforth 1996: 173.

105 Colophon: Cic. *ad Fam.* 8.69; Parium: Cic. *ad. Fam.* 8.53; Cyme: Cic. *Flac.* 46; Apollonis: Cic. *Flac.* 71; Chios: App. *Mithridatica* 46; Cos: *IGR* 4.1087. Purcell 2005 describes Ephesus as a place where a vocal and visible community of Romans of various kinds made it one of the most Roman cities in the east in the first centuries BC and AD." (99). See also a treatment of the subject in Wilson 1966 and Hatzfeld 1919.

This group is not so visible at the outset of the colony's foundation, but becomes increasingly present during and following the reign of Claudius. We might expect that the pre-established elite of the mainland Greek world would be dubious about engaging with the new Roman colony, overrun as it was with freedmen and foreigners. Crinagoras, for instance, laments the repopulation of Corinth with freedmen as a fate worse than the destruction itself:

> What great change of inhabitants, pitiable,
> You have found; alas for the lucklessness of great Greece!
> Would that you lay lower [than the] earth, o Corinth,
> And more deserted than Libyan sands,
> Rather than being given entirely to such low second-hand slaves,
> And thereby vexing the bones of the ancient Bacchiads.[106]

But within a generation or two, it is clear that Corinth had become a major center of native Greek elite activity. Early examples of Greek elites at Corinth include P. Caninius Agrippa, duovir in 16/17 or 21/22 BC, who was almost certainly procurator of Achaea under Augustus. Although Agrippa boasted a completely Roman name, his father's name, Alexiades, belies a Greek origin. His procuratorial office denotes his status as a "protégé of the Augustan regime,"[107] serving a critical role in shaping the new Roman province.

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[106] Crinagoras, *Anth. Pal.* 9.284. (Gow and Page, transls.)
οἵους ἀνθ᾽ οἵων οἰκήτορας, ὦ ἐλεεινή,
εὕραο· φεῦ μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος ἀμμορίη.
αὐτίκα καὶ †γαίη† χθαμαλωτέρη εἴθε, Κόρινθε,
κεῖσθαι καὶ Λιβυκῆς ψάμμου ἐρημοτέρη,
ἢ τοίοις διὰ πᾶσα παλιμπρήτοισι δοθεῖσα
θλίβειν ἀρχαίων ὀστέα Βακχιαδῶν.
See discussion of this bias against Corinth's population in Apostol 2016.
[107] Spawforth 1996: 173.

M. Antonius Aristocrates is another early example of a non-Corinthian Greek elite co-opting into the civic government of Corinth—a trend that would pick up in the later Julio-Claudian era.[108] Aristocrates was a member of the Argive elite and gained Roman citizenship, presumably as a favor from Marc Antony (and also, presumably, shortly thereafter changed his allegiance to Octavian).[109] His public gifts were plentiful in his hometown of Argos, where extant inscriptions honor him for his benefactions.[110] But Aristocrates clearly sought greater political influence by taking on magisterial roles at Roman colonies and developing political ties at both Athens and Dyme.[111] At Corinth, Aristocrates held the highest possible magistracy as the *agonothetes*.[112]

During Claudius' reign, members of the provincial Greek elite become much more prevalent and well documented at Corinth. C. Iulius Polyaenus, a duovir in either 57/8 or 58/9,[113] most likely came from a wealthy Sicyonian family. A duovir in 66/7 AD,[114] P. Memmius Cleander can be found a decade later in Delphi as the priest of the *Sebastoi* and *epimelete* of the Delphic Amphictyony, erecting a monument in honor of Nero.[115] His name indicates that his family was granted Roman citizenship through P. Memmius Regulus, a governor of Greece between 35-44, and his family is almost certainly traceable to Delphi.[116] Another example, from the reign of Trajan, is M. Antonius Achaicus,

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[108] Spawforth 1996: 173-4.
[109] Plut. *Ant.* 69.1 Here Antonius Aristocrates sides with Marc Antony against Octavian.
[110] *IG* IV 581 and *SEG* 53.1 293.
[111] *IG* II^2 3889. Aristocrates is honored by the *demos* of Athens with a statue by Leochares; the inscription is on a reused Archaic statue base (*IG* I^3 875) of pentelic marble, found on the acropolis.
[112] Corinth I-1973-4. See Balzat and Millis 2013.
[113] Amandry 1988 Cat. No. 15d.
[114] *RP* I COR 421; Spawforth 1996: 180; Amandry 1988: 14-22.
[115] *CID* IV 138.
[116] Spawforth 1996: 174.

who served as *agonothetes* both at his hometown of Argos as well as Corinth, where he was honored posthumously with the colony's curial insignia—he was also politically active in Asine.[117]

Of course, the wealthiest, most glamorous families of Achaea were active at Corinth too: the Cornelii of Epidauros, the Euryclids of Sparta, and the family of Herodes Atticus from Attica. Cn. Cornelius Pulcher was the Isthmian *agonothetes* c. 41-47 AD.[118] This man is the grandfather of the Roman knight of the same name, who continued the family tradition as an active patron of Corinth[119] (in addition to Troezen).[120] His great-grandson is listed in the Isthmian games of the late second century AD.[121] The Euryclids were big spenders at Corinth: C. Iulius Eurycles[122] built marble baths at Corinth, while his son C. Iulius Laco was duovir in 41/2 and the Isthmian *agonothetes* under Claudius.[123] Laco's son, C. Iulius Spartiaticus, was even more prominent at Corinth and elsewhere in the province. He was duovir in 46/7 and Isthmian *agonothetes*,[124] as well as a benefactor of Athens[125] and Troezen.[126] (Spartiaticus was perhaps a bit too ambitious, however, since he was banished by Nero and subsequently lost his wealth.)[127] Last but certainly not least, the family of Herodes Atticus was a great source of civic patronage at Corinth as well. Herodes himself is honored by the Corinthians for his services, which included the refurbishment of the Odeon and the so-called

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117 *ILS* 8863; *Corinth* 8.3, nos. 123 and 224; *SEG* 16.258; *IG* V i 1408. See Spawforth 1994: 230.
118 *SIG*³ 802.
119 *PIR*² C 1424; IG IV 795; Corinth 8.1: 80-83 and probably 76, and 8.2 71-72.
120 IG IV 795.
121 *Corinth* 8.1 no. 15.
122 Paus. 2.3.5 tells Eurycles' story.
123 *Corinth* 8.2 no. 67.
124 *Corinth* 8.1 no. 70; *Corinth* 8.2 no. 69.
125 *IG* III 805; *Ditt. Syll.*³ no. 790.
126 *IG* IV 1469.
127 For more details on the Euryclids and their activities at Corinth, see Taylor and West 1929.

"second marble period" of the Peirene fountain.[128] The Corinthians also sent a dedication in his honor to Eleusis.[129] His wife, Regilla, was a patron of the city,[130] as was Herodes' father.[131]

These families were perhaps not regularly present in the day-to-day business of Corinth. They sporadically provided benefactions and held public office, but they may have been perceived as outsiders to the regular residents of Corinth. Nevertheless, as Millis suggests, their activity in local Corinthian politics shows "the kind of men being sought out by the Corinthians and, in turn, the men who saw Corinth as a suitable stage for distributing largesse and gaining prestige as one step on the rungs of the imperial service."[132] Such families effectively tied the elite interests of multiple metropoleis both to their own hometowns and the imperial state, as the Corinthian elite participated in the same politics of inter-poleis patronage as provincial governors and even the emperor himself.

Moreover, whereas the built structures of elite benefactions were concentrated in the urban center, the elite families themselves increasingly took up residence, or otherwise invested their great wealth, in the outlying suburban areas of Corinth. The growth of suburban villas may be indicative of a shift from "a farmstead based economy" to an "estate-based structure dependent on the elite."[133] Of course, not all villas functioned as production centers, but the spread of villas does map onto the growing phenomenon of land concentration in Greece particularly in the expanded hinterlands of

[128] *Corinth* 8.1 no. 85; Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 2.1.9; Paus. 2.3.6.
[129] *Ditt. Syll.*[3] no. 854.
[130] *Corinth* 8.1 no. 68.
[131] *Corinth* 8.2 no. 58.
[132] Millis 2014: 42-3.
[133] Rizakis 2010.

Roman coloniae—most likely signaling some change in the local structures of agricultural production.[134]

IV. Archaeological evidence for agriculture and social display in the Greater Corinthia

This "imagined" social geography of the Corinthia can be more fully fleshed out with the evidence of survey data and excavated structures. The common underappreciation of the Corinthian plain in Corinth's economic and political success (despite persistent Roman interest in the productivity of the Corinthian plain, as outlined above) is, in part, the by-product of the belief that local Greek agro-economies at this time were suffering. An alleged decrease in rural habitation sites within the Corinthia during the Roman period is often offered as evidence of flagging agricultural production. But given that the surrounding plain was known as the best agricultural land this side of the isthmus,[135] and that cosmopolitan Corinth was saturated with elite wealth that could be productively invested in local land, it seems counterintuitive to expect that the Corinthians would not maximize the agricultural potential of their fertile *chora*. And indeed, a closer look at the survey evidence, in conjunction with excavated materials, shows instead a consistently cultivated countryside. In fact, the evidence from Corinth demonstrates the same trends discussed in the previous chapter: continued investment in agricultural production throughout the countryside, and a concentration of investment in social display at suburban nodes of connectivity.

[134] Rizakis 2013. For the issue of land concentration and plot sizes in Greece, see Bresson 2016: 142-50.
[135] Ath. *Deip.* 5.219; Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 1.5 and 2.51 (*contra* Str. 8.6.23).

The development of wealthy suburbs: evidence from the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey

As a siteless survey, the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey employed tract-level methods, recording the distribution of artifacts within pre-established 2,000-3,000 m^2 units, spatially defined to respect geomorphological divisions within the landscape. Looking at the rate of imported fine and table wares alone, inconsistencies with the typical story told about a static and depressed economy throughout the imperial period immediately become apparent: in the eastern hinterlands of Corinth, imported fine wares increased threefold in the late first century AD: of 1,336 survey units Eastern Sigillata A and Arretine wares (datable to the Augustan period and earlier) were found in seventeen units, whereas Eastern Sigillata B (roughly dated from the end of the Augustan era to the middle of the second century AD) appears in fifty-five units.[136] This rate of imported fine wares in the early imperial period is more or less what one might expect for a newly founded colony: while Corinth may have taken some time to find her feet, so to speak, by the close of the first century AD, residents were investing socially in the extramural environs of the colony by purchasing and using items of social display within these locations.

Although EKAS is a siteless survey, after collecting and recording artifacts by their survey units, the relative density and diversity of these units were then used to chart where dense and diverse units clustered together. These unit clusters were then identified as the "Localized Cultural Anomalies" mentioned in Chapter 1, termed "LOCAs" for short. EKAS identified nineteen LOCAs for the early Roman period and twenty-six for the late Roman. As in Chapter 1, I am not interested in what kind of "sites" these LOCAs may or may not represent, but rather in the collective artifactual signature that they bear for this general area of the isthmus. Nearly all of the early Roman LOCAs yielded signs of both social and agriculture investment: fine ware, marble, and dressed stone features; as well

[136] Pettegrew 2015: 296.

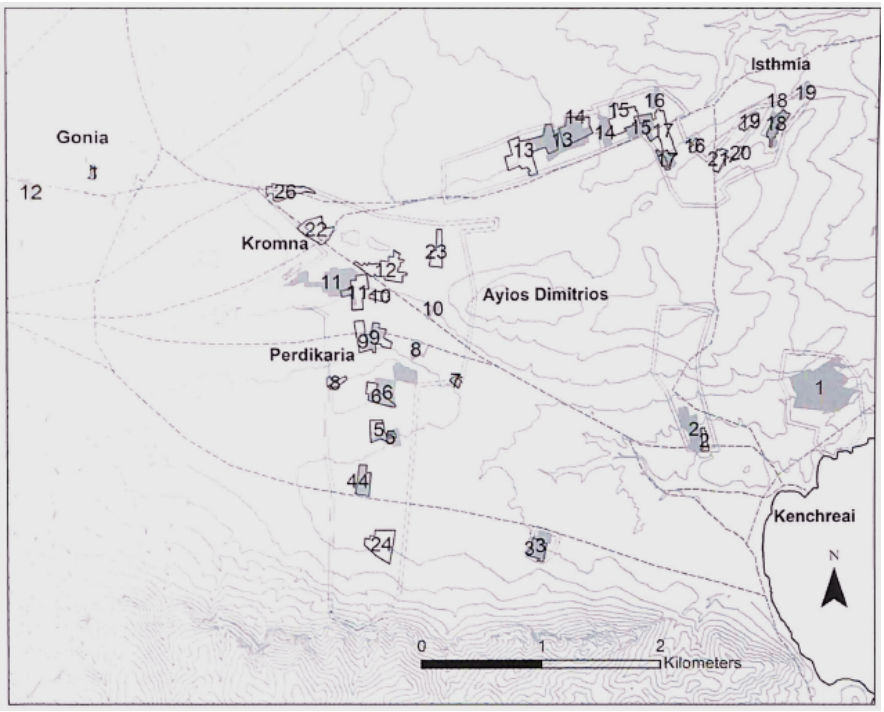

Figure 2.2 LOCAs: shaded areas belong to the Early Roman period and outlined areas to the Late Roman period.
(Pettegrew 2015)

as large storage vessels and different types of agricultural processing equipment, such as millstones, saddle querns, rotary querns, and hopper mills.[137] The late Roman LOCAs essentially have the same artifactual signature as the early Roman, signifying continuous social and agricultural investment within this segment of Corinthian territory; there are simply more such LOCAs in the late Roman period. Again, this may or may not mean denser settlement patterns, but it is an increase of relatively high-value material goods, which we might take as a sign of continued investment within this region.

And what do we find outside these LOCAs? Both the early Roman and late Roman periods are well documented in the artifactual carpet, but the scatter here typically comprises table wares, kitchen

[137] Pettegrew 2015: 298.

wares, and amphorae in varying degrees of low to middling density. This is perhaps demonstrative of broad investment in rural activities and food storage, as opposed to investment in social display, the material proxies of which were largely concentrated within identified LOCAs.[138]

As David Pettegrew has noted, the LOCAs are nearly all located alongside ancient roads—particularly two major corridors of travel within the Corinthia: along the road connecting Corinth to the sanctuary at Isthmia, and at the intersection of roads stemming from Corinth, Isthmia, and the Eastern harbor of Cenchreae. However one might wish to interpret these artifactual clusters (e.g. villas, farmsteads, etc.), they are certainly not isolated, nor are they nucleated in the sense of Alcock's rural settlement nucleation of small agricultural communities across the countryside.[139] These are loci of elite activities and investments in areas with easy access to and from Corinth, as well as the other major sites of the Corinthia—both the harbor of Cenchreae and the Isthmian sanctuary hosted sizable towns throughout the early and late Roman eras.[140] The collective interest in investing both in modes of social display, as well as food processing and storage, at these nodes of traffic through the Corinthia demonstrates not only the fluidity of urban and rural spheres, but also that the Corinthians were invested in intraregional connectivity and an expansive sense of community that stretched beyong the boundaries of Corinth. In other words, Roman Corinth seems to have developed its own *suburbium*, like that of Rome itself. The area covered by EKAS rests within the inner suburban ring of Corinth's *chora*, and, like Rome's *suburbium,* can be characterized by highly connected towns, estates, gardens, and farms practicing intensive production of specialty produce.[141]

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[138] Pettegrew 2015: 303.
[139] Alcock 1993: 61-3; 96-105; Engels 1990. See Pettegrew 2015: 290, commenting on the inappropriate use of "nucleation" to describe this area.
[140] Pettegrew 2015: 305.
[141] Champlin 1982; Morley 1996; Goodman 2007.

In interpreting the EKAS data, Pettegrew highlights Corinth's apparent exceptionality in regards to the increased activity of the early Roman period, noting that eastern Corinthia does not fit the typical pattern of waning artifactual scatter documented elsewhere in Greece.[142] But many of the places where surveys have been conducted have not been in the near vicinity of a Roman metropolis, and other "exceptions" are likewise found within such inner suburban rings of Roman metropoleis, as at Patrae, Megalopolis, and Sparta (discussed in Chapter 1).

Villas of the Greater Corinthia

Areas that yield a mix of proxies for investment in both agricultural production and social display are perhaps rather suggestive of Roman villas, and while I would not venture to establish what artifacts comprise the archaeological signature of a villa (and thereby suggest that the LOCAs from EKAS are all large villas awaiting excavation), I will note that these artifact assemblages are signifiers of the same elite interest in both social and agricultural activities expressed by Roman villas.[143] Moreover, looking at the excavated villas of the Corinthia, we find that, just like the LOCAs of EKAS, they too are almost all located along nodal points of intra-isthmian traffic.

These excavated villas also provide an auxiliary approach to challenging overly simplistic notions of decline in this period, insofar as such narratives are usually rooted in the idea of site discontinuity. Nearly all of the excavated villas within the Corinthia were constructed in the early Roman period and remained in use well into the late Roman era. A few also revealed earlier phases of pre-Roman elite structures, demonstrating practices of continuity that the survey data at first blush seem to deny the Roman period (albeit of a very limited type, i.e. elite investment in suburban Corinthia). For

[142] Pettegrew 2015: 296: "In contrast with other Greek countrysides, the Early Roman Corinthia was not abandoned or nucleated."
[143] See discussion on Roman villas included in the Introduction.

example, the villa at Cenchreae exhibits nine building phases covering approximately *eleven centuries* of reuse, from the Classical period to at least the 6th century AD with similar artifact assemblages spanning this time.[144]

The Pyrgouthi Tower, surveyed and then excavated by the Berbati Valley Project, demonstrates intermittent use over the course of several centuries, and it also provides another cautionary tale about the use of site-based survey data. During the project's original survey of the area, use of this site was dated between the fifth through second centuries BC, with its Hellenistic tower interpreted as a large agricultural storeroom. In a later more intensive gridded survey, some late Roman material was collected. Only when the tower was excavated, however, was its early Roman occupation revealed, including a major refurbishing phase dated to the late first century BC. At this time the tower's height was reduced, and the blocks were recycled in expanding the structure westward with a complex of additional rooms. This phase also witnessed the appearance of a greater variety of storage jars, cooking vessels, fine wares, loom weights, and beehives, which the excavators interpreted as an intensification of this complex's agricultural function. The structure then went out of use after the Augustan period, and was later reoccupied in the late Roman Period. This Late Roman phase saw the addition of wine presses, a trough, treading floor, and agricultural tools.[145]

Agricultural investments at the fringes of Corinthian territory: the Sikyon Survey

Turning now to the survey data from the area surrounding Sicyon, we find a completely different pattern of social and agricultural investment during the Roman period, but one that I believe makes a lot of sense if we treat the *chora* of Sicyon as part of the greater Corinthia, as the centuriation lines

[144] Rothaus 2000: 29; Scranton 1978: 79-90.
[145] Hjohlman, Penttinen, and Wells 2005.

would encourage us to do.[146] By looking at Sicyonian land as part of the outer ring of Corinth's rural territory, we can interpret the artifactual carpet here not as evidence for straightforward decline, so much as the unyoking of social and agricultural investments within this area.

Politically, Sicyon had a rough time in the Hellenistic era: the city, which once lay in the plain, was destroyed in 303 BC by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and rebuilt on the plateau of the Classical acropolis. Thereafter, a generation of political instability ensued as a series of tyrants and intermittent democracies ruled the polis until Aratus of Sicyon restored democracy and brought the polis into the Achaean League, affording the city a century of relative stability before two earthquakes and Roman conquest in the mid-second century. Even if Sicyon briefly benefitted from Corinth's destruction in 146 BC, ostensibly gaining ownership, control, and/or usufruct of much Corinthian land, by the first century BC, Sicyon was seriously in deb—a problem that would plague the polis until the second century. Pausanias describes the urban center of Sicyon as relatively desolate at this time,[147] and it has been assumed that its countryside suffered likewise.[148] But again, this can hardly be the whole picture: although material items of social display certainly plummet under the Romans, marking a decrease of social investment in this area, we can still detect signs of continued agricultural investment.

For instance, out of 123 "sites"[149] identified by Lolos, fifty-nine had pre-Roman phases with fine ware, but only twelve Roman sites contained any fine ware. Certainly, many of these pre-Roman phases had only a few sherds of fine ware, but sixteen of the fifty-nine had significant fine ware

[146] Romano 2003.
[147] Paus. 2.5.6-2.11.2.
[148] Lolos 2011.
[149] Does not include Titane.

assemblages. (To give one example, HS-97 had three Attic kraters, a red-figure krater, two Attic convex saucers,[150] kylikes, kotylai, fine ware bowls, blister-ware, and a kantharos base.) But when we turn to the Roman period, not only has the number of sites with fine ware gone down, but none of the Roman sites boast such caches of fine ware like those of the pre-Roman era: two sites contained a handful of fine ware sherds, including a couple of kraters, while the other ten contained only one or two sherds of fine ware.[151]

At the same time, however, the material signs of agricultural investment are sustained during this period (see **Fig. 2.3.1** below). Thirty-one of Lolos' sites contain evidence of food processing equipment, out of which ten were definitely from Roman phases (seven late Roman[152] and three Roman[153]), while five more are most likely Roman.[154] Two are most likely pre-Roman,[155] and eight are definitely from pre-Roman phases[156] (the dating of four are seemingly indeterminate[157]). As noted from the surveys reviewed in Chapter 1, here too there is a noticeable difference in the types of processing equipment found during these periods: an apparent shift from smaller-scale stone grinders toward large-scale presses. This shift may reflect a centralization of agricultural processing practices. Also, this change from tools used for processing cereals to equipment for vines and olives *may* be indicative of greater investment in wine and oil production. Granted, the total number of

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150 See Lolos 2011: Fig. 5.30: f.

151 For kraters, see Lolos 2011: Fig. 5.46; j.

152 HS-125 (press installation); HS-143 (wine press); HS-123 (mortar basins); HS-108 (stone roller and possible press installation); HS-40 (wine pressing vat); HS-78 (reported millstone); HS-90 (millstone and press bed).

153 HS-55 (stone grinder and basin); HS-13 (stone mortar); HS-106 (mortarium).

154 HS-128 (reported millstone); HS-94 (olive press weight and stone mortar); HS-38 (millstone); HS-74 (reported millstones); DS-3 (olive press).

155 HS-97 (millstones and stone grinders); HS-30 (millstone).

156 DS-10 (stone mortar); HS-76 (stone grinder); HS-48 (stone grinder); HS-47 (stone mortar and rock-cut basin); HS-34 (millstone); HS-100 (stone grinder); HS-102 (mortar); HS-73 (mortar)—the latter two have been dated to the Hellenistic period.

157 HS-52 (millstone); HS-55 (stone grinder); HS-73 (stone grinder); HS-114 (reported millstones).

food processing artifacts is so low that this may well be a coincidence of survival rather than having any statistical significance in terms of changing agricultural practices. But given a similar pattern witnessed elsewhere in Achaea, this change is perhaps worth noting—especially if Jameson and Runnels are correct in postulating that Late Roman 2 amphorae were manufactured, and primarily used, for oil.[158] Late Roman 2 amphorae are found in great abundance throughout many of Lolos' sites, and so this could be evidence of heightened agricultural specialization in the Roman period.

Site	Period	Agricultural equipment
HS-52	?	Millstone
HS-55	?	Stone grinder
HS-73	?	Stone grinder
HS-114	?	Millstones
DS-10	Cl-H	Stone mortar
HS-76	Cl-H	Stone grinder
HS-48	Cl-H	Stone grinder
HS-47	Cl-H	Stone mortar and rock-cut basin
HS-34	Cl-H	Millstone
HS-100	Cl-H	Stone grinder
HS-102	Hellenistic	Mortar
HS-73	Hellenistic	Mortar
HS-97	Pre-Roman?	Millstones and stone grinders
HS-30	Pre-Roman?	Millstone
HS-128	Roman?	Millstone
HS-94	Roman?	Press weight and stone mortar
HS-38	Roman?	Millstone
HS-74	Roman?	Millstones
DS-3	Roman?	Olive press
HS-55	E Roman	Stone grinder and large basin
HS-13	E Roman	Stone mortar
HS-106	E Roman	Mortarium
HS-125	L Roman	Press installation
HS-143	L Roman	Wine press
HS-123	L Roman	Mortar basins
HS-108	L Roman	Stone roller and press installation
HS-40	L Roman	Wine pressing vat
HS-78	L Roman	Millstone
HS-90	L Roman	Millstone and press bed

Figure 2.3.1 Agricultural equipment from the Sikyon Survey

[158] Jameson, Runnels, Van Andel 1994.

Looking at Lolos' sites as collective assemblages, we can piece together a more coherent picture of what changes are (or are not) occurring in the rural hinterlands of Sicyon under the Romans. Most of the processing equipment found from the pre-Roman periods come from contexts in which the other constituent elements of the artifactual assemblage are suggestive of elite social investment, accompanied by a dense and diverse assemblage of elite goods: fine wares, pebble mosaics, marble, and other high value items, such as bronze.

The fifteen Roman sites with food processing equipment, however, had very few proxies of investment in social display (see **Fig. 2.3.2** below). Large storage vessels like pithoi are an investment to be sure, and so are cisterns and other large built structures of brick or stone. In that sense, these too could be taken as signs of elite display or power, but they are largely unaccompanied by non-agricultural or non-functional social display items. Notably, there is hardly any fine ware, which coincides with a general drop in the diversity of social display items. It seems that the area around Sicyon no longer warranted such a high rate of social investment. The markers of collective investment here concentrate less on fine wares and marble revetment than in imposing built structures, storage, and food processing—signs of agricultural investment.

It is therefore somewhat unfair to suggest that the countryside of Sicyon was uncultivated in the Roman period, despite the decline in ceramic material. Rather, the hinterlands of Sicyon may have witnessed the effects of a social suburbanization of the Greek landscape: as this land lies in the outer ring of Corinthian territory it perhaps warranted less social investment than the nodal points of traffic lying within the suburban inner ring. While Sicyonian land may have lost out on the more glittery modes of elite activity, it still garnered investment in its agricultural potential.

Site	Period	Agricultural equipment	Fine ware	Storage	Structure	Cistern	Other
HS-128	Roman?	Millstone			X	X	
HS-94	Roman?	Press weight and stone mortar		X			
HS-38	Roman?	Millstone					
HS-74	Roman?	Millstones		X			
DS-3	Roman?	Olive press					
HS-55	E Roman	Stone grinder and large basin		X			
HS-13	E Roman	Stone mortar		X	X		
HS-106	E Roman	Mortarium		X		X	
HS-125	L Roman	Press installation	X	X	X		
HS-143	L Roman	Wine press		X	X		Glass vases and marble
HS-123	L Roman	Mortar basins		X	X		
HS-108	L Roman	Stone roller and press installation		X	X		
HS-40	L Roman	Wine pressing vat		X	X		Kiln
HS-78	L Roman	Millstone		X	X		
HS-90	L Roman	Millstone and press bed		X	X		

Figure 2.3.2 Other artifacts found in Roman processing equipment assemblages from the Sikyon Survey

V. Land and empire: the Corinthian elite and the Corinthian *chora* in provincial politics

Corinth as a leading metropolis of Achaea

As stated at the outset of this chapter, since its foundation, Corinth was likely intended as a key step toward integrating mainland Greece into the empire, in part, by reviving a major commercial center and thereby the wider regional economy.[159] Even if Corinth was not the provincial capital of Achaea, it was given some preferential treatment from the imperial government, which effectively placed the colony on the top tier of the provincial hierarchy of poleis and coloniae. Roman administrative initiatives secured the colony's place as a major center for commerce and communications, beginning with Agrippa himself acting as patron of the colony.[160] And the re-creation of a separate senatorial province of Achaea in 44 AD meant that the colony would have received much more

[159] Engels 1990: 17.
[160] Stansbury 1990: 189-193.

attention from the provincial governor than it had in the last 19 years as an imperial province.[161] This clear hierarchy of cities would have been convenient for imperial governing mechanisms.

Furthermore, that the Roman government protected Corinth's status within the "Greater Corinthia"—an area that, at its fringes touched on the territories of other large (or formerly large) Greek cities, such as Argos, Megara, and Sicyon—can be inferred from documents such as the Pseudo-Julian Letter 198 written to the Roman governor of Achaea from the polis of Argos, dating c. 80-120 AD. This letter brings to light a dispute between Argos and Corinth over payments for games in honor of the imperial cult. Spawforth argues that Corinth served as the host for an imperial cult patronized by the Achaean League, and that all members had to contribute to the funds for games and sacrifices.[162] In this letter, Argos complains that it should be exempt from this payment to the Roman colony—an imposition that clearly galls the Argive elite as an infringement on their civic sovereignty and an affront to their Greek identity. The letter balks at being "forced to slave for a foreign spectacle celebrated by others."[163] Indeed, such disputes and seemingly petty rivalries between neighboring cities are documented throughout the eastern empire: the organization of provincial sacrifices at certain host cities subordinated the visiting cities who also participated in the festivities.[164] However, hosting such games and festivals not only served as a platform for showing the political power of the host city, it also came with real financial benefits—again, another sticking point for the Argives, who complain that they are now less prosperous than the Corinthians.[165]

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[161] Spawforth 1996: 174.
[162] Spawforth 1994.
[163] Line 409a: ξενικῇ θέᾳ καὶ παρ'ἄλλοις ἐπιδουλεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι.
[164] Price 1984: 130; Jones 1978, chap. 10.
[165] Line 409a: χρημάτων τε ἔχοντες ἐνδεέστερον.

Unfortunately for Argos, Corinth's place as first among the Achaean cities seems to have been further solidified under Hadrian, who renovated the Lechaeum Road Basilica, possibly with an exceptional sculptural program that dates to this period featuring heroes, gods, and personifications of Greek cities that were members in the Achaean League. This sculptural program mimics the depiction of imperial dominance represented through personifications of conquered peoples at the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias and at Rome in a few different structures (e.g. the cavea of Pompey's theatre in the Campus Martius included fourteen figures of peoples he had conquered; and Augustus's Portico ad Nationes was decorated with personified nations).[166] If Ajootian's interpretation of the extant marble pieces (and the literary descriptions of Hadrian's refurbishments) is correct, then this sculptural program at Corinth recreates the same relational structure represented at Aphrodisias and Rome, simply further down the chain of imperial hierarchy, i.e. the role of Corinth vis-à-vis other Greek cities in the Achaean League. This marble statuary program would have been put in place just a couple of years before the formation of the Panhellenic League and the construction of the Olympieion at Athens, which likewise featured personified statues of the constituent cities. Here too we may infer some political jockeying between the major metropoleis of Achaea: the cultural center of Athens and the commercial center of Corinth.[167]

The Corinthian elite as provincial elite: imperial politics at Corinth

Whether they took place at home or in other provincial towns, elite benefactions linked provincial cities to the Roman state by mirroring the benefactions of the emperor himself.[168] By performing imperial munificence—and they were explicitly imperial insofar as they used the same language and

[166] For Pompey's theatre: Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.72; Pliny *HN* 36.41. For Augustus' portico, see discussion: Ajootian 2014: 346.
[167] Ajootian 2014.
[168] For Greek imitation of the *princeps euergetes,* see Boatwright 2000; Pont 2010.

symbols that the emperor employed in his own acts of benefaction—elite members of local communities expressed loyalty to the Roman state and identified themselves as part of the Roman order.[169] However, at the same time that these patronage behaviors reinforced ties with the imperial state, as individual acts of conspicuous munificence, they could often undermine local intra-elite coherency and lead to in-group elite conflict.[170] This problem was exacerbated by trends in land tenure and agricultural tenancy (as discussed in Chapter 2). This was a perennial problem in the pre-Roman world of competitive euergetism in Greek poleis, but in the Roman context it was exacerbated by the increasingly mobile (and therefore less locally rooted) provincial elites and the nature of Roman rule, wherein local elite class coherency was less incentivized than imperial loyalty.[171]

The in-group conflicts created (and waged) through competitive elite benefactions were negotiated between individual benefactors and the local *boule,* as public works needed the *boule's* approval before construction. Sometimes these political negotiations over local benefactions extended to the level of provincial administration, or even to the emperor himself.[172] *Martyriai,* a subset of public inscriptions that "gives witness" to the public service of an honorand, record some of these upper-level negotiations. Taking the form almost of a personal letter from a provincial governor or emperor, these inscriptions express gratitude and recognition of the munificence of local dignitaries. This

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169 Zuiderhoeck 2007: 200.

170 E.g. Plutarch comments on the problem of elite families fighting amongst themselves in relation to benefactions (*Praec. ger. Reip.* 814f-815a). Dio Chrysostom worries that he will never be able to build a portico in Prusa because his elite peers were thwarting his efforts (*Or.* 40, 45.12-14, 47). Pliny the Younger records the case of a man hated by his peers but loved by his townsmen for his generous benefactions (*Ep.* 6.31.3).

171 Zuiderhoeck 2007: 201.

172 Zuiderhoeck 2007; Kokkinia 2003. The most notable and extensive example is *IK* Ephesos 1491, in which the Ephesian *boule* is chastised for not appropriately bearing witness to a Vedius' benefactions. See Kokkinia 2003 for a more nuanced interpretation—that Antoninus here expresses preference for benefactions in the form of building projects instead of festivals and games, rather than speaking putatively toward the *boule* of the Ephesos (205-206).

form of communication followed a set formula and style across the Greek-speaking East,[173] tying local practices to an epigraphic habit that crossed the eastern empire, and encouraging elite activities that would further promote the imperial project.[174] One such inscription from Corinth, dating perhaps to the late first or early second century AD,[175] reveals these negotiations in the context of one of Achaea's leading metropoleis. This inscription records the response of the provincial governor to the civic government of Corinth, which had decided to sell a few plots of the *ager publicus* to a local man, Priscus, so that, as a municipal benefaction, he could erect fifty public buildings near the Isthmian sanctuary to host athletes and other festival guests:[176]

> [---to re-use (?) the] ruins of the marble stoa of Regulus in such a way as to make fifty dwelling units. Wherefore, seeing that in this matter also Priscus conducts himself with (such) manifest generosity that he has given to the citizens one denarius each in addition to the price of the ground previously described, not only do I officially approve the resolution of the city council and the people, but I too congratulate this man who in all matters has acted so generously; and I assign the aforementioned ground to be sold to him for this (building) project. However, (this permission is granted) on condition that the dwelling units when they are built are always available at the time of the games for athletes free of charge; and the president of the games (who holds office) at the time is to have the authority to assign them the guest rooms. If anyone objects to this decision, he will be able to discuss the matter with me prior to the first of January next. I trust you have been in good health. [Given (to my secretary) at ---] on November 18, and read from the rostra on November 23.[177]

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[173] Kokkinia 2003: 197-202.
[174] For the explicit preference of multiple emperors for building projects rather than games and festivals, see Kokkinia 2003.
[175] Broneer 1939.
[176] Greek text reproduced from Broneer 1939.
[177] *Corinth*, 8.3 no. 306. (Kent, transl.)

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------ ṆAP · I ἐρείπια στοᾶς

··Ε· ḤPIA -- [κα]μάρας οὕτως ὥστε ποιῆσαι οἴκους
πεντήκοντα. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φιλοτείμως
ὁ Πρεῖ[σκ]ος ἀναστρέφεται ὥστε ὑπὲρ τῆς τειμῆς
5 τοῦ προδηλουμένου τόπου δοῦναι τοῖς πολήταις [*sic*]
ἑκάστῳ δηνάριον ἕν, οὐ μόνον συνκατατίθεμαι
τῇ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου γνώμῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀ-
ποδέχομαι τὸν ἄνδρα ὅπως ἐν ἅπασιν ἀναστρε-
φόμενον φιλοτείμως καὶ ἐπιτρέπω τὸν προ-
10 δηλούμενον τόπον ταύτῃ τῇ αἱρέσει αὐτῷ πρα-
θῆναι, οὕτως μέντοι ὥστε τοὺς γεινομένους
οἴκους τοῖς ἀθληταῖς προῖκα τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἀγώ-
νων σχολάζειν εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, ἔχοντος τοῦ κα-
τὰ καιρὸν ἀγωνοθέτου ἐξουσίαν διανέμειν
15 τὰς ξενίας αὐτοῖς. εἰ μέντοι τις πρὸς τοῦτο ἀν-
τιλέγει δυνήσεται διδάξαι με ἐντὸς Καλανδῶν
Ἰανουαρίων τῶν ἔνγιστα. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι.

---xIIII · K · DECEMBR · ET · PRO · ROSTRIS · LECTA · IX · K · DECEMBR ·

First, it is worth pointing out the role of the land itself. This is public land on which Priscus plans to build a semi-public building; part of his benefaction therefore is a cash payment to offset the financial loss of taking this land out of commission for agricultural use or other purposes, which is indicative of the land's high value. Moreover, to reiterate a point made in Chapter 2, here is yet another example of local land being managed by provincial rather than local forms of government—although, such correspondences could be more of a formality, it still stands that here the civic government of Corinth is seeking permission from the provincial government to repurpose a portion of local *ager publicus*.

Furthermore, as mentioned above, this correspondence reveals some of the political negotiations that occurred in order to regulate acts of elite munificence and mitigate related problems of intra-elite conflict. Kokkinia points out a few important ways that such correspondence frames the

relationships between members of the local elite, the city, and the emperor. First, the use of the valediction places this correspondence halfway between administrative and private spheres—a rhetorical way of creating a sense of intimacy with the Corinthian elite.[178] Moreover, the recipients are almost always city councils rather than individual honorands. Kokkinia interprets this practice as a way of mitigating the potential social problems that would arise if individuals were addressed directly, whereby the city and its other elite members might appear as clients to the honored individual. Instead, such correspondence includes the other elites in the success of the honorand.[179] The letter achieves this inclusivity, while also honoring Priscus by praising his generosity. In such ways, these letters provide an incentive to members of the local elite to be active benefactors, while also mitigating some of the in-group elite problems that arose in the context of intensified competitive euergetism.

The Corinthian elite and the Corinthian chora: *food, agriculture, and the imperial moral economy*

As discussed above, the elite of Roman Corinth, as elsewhere throughout the province, increasingly took up residence in Roman villas[180] and invested in social display at suburban nodes of connectivity. This shift away from the urban center has a few implications both for the practice of agricultural production (i.e. the concentration of land into fewer hands and the spread of private tenancy as a structural labor strategy, as discussed in Chapter 2) and the local social ties that framed Corinthian life. The spread of villas is perhaps indicative of a shift from "a farmstead based economy" to an "estate-based structure dependent on the elite."[181] (Certainly not all villas, however, functioned as production centers attached to extensive landholdings). The apparent trend of increased land

[178] Kokkinia 2003: 198.
[179] Kokkinia 2003: 198.
[180] See also Rizakis 2014.
[181] Rizakis 2010.

concentration in the hinterlands of Greek metropoleis seems to correlate with the spread of Roman villas,[182] and therefore we may tentatively identify villas as a marker of changing social and/or labor structures in agricultural production. Whatever the precise practical ramifications the spread of villa culture and the suburbanization of elite social display may have had for agricultural practices, the phenomenon certainly had social and political ramifications. In the Corinthia, as centuries before in central Italy, centuriation would have at once seemed like an act of violence waged against the countryside[183]—a clear demonstration of the reality of Roman rule—while at the same time lending a symbolically significant appearance of egalitarianism. The former would have been more salient to the local Greek population, while the latter would have been more meaningful to the immigrant Roman population, to whom the modesty and fairness represented by small, equally distributed plots would seem to hearken back to the early mythical days of Roman history.[184] The advent of villas, then, for both groups, must have been striking interruptions within this centuriated landscape, a sign of wealth and dominance. Purcell has suggested that the large storehouses often associated with Roman villas conveyed the ability to control surpluses, and stood as visual assertions of social hierarchy.[185] Similarly, Rizakis labels the spread of Roman villas in the Peloponnese as a "colonial superstructure."[186] Villa owners were not only showing off their wealth and power, but also manipulating the framework in which their status might be interpreted—and one objective of such

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[182] Rizakis 2013.

[183] Witcher 2006a: 15; Purcell 1990.

[184] Adkins and Adkins 2004: 141. See discussion concerning the mythologizing of centuriation in the Introduction, "The Roman *suburbium* and rural central Italy: a useful historiographical parallel." Although centuriation began on a small scale only in the later fourth century in Italy, the idea of equal land allotments was retrojected into the mythical past of early Rome. See Varro (*Rust.* 1.2.10) use of the term "seven iugera" to refer to a farm; ostensibly this was the amount of land given to all citizens after the expulsion of the kings. And later, we hear Pliny the Elder declare: "in those early days, two iugera of land were considered enough for a citizen of Rome." (*HN* 18.2: *bina tunc iugera p. r. satis erant, nullique maiorem modum adtribuit*…)

[185] Purcell 1995: 169.

[186] Rizakis 2010. The fact that many appear to have been owned by native Greeks perhaps complicates this picture, but as a Roman architectural form, the villa was surely read by many as a clear indication of a power shift in socio-political hegemony.

framing would be to legitimize their power in a morally defensible idiom. In other words, at the same time that they were materially setting themselves apart, they could justify their prosperity by presenting themselves as hard-working farmer-citizens—their civic benefactions would likewise justify their dominance over local farmland.[187] When we think about cultural exchange between the Greeks and Romans, and points of change in Greek elite culture under Roman rule, the spread of villas and elite suburban communities throughout Achaea is a significant example of new social behaviors transmitted from Rome to Greece.

Moreover, an important intersection of these new elite behaviors—i.e. increased multi-city benefactions[188] and large villa-style suburban agriculture—can be seen in the office of the *curator annonae* (or εὐθηνίας ἐπιμελητήν).[189] This position was first appointed at Corinth during the mid-first century AD.[190] This office may have been created either to confront a possible famine (c. 49/50 BC), or because of strains placed on local production (given the commercialized nature of Corinth's agricultural program). Even if this *curia* was not consistently held ever year, it was clearly perceived as a crucial office for the welfare of the city: Tiberius Claudius Dinippus, the Roman knight whom we met above, was *curator annonae* on three occasions, and was honored by a minimum of *ten* different inscriptions for his services to the city in this specific capacity.[191] Others at Corinth were similarly honored, such as M. Antonius Sospes,[192] the great-grandson of Cn. Cornelius Pulcher,[193] M. Antonius Achaicus,[194] and one L. Antonius Priscus (possibly the very same who built housing near

[187] This idea will be discussed more extensively in relation to Roman rural nostalgia in Chapter 4.
[188] Lafond 2006.
[189] Capdetrey and Hasenohr 2012.
[190] Walbank 2002.
[191] *Corinth* 8.2 nos. 83 and 86; *Corinth* 8.3 nos. 158-163.
[192] *Corinth* 8.3 no. 170; Wiseman 1979.
[193] *Corinth* 8.1 no. 76.
[194] *Corinth* 8.3 no. 164.

the Isthmian sanctuary).[195] There are eleven more fragmentary inscriptions from Corinth that mention this office ranging in date from Claudius through at least the second century.[196]

The elite therefore take on multiple, socially powerful roles in both local and regional food systems: as landowners they are stewards of the countryside; as both benefactors and successful businessmen involved in the regional trade of foodstuffs (among other things), they are providers, converting the natural wealth of the Corinthia into public goods enjoyed by all; and as civic magistrates, especially in the office of the *curator annonae*, they are caretakers feeding the local citizenry. These roles played an important part in the formation of the province on both a practical level and a socio-political one. The moral economy of institutional governments, in its most basic form, rests in part on the adequate production and distribution of foodstuffs.[197] As sometimes agents of the imperial government (as outlined above), members of the local elite, who would cycle through these different roles throughout their lifetimes, promoted the perception of balance within the complex moral economy of the imperial state.

VI. Conclusion

At Corinth and elsewhere, members of the elite, both Greek and Roman, played an integral role in the transformation of the Greek landscape under Roman rule. Across Greece, larger hinterlands were reassigned by the Roman state to select poleis and coloniae, and the elites of Achaea moved around these select cities in an attempt to stay at the center of political life in the Empire. This mobile elite simultaneously patronized their hometowns, in addition to the province's major

[195] *Corinth* 8.3 no. 177. See Broneer 1939 for discussion of the identity of the Priscus featured above. It is possible that the Priscus here is the same man, but the dating of both inscriptions is insecure.
[196] A few are datable to Hadrian's reign, and one to the late 2nd century, but most of these are not datable. *Corinth* 8.1 nos. 83 and 91; *Corinth* 8.2 no. 94; *Corinth* 8.3 nos. 127, 169, 188, 227, 234-6, 238.
[197] Reinert 2011; Rothschild 2001.

metropoleis, such as Corinth—reinforcing this new hierarchy of Greek cities. Furthermore, in addition to these multi-city benefactions, these elites increasingly took up residence in Roman-style villas, which were quickly integrated into the centuriated landscape and the taxation system of the province.[198] On multiple levels, these members of the elite served as links in the provincial system, tying the ongoing operations of local affairs, both agricultural and political, to the maintenance of empire: as tax-paying landowners and landlords, as benefactors and magistrates of multiple cities, and as part of the provincial or even imperial administration. These trends reshaped the landscape of Greece by creating "suburban" areas that accommodated a more regional system of agricultural production and consumption centered on this new hierarchy of metropoleis that required easy access between one another. The local elite provided foodstuffs for the city as well as for export, and established themselves as the primary landowners and civic magistrates.

The development of this landscape was both a Roman and a Greek creation. Roman interventionism in Greek rural affairs took many forms, many of which are evident in the case of Corinth: surveying and reorganizing the countryside, centuriation, land redistribution, a new city foundation with corollary large-scale population movement, new regularized tax impositions, and infrastructural building projects. But the response of Greece's elite class was just as formative, especially in their choice of domiciles. The Greek provincial elite increasingly took up residence in Corinth (as at other metropoleis), even to the extent that the Corinthian countryside came to be dominated by "non-Corinthians,"[199] who increasingly opted to live in suburban Roman villas.

[198] Rizakis 2013: 41.
[199] Spawforth 1996.

All of the above trends contributed to changing patterns of land tenure and agriculture. Through both imperial policies and local responses, the immediate hinterland of Corinth was transformed into a Roman-style *suburbium* replete with villas across its centuriated terrain. Also, these trends helped solidify Corinth's role in imperial politics and secure its position vis-à-vis neighboring Greek cities and communities. In this context, it is no surprise that the first Roman senator from mainland Greece was C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius, a "Corinthian" of Spartan heritage, an active benefactor of both his ancestral and adopted hometowns.[200]

[200] Walbank 2002.

Chapter 4

Conceptual Landscapes:
Rural Nostalgia and Imperial Geography in Greek and Roman Literature

I. Introduction

As this research has emphasized, Roman rule brought many changes to the Greek landscape in terms of agricultural strategies (Chapter 2), the relationship between metropolitan urban centers and their hinterlands (Chapter 1), and the activities of the elite within urban and rural spheres (Chapter 3). By thus altering the traditional relationship between Greek poleis and their *chorai*, a touchstone of Greek civic identity, Roman rule also transformed the *conceptual* landscape of Greece, which forms the focus of this final chapter.

The scale of impact that this altered landscape would have had on popular imagination becomes clear when considering the role of agricultural land in the formation of identity in the ancient world. As Nicholas Purcell has noted, food was a critical lens through which Greeks and Romans alike charted and interpreted their past. But whereas food history in the modern West is typically conceptualized in terms of trending tastes (e.g. the popularity of aspics in mid-twentieth century America, the rise of kale amongst the millennial generation), the ancients, so Purcell argues, were more inclined to conceive of their food history in terms of agricultural production: "The changes

that we look for in the restaurant kitchen, the Romans looked for on the land."[1] Purcell further distinguishes between Greek and Roman approaches to historicizing food production. While Greek authors typically insist that any changes in Greek foodways occurred in a *mythological* past (e.g. man's fall from a Golden Age of natural spontaneous food production),[2] Roman authors tend to place such changes in *historical* time (e.g. Pliny tells us that the Roman people produced *far* for the first 300 years of Rome's history).[3] The latter suggests an anticipation of changing foodways—the inevitability of, but also ever-present opportunity for, change in food-related practices. But in the Greek vision of the past, such change could not easily be revisited. A historical past might be "revisited, repeated, repealed,"[4] but a mythological past cannot. These variant modes of historicizing rural land and foodways are not mere preferences in food-related storytelling, but form constituent parts of opposing cultural narratives in Greek and Roman literature.

This chapter will investigate the testimony of several Greek and Roman authors in order to identify ways in which the changes outlined in the preceding chapters affected how both Greeks and Romans conceptualized the landscape of Roman Greece in light of these popular narratives about their agricultural pasts. As we will see, the emphasis on vertical social bonds that can transcend local polis communities, which were partly disseminated through Roman labor structures (Chapter 1), and the formation of suburban communities around large metropoleis (Chapters 3 and 4), are significant features of the landscapes described in literature of the Roman era. At the same time, the use of rural nostalgia resurrected a "lost" landscape of pre-Roman Greece, articulating less tangible forms

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[1] Purcell 2003: 341.
[2] Indeed, most important cultural changes, the origins of important families, etc., were likewise located in the mythical past (Scheer 2007).
[3] Pliny *HN* 18.62: populum Romanum farre tantum e frumento CCC annis usum Verrius tradit. *Far* is the husked wheat of *Triticum dicoccum*, or emmer. See Purcell 2003: 330.
[4] Purcell 2003: 342.

of cultural change through the use of nostalgic tropes. The purpose of understanding these conceptual landscapes is two-fold: (1) insofar as literary sources have been used to reconstruct *historical* landscapes (in a positivist sense), it is necessary to acknowledge how these conceptual landscapes might or might not be reflective of actual physical change, and (2) to appreciate how rural nostalgia and literary landscapes functioned to conceptualize change, loss, or even dissatisfaction with the new imperial world order *and* to forge and reaffirm an "imagined community"—the empire *qua* Greek polis[5]—in which the Greek provinces were culturally relevant to, and politically enabled within, the Roman Empire.

Because understanding the role of rural nostalgia is crucial to the present investigation of these texts, this chapter will first discuss recent studies of nostalgia from a sociological standpoint, as well as the specific role of rural nostalgia in different historical contexts (namely, modern America, Renaissance France, and Interwar Britain). This review of recent research will provide a template with which to read ancient iterations of rural nostalgia more productively. From here, we will then look at the familiar accounts of devastation and depopulation in Greece in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, highlighting the cultural and political values that are expressed in these narratives of change. This chapter will then examine how land and agricultural productivity were important elements in the Romans' own cultural ideology, as well as their own brand of moralizing nostalgic thought, and how these ideas shaped their political priorities in land management across the empire, as well as the way in which the relationships between Rome and her provinces were socially construed. After covering these distinct Greek and Roman approaches to landscape, history, and political identity, this chapter will turn to the question of how *both* approaches shaped shared conceptualizations of

[5] For the development in Greek thought of the Roman Empire as a polis, discussed in greater detail below, see Ando 1999.

the newly restructured relationships between cities, land, and the imperial state, which this dissertation has highlighted throughout. This chapter will close with a reading of Pausanias, demonstrating how competing historical landscapes are layered throughout his work to create a coherent *conceptual* landscape of Roman Greece.

II. A brief review of psychological, sociological, and historical research on nostalgia

Rural nostalgia (especially in the form of rural decay paired with social decline) is pervasive in Greco-Roman literature, to say the least. But this literary trope is hardly peculiar to the Greco-Roman world, and in fact, can be found as early as the epic of *Gilgamesh* (i.e. Enkidu's expulsion from a paradisiac natural landscape) and is pervasive in literature seemingly ever after, recurring throughout centuries of Western literary history.[6] Although these themes may therefore seem timeless, rural nostalgia comes in varying literary forms and functions, expresses subtly different modes of nostalgic thinking, and addresses different types of social or political phenomena, which are culturally specific and historically contingent. Identifying these variations can be difficult, however, because nostalgia is widely seen as "a quintessentially human trait […] timeless, with no particularized significance."[7] Lacking adequate attentiveness to such historical particularization, some studies of nostalgic motifs, both in Greek and Roman literature and elsewhere, tend to approach nostalgia as intellectually simplistic (as escaping or avoiding a present reality) and/or socio-politically regressive.[8] Instances of *rural* nostalgia—perhaps the most transhistorically pervasive form of

[6] Evans 2008: 31-34.
[7] Head 2017: 130.
[8] See discussion in Evans 2008: 1-8. For examples specific to the topic of Roman Greece: Thomas 2014 suggests that increased interest in the regional histories of Greece was "simple escapism and local patriotism, even nostalgia" (258); Elsner 1992 reads Pausanais' use of history and myth as an attempt "to shield himself

collective nostalgia—are understood in the same vein as a fundamental conservatism: a simple wish to preserve, or revert to, a prior social order.[9] Because numerous post-classical poets, novelists, and historians have explicitly employed Greek and Latin authors as a template for expressing their own social concerns via rural nostalgia, the subtle differences from these later social concerns and those originally expressed in these classical tropes can be especially difficult to detect.[10]

The role of rural nostalgia in Greek and Roman literature therefore presents two potential complications for the historian: (1) the obstruction of positivist reconstructions of the historical landscape due to pervasive nostalgic themes that stress a sense of loss and other ideas that may not be tied to the physical landscape; and also (2) the tendency to take this sense of loss within these nostalgic themes only at face value, and thereby overlook, or over-simplify, the complex negotiation of social values that such themes accomplish. In the case of Greek literature under the Empire, rural nostalgia, more often than not, is understood rather simply as rueful dissatisfaction with, or avoidance of, the present state of life under Roman rule.[11] But this interpretation of rural nostalgia is not the only possible interpretation, nor even the most compelling. As this chapter will argue, rather than a backward-looking expression of loss, rural nostalgia is often a forward-looking mode of constructive world-building.

The first potential problem can be addressed, in part, by subtly changing the questions we ask of literary evidence. Rather than the physical landscape of Roman Greece, this chapter therefore sets

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from the full implications of being a subject" (3), and states that "Clearly, in looking to the past for a Greek identity, Pausanias was avoiding the present" (17).

[9] Mackenzie 2011: 146.

[10] For example, many French poets of the Renaissance imitate Horace, Ovid, and Lucretius on the subject of rural decay and bucolic nostalgia. See. Mackenzie 2011: 123 *ff.*

[11] See n. 8 above.

out to uncover the *conceptual* landscape. And in fact, from a phenomenological (or ecocritical) standpoint, there is not a substantial opposition between a "real" physcial landscape and an ideologically constructed one—the two are intertwined in a "dialectical construction of environmental reality through the interplay of psychic and physical universe."[12] Textual evidence, however biased or ideologically driven it may be, is therefore still a constituent part of the "physico-cultural whole" of historical landscape.[13] And it is this interplay, between the physical and social landscapes of Roman Greece, that this chapter hopes to capture—and is what I mean when using the term "conceptual landscape." The idea of a conceptual landscape highlights the fact that any "landscape" is a work of the mind, and that imagining a landscape often entails the creation of an affective identification with it, which in turn feeds moral, social, and/or political sentiments.[14] As Benedict Anderson has shown, mental mapping and textual images of landscape are a critical part of constructing national "imagined communities,"[15] which will become important in considering how these conceptual landscapes of Roman Greece helped to "map" the Roman Empire.

In this way, the popular tropes of rural nostalgia, insofar as they comprise a "lost" landscape, must be taken into consideration in a discussion of the conceptual landscape, or *l'espace existentiel*,[16] of Roman Greece. Insofar as previous studies have addressed issues of nostalgia in ancient texts, with an eye toward historical questions of landscape, they have focused on forms of political—or shall we

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[12] Fitter 1995: 5.
[13] Mackenzie 2011: 25. See also Merleau-Ponty 1945 and Tilley 1994. This is in essence the ecocritical response to earlier mid-20th century work on landscape and literature that insisted on an opposition between a real physical landscape and a fictive literary landscape, as established by Berger 1972 and Williams 1973. The theoretical roots of many ecocritical studies can be traced to earlier sociological research on social space, most notably Lefebvre 1974.
[14] Schama 1995: 6-7.
[15] Anderson 2006: 170-177.
[16] Merleau-Ponty 1945: 339.

say, poliadic—nostalgia (i.e. the *topos* of ὀλιγανθρωπία).[17] Therefore, a central goal of this chapter is to consider the role of rural nostalgia much more expansively, to include *topoi* not obviously political or ideological, and identify ways in which these literary tropes may have shaped the conceptual landscape of the Roman province of Achaea.

This goal therefore also confronts the second issue: that of the oversimplification of literary nostalgia. To this end, this section will briefly survey recent research on the different functions of nostalgia in the fields of psychology and sociology, including an analysis of nostalgic in modern American, as well as two recent historical studies of rural nostalgia in 16th century France and Interwar Britain. With a more robust understanding of nostalgia's role in social cognition and in the production of collective memory, we will be better equipped to interpret iterations of rural nostalgia specific to Greek and Roman literature.

A brief history of nostalgia in the field of psychology

Johannes Hofer, the seventeenth century Swiss physician who, inspired by the *Odyssey*, coined the term "nostalgia," specifically chose two Greek words to form his neologism: νόστος (return) and ἄλγος (pain).[18] Hofer conceptualized nostalgia as a neurological disease,[19] but by the twentieth century, the field of medicine shifted its stance on nostalgia from a neurological disease to a

[17] See discussion in Alcock 1993: 30-32.

[18] Particularly inspiring, apparently, were lines 219-220 in Book 5: "I wish and long day by day to reach my home and to see the day of my return. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἐθέλω καὶ ἐέλδομαι ἤματα πάντα οἴκαδέ τ᾽ ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι.

[19] A disease he believed was endemic amongst Swiss mercenaries serving abroad. His ideas were further elaborated in 1732 by a German-Swiss physician J. J. Scheuchzer. Hofer and Scheuchzer proposed that the constant clang of cowbells in the Swiss Alps, among other things like the effects of atmospheric pressure and animal spirits, had damaged parts of the Swiss soldiers' neurological systems, causing symptoms such as weeping, irregular heartbeat, anorexia, suicidal ideation, and homesickness. Soon, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, soldiers of non-Swiss origin were also diagnosed with the "disease" of nostalgia, including Americans during the Civil War.

psychiatric or psychosomatic disorder.[20] The later twentieth century witnessed an even larger shift in how nostalgia was conceptualized outside the medical profession: in popular culture, nostalgia took on notions of "warm feelings" for "old times," a yearning for the sunny days of childhood or the glory days of young adulthood. The medical community, as well as the field of sociology, took note, and by the late 1970s, nostalgia was identified within these academic fields as a sometimes related but distinct emotional phenomenon from homesickness.[21] As more nuanced research on nostalgic cognitive processes were conducted, yet another shift took place in how nostalgia was defined and studied academically: nostalgia moved from the category of a *negative* emotional state—a maladaptive inability to accept the loss of the past[22]—to the category of a *positive*, self-relevant emotion, one that fulfills crucial psychological and sociological functions in adapting to changing conditions and environments.[23]

Within psychological studies of nostalgia, this shift from negative to positive also pushed the conceptualization of nostalgia from the category of simple, reactionary emotions (which interpret outcomes rather than guide actions) to the category of complex emotions, which are capable of shaping goals and actions.[24] This second categorical shift is due in part to the fact that feelings of

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[20] Generally characterized as a "monomaniacal obsessive mental state causing intense unhappiness" and a "mentally repressive compulsive disorder" (Fodor 1950: 25). At first it was thought of as a form of melancholia (in the early 20th century), and then as a type of depression (in the later 20th century).

[21] See discussion of research from this era in Sedikides, Wildschut, and Baden 2004: 202 (e.g. Davis 1979; Davis and Werman 1977; Brewin, Furhnam, and Howes 1989; Fisher 1989; Van Tilburg, Vingerhoets, and van Heck 1996).

[22] E.g.Werman 1977.

[23] E.g. Batcho 2013; Sedikides et al. 2008; Zhou et al. 2008; Sedikides et al. 2004. Nostalgia is thus now generally recognized as "an existential exercise in search for identity and meaning, a weapon in internal confrontations with existential dilemmas, and a mechanism for reconnecting with important others." (Sedikides, Wildschut, and Baden 2004: 202-3) Other characteristics of complex emotions include high-level "cognitive appraisal" (i.e. how a person's evaluative judgment of a situation or object contributes to their emotional state) and "propositional content" (i.e. distinct and/or conscious beliefs and assertions).

[24] See Sedikides, Wildschut, and Baden 2004 for review of research reflecting this shift. In brief: Peters 1985 treats nostalgia as a negative, self-defeating emotion; Kemper 1987 and Frijda 1987 treat nostalgia as a

nostalgia have been shown in multiple studies to function as a mode of adaptive coping rather than a strategy of avoidance or escapism. That is to say, the function of nostalgia, psychologically speaking, is not maladaptive emotional regression or disengagement, but a goal-directed strategy of positive reframing.[25] In fact, contrary to prior popular belief, these studies agree that nostalgia generally promotes optimism about the future, more so than any pessimism generated by an implicit comparison to an irretrievable past.[26]

This reappraisal of nostalgia emphasizes its role in social mediation—a crucial way of connecting and creating meaning within social groups.[27] In these studies, nostalgia has been shown to augment both individual and group identities, bolster relational bonds, and even encourage wider affective worldviews. One of nostalgia's important social functions is to promote collective feelings of shared values and identity via nostalgic subject material, allowing the social group to cope with perceived social threats.[28] In times of stress or disruption, nostalgia can buoy up self-worth by temporarily relying on an idealized past.[29] A person, or a people, can mitigate the negative emotional effects of perceived injustice, failure, or fear of change, by using self-affirming visions of the past in order to

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negative, culturally constructed emotion, lacking modes of "action readiness"; Kaplan 1987, Gabriel 1993, Holak and Havlena 1998, and Chaplin 2000 treat nostalgia as positive, constructive emotion; Ortony, Clore, and Collins 1988 treat nostalgia as a negative emotion but with the family of "well-being emotions," as a net-positive emotion that processes situations/objects alongside emotions of distress and loss; Johnson-Laird and Oatley 1989 treat nostalgia as a complex emotion.

[25] Batcho 2013.

[26] Cheung et al. 2013. This is not to say that nostalgia never has pessimistic valences. Some psychologists differentiate between "redemption sequences" of nostalgic thinking, which are generally optimistic (i.e. the idea that the distant past was great, the near past was terrible, and the present is improving or is about to improve) vs. "contamination sequences," which are generally negative (i.e. the idea that the past was good and the present is bad). But even these pessimistic forms of nostalgia are still 'productive,' insofar as they guide actions and goals. See Sedikides *et al.* 2015: 201-7; 2008: 305; 2004: 204-5.

[27] Sedikides, Wildschut, and Baden 2004: 203. Nostalgic thinking thus does not "always, or even typically, induce sadness [but] is often triggered by intrapersonal, social, or environmental stimuli, and […] may sometimes involve minimal or implicit comparison of the past with the present."

[28] Sedikides *et al* 2015: 208-49.

[29] Kleiner 1977.

preserve a positive sense of self, as well as positively negotiate social-standing within or between social groups.[30] It is important to emphasize that nostalgia is therefore not a reactionary thought process, but a constructive mode of navigating social relations and building positive, self-affirming world-views. In complex social settings, nostalgia provides a forum in which individuals can rehearse their cultural belongingness, and thereby solidify a common sense of identity.[31]

Nostalgia from sociological and historical perspectives

Studies of cultural nostalgia are closely tied to the study of collective memory, an idea originating in early twentieth century sociology. Maurice Halbwachs, on the basis of Durkheim's "social fact,"[32] first developed the concept of "collective memory," by emphasizing that the past is created via social groups and therefore an individual's memories of the past are not necessarily personalized but rather reside within the collective consciousness of a group.[33] George Herbert Mead's work on symbolic interactionism (the idea that individuals create and recreate present reality through an interactional process with others) provides a helpful framework for understanding the intersection of collective memory and nostalgic thinking, and how the individual acts within, and is acted upon by, a social group. Mead's approach is somewhat more flexible than Halbwach's, insofar as he relies less on Durkheim's idea of social facts exerting power over individuals, and opens up the possibility

[30] E.g. Gabriel 1993; Greenburg et al 1997; Pyszczynski 1999.
[31] Baumeister and Leary 1995; Chaplin 2000. This is not to say that nostalgia cannot be used to express or promote conservative, socially regressive values, or that the actions guided by nostalgia are always socially progressive. For instance, Simon 1995 distinguishes between "classical nostalgia" and "willful nostalgia," the former being a more proactive mode of nostalgic thinking, while the latter encourages complacency and acceptance of the status quo.
[32] Social facts are theorized as cultural norms that transcend the individual and may exercise social control.
[33] As Ferrarotti 1990 explains, "When I go to London I see at the same time the London my eyes bring me and the London of Dickens. In other words, there is no memory that is not also an inter- and contextual reconstruction." (64)

for individuals to interact with a culturally constructed past for their own selective purposes—and in turn, influencing collectively constructed history.

This process of symbolic interactionism is thought to extend to individuals' past realities as well, and therefore Mead's *Philosophy of the Present* has influenced sociological thought on the role of collective memory and nostalgia. Peter Berger, David Lowenthal, and Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot have all studied the phenomenon (originally described by Mead) of selective perception and selective reconstructions of the past and present—that is, the social practice of identifying fragments of the past that are perceived as relevant to present purposes.[34] In this way, more recent sociological research on nostalgia and memory—just as in the field of psychology[35]—have emphasized the more productive functions of nostalgia: nostalgia facilitates constructive engagement with collective memory for the purpose of identifying social goals and guiding social relationships.[36]

Modern America (of the 20th and 21st centuries) has taken pride of place in historical discussions of nostalgia, collective memory, and the ideological functions of these phenomena. Three important ideas, which will be useful in considering nostalgia in the context of the Roman Empire, were developed in sociological studies of American nostalgia: (1) the plurality of nostalgia, (2) the correlation between increased multiculturalism and heightened nostalgia, and (3) the phenomenon of "displaced nostalgia." From a Neo-Marxist perspective, collective memories are typically interpreted

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[34] Lawrence-Lightfoot 1994: 612; Lowenthal 1985: 210; Berger 1963: 56-7.

[35] And in the field of history, we can witness a similar trend. Historians of the early 20th century, such as Hofstadter and Schlesinger, characterized nostalgia as regressive indulgence. But in the 1970s, historians like E. P. Thompson, Lawrence Goodwyn, and Herbert Gutman began to consider nostalgia's complexity and flexibility in framing the present. (See brief summary in Eueben 2003: 88.) Significantly, Svetlana Boym has emphasized the pluralistic nature of nostalgia, arguing that nostalgic thinking "does not follow a single plot but explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones." (Boym 2001: xviii.)

[36] Ostovich 2002: 244.

as expressions of a society's "dominant ideology," a vehicle for asserting the status quo.[37] From this approach, the hyper-multiculturalism of American society posed a theoretical problem: "Can a dominant ideology prevail in a culture characterized by the value of individualism, a free-market economy, and consumerism as an expression of self and identity?"[38] The postmodernist response to this Neo-Marxist "problem" has been to conceptualize a symbolic universe occupied by competing ideologies, and thus to conceptualize nostalgia more pluralistically (which works nicely in conjunction with Mead's symbolic interactionism discussed earlier).[39] More recent comparative studies of nostalgia have further argued that the deeply pluralistic nature of American society is also responsible for an increased reliance on nostalgic thinking in processing cultural change. As Stewart concludes, "Nostalgia rises to importance as a cultural practice as culture becomes more and more diffuse."[40] Lastly, it was in the context of studying the nostalgia of American youths in the 1990s, that sociologists first described the phenomenon of "displaced nostalgia," a feeling of nostalgia for a time or place that an individual or group has never witnessed firsthand, as an epiphenomenon of the hyper-nostalgic nature of American culture.[41]

One contention of this chapter is that these pluralistic modes of nostalgia are not peculiar to contemporary America, but are detectable in the ancient Greco-Roman sources at hand. Thus, these three ideas—nostalgic plurality, the correlation between cultural complexity (or multiculturalism) and the increased potency of nostalgic thinking, and displaced nostalgia—are important for understanding the role of nostalgia not only in modern America but also, as I will argue, in Roman

[37] See Billig 1990 for the idea that ideology constitutes what is collectively remembered, and discussion of collective remembering and forgetting as part of the negotiations in shifting power relations.
[38] Wilson 2008: 43.
[39] E.g. Gans 1974: 13.
[40] Stewart 1998: 227.
[41] Wilson and Markle 1996. The original study was based on college students in the 1990s who overwhelmingly expressed "nostalgia" for the 1950s and '60s.

Greece. This is because, in the context of competing strains of collective memory and heightened nostalgic thinking, wherein social groups foster ties to times and places far removed, the potent nostalgic subject material that is "the countryside" can simultaneously become a highly contested conceptual landscape, as well as a powerful source of cross-cultural commonality.

Since rural nostalgia will be the focus of this chapter, Raymond Williams must be mentioned here, as one of the first to seriously study this topic in the field of history (in this case, in the context of 20th century Britain). His seminal 1973 study, *The Country and the City,* not only debunked the "myth" of a simple and pure rural life, but shows how this myth functioned in British literature to gloss over actual rural crises in favor of critiquing certain evils of modernity and reaffirming the general social status quo in Britain. Williams thereby highlights the action-oriented nature of nostalgia, demonstrating how it shaped not only collective memory but also political activities.[42] Below are two more examples of recent research, specifically on rural nostalgia, in other historical contexts, which will provide more targeted comparanda for discussing Greek and Roman literature later.

Renaissance France: rural nostalgia as a constructive social imperative

Louisa Mackenzie's 2010 study of La Pléiade (a group of 16th century French bucolic poets: Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim Du Bellay, Rémy Belleau, and Antoine de Baïf) argues that these poets deployed rural nostalgia and naturalist descriptions of the French countryside to create "spaces of hope," and promote non-environmentally destructive, if socially conservative, political principles at a time when economic change and religious conflict ravaged France. The lyric poetry produced by this group, so focused on peaceful rural images, has long been characterized as non-productive withdrawals from

[42] This emphasis on the proactive nature of nostalgia can also be found in his concept of the "structure of feeling" (meaning something similar to 'zeitgeist,' i.e. the way in which multiple strains of popular thought compete to shape the prevailing historical outlook of a given time period).

the tumultuous politics of Renaissance France. Mackenzie counters that the purpose of these idealized rustic images was a project of proactive reclamation in the face of great environmental and social loss. The landscapes of this lyrical poetry thus served not simply as "refuges from which to hold the awfulness of history, however momentarily, at bay"[43] but as a moral imperative to conserve the natural environment. This poetry can be read as political conservatism; for, in this period, "to defend the environment is to defend the privileged world of the aristocratic poet."[44] At the same time, this literature is a call to action that increased in urgency across the 16th century, asking its audience to retreat from the French court—not as a regressive or passive withdrawal from society—but in order to use the French land productively, and thereby provide for greater portions of the French people (and also, incidentally, reaffirm the social positions of the old aristocracy). Hence, we see in this poetry a landscape expunged of corrupt aristocrats who spend most of their time at court in favor of "good shepherd" characters who are invested stewards of the land.[45] The poetry of La Pléiade therefore provides a helpful framework for rethinking Greco-Roman rural nostalgia (on which many of these poetic rural themes were based) as a proactive mode of negotiating contemporary political conundrums.

Interwar Britain: rural nostalgia as a positive expression of national identity

Dominic Head takes as his point of historical inquiry a boom in thematically rural literature in Britain between the two world wars.[46] The traditional explanation of this boom is that rural themes are a reactionary way of preserving an obsolete rural life in opposition to urbanization,[47] and/or that

[43] Mackenzie 2011: 5.
[44] Mackenzie 2011: 121.
[45] Mackenzie 2011: 181-2.
[46] Head 2013: 117.
[47] This was how the phenomenon was explained at the time, see Morton 1927. But this interpretation has remained amongst literary scholars, see for example, Cunningham 1988: 229-30. Williams covers this period

returning solders from the Great War needed to believe that "they were fighting for something." This literature has thus long been accused of inauthenticity in its promotion of national symbols—which is not entirely inaccurate—but Head takes a more nuanced view. Head draws upon the work of Phyllis Bentley, who in a study of 20th century regionalism argued (*contra* Raymond Williams) that distinctiveness is the very condition of a region's political enablement—that the conscious perception of such (sub)cultural and geographic differences provides residents of these regions a group identity for which they can advocate in the political arena, as well as the social cachet for successfully doing so (as outside interest in the constituent "regions" of a state increases). On these grounds, Head argues that the formation of regional identity is based on cultural comparison with, and a connection to, another region or social entity. In other words, this is a process of internal differentiation within a recognized, broader social or political entity (e.g. Britain), where multiple regions contemporaneously develop more sharply distinct subcultural identities alongside one another. Head further argues that regional rural nostalgia of this kind has but a small window of historical possibility: contexts in which such "regions" get tied into a greater social "whole."

> There is a central but persuasive contradiction in this: the dramatic changes in human mobility, the very trend that tends 'to render the regions themselves less regional', also produces an access of self-consciousness that produces the regional: 'Yorkshire did not know it was Yorkshire, nor Somerset Somerset, until the frequent travel made possible by improved communications showed Yorkshiremen and Somersetmen other countries, so that they realised how different was their own.[48]

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of British literature too, suggesting that the few pockets of traditional, surviving rural England were "scribbled over and almost hidden from sight" in a falsification of the existing rural landscape: "an extraordinary development of country-based fantasy."(Williams 1973: 253-4). Williams uses the Interwar period to argue that there is an inverse correlation between the rural sector's economic importance and the importance of "rural ideas." (Williams 1973: 248).

[48] Head 2013: 120. For another explanation of the essentially the same argument see also, Head 2017, which claims that recent advances in technology and communications generated "the moment of regionalism that it

This regional rural nostalgia was used to mobilize a sense of shared identity of the working class across Britain, which was then facing economic hardship. Rather than a regressive turn away from present realities—a "failure to confront modernity"—Head contends, this rural nostalgia was deployed to motivate progressive, pro-working class policies.[49] This is an example of how nostalgia can be deployed in, as Head terms it, "creative historical dialogue: the juxtaposition of past and present […] made to reveal a fresh understanding of the moment, rather than a longing for that which cannot be recaptured."[50] Head's study of the rural nostalgia in British literature of the Interwar period thus demonstrates how regionalized iterations of rural nostalgia can be deployed to promote political unity and, like the 16th century French poets, actively promote a political agenda while still maintaining mass appeal. His point that this regional mode of rural nostalgia gains its cultural significance through integration into a new political "whole" will be an important parallel in reading Pausanias' studied approach to sub-cultures of mainland Greece.

This survey has emphasized how nostalgic thinking shapes both collective and individual actions, and how nostalgia reframes "the present" in ways that are conducive to social adaptation and the perceived affirmation of group identities. These are the central sociological and psychological functions of nostalgia that will be used to interpret the forms of rural nostalgia that we encounter in Greek and Roman literature.

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simultaneously undermines, and one manifestation of this paradox is the variety of nostalgia in the fiction of the interwar period." (127)

[49] Head 2013: 120.

[50] Head 2017: 125.

III. Rural nostalgia and landscapes of depopulation and devastation in Greek Literature

Ὀλιγανθρωπία, as a literary theme, expresses a form of nostalgia: a longing for an idealized past when poleis were stronger and more populous. It is not strictly rural *per se*, but is often expressed in rural terms—since, after all, once a city has been abandoned, the area effectively becomes part of the rural terrain. The empty countryside depicted in such tropes does not idealize a rural or agricultural past (ergo, it is unlike the "rural nostalgia" of the above examples from France and Britain), but rather a nostalgia for a lost landscape of more numerous, well-populated poleis, which may also include a corollary rural landscape filled with more citizen-farmers working in the fields of the poleis' *chorai*. For "true" rural nostalgia (that is, nostalgic thinking premised on a lost form of society based outside the urban sphere) in Greek literature, one must turn to the realm of poetry and philosophy (e.g. poetic bucolicism; myths of the ages of man based on an evolution of foodways). Here, in the rural themes used from Hesiod to Theocritus, a timeless Greek countryside is imagined with nostalgic idealism—and when a specific time is designated it is typically located deep in the mythological past. These bucolic tropes and the theme of ὀλιγανθρωπία are not entirely unrelated, however. As this section will argue, the former often shapes the expression of the latter, specifically in the figure of the shepherd—an element that opens up this outwardly pessimistic trope to more pluralistic interpretations.

More importantly, compared to Roman modes of rural nostalgia, both of these nostalgic tropes, ὀλιγανθρωπία and the bucolic shepherd, show greater ambivalence toward the countryside itself, and especially to agriculture, in terms of moral value. Roman agricultural nostalgia, with its nostalgic locus placed in the more recent historical past, is more overtly moralizing (as we will see later in this

chapter). But both types of rural nostalgia, Greek and Roman, will play important roles in the negotiation of cultural change and exchange in the early Imperial period.

Nostalgia and the countryside in Greek literature before Roman conquest

Compared to Roman literature (and later Greek literature of the Imperial period), rural nostalgia—that is, literary *topoi* idealizing a lost non-urban way of life—is notably less prominent in Greek literature and rarely deployed outside the poetic mode or philosophical discussions of mankind's mythological history.[51] This is not to say that Greek authors did not think about changing landscape and foodways,[52] but rather their discussions of the rural sphere generally do not wax nostalgic about the superiority of (past ways of) non-urban life[53]—and when they do, it is often nostalgic for a *pre-agricultural* countryside, or one devoid of much agricultural labor.[54]

This non-agricultural focus is due, in part, to the common mythical narrative of linear social decline through a sequence of metallic eras. The "Golden Age," a time when people could peacefully gather the fruits of the earth without labor and struggle, is the first and most ideal of these ages, from

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[51] The countryside often appears as a *locus amoenus,* but it is not necessarily framed as a "lost" landscape or way of life. That said, for an urban audience more removed from rural living, this could certainly be a considered a form of displaced nostalgia; but even construed as such, any nostalgic premise in these cases is notably less overt than in later comparanda.

[52] Purcell 2003: 331.

[53] White 1977: 5: "this powerful, almost obsessive, morality myth [of the virtues of farming] is peculiar to the Romans. In the Greek tradition, from Hesiod's *Works and Days*, onwards there are few signs of illusion on the subject." Hunter 1985: 109-10 notes the rising popularity, after the Peloponnesian War, of 'town and country' comparisons in literature and drama (especially in comedy mocking the frivolity of decadence of the city and the austerity of the country, but these tropes are not premised on a 'lost' rural life, and therefore are not properly nostalgic.

[54] Xenophon perhaps appears as a major exception here, whose *Oeconomicus* includes the "earliest extensive eulogy of rural life in Greek prose" (Pomerory 1994: 254, referring to sections 5.1-17), but (as discussed below) Xenophon's Socratic dialogue ultimately undermines any presupposed moral value in farming. Moreover, unlike the agricultural texts of Cato and Vergil, this dialogue lacks nostalgic commentary about an earlier, morally superior way of agricultural life (e.g. age of farmer-soldiers, time before large slave-run estates, etc.).

which mankind has long fallen into subsequent pastoral and agricultural ages. Hesiod's Golden Age, perhaps the most well known iteration, is described as a time when humans lived close to the gods, under whose care the earth willingly dispensed her fruits without human effort:

> First of all the deathless gods who dwell on Olympus made a golden race of mortal men who lived in the time of Cronos when he was reigning in heaven. And they lived like gods without sorrow of heart, remote and free from toil and grief: miserable age rested not on them; but with legs and arms never failing they made merry with feasting beyond the reach of all evils. When they died, it was as though they were overcome with sleep, and they had all good things; for the fruitful earth unforced bare them fruit abundantly and without stint. They dwelt in ease and peace upon their lands with many good things, rich in flocks and loved by the blessed gods.[55]

Here labor is explicitly connected to grief and sadness, from which humans, during this mythical Golden Age, were immune. There are numerous versions of this myth, some with significant variations, but all are premised on the idealization of an irretrievable non-urban landscape. For example, in his βίος Ἑλλάδος (a history of the Greek people from the dawn of time to the reign of Philip II), Dicaearchus of Sicilian Messene, likewise outlines a social decline through metallic ages, but he is more critical of each stage, noting the distinct problems that plagued each era, including the Golden Age: before the advent of agriculture, food stores were not quite adequate and thus this

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[55] Hes. *WD* 109-120.
χρύσεον μὲν πρώτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ᾽ ἔχοντες.
οἳ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ᾽ οὐρανῷ ἐμβασίλευεν:
ὥστε θεοὶ δ᾽ ἔζωον ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ ὀιζύος: οὐδέ τι δειλὸν
γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι
τέρποντ᾽ ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων:
θνῆσκον δ᾽ ὥσθ᾽ ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι: ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα
τοῖσιν ἔην: καρπὸν δ᾽ ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον: οἳ δ᾽ ἐθελημοὶ
ἥσυχοι ἔργ᾽ ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν.
ἀφνειοὶ μήλοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.
(Heinemann, transl.)

generation of man "[did not consume] more than is moderate because of its ready availability, but for the most part less than sufficient, on account of its scarcity."[56] However, the invention of pastoralism and later agriculture created the significantly greater social ills of greed and warfare.[57] Dicaearchus' version of this myth may suggest that, throughout the progression of human history, one problem is only traded in for another, but he nevertheless insists that overall mankind has declined since this primordial Golden Age. If there is a sense of rural nostalgia in Dicaearchus, it is for a mythical primordial life, when the earth spontaneously produced just enough foodstuffs to feed mankind, a world devoid of agriculture or labor.

Aratus introduces a major departure from the usual Golden Age narrative,[58] by including agriculture in his description of this mythical period. But it is important to note the elements of consistency

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[56] Fragment 56A in Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf. Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 4.2.4.
οὔτε τὴν πλείω τῆς μετρίας διὰ τὴν ἑτοιμότητα, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὴν ἐλάττω τῆς ἱκανῆς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν.
[57] Fragment 56A in Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf. Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 4.2.5-9.
[58] Aratus *Phaenomena* 108-136. "Not yet in that age had men knowledge of hateful strife, or carping contention, or din of battle, but a simple life they lived. Far from them was the cruel sea and not yet from afar did ships bring their livelihood, but the oxen and the plough and Justice herself, queen of the peoples, giver of things just, abundantly supplied their every need. Even so long as the earth still nurtured the Golden Race, she had her dwelling on earth. But with the Silver Race only a little and no longer with utter readiness did she mingle, for that she yearned for the ways of the men of old. Yet in that Silver Age was she still upon the earth; but from the echoing hills at eventide she came alone, nor spake to any man in gentle words. But when she had filled the great heights with gathering crowds, then would she with threats rebuke their evil ways, and declare that never more at their prayer would she reveal her face to man. "Behold what manner of race the fathers of the Golden Age left behind them! Far meaner than themselves! But ye will breed a viler progeny! Verily wars and cruel bloodshed shall be unto men and grievous woe shall be laid upon them." Even so she spake and sought the hills and left the people all gazing towards her still. But when they, too, were dead, and when, more ruinous than they which went before, the Race of Bronze was born, who were the first to forge the sword of the highwayman, and the first to eat of the flesh of the ploughing-ox, then verily did Justice loathe that race of men and fly heavenward and took up that abode, where even now in the night time the Maiden is seen of men, established near to far-seen Boötes." (Mair and Mair, transl.)
οὔπω λευγαλέου τότε νείκεος ἠπίσταντο
οὐδὲ διακρίσιος πολυμεμφέος οὐδὲ κυδοιμοῦ,
αὔτως δ' ἔζωον· χαλεπὴ δ' ἀπέκειτο θάλασσα,
καὶ βίον οὔπω νῆες ἀπόπροθεν ἠγίνεσκον,
ἀλλὰ βόες καὶ ἄροτρα καὶ αὐτή, πότνια λαῶν,
μυρία πάντα παρεῖχε Δίκη, δώτειρα δικαίων.

with the more standard versions of this myth: Aratus' Golden Age is still a world without struggle and toil,[59] and it is still one where man lived closer to the gods. In fact, in all of these texts, descriptions of the Golden Age are more concerned about the relationship between man and the gods than in man's changing foodways—the latter resultant from the changing circumstances of the former. The need for agriculture is created by greater distance between humans and the divine, and therefore agricultural toil is a mark of mankind's moral failings and distance from the gods.

These texts are therefore all essentially ambivalent about the moral value of agricultural land and labor—and this ambivalent stance extends to non-Golden Age rural nostalgia as well.[60] The lack of

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τόφρ᾽ ἦν, ὄφρ᾽ ἔτι γαῖα γένος χρύσειον ἔφερβεν.
ἀργυρέῳ δ᾽ ὀλίγη τε καὶ οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἑτοίμη
ὠμίλει, ποθέουσα παλαιῶν ἤθεα λαῶν.
ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπης ἔτι κεῖνο κατ᾽ ἀργύρεον γένος ἦεν·
ἤρχετο δ᾽ ἐξ ὀρέων ὑποδείελος ἠχηέντων
μουνάξ, οὐδέ τεῳ ἐπεμίσγετο μειλιχίοισιν·
ἀλλ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἀνθρώπων μεγάλας πλήσαιτο κολώνας,
ἠπείλει δὴ ἔπειτα καθαπτομένη κακότητος,
οὐδ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἔφη εἰσωπὸς ἐλεύσεσθαι καλέουσιν·
"οἵην χρύσειοι πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο
χειροτέρην· ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξείεσθε.
καὶ δή που πόλεμοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνάρσιον αἷμα
ἔσσεται ἀνθρώποισι, κακὸν δ᾽ ἐπικείσεται ἄλγος."
ὣς εἰποῦσ᾽ ὀρέων ἐπεμαίετο, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄρα λαοὺς
εἰς αὐτὴν ἔτι πάντας ἐλίμπανε παπταίνοντας.
ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ κἀκεῖνοι ἐτέθνασαν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐγένοντο,
χαλκείη γενεή, προτέρων ὀλοώτεροι ἄνδρες,
οἳ πρῶτοι κακόεργον ἐχαλκεύσαντο μάχαιραν
εἰνοδίην, πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαντ᾽ ἀροτήρων,
καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν
ἔπταθ᾽ ὑπουρανίη· ταύτην δ᾽ ἄρα νάσσατο χώρην,
ἥχί περ ἐννυχίη ἔτι φαίνεται ἀνθρώποισιν
Παρθένος, ἐγγὺς ἐοῦσα πολυσκέπτοιο Βοώτεω.

[59] Poochigian attributes this unusual change in Aratus' Golden Age narrative to his stoicism, which dictates that "all human occupations are as old as humankind itself. (Poochigian 2010: 49). For the unusual intrusion of agriculture in Hellenistic iterations of the myth of the Golden Age, see Bellandi, Berti, and Ciappi 2001.

[60] Spariosu 1991: 52-3. This appears to have been so bizarre from a Roman perspective that in Germanicus' later Latin translation of Aratus, the role of land and private property is added in as a part of the Golden Age. Germanicus also adds in descriptions of spontaneous generation, which theoretically would not be necessary

labor perhaps reflects an aristocratic mentality, which associates work with lower classes, and therefore rarely attributes any honor or moral value to physical labor.[61] Even when Hesiod recreates the world of a lower class farmer, although he emphasizes the importance of work for many reasons,[62] he notably does not include amongst these reasons any inherent moral value of agricultural work. To toil is the lot of farmer-folk like the narrator and his brother Perses, but not of a *basileus.* Perses is thus chastised for behaving like a *basileus* and not working, an act of *hubris* for the lowly farmer.[63] Agricultural labor is therefore not inherently honorable, but only insofar as such work is expected of lower classes and is their means of accumulating wealth.[64] In fact, it is notable that Hesiod must argue the case that agricultural labor, in this specific capacity, can lead to honor—as though his audience might be rather dubious of this.[65] (In a similar vein, Dicaearchus must convince his readership that their ancestors, in the pastoral days of yore, actually respected shepherds and goatherds.)[66] Xenophon, who offers a "praise of country life" is likewise ultimately

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in Aratus' agricultural Golden Age, and indeed such themes are absent in Aratus' original. (Poochigian 2010: xxvi).

[61] Spariosu 1991: 52.

[62] E.g. Hesiod. *WD* 308-15. "Men by the doing of work are rich in flocks and successful,/ and if you work you will be much dearer to the immortals and to mortal men, for they very much hate the shiftless./ Working is not a reproach, but not working is a reproach./ If you will work, the nonworker soon will be envious of you, /seeing you prosper; fame and honor attend upon wealth./ But whatever your god-given lot it is better to work,/ better to turn your ruin-prone mind from others' possesions."

[63] Hes. *WD* 397-8: "Work, foolish Perses, work at the works which the gods have given to men as their portion." (Spariosu, transl.) ἐργάζευ, νήπιε Πέρση, / ἔργα, τά τ᾽ ἀνθρώποισι θεοὶ διετεκμήραντο.

[64] See discussion in Spariosu 1991: 52-4.

[65] Nussbaum 1960: 217.

[66] Fragment 54 in Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf. Varro *De Re Rustica* 2.1.6-9. "I have spoken (so far) about the origin (of agriculture); I shall now speak of its dignity. From ancient times every famous man was a shepherd, as both Greek and Latin shows and the older poets, who called some men 'rich in sheep,' 'others rich in goats'; and others 'rich in oxen'; they reported that the sheep themselves had golden fleeces because of their value, like the one at Argos, which Atreus complains Thyestes stole for himself; or there was the one at Colchis belonging to Aeetes, in quest of whose fleece the Argonauts, of royal kind, are said to have voyaged. In Libya in the garden of the Hesperides there were golden *mala*, i.e. goats and sheep […] But if among the ancients sheep and goats had not great dignity, in describing the sky the astrologers would not have called the signs by their names, which they not only did, but many even enumerate the twelve beginning with them, from the Ram (Aries) and Bull (Taurus) […] Both by sea and on land are not areas known (as named) from these, by sea what they called the Aegean Sea from goats, in Syria Mount Taurus ('Bull'), Mount Cantherius

dubious about the moral value of agriculture; sections of the *Oeconomicus* may outwardly propound the values of agriculture, but these benefits are later revealed through Socratic dialogue to be materialistic and sensual rather than moral, and therefore (conveniently) unsuitable for a philosopher.[67] Thus, neither Hesiod nor Xenophon can be described as sincerely nostalgic for an old rural way of life.

Even in the nostalgic rural world of Theocritus' *Idylls* actual labor is largely absent, as though the primary occupation of his shepherd characters should be poetry rather than tending flocks. By thus creating a fictive pastoral world that appears more akin to the Golden Age, Theocritus' characters rather exemplify the cultured leisure of his fellow non-working urban elite.[68] The shepherding work that they theoretically must do is only seen at the very periphery of his poetry—sheep are mentioned more often as prizes for poetic contests than as the focus of pastoral labor.[69] The rural nostalgia of bucolic poetry and Golden Age myths thus share a common vision of a distant non-urban world that is free of work and worry.[70]

('Gelding') in the Sabine region, and both the Thracian and Cimmerian Bosporus ('Cattle-crossing')? Are there not many places on land like the town in Greece called Horsey Argos?"
Origo, quam dixi; dignitas, quam dicam. De antiquis illustrissimus quisque pastor erat, ut ostendit et Graeca et Latina lingua et veteres poetae, qui alios vocant polyarnas, alios polymelos, alios polybutas; qui ipsas pecudes propter caritatem aureas habuisse pelles tradiderunt, ut Argis, Atreus quam sibi Thyesten subduxe queritur; ut in Colchide ad Aeetam, ad cuius arietis pellem profecti regio genere dicuntur Argonautae; ut in Libya ad Hesperidas, unde aurea mala […] Quod si apud antiquos non magnae dignitatis pecus esset, in caelo describendo astrologi non appellassent eorum vocabulis signa, quae non modo non dubitarunt ponere, sed etiam ab iis principibus duodecim signa multi numerant, ab ariete et tauro […] An non etiam item in mari terraque ab his regionibus notae, in mari, quod nominaverunt a capris Aegaeum pelagus, ad Syriam montem Taurum, in Sabinis Cantherium montem, Bosporum unum Thracium, alterum Cimmerium? Nonne in terris multa, ut oppidum in Graecia Hippion Argos?

[67] Kronenberg 2009: 42-53.

[68] Schmidt 2005: 119-20; Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 141.

[69] Allan 2014: 101.

[70] This in fact forms one of Vergil's significant departures from his Greek predecessors: his Arcadia is a world of change, stress, movement, and work. Allan 2014: 104. (See section below "Plurality of rural nostalgia: agriculture and the *Aurea Aetas* in the age of Augustus.")

In light of these widespread Golden Age tropes, the shepherd and goatherd characters who populate the rural terrain of bucolic poetry, become symbolically loaded figures. Although the final "Iron" agricultural age is decidedly bad, the role of pastoralism in this sequence of metallic ages is much more fluid (thus Varro must debate with his interlocutor whether animal husbandry came before, after, or at the same time as agriculture).[71] In Dicaearchus, pastoralism is the age preceding agriculture, and therefore, while it is not the most ideal era, it is at least superior to present agricultural society. Hesiod is a bit more vague, mentioning flocks in both his description of the Golden Age (ἀφνειοὶ μήλοισι) as well as in the agricultural age of man, as though a fragment of the good Golden Age still exists in the inferior age of agriculture.[72] Pastoralism thus appears as an intermediary form of society, somewhere between Golden Age abundance and the labor-intensive agriculture of the Iron Age.

Moreover, even outside these "decline of mankind" narratives, pastoral characters exist as a cultural paradox. Hellenistic bucolic poetry, for instance, is partly premised on the irony of the idea of lowly shepherds and goatherds producing sophisticated elite lyric poetry.[73] But even before Theocritus, pastoral characters often appear in Greek literature as a foil to urban elites. Here, pastoral figures are often placed within a rural hierarchy as a reflection of the stratification of urban society: shepherds (ποιμένες) and goatherds (αἰπόλοι) were part of a literary hierarchy of rustic figures, characterized as inferior materially, intellectually, and morally to the cowherd (βουκόλοι), all of which were beneath the farmer.[74] This hierarchy makes sense in terms of material wealth and social standing in the

[71] Varro. *Rust.* 1.2.12 *ff.*
[72] Hes. *WD* 234.
[73] Allan 2014: 100.
[74] For summary of this idea, see Berman 2005. A goatherd is perhaps at the bottom of the hierarchy, even compared to shepherds, as 'goatherd' occasionally appears as an insult (e.g. Theocritus *Idylls* 1.86 and 6.7) and goatherds are described as particularly smelly (5.52 and 7.16). This hierarchy was noted as early as the 4th

classical Greek world, but it is contrary to the moral ordering of shepherds vis-a-vis farmers in these popular Golden Age narratives. Nevertheless, within this contrast we can find another idea shared by both modes of rural nostalgia: the shepherd as liminal character, a halfway point between a distant, idealized labor-free past and the present agricultural reality, a figure related to, yet slightly outside, civilized agricultural society.

Looking at themes of rural nostalgia in Greek literature, spanning centuries from the Archaic through Hellensitic periods, de-contextualizes their specific cultural significance. But it is important to be familiar with the salient tropes of rural nostalgia commonly recycled throughout Greek literature in order to understand their later particular use in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Rural depopulation as a nostalgic trope

Returning to the theme of ὀλιγανθρωπία in prose literature of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, we can now better detect the wider social concerns expressed in using these common tropes of rural nostalgia to describe their changing world. The first thing to note about these portrayals of rural devastation (which are so often presented either as straightforward evidence of the negative impact of Roman conquest and/or dissatisfaction with Roman rule)[75] is that the crisis of depopulation is not placed at the doorstep of the Romans. Rather, each author, chronologically-speaking, places the origins of this problem prior to Roman dominance over Greece, and identifies its root as the Greek people's own greed and/or bloodthirst for war—thus recycling themes common to mankind's fall from the Golden Age. Polybius, for example, in discussing the eighty-

century AD, when Donatus mentions it in his *Vita Virgiliana*. See also Schmidt 1987: 37-55; Halperin 1983: 182-4; Rossi 1971; Van Sickle 1970; Van Groningen 1958; Gow 1952 (in a note on *Idyll* 1.86).

[75] Which has in turn affected interpretations of the survey data (e.g. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985: 145-7; Runnels and van Andel 1987: 318).

some years leading up to the destruction of Corinth, describes the self-defeating materialism of elite families:

> In our time all Greece was visited by a dearth of children and generally a decay of population, owing to which the cities were denuded of inhabitants, and a failure of productiveness resulted, though there were no long-continued wars or serious pestilences among us. […] For this evil grew upon us rapidly, and without attracting attention, by our men becoming perverted to a passion for show and money and the pleasures of an idle life, and accordingly either not marrying at all, or, if they did marry, refusing to rear the children that were born, or at most one or two out of a great number, for the sake of leaving them well off or bringing them up in extravagant luxury. For when there are only one or two sons, it is evident that, if war or pestilence carries off one, the houses must be left heirless: and, like swarms of bees, little by little the cities become sparsely inhabited and weak.[76]

Strabo, writing a century or so later, chimes in with a different tale of depopulation:

> The Arcadian tribes—the Azanes, the Parrhasians, and other such peoples—are reputed to be the most ancient tribes of the Greeks. But on account of the complete devastation of the country it would be inappropriate to speak at length about these tribes; for the cities, which in earlier times had become famous, were wiped out by the continuous wars, and the tillers of the soil have been disappearing even since the times when most of the cities were united into what was called

[76] Polybius 36.17.5-8: ἐπέσχεν ἐν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀπαιδία καὶ συλλήβδην ὀλιγανθρωπία, δι᾽ ἣν αἵ τε πόλεις ἐξηρημώθησαν καὶ ἀφορίαν εἶναι συνέβαινε, καίπερ οὔτε πολέμων συνεχῶν ἐσχηκότων ἡμᾶς οὔτε λοιμικῶν περιστάσεων. […] τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ φιλοχρημοσύνην, ἔτι δὲ ῥαθυμίαν ἐκτετραμμένων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων μήτε γαμεῖν μήτ᾽, ἐὰν γήμωσι, τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα τρέφειν, ἀλλὰ μόλις ἓν τῶν πλείστων ἢ δύο χάριν τοῦ πλουσίους τούτους καταλιπεῖν καὶ σπαταλῶντας θρέψαι, ταχέως ἔλαθε τὸ κακὸν αὐξηθέν. ὅτε γὰρ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἢ δυεῖν, τούτων τὸν μὲν πόλεμος, τὸν δὲ νόσος ἐνστᾶσα παρείλετο, δῆλον ὡς ἀνάγκη καταλείπεσθαι τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐρήμους, καὶ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μελιττῶν τὰ σμήνη, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπορουμένας ἀδυνατεῖν. (E. S. Shuckburgh, transl.)

> the "Great City." But now the Great City itself has suffered the fate described by the comic poet: "The Great City is a great desert."[77]

Strabo shifts blame for depopulation from personal greed to incessant warfare in the period slightly preceding that described by Polybius. Writing yet another century or so later, Dio Chrysostom likewise blames collective avarice (and perhaps also the role of warfare, hinted at in ἀναστάτου):

> Does not the Peneus flow through a Thessaly that is desolate?-Does not the Ladon flow through an Arcadia whose people have been driven from their homes? Is not the Cydnus itself purer higher up? What then? Will you say that on that account the people in that region are superior to yourselves? You might be speaking the truth if you said they were — though you will not say it — for those who are unacquainted with luxury and rascality are in my opinion better off. What of Italy itself? Take Sybaris, for example; is it not true that the more luxurious it became the more speedily it perished? And as for Croton, Thurii, Metapontum, and Tarentum, in spite of the high level of prosperity to which they each attained and the great power that once was theirs, what city is there that they do not now surpass in desolation?[78]

As noted, these themes of material greed and warfare are the common ways of describing man's fall from the Golden Age. This is not to suggest that the idea of increased warfare and socio-economic disparity is unrelated to the reality of Hellenistic Greece,[79] but it is significant that these particular

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[77] Strabo 8.8.1: δοκεῖ δὲ παλαιότατα ἔθνη τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι τὰ Ἀρκαδικά, Ἀζᾶνές τε καὶ Παρράσιοι καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι. διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς χώρας παντελῆ κάκωσιν οὐκ ἂν προσήκοι μακρολογεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν: αἵ τε γὰρ πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πολέμων ἠφανίσθησαν ἔνδοξοι γενόμεναι πρότερον, τήν τε χώραν οἱ γεωργήσαντες ἐκλελοίπασιν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἔτι τῶν χρόνων ἐξ ὧν εἰς τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν Μεγάλην πόλιν αἱ πλεῖσται συνῳκίσθησαν. νυνὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις τὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ πέπονθε καὶ" ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στὶν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις. (H. L. Jones, transl.)

[78] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.25: οὐχ ὁ Πηνειὸς δι᾽ ἐρήμου ῥεῖ Θετταλίας; οὐχ ὁ Λάδων διὰ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἀναστάτου γενομένης; οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύδνος ἄνω καθαρώτερος; τί οὖν; διὰ τοῦτο βελτίους φήσετε ἐκείνους ἑαυτῶν; ἴσως μὲν ἀληθεύετε, ἐὰν λέγητε: οὐ μὴν ἐρεῖτε. τοὺς γὰρ ἀπείρους τρυφῆς καὶ πανουργίας, τούτους ἐγώ φημι πράττειν ἄμεινον. τί δ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰταλίας; οὐ Σύβαρις μὲν ὅσῳ μάλιστα ἐτρύφησεν, τοσούτῳ θᾶττονἀπώλετο; Κρότων δὲ καὶ Θούριοι καὶ Μεταπόντιον καὶ Τάρας, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀκμάσασαι καὶ τηλικαύτην ποτὲ σχοῦσαι δύναμιν, ποίας πόλεως οὐκ εἰσὶ νῦν ἐρημότεραι; (Crosby, transl.)

[79] For arguments that there was drastic depopulation, see Pomeroy 1983; Vatin 1970; Rostovtzeff 1941: 623-5. However, Vatin and Rostovtzeff base their argument on epigraphic trends, which itself is problematic

causes are picked out, emphasized, and used as a premise for moralizing content. Ὀλιγανθρωπία has therefore itself been identified as a widespread literary trope, commonly deployed to express moral decay and social depravity.[80] By moralizing in this way, particular goals and actions are implicitly identified by these authors as possible ways of improving the lot of Greek people (e.g. not hoarding material wealth, avoiding inter-poleis strife, etc.). Notably, both the root of Greece's decline (the causes of ὀλιγανθρωπία) and these implicitly proposed social goals are factors entirely separate from the matter of Roman conquest. Ergo, here we can see rural nostalgia providing a conceptual framework that offered a conquered people both agency and a self-preserving way of understanding their recent history.

It is, of course, possible that Greece suffered from a loss of manpower during this period;[81] however, the value of these texts as descriptions of the actual Greek landscape, in any historically positivist sense, is problematic.[82] The repetition of ὀλιγανθρωπία as a way of describing weak, corrupt poleis, in opposition to prosperous, virtuous poleis (that enjoy πολυάνδρια) is common enough to make their claims about population levels somewhat dubious. As Alcock notes: "How often is genuine depopulation actually intended in these sources? Or how often is it merely a rhetorical device highlighting a moral point or accentuating perceived military and political decline?"[83] By the time of Polybius, at the end of the second century, when Roman domination over the Eastern Mediterranean was a new reality, there was plenty of reason why Greek authors might discuss their newfound, widespread loss of political autonomy by using the common trope of

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given shifting epigraphic habits during this time, see Hopkins 1988; Gallo 1979: 1586. And Pomeroy's argument centers around the role of infanticide, which is partly erroneous, see Liston and Rotroff 2013.

[80] Alcock 1993: 26-7; Gallo 1984; Gallo 1980.

[81] See n. 79 above.

[82] On Strabo's numerous comments especially, see Roy 2008.

[83] Alcock 1993: 27.

ὀλιγανθρωπία, but such comments are poor grounds for reconstructing a large-scale crisis of depopulation.[84]

Although the literary claim of ὀλιγανθρωπία as evidence for actual population decline is rather fraught, it is good evidence for considering how these authors framed this period of drastic political and social change. As has already been noted, the trope of ὀλιγανθρωπία has much in common with popular literary *topoi* related to the fall of man from the Golden Age. By identifying the causes of Greek political decline (which in turn ushered in Roman power) as precisely those which caused mankind's fall from the Golden Age, these authors re-frame this historical period as part of a cyclical phenomenon. The Greek people have been susceptible to greed and warfare since time immemorial, and indeed had already "fallen."

Even more interesting is the role of the shepherd, which frequently makes an appearance in these descriptions of the desolate, depopulated countryside. Luigi Gallo, who first identified and studied ὀλιγανθρωπία as a common literary *topos* in Greek literature, also observed that an imagined return to pastoral life (instead of settled agriculture) is often included in these descriptions of depopulation.[85] Again, it is *possible* that this pastoral *topos* could be tied to an actual, noted change in pasturing vis-à-vis agricultural practices,[86] but we should be wary of taking the appearance of the

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[84] Baladié 1980 discusses a few inscriptions as indirect evidence for depopulation and economic distress (308-310), but these rather seem to be cases representative of the intensified elite euergetism that had become important during this period for political reasons as much as practical financial reasons (see Chapter 3, as well as Lafond 2006). E.g., *IG* V 1.1146 descibes brothers donating money to a polis and *IG* V 2.265 descibes an elite woman funding the Mysteries of Kore.

[85] Gallo 1980: 1243, 1264-5.

[86] More open lands for movement of flocks, in addition to changes in taxation processes, perhaps fostered increased use of livestock especially in more marginal and mountainous areas (Rizakis 2016: 51, 59 and Alcock 1993: 88; *contra* Rousset 2008: 314-15). Of course, to the best that our ancient and ethnographic

shepherd, alongside themes of ὀλιγανθρωπία, as straightforward corroborating evidence of such.[87] However, we can read these tropes as evidence for changes in the *conceptual* landscape. Looking at one such passage of Plutarch, we may start dissecting how he conceptualizes the changing social world that he seeks to describe:

> Now moderation, adequacy, excess in nothing, and complete self-sufficiency are above all else the essential characteristics of everything done by the gods; and if anyone should take this fact as a starting-point, and assert that Greece has far more than its share in the general depopulation which the earlier discords and wars have wrought throughout practically the whole inhabited earth, and that to-day the whole of Greece would hardly muster three thousand men-at-arms, which is the number that the one city of the Megarians sent forth to Plataeaea (for the god's abandoning of many oracles is nothing other than his way of substantiating the desolation of Greece), in this way such a man would give some accurate evidence of his keenness in reasoning. For who would profit if there were an oracle in Tegyrae, as there used to be, or at Ptoüm, where during some part of the day one might possibly meet a human being pasturing his flocks? […] In the same way, in those days, prophecy employed more voices to speak to more people, but to-day, quite the reverse, we should needs be surprised at the god if he allowed his prophecies to run to waste, like water, or to echo like the rocks with the voices of shepherds and flocks in wasted places.[88]

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sources can demonstrate, pasturage was a standard part of the mixed strategy farms that likely typified both pre-Roman and Roman Greece (Forbes 1995).

[87] E.g. Kahrstedt 1954: 128; Larsen 1938: 473.

[88] Plut. *Mor.* 413F-414C: τοῦ δὲ μετρίου καὶ ἱκανοῦ καὶ μηδαμῇ περιττοῦ πανταχῇ δ᾽ αὐτάρκους, μάλιστα τοῖς θείοις πρέποντος ἔργοις, εἰ ταύτην ἀρχὴν λαβὼν φαίη τις ὅτι τῆς κοινῆς ὀλιγανδρίας, ἣν αἱ πρότεραι στάσεις καὶ οἱ πόλεμοι περὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπειργάσαντο, πλεῖστον μέρος ἡ Ἑλλὰς μετέσχηκε, καὶ μόλις ἂν νῦν ὅλη παράσχοι τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ὅσους ἡ Μεγαρέων μία πόλις ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιέας (οὐδὲν οὖν ἕτερον ἦν τὸ πολλὰ καταλιπεῖν χρηστήρια τὸν θεὸν ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλέγχειν τὴν ἐρημίαν), ἀκριβὲς ἂν οὕτω παράσχοι τι τῆς εὐρησιλογίας. τίνος γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθόν, ἐν Τεγύραις ὡς πρότερον εἶναι μαντεῖον, ἢ περὶ τὸ Πτῷον ὅπου μέρος ἡμέρας ἐντυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ νέμοντι; […]οὕτω τότε πλείοσιν ἐχρῆτο φωναῖς πρὸς πλείονας ἡ μαντική, νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔδει θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν, εἰ περιεώρα τὴν μαντικὴν ἀχρήστως δίκην ὕδατος ἀπορρέουσαν ἢ καθάπερ αἱ πέτραι ποιμένων ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ βοσκημάτων φωναῖς ἀντηχοῦσαν. (Babbit, transl.)

By deploying the figure of the shepherd within this scene of rural abandonment, Plutarch signals, not an outward change in land use strategies, but the more subtle, intangible changes that have occurred in Greek society: on one hand, the presence of the lowly shepherd could be taken as a mark of regression, a step backward from the social and economic status of the civilized, settled farmer, but on the other, in light of these common Golden Age narratives, with which Plutarch was surely familiar, this lonely shepherd might also be interpreted as a return to a simpler time—to that ambiguous intermediary stage between the Golden Age and man's complete fall into the age of agriculture. This nostalgic interpretation captures a (slightly) more positive outlook by subtly suggesting that, amidst so much political change, it is perhaps possible to access the lifeways or morals of earlier, better ages of mankind. In this light, the stubborn silence of the gods, another key trait of the post-Golden Age world, is also notable. By suggesting that whispers of the gods (were they to speak) would mix as echoes with the voices of shepherds, Plutarch hints at the possibility of restored communication with the gods through the role of the shepherd.[89] Although the immediate sense of Plutarch's scene is pessimistic and forlorn, by appreciating the familiar nostalgic tropes that he deploys, we can develop a more layered understanding of the conceptual landscape that he describes. It is, of course, the very nature of nostalgia to identify the good that has been lost (here, political strength in the Mediterranean), but by digging past nostalgia's surface-level expression of loss, we can detect these more productive aspects of nostalgic thinking: creating a sense of common cause amongst Greek peoples, comfort in the vaguely improved (or at least more ambiguous) moral status implied by imagining a widespread reversion to pastoral life, and reframing recent historical events as part of a timeless process, which downplays or familiarizes major political change.

[89] An idea perhaps reinforced by the divine inspiration common to the shepherd-poets of Hellenistic bucolic poetry (as well as in Hesiod, *Theogony* 22-34).

A scene even more evocative of improved moral status in this imagined reversion to pastoral life can be found in Dio Chrysostom's first Discourse:

> At last I arrived in the Peloponnesus, and keeping quite aloof from the cities, spent my time in the country, as being quite well worth study, mingling with herdsmen and hunters, an honest folk of simple habits. As I walked along the Alpheus on my way from Heraea to Pisa, I succeeded in finding the road for some distance, but all at once I got into some woodland and rough country, where a number of trails led to sundry herds and flocks, without meeting anybody or being able to inquire my way. So I lost my direction, and at high noon was quite astray. But noticing on a high knoll a clump of oaks that looked like a sacred grove, I made my way thither in the hope of discovering from it some roadway or house. There I found blocks of stone set roughly together, hanging pelts of animals that had been sacrificed, and a number of clubs and staves — all evidently being dedications of herdsmen. At a little distance I saw a woman sitting, strong and tall though rather advanced in years, dressed like a rustic and with some braids of grey hair falling about her shoulders. Of her I made full inquiry about the place, and she most graciously and kindly, speaking in the Dorian dialect, informed me that it was sacred to Heracles and, regarding herself, that she had a son, a shepherd, whose sheep she often tended herself. She also said that the Mother of the Gods had given her the gift of divination and that all the herdsmen and farmers round about consulted her on the raising and preservation of their crops and cattle. "And you too," she continued, "have come into this place by no mere human chance, for I shall not let you depart unblest." Thereupon she at once began to prophesy, saying that the period of my wandering and tribulation would not be long, nay, nor that of mankind at large.[90]

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[90] Dio Chryostom. *Discourses* 1.51-55: καὶ δή ποτε ἀφικόμενος εἰς Πελοπόννησον ταῖς μὲν πόλεσιν οὐ πάνυ προσῄειν, περὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν διέτριβον, ἅτε πολλὴν ἱστορίαν ἔχουσαν, νομεῦσι καὶ κυνηγέταις, γενναίοις τε καὶ ἁπλοῖς ἤθεσιν, ἐπιμιγνύμενος. καὶ δὴ βαδίζων ὡς ἀφ᾽ Ἡραίας εἰς Πῖσαν παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν μέχρι μέν τινος ἐπετύγχανον τῆς ὁδοῦ, μεταξὺ δὲ εἰς ὕλην τινὰ καὶ δυσχωρίαν ἐμπεσὼν καὶ πλείους ἀτραποὺς ἐπὶ βουκόλι᾽ ἄττα καὶ ποίμνας φερούσας, οὐδενὶ συναντῶν οὐδὲ δυνάμενος ἐρέσθαι, διαμαρτάνω τε καὶ ἐπλανώμην μεσημβρίᾳ σταθερᾷ. ἰδὼν οὖν ἐπὶ ὑψηλῷ τινι δρυῶν συστροφὴν οἷον ἄλσος, ᾠχόμην ὡς ἀποψόμενος ἐντεῦθεν ὁδόν τινα ἢ οἰκίαν. καταλαμβάνω οὖν λίθους τέ τινας εἰκῇ ξυγκειμένους καὶ δέρματα ἱερείων κρεμάμενα καὶ ῥόπαλα καὶ βακτηρίας, νομέων τινῶν ἀναθήματα, ὡς ἐφαίνετο, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω

Again, this passage has been used as evidence for the spread of pastoralism under the Romans, but as others have rightly protested, just because Dio focuses on the shepherds does not mean that there were not also farmers, tillers of the land, just a few miles over.[91] And more importantly, it is clear that Dio here is playing with many of the nostalgic *topoi* that we have been tracking. The more clear implications of Dio's description thus have less to do with any physical reality of the Peloponnesian landscape than with his perception of the changing social landscape. To begin, there is the implication of ὀλιγανθρωπία in his description of getting lost in an empty countryside, meeting nary a soul but many flocks while trying to find his way. The Greek shepherds that he does eventually encounter are explicitly described as "honest folk" (γενναίοις), and he highlights their pious behavior in describing their old staves dedicated to the gods. Moreover, here, the aged shepherdess is in direct communication with the gods, having received the gift of prophecy. (Dio even compares this Greek shepherdess to other prophets and suggests that, unlike others, she was the real deal).[92] Moreover, the claim that the period of mankind's wandering was soon coming to an end places the historical present in a much broader, more mythic perspective of time, while anticipating change with a positive outlook. The sense of loss in Dio's nostalgia is expressed only in the most implicit terms—i.e. in an underlying comparison of how these same *topoi* are deployed elsewhere, as in

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καθημένην γυναῖκα ἰσχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην, τῇ δὲ ἡλικίᾳ πρεσβυτέραν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἄγροικον στολὴν ἔχουσαν, πλοκάμους δέ τινας πολιοὺς καθεῖτο. ταύτην ἕκαστα ἀνηρώτων. ἣ δὲ πάνυ πρᾴως καὶ φιλοφρόνως δωρίζουσα τῇ φωνῇ τόν τε τόπον ἔφραζεν ὡς Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸς εἴη, καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς, ὅτι παῖδα ἔχοι ποιμένα καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὴ νέμοι τὰ πρόβατα· ἔχειν δὲ μαντικὴν ἐκ μητρὸς θεῶν δεδομένην, χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τούς τε νομέας πάντας τοὺς πλησίον καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς ὑπὲρ καρπῶν καὶ βοσκημάτων γενέσεως καὶ σωτηρίας. Καὶ σὺ δὲ ἐλήλυθας, ἔφη, οὐκ ἄνευ θείας τύχης εἰς τόνδε τὸν τόπον· οὐ γὰρ ἐάσω σε ἀπελθεῖν μάτην. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη προέλεγεν ὅτι οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἔσοιτό μοι τῆς ἄλης καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας, οὔτε σοί, εἶπεν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. (Cohoon, transl.)

[91] Roy, Lloyd, and Owens 1989: 146.

[92] Dio Chrysostom *Discourses* 1.56: "The manner of her prophesying was not that of most men and women who are said to be inspired; she did not gasp for breath, whirl her head about, or try to terrify with her glances, but spoke with entire self-control and moderation." ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐνθέων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀσθμαίνουσα καὶ περιδινοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ πειρωμένη δεινὸν ἐμβλέπειν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ σωφρόνως.

Plutarch (Dio's contemporary). But here, Dio's use of nostalgic rural *topoi* is overtly optimistic and uplifting (which we might expect of a text written for the specific audience of the Roman emperor), and the imagined reversion of the Greek people to a pastoral life is cast in overwhelmingly positive terms. If indeed pastoralism *had* increased some notable amount under the Romans, then Dio's description here would have been all the more poignant to his readers, but such an increase need not be true for his work to be meaningful.

Elsewhere, Dio uses similar themes in describing the early beginnings of the Macedonian kingdom:

> For the Macedonians, although they had but lately shed their rags and were known as shepherds, men who used to fight the Thracians for possession of the millet-fields, vanquished the Greeks, crossed over into Asia and gained an empire reaching to the Indians; yet when the good things of the Persians came into their possession, the bad things also followed in their train. Accordingly both sceptre and royal purple and Median cookery and the very race itself came to an end, so that to-day, if you should pass through Pella, you would see no sign of a city at all, apart from the presence of a mass of shattered pottery on the site.[93]

Here again, it is important to note that Dio links the Macedonians' status as shepherds to a time of modest prosperity before agriculture, empire, and luxury (in that order) led to their ruin and subsequent domination by the Romans. Significantly, Dio focuses here on the abandonment of the once great Pella (due to the foundation of a new Roman colony in 30 BC).

[93] Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 33.26-27: οἱ νεωστὶ μὲν τὰ ῥάκη περιῃρημένοι καὶ ποιμένες ἀκούοντες <καὶ> τοῖς Θρᾳξὶ περὶ τῶν μελινῶν μαχόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκράτησαν, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβησαν, ἄχρις Ἰνδῶν ἦρξαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ Περσῶν ἔλαβον, τούτοις ἐπηκολούθησε καὶ τὰ κακά. τοιγαροῦν ἅμα σκῆπτρα καὶ ἁλουργίδες καὶ Μηδικὴ τράπεζα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπεν· ὥστε νῦν εἴ τις διέρχοιτο Πέλλαν, οὐδὲ σημεῖον ὄψεται πόλεως οὐδέν, δίχα τοῦ πολὺν κέραμον εἶναι συντετριμμένον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ. (Thayer, transl.)

The role of the shepherd as a common *topos* of Greek rural nostalgia carries all the greater importance in this time period, given that the Romans identified themselves as a people descended from shepherds, and this semi-mythical Roman narrative was well known amongst the Greeks.[94] In this light, we can imagine the shepherd *topos* used in these passages also as a way of framing the relationship between Greece and Rome in a few different ways: (1) imagining that Greece has reverted to pastoralism places the Greeks on equal moral footing with their Roman conquerors; (2) imagining the Romans as an erstwhile pastoral people who have since turned to imperial pursuits implies that they will soon face their own downfall; or (3) imagining that the Romans were more recently (or are still) committed to a pastoral lifestyle, which gives them greater moral strength, helps explain Roman domination over the Greek East. Any or all of these interpretations, as well as countless others, are possible. And this is how pluralistic nostalgia functions in confronting a changing social world: the same touchstones can be drawn upon for different narratives, thereby creating a common forum for negotiating social concerns.

The role of the shepherd character, used as a marker of Greece's place vis-à-vis Rome, also appears as part of the Second Sophistic literary trend, wherein lower class characters become "representatives of the great cultural heritage of classical Athens."[95] This ostensible paradox, the lowly shepherd as cultured Greek (alongside rustic farmers, courtesans, and parasites) would have been amusing to the literati of this period.[96] But also, this speaks to the success, or at least the popularity, of this nostalgic framing of Greece in the Roman Empire, wherein the Greeks are portrayed as a pastoralist society. Moreover, by envisioning the lowly shepherd *qua* receptacle of

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[94] E.g. Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.88.3; Plut. *Caes.* 61.1. This is not, however, to suggest that this identity as a shepherd-descending people was exclusive to the Romans (e.g. Libyans, Paus. 4.23.10).
[95] Rosenmeyer 2001: 262.
[96] Anderson 1993: 183-5.

Greece's great former glory subtly opens up this august cultural heritage to whomever is in the audience, regardless of social status.

The role of the shepherd as a literary *topos*, alongside that of ὀλιγανθρωπία, problematizes the use of these literary sources as straightforward evidence for the physical, historical landscape of Roman Greece. But it does provide us with a window into the collective conceptual landscape of this period: a countryside empty of farmers and agricultural work, but littered with an increased number of herders and their flocks. By framing the events that led to the creation of the province of Achaea with familiar nostalgic *topoi,* this period of dramatic change was placed into (perceived) historical perspective. If, philosophically speaking, the agricultural age was largely considered bad, then taking a step back into a more nebulous pastoral age could be a way of shedding the materialistic evils of the recent agricultural past and placing Greek society on more equal moral footing with Rome.

IV. Roman rural nostalgia: land, production, and political ideology

Roman authors took up these Greek *topoi* of rural nostalgia, i.e. the pre-agricultural "Golden Age" (sometimes referred to as "the age of Saturn" in Roman texts) and bucolic pastoral life. But in the Roman world yet another strain of rural nostalgia developed, which placed the nostalgic locus closer to the present and overtly emphasized the moral value of land and agricultural labor. During the years of Civil War and the birth of a new imperial era, these various strains of rural nostalgia were placed in intense dialogue with one another. As sociological studies of modern America have shown,[97] in contexts of great political change and/or heightened cross-cultural interaction, the

[97] See review of sociological and historical research above.

intensity of collective nostalgic thinking tends to increase, resulting in a plurality of interrelated nostalgic narratives. This phenomenon seems clear in the literary evidence from late Republican and early Imperial Rome. Duncan Barker, for instance, comments on the messiness of the Golden Age myth in Augustan Rome:

> The very range of interrelated discourses incorporated in that of the golden age—discourses on peace and militarism, virtue and happiness, the earth and agriculture—was such that no Roman can have assented to that whole nexus of ideas simultaneously. Insofar as the myth continued to be re-presented, so the discourse of the golden race became more rather than less complex under Augustus[.][98]

As Barker suggests, at Rome, nostalgic *topoi* related to the Greek myth of the Golden Age were often blended with a more homegrown version of rural nostalgia, which focused on the moral value of land and agricultural labor. In this section we will first examine this Roman strain of labor-focused rural nostalgia, as well as its ideological implications about moral superiority and military strength in legitimizing Roman rule, before looking at how this plurality of rural nostalgic modes later operated in conjunction. This section will conclude with a few thoughts on how these nostalgic modes may have shaped Rome's approach to Achaea.

A new nostalgic locus: from deep myth to recent past

As Emma Dench has noted, the "Romans loved to tell themselves stories in which they viewed themselves, or aspects of themselves, as an "other people": the ethnographer's lens was turned onto themselves."[99] In this way, the Romans liked to think of themselves at once both as simple rustics (especially compared to the overly urbane Greeks) and as paragons of sophisticated, civilized society (compared to rustic, transhumant Italic populations). Early Latin literature shows that the Romans

[98] Barker 1996: 436.
[99] Dench 2005: 62. For the idea of autoethnography see Pratt 1992: 7.

maneuvered between different ways of imagining their relationships to newly conquered peoples and territories. At first, they often appropriated the role of civilized Greeks, relegating the rest of Italy as barbarians, or less dramatically, they might cast the Italians as country bumpkins in relation to the ruling political center of Rome (and thus imposing a classical Greek model of the city and its dependent territory upon central Italy).[100] But, in the second century BC, a new way of thinking about Roman identity emerged: the idea that idealized *Roman* behavior actually took place *away* from the city (and its corrupting forces) in the form of agricultural production, and that this austere rural existence was a significant source of Rome's moral superiority.[101] We can see, for example, in Livy's treatment of the Samnites, a delicate navigation of complicated cultural boundaries: as unsettled *montani atque agrestes*, the Samnites fell short of the Roman ideal of civilized behaviors; but also, elsewhere, commenting on their gold and silver armor, Livy notes that the Samnites are guilty of urbane material decadence.[102] Agriculture was therefore posed as the cornerstone of moral civilization; those who lacked it, or those who neglected it (say, in favor of commercial interests and more conspicuous forms of material wealth) were objects of moral disgust.[103]

In terms of this particular strain of Roman identity—the Roman people poised as the dedicated agriculturalists, the moral ideal between unsettled pastoralism and materialistic urbanism—there was little space for waxing nostalgic over a *pre*-agricultural mythical past. Agriculture was a key component in carving out a unique Roman identity vis-à-vis both the Greek East and the barbarian West. In this Roman context, late Republican rural nostalgia often imagined a superior agricultural

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[100] Dench 2005: 172.
[101] Dench 2005: 172-3. This emphasis on austerity, of course, is not uniquely Roman, and in fact was often explicitly modeled on an idealized classical Sparta (see 64-5.).
[102] Livy 9.13.7; 10.38.5; 10.39.16. See also discussion in Dench 1995: 67 *ff.*
[103] E.g. Tacitus *Ger.* 5.1; 14.4 on the Germanic tribes having observed the agricultural lifestyle but making the conscious decision to avoid it. Similarly, Strabo 4.6.5 on the Britons and Pliny *HN* 6.53 on the Skythians. See also discussion in Evans 2008: 87.

age in the more recent past, which emphasized the moral value of labor and productivity.[104] Varro, for instance, praises farmers for "leading a good and useful life,"[105] while Cato longs for the days when the term "good farmer" was highest praise,[106] and Vergil lauds an old country life where youths were accustomed to toil and scanty means.[107]

This mode of moralizing rural nostalgia is all the more important for its implications about Roman cultural superiority and military strength. Later periods of Roman society idealized the Middle Republic—the age of Rome's historical expansion throughout the Italian peninsula—as a time of heroic yet modest farmer-soldiers.[108] And indeed, this ideal stems back to the Middle Republic itself with Cato proclaiming that it is "from the farming class that the bravest men and the sturdiest soldiers come"[109] (and even then waxing nostalgic about an even superior, former agricultural age). The idea that soldiers were also (or should also be) farmers and citizens was another crucial component of Roman identity, in part because of the ideas that (1) Rome operates best when under attack, and (2) that farming is a peace time activity that keeps Roman men strong.[110] This ideal is very explicitly expressed in Valerius Maximus' description of Aulus Atilius Calatinus, recalled from his farm to be *dictator* after a Sicilian campaign during the First Punic War:

> But those hands, worn down by farm work, kept public safety steady, destroyed the huge forces of the enemy, and as they had just now directed the oxen in ploughing, so they held the reins of

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[104] Evans 2008: 83.
[105] Varro *RR* 3.1.5: piam et utilem agere vitam.
[106] Cato *De Agricultura,* praef. 2. Et virum bonum quom laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. Amplissime laudari existimabatur qui ita laudabatur.
[107] Verg. *Georgics* 2.472: et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus. For an ironic reading of Varro and Vergil's praises of agriculture, see Kronenberg 2009. Even read ironically, however, these authors still then present what must have been common nostalgic ideas in Roman society.
[108] Dench 2005: 61.
[109] Cato *De Agricultura* Pref. 4: at ex agricolis et viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi gignuntur…
[110] Dench 1995: 83-85. Livy 5.2.-7 on the stresses of combining agriculture and military duty.

> the triumphal chariot, and he was not ashamed to lay down the ivory staff and again take up the shaft of the country plough.[111]

In fact, Valerius happily details all the famous generals who owned modest farms and actively engaged in agriculture, as exempla of good Roman citizens.[112] Further, this relationship between agricultural and military strength was a two-way street, just as farm work produced good soldiers, so good soldiers were diligent farmers:[113]

> What, then, was the cause of a fertility so remarkable as this? The fact, we have every reason to believe, that in those days the lands were tilled by the hands of generals even, the soil exulting beneath a plough-share crowned with wreaths of laurel, and guided by a husbandman graced with triumphs: whether it is that they tended the seed with the same care that they had displayed in the conduct of wars, and manifested the same diligent attention in the management of their fields that they had done in the arrangement of the camp, or whether it is that under the hands of honest men everything prospers all the better, from being attended to with a scrupulous exactness.[114]

This "humble means" narrative of an unstoppable nation of farmer-soldiers padded Rome's claims to moral superiority, which in turn characterized Rome's self-presentation in the world of Mediterranean politics.[115]

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[111]Valerius Maximus 4.4.5: sed illae rustico opera adtritae manus salutem publicam stabilierunt… (Evans, transl.)

[112] Valerius Maximus 4.4.4-7. Likewise, Cicero *Rosc. Am.* 50 describes the age of Atilius Serranus, consul in 257 BC, as a time "when men were sent for from the plough to become consuls" (cum ab aratro arcessebantur qui consules fierent); and Florus 1.5.12 refers to Titus Quinctius as "that dictator from the plough" (ille dictator ab aratro). See also Horace *Odes* 3.6.33-44.

[113] Vergil also employs this idea: *Georgics* 1.150-60 describing plant diseases and weeds as military enemies that must be defeated with *labor*.

[114] Pliny *HN* 18.4: quaenam ergo tantae ubertatis causa erat ipsorum tunc manibus imperatorum colebantur agri, ut fas est credere, gaudente terra vomere laureato et triumphali aratore, sive illi eadem cura semina tractabant, qua bella, eademque diligentia arva disponebant, qua castra, sive honestis manibus omnia laetius proveniunt, quoniam et curiosius fiunt. (Bostock and Riley, transl.)

[115] Evans 2008:178; Dench 1995. For specific example of Dionysius of Halicarnassus employing this idea, see Peirano 2010.

The premise that warfare and agriculture are the joint foundation of the Roman moral economy was a pervasive, enduring idea, which can be found as far back as Cato[116] and continued to hold cultural currency well into the 5th century AD.[117] This ideological relationship between agriculture and military service was continually reaffirmed through the practice of *missio agraria*, the compensation for military service with land allotment, allowing veterans to fulfill the social ideal of the farmer-soldier. As is well known, when land (especially Italian land) came in shorter and shorter supply, fulfilling this moral imperative caused greater and greater problems, eventually becoming one of the main contributing causes to the Civil Wars. The fact that Roman politicians and military leaders would go to such lengths to settle their veterans shows how important this objective was not only to the soldiers themselves, but to Roman political ideology: soldiers who had no land, or no land to hope for, had nothing to lose and were rootless—unbound to Roman soil—and therefore could not be trusted.[118] Only in the aftermath of the Civil Wars was remuneration for military service sometimes offered as a monetary reward (*missio nummaria*) instead of the usual plot of land.[119] The perceived rupture between agriculture and warfare was often imagined as part of Rome's moral decline, although the precise point of rupture was located at different places in history. Livy, for instance, located the origins of this disjunction back in the fifth century,[120] while many others placed it shortly after the war with Hannibal.[121]

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116 Cato *De Agricultura* Pref. 4. See Evans 2008: 172-5.
117 Vegetius. *Epitoma rei militaris* 3.
118 Brunt 1988: 254.
119 Southern 2006: 166. And by at least the 2nd century AD, all veterans were rewarded via *missio nummaria,* see Carrie 1993: 109.
120 Livy 5.4.5-6: "Previously the soldier resented carrying out service for the state at his own expense; at the same time he was glad that he was able to spend part of the year cultivating his own land and gain the means of keeping himself and his family, whether he were at home or with the army. But now he is happy the state is providing an income and glad to receive his pay." (Evans, transl.) moleste antea ferebat miles se suo sumptu operam rei publicae praebere; gaudebat idem partem anni se agrum suum colere, quaerere unde domi militiaeque se ac suos tueri posset: gaudet nunc fructui sibi rem publicam esse et laetus stipendium accipit[.]
Livy goes on to suggest that soldiers in his own day were an unruly, greedy mob, especially as they were increasingly drawn from borderlands of the empire. Relatedly, it has been estimated that Italy supplied 65%

Thus, agricultural land as a cultural symbol had particularly strong nostalgic power in the work of early imperial authors: not only had the ideal of the farmer-soldier contributed to a large-scale political crisis (during which this ideal was partly abandoned in practice), but also these authors had witnessed (or even personally suffered) the widespread devastation of crops and large-scale land confiscations that occurred throughout this tumultuous time. As Connolly's study of Vergil points out:

> After over half a century in which civil war had wreaked devastation on real fields and farmers all around Italy, land is a heavily loaded component of the Roman image-repertoire. The Roman orator's landscape, designed with words chosen for consistency, vividness, and easy comprehension, invokes associations with present and past time, with ethnicity, class, and other markers of social identity, and so helps channel the audience's emotional reactions[.][122]

This Roman sense of agricultural rural nostalgia, based on owning and farming land and connected to ideas of military strength, therefore became a rather fraught idea in the early Imperial period. Just as in the province of Achaea, great political change required that the conceptual landscape be readjusted to make sense of the new imperial order, and part of that adjustment seems to have included a pivot toward Greek Golden Age nostalgia, sometimes generating a curious form of nominally non-agricultural rural nostalgia imbued with Roman agricultural values.

Plurality of rural nostalgia: agriculture and the Aurea Aetas *in the age of Augustus*

As mentioned above, Golden Age *topoi* had been included amongst the array of Roman nostalgic thought, but this particular strain of rural nostalgia gained greater importance at the time of

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of army recruits in first half of 1st century AD, but by the 2nd century, it was less than 1% (Webster 1998: 103, 108, 284).

[121] See Dench 1995: 83-85.

[122] Connolly 2001: 114.

Augustus. The critical distinction between Augustan iterations of the Golden Age myth and previous manifestations is the idea that this fantastical age could *return*.[123] To suggest that an era of great prosperity can be restored is a powerful nostalgic mode,[124] and imagery directly related to, or simply reminiscent of, an impending restoration of the Golden Age was dispersed throughout Rome.[125] The role of the Golden Age myth in Augustan Rome has been studied and discussed at length;[126] here, we will only quickly examine how Augustan iterations of this myth were put in dialogue with other strains of rural nostalgia by Augustan poets, in ways that will be relevant to gaining an understanding of Roman approaches to the conceptual landscapes of Roman Greece.

In keeping with Augustan ideological objectives, many literary references to the mythical Golden Age were largely "sanitized"[127] from ideas of lawlessness and liberality contained in traditional Greek tropes of the Golden Age myth. Only in this way could the new Augustan Age be appropriately conceptualized as a return to the Golden Age. As Evans has noted, "The freedom of the Golden Age is subsumed by Augustan revisionism, which situates the Roman ideal not in the time of Saturn, but instead in its particular image of the strictly controlled past."[128] Horace, for example, paints a picture of a restored Golden Age under Augustus, but one which is much more reserved and focused on public safety and prosperity: "Caesar, this age has restored rich crops to the fields […]

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123 Johnston 1980: 8, 22.
124 For "redemption sequences" in nostalgic thinking, see Sedikides *et al.* 2015: 201-7; 2008: 305; 2006: 203; 2004: 204-5.
125 Dench 2005: 69; Zanker 1988: 167 *ff.*
126 For concise summary see Barker 1996; for detailed study, see Gatz 1967. Earlier studies of Augustan Golden Age propaganda (e.g. Reckford 1958: 79) suggested that the Golden Age myth reached its fullest form in the Augustan period and thereafter remained a fixed political and philosophical symbol. Specifically arguing against this claim is Galinksy 1981: 193 and Barker 1996: 436.
127 Newman 1998: 237.
128 Evans 2008: 87. See also, pg. 132 *et pass.* on the ideological link between militarism and agriculture (i.e. that peace, as a mode of passivity, entails agricultural/cultural decline) in Roman thought, and how this link is worked around in literature praising Augustus' peace through these "sanitized" versions of the Golden Age trope.

freed at last from all war, and tightened the rein on lawlessness, straying beyond just limits, and has driven out crime, and summoned the ancient arts again, by which the name of Rome and Italian power grew great."[129] And in the *Aeneid,* Vergil's take on the pre-agricultural Age of Saturn is likewise concerned with law and stability: "from heavenly Olympus came Saturn, fleeing from the weapons of Jove and exiled from his lost realm. He gathered together the unruly race, scattered over mountain heights, and gave them laws[.]"[130] In this same vein of concern for public safety and stability, Golden Age tropes were sometimes blended with the moralizing values expressed in Roman agricultural nostalgia, i.e. the moral value of labor and the moral connection between agricultural productivity and political legitimacy. Thus, in the *Georgics,* Vergil at times creates a Golden Age that only sometimes includes agricultural labor, and throughout wavers between praising country life and construing agriculture in violent terms.[131] This mode of seamlessly shifting between two different, and theoretically incompatible, nostalgic narratives betrays the struggle in re-conceptualizing the new imperial landscape. By (sometimes) imagining a Golden Age that can include strict laws and hard-work, the values inherent in more standard modes of Roman agricultural

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[129] Horace *Odes* 4.15.
tua, Caesar, aetas
fruges et agris rettulit uberes
et signa nostro restituit Iovi
derepta Parthorum superbis
postibus et vacuum duellis
Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem
rectum evaganti frena licentiae
iniecit emovitque culpas
et veteres revocavit artis,
per quas Latinum nomen et Italae
crevere vires (Kline, transl.)
[130] Verg. *Aen.* 8.319-22.
Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo,
arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis.
Is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
composuit legesque[…] (Fairclough, transl.)
[131] Papaioannou 2003.

nostalgia are rehabilitated in a context that disconnects them from agriculture itself and the (now rather fraught) ideal of the land-owning farmer-soldier.[132]

The use of more "authentically" Greek modes of Golden Age rural nostalgia further indicate frustration or discomfort with the ideological implications of agricultural nostalgia. Tibullus, for instance, longs for a Golden Age when "the acorn fed our ancestors and they made love everywhere, all the time: what harm did it do to them that they did not sow furrows?"[133] Tibullus elsewhere argues that war and agriculture are incompatible,[134] rejecting an essential premise of Roman agricultural nostalgia, which links together military and agricultural success.[135]

In the Augustan poets, the pluralistic function of rural nostalgia can be appreciated. Competing nostalgic narratives are nevertheless flexible and fluid so that multiple strains can be employed at once, offering different approaches to conceptualizing the present political atmosphere. Vergil is especially explicit in his use of these tropes to discuss current events. Famously, the *Eclogues* begin with a reference to forced displacement from the countryside: "I from my sweet fields, and home's familiar bounds, even now depart. Exiled from home am I."[136] And in Eclogue 9, two shepherds, Moeris and Lycidas, discuss the recent land confiscations in Italy (from which, tradition has it, Vergil

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[132] As mentioned above, Kronenberg 2009 reads the praises of country life within the *Georgics* as ironic. An ironic reading is entirely possible, although I take an agnostic stance on Vergil's own intentions. In any case, the *Georgics* reflect a renegotiation of popular nostalgia. Regardless of Vergil's own stance on the Augustan regime, his work highlights the problematic implications of agricultural nostalgia and its claims to moral superiority.

[133] Tibullus 2.3.69-70: glans aluit veteres, et passim simper amarant:/ quid nocuit sulcos non habuisse satos? (Evans, transl.)

[134] Tibullus 1.20.

[135] This is perhaps unsurprising coming from a poet who apparently suffered from Augustan land confiscations (Newman 2013).

[136] Verg. *Ecl.* 1.4-5.

himself briefly suffered):[137] "O Lycidas, we have lived to see, what never yet we feared, an interloper owns our little farm, and says, 'Be off, you former husbandmen! These fields are mine.' Now, cowed and out of heart, since Fortune turns the whole world upside down[.]"[138] Vergil here openly condemns the Augustan land confiscations, and draws upon nostalgic tropes to do so: the bucolic shepherds who, according to genre, ought to be lounging in the shade and singing songs, must stay on the move and can no longer remember the songs they once sang.[139] This nostalgia for a lost land of singing shepherds is then provocatively juxtaposed with the jubilant anticipation of the return of the Age of Saturn in Eclogue 4.[140] In a similar way, the happily nostalgic praise of country life in Book 2 of the *Georgics* is juxtaposed with the violent description of agricultural toil in Book 1. The power of these themes rests in their flexibility: Vergil can be read, and has been read, as both supportive of the Augustan regime and the Roman imperial project and as a critique of Augustus' (or Rome's) methods of imperial rule. For example, Vergil's description of the farmer's war on weeds and plant diseases[141] could be read as denunciatory commentary on current politics (insofar as the farmer of the post-Golden Age must labor violently against nature to feed himself) or as a way of rehabilitating a nostalgic trope that has become morally problematic in the context of traumatic civil war: instead of imagining farmers who are also soldiers, here Vergil imagines farmers *as* soldiers, eliding the two roles so that the more hawkish implications of this traditional trope are removed.[142] In this way, the plurality (and ambiguity) of Vergil's rural nostalgia offers multiple ways in which the

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[137] Conte 1994: 262.
[138] Vergil *Eclogues* 9.2-10.
O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri
(quod numquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
diceret: "Haec mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni!"
nunc victi, tristes, quoniam Fors omnia versat,
hos illi—quod nec vertat bene—mittimus haedos.
[139] 9.54: nunc oblita mihi tot carmina…
[140] Verg. *Ecl.* 4.6: redeunt Saturnia regna…
[141] Verg. *Georgics* 1.150-60.
[142] Evans 2008: 175.

transformation from Republic to Empire—a process riddled with disputes over land—could be reframed in socially self-preserving and historically meaningful terms. Vergil's work accomplishes this by creating shared experiences of loss and change, while also shaping collective social ideals: his work rejects the ideological claims expressed in agricultural nostalgia that had been most socially damaging. While clearly critical of Rome's recent history, Vergil thereby leaves the door open for a more optimistic perspective on the future of Rome.

Roman rural nostalgia and the blending of Greek and Italian countrysides

These different strains of rural nostalgia in Roman thought are important for a discussion of the conceptual Greek landscape, since not only are many of these *topoi* drawn from Greek predecessors, but they are also sometimes deployed in ways that blend the conceptual landscapes of Italy and Greece. In the *Eclogues,* Vergil seamlessly moves between, and sometimes conflates, the Italian countryside with that of Arcadia,[143] while also fluctuating between a historical present and a mythical past.[144] Thus "Theocritean figures with Greek names are made to walk in 40s B.C.E. Italy,"[145] and Roman shepherds are made to roam the Greek countryside in a mythical timeless past.[146] This conflation of Italy with Arcadia would have even greater resonance for audiences familiar with the numerous mythical traditions that attributed the foundation of Rome to Arcadians.[147] Further, as Nicholas Purcell has noted, the late Republican and early Imperial period was a time when the divide between Italy and the provinces was but slowly evolving; and in the case of Greece, an area so close to Italy and so familiar to the Romans, there was (as yet) no great conceptual divide between Italian

[143] Segal 1981: 24.
[144] Segal 1981.
[145] Connolly 2001: 98.
[146] Connolly 2001: 111. "From the perspective of the reader, as well as the characters in the *Eclogues,* the land never settles; it is *incertus*; it moves, and changes ownership and nature; it is at once rural and urban, Italy and not-Italy."
[147] Bayet 1920.

land as "domestic" territory and Greek land as "foreign" territory.[148] The shifting nature of Vergil's landscapes encourages such blurring between Italy and Greece by drawing "readerly attention to extratextual—which is to say political and social—efforts to make the landscape whole. […] a glimpse into the processes of creative fiction-making at work not only on Vergil's page, but on the fields of Italy."[149] This shifting fictive territory thereby reinforces the conceptualization of a seamless landscape across the empire—or at the very least, between Rome and Greece.

Moreover, this blending also opens the moral claims contained in Roman modes of rural nostalgia to a Greek audience. For instance, this moralizing nostalgic mode can be detected in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' assessment of the Romans as fellow Greeks who have surpassed other Greeks in terms of morality, piety, and productivity.[150] Below we will explore further how literary sources that are not directly expressive of rural nostalgia reflect in other ways the formation of a new conceptual landscape of Greece and the wider Empire. We will see that even here, however, Rome's moral posturing, partly premised on their particular brand of agricultural nostalgia, still shapes these approaches to conceptualizing imperial landscapes.

[148] Purcell 1987a: 75. Purcell argues that mainland Greece therefore became a geographic extension of the land at the center of Roman demographic politics during this period, and partly explains the choice of Nicopolis, as well as Dyme, Corinth, and Patrae, as sites for Roman colonies. On the ad hoc, slow-forming evolution of the provincial system, see Lintott 1981.
[149] Connolly 2001: 113.
[150] Peirano 2010; Dench 1995.

V. Provinces as suburbs: rural nostalgia as a moral claim to empire

The articulation of power through representations of geography was an important tool for imperial propaganda,[151] and the monumental display of the empire's geographic gains was pursued by the new imperial state at once.[152] For example, Agrippa's map, a large depiction of the known world set up in the Porticus Vipsania, was intended "to show the entire world to the world"[153] This was a strong claim of Rome's universal power, especially given that other previous monumental maps (none so ambitious as Agrippa's) were associated with the victories of a specific *triumphator* and the Roman state.[154] Other imperial monuments linking geography to imperial power include the Catabulum (Augustan),[155] the Arch of Claudius,[156] Trajan's Column,[157] the Hadrianeum,[158] the

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151 Dench 2005: 45-6; Nicolet 1991. On Roman conceptualization of geography, see Janni 1984; Broderson 2001; 2003; 2012; Whittaker 2002 for hodological or linear approaches to geography; and Jodry 1951; Dilke 1985; Nicolet 1991 for an approach from scientific cartography.

152 Nicolet 1991: 108-31; Ostrowski 1990.

153 Pliny *HN* 3.17: cum orbem terrarum orbi spectandum propositurus esset […] Other manuscripts contain *urbi* instead of *orbi,* in which case Pliny's meaning would be "show the entire world to the city." In either case, the implicit claim of Rome's domination of the known world remains essentially the same. For further commentary, see Boatwright 2015: 236. For debates on the chronology, process, and materials of the map's construction, see Tierney 1962.

154 In 181 BC, Lucius Aemilius Paullus had a depiction of his triumph over Liguria publicly displayed ([Aur. Vict.] *De Vir. Ill.* 56). In 174 BC, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus dedicated an image (*forma*) of Sardinia to Jupiter in the temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium (Livy 41.28.10). See Boatwright 2015: 239.

155 Known only from late hagiographic sources, the Catabulum was the stable of Rome's *cursus publicus* built under Augustus as part of the empire's communication infrastructure. Its decorative scheme has not been well established, but as the point of departure and return for state officials traveling the empire on state business, on its own the Catabulum "symbolized Rome's reach through its road system" (Boatwright 2015: 245), and moreover was suggestively located nearby Agrippa's map (c. 160 m. away).

156 Claudius' Arch was a renovation of the Aqua Virgo (Agrippa's aqueduct). The section spanning over the Via Flaminia was remodeled to commemorate Claudius' conquest of Britain in 43 AD. Some scholars have identified marble reliefs of ethnic personifications (possibly of Moesia, Thracia, Hispania Citerior, and Gallia Comata) reused in the Arcus Novus as original to the Arch of Claudius (Koeppel 1983: 78-9, 119-24; La Rocca 1994: 267-72; *contra* Kleiner 1985: 59-62), and a battle between Romans and barbarians may have also decorated Claudius' Arch (Barrett 1991). The fragmentary dedication (*CIL* VI 920a) has been restored as: "The Senate and the People of Rome [dedicate this] to Claudius [with titulature from 51-52], because he received the capitulation of [multiple] kings of Britons, conquered without any loss [of Roman life], and was the first to reduce barbaric tribes [across the ocean] to the authority of the Roman people." (Boatwright, transl.)

Ti. Clau[dio Drusi f. Cai]sari / Augu[sto Germani]co / pontific[i maximo, trib. potes]tat. XI, / cos. v, im[p. XXII, cens(ori), patri pa]triai // senatus po[pulusque] Ro[manus, q]uod / reges Brit[annorum XI devictos

column of Marcus Aurelius,[159] and the Arcus Novus (early 4th century).[160] These symbols of unsurpassed hegemony became all the more powerful as the provincial system became the dominant way of conceptualizing the huge expanses of land that comprised the Roman Empire. As Talbert argues, thinking of the provinces as the spatial entities that together make up the empire, in tandem with a linear understanding of geography,[161] structured how Romans generally approached large-scale geographic thinking—and for many living in the empire this revolutionized their understanding of large-scale geography.[162]

In a more fictive turn, the conceptualization of provinces as spatial entities took on the literary valences of rural nostalgia, imagining the provinces as part of Rome's hinterlands. This geographical restructuring is therefore important not only in terms of how it changed conceptualizations of large-scale geography, but also for how those conceptualizations could be coopted to promote imperial interests—since, as we have seen, rural nostalgia was a powerful mode of staking moral or political claims. For example, the *Res Gestae,* which makes a great point of mapping the Romans' geographical

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sine] / ulla iactur[a in deditionem acceperit] / gentesque b[arbaras trans Oceanum] / primus in dici[onem populi Romani redegerit]. See Barrett 1991: 12-15 (after Mommsen's restoration).

[157] A triumphal column celebrating Trajan's victory in the Dacian Wars and depicting scenes of battle between the Romans and the Dacians. See de Angelis 2014.

[158] This temple to the deified Hadrian was constructed by Antoninus Pius between 139 and 145 and includes twenty-two marble reliefs of women personifying the provinces (the so-called "province reliefs") as well as reliefs of military trophies. A catalogue of these reliefs can be found in Sapelli 1999: 28-82. For different interpretations of the geographic units that these figures are meant to represent, see Toynbee 1934: 156-9; Hughes 2009: 13-16; Boatwright 2015: 248-9.

[159] The column is thought to commemorate the Marcomannic Wars (166-180) and depicts Romans fighting non-Roman peoples. See Pirson 1996; Ferris 2009; Beckmann 2011.

[160] A marble arch that once spanned the Via Flaminia, c. 250 m. southwest of Agrippa's Map. Destroyed in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, remains found at its site include panels depicting ethnic personifications (thought to be recycled from Claudius' Arch) and two bases depicting Roman soldiers beside barbarian captives. See Boatwright 2015 253-4.

[161] As is evident in, for example, the *Tabula Peutingeriana.* See Brodersen 2001 and Salway 2001.

[162] Talbert 2015; Talbert 2004. See, for example, how the provinces dominate Velleius Paterculus' geographic scheme.

gains,[163] also makes a point of including Augustus' fairness in allocating and paying for farmlands, as well as repeatedly mentioning his generosity and competence in managing the grain supply. In doing so, Augustus stakes part of his claim to rule these lands on his ability to render their rural terrain fruitful. This claim was not lost on his audience and the generations to come.[164] Pliny the Elder, for example, a generation later, makes a similar claim about agricultural productivity and political morality: the fields of Italy were more fruitful when farmed by citizens, but now the earth begrudges the slaves that farm the fields.[165] In Cicero, we might detect an implicit claim about Rome's right to rule when he attributes Corinth's decline to "a passion for trading and for sailing" on account of which, the Corinthians "had abandoned the care both of lands and of arms."[166] According to the moral logic of agricultural nostalgia, Corinth had relinquished her prerogative to autonomy when she neglected her *chora* for the sake of commercial interests. This is the implicit message in many Roman expressions of rural nostalgia: moral authority rests with those who promote agricultural production.

In Greece, this imperial re-mapping of the Mediterranean took place alongside local re-mapping, as new Roman colonies and select Greek cities grew into large metropoleis with huge *chorai* and developed suburban communities. These changes in turn posed questions for the conceptual landscape of Greece: what did the countryside, a polis' *chora,* mean in the context of empire, and to

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[163] Boatwright 2015: 243.

[164] For discussion of Rome's cultivated sense of moral superiority on the basis of agriculture and how it shaped Rome's international communications during the Republic, see Dench 2005.

[165] Pliny *HN* 18.4: "But at the present day these same lands are tilled by slaves whose legs are in chains, by the hands of malefactors and men with a branded face! And yet the Earth is not deaf to our adjurations, when we address her by the name of 'parent,' and say that she receives our homage in being tilled by hands such as these; as though, forsooth, we ought not to believe that she is reluctant and indignant at being tended in such a manner as this! Indeed, ought we to feel any surprise were the recompense she gives us when worked by chastised slaves, not the same that she used to bestow upon the labours of warriors?" (Bostock and Riley, transl.) at nunc eadem illa vincti pedes, damnatae manus inscriptique vultus exercent, non tam surda tellure, quae parens appellatur colique dicitur et ipso honore his absumpto, ut non invita ea et indignante credatur id fieri. et nos miramur ergastulorum non eadem emolumenta esse, quae fuerint imperatorum!

[166] Cic. *Rep.* 2.4.7-8.

whom did it ultimately belong? Here, the Roman idea of the suburb as a place of elite leisure and agricultural productivity, a new and notable phenomenon in Greece, served not only as a conceptual nexus between city and countryside (as it had in the Roman world), but as a nexus between the local landscape and the imperial landscape—thereby framing Greece's role as a Roman province.

As we have witnessed in previous chapters examining the evidence from survey data, the Roman period was not only a time of booming metropoleis but also of booming suburban expansion. The concentration of social display items found at suburban nodes of connectivity in southern mainland Greece shows that provincial society had, intentionally or not, structured itself in a way remarkably similar to that of the imperial capital. The phenomenon of suburbanization—i.e. the growth of elite housing, baths, gardens, and other spaces designed for leisure alongside investments in agricultural productivity—can be witnessed across the empire.[167] In the Greek East, this change can also be charted linguistically. Before the Roman period, the word προάστειον could refer either to places generally outside city walls (or urban centers), or more specifically to sanctuaries (often to chthonic deities) with an associated settlement within the *chora* of another polis, regardless of how far such places were located from the polis center.[168] Increasingly during the Roman period, however, προάστειον came to be used with greater specificity in reference to a Roman-style *suburbium* of villas, gardens, and baths, which have been attested in the artifactual carpet of mainland Greece.[169] Libanius, for example, refers to the suburban community of Daphne (near Antioch) as προάστειον[170] and enumerates the many luxuries and forms of agriculture which it has to offer: "the diversity of gardens, the charm of residences, the abundance of springs, the hidden houses by the

[167] Goodman 2007: 232. Goodman herself charts this phenomenon in Gaul. See also Morley 1996 for the phenomenon of suburbanization within the Italian peninsula.
[168] Étienne 2013: 17; Purcell 1987b: 26-32.
[169] Étienne 2013: 24.
[170] Libanius 11.236.

trees, the pavilions higher than the trees, the wealth of the baths […] The rich vineyards, splendid villas, the fields of roses, all kinds of plants and streams."[171] The changing usage of this particular word parallels the changing landscape of material investment evidenced in survey data, but more importantly, it reflects changes in the conceptual landscape.

Penelope Goodman would suggest that the development of these suburban spaces was not unintentional.[172] In her study of suburban structures and communities in Gaul, she argues that their construction constitutes meaningful participation in a Roman ideology of city and countryside:

> A well-educated member of the metropolitan elite at Rome, then, or a provincial who was conscious of metropolitan Roman culture and wished to align himself with it, should have been familiar with an ideology of city and country which included several basic elements. First, he should have been aware of a sharp antithesis between city and country, particularly on moral grounds.[173]

Goodman points to the very value system expressed by Roman rural nostalgia as part of the social impetus for the development of suburban communities abroad—that adopting the Roman model of urbanism, of which suburban satellite communities were a part, was fueled by a desire to participate in moral politics that were at times negotiated through the manipulation of nostalgic tropes. Regardless of the intentionality in the development of suburban communities,[174] their ideological significance was often understood: as the oft-cited passage of Aulus Gellius suggests, part of the

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[171] Libanius 11.234-6. Εὐθὺς μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντι τὰς πύλας ἐν εὐωνύμοις κήπῶν τε ποικιλία καὶ καταγωγῶν χάριτες καὶ κρηνῶν ἀφθονία καὶ δένδρεσιν οἰκίαι κρυπτόμεναι καὶ δένδρα ὑπεραίροντες θάλαμοι καὶ λουτρῶν πολυτέλεια […] πλευρὰν ἀμπελουργιῶν τε πλῆθος ὁρᾶται καὶ οἰκιῶν κάλλη καὶ ῥοδωνιαὶ καὶ φυτὰ παντοῖα καὶ νάματα.

[172] Goodman 2007: 237.

[173] Goodman 2007: 11.

[174] I am less certain than Goodman about the intentionality in the initial development of suburban structures and communities. Perhaps this would be more likely true of Roman colonies—which, in Greece, constitute the majority of Achaea's major metropoleis that boasted suburban communities anyway.

appeal of Roman colonies is the very idea that such cities are "copies" of Rome itself.[175] And the replication of these *suburbium*-like communities, helped spread the Roman values and social structures associated with them. It is clear that the Greeks were aware of the social and moral associations of the nominally rustic suburban lifestyle. These suburban villas, monuments, baths, and gardens constitute "vivid pictures of the town's citizenry, of its leading families and numbers, prosperity, status, and social dynamism, as well as of the more or less successful middle class,"[176] and were therefore expressions, in very Roman terms, of the city's *maiestas*—a forceful claim of the residents' place within the Roman Empire.

The suburb was thus a shared reality that both Greek and Roman elites alike could "think with" as they navigated imperial politics and created meaning from the new geography of the Roman Empire. Indeed, the idea of the "suburb" was used to conceptualize the relationship between the provinces and the imperial capital. This idea is first expressed in the late Republic, as Cicero likens Sicily to suburban estates: "And since our tributary nations and our provinces are, as it were, farms belonging to the Roman people; just as one is most pleased with those farms which are nearest to one, so too the suburban character of this province is very acceptable to the Roman people."[177] And this idea

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[175] Aulus Gellius *NA* 16.13: "This condition, although it is more exposed to control and less free, is nevertheless thought preferable and superior because of the greatness and majesty of the Roman people, of which those colonies seem to be miniatures, as it were, and in a way copies." (Rolfe, transl.) Quae tamen condicio, cum sit magis obnoxia et minus libera, potior tamen et praestabilior existimatur propter amplitudinem maiestatemque populi Romani, cuius istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque esse quaedam videntur.

[176] Zanker 1998.

[177] Cic. *In Verrem.* 2.2.3.7: et quoniam quasi quaedam praedia populi Romani sunt vectigalia nostra atque provinciae, quem ad modum vos propinquis vestris praediis maxime delectamini, sic populo Romano iucunda suburbanitas est huiusce provinciae. (Yonge, transl.) See also, 2.3.26.66 and 2.5.60.157 where Sicily is specifically called Rome's "suburban" province.

becomes more prevalent in the first and second centuries AD: Pliny the Younger refers to Bithynia as a faraway rather than "suburban" province[178] and Tacitus calls Gaul a "suburb."[179]

Envisioning provinces as either suburbs or distant hinterlands of the imperial capital suggests that they are morally valuable as places of productive agricultural labor and/or socially valuable as places of elite retreat, while also asserting their dependency on the "urban center" of the empire. Aelius Aristides thus takes pride that "all the Greek cities rise up under [Roman] leadership, and the monuments which are dedicated in them and all their embellishments and comforts redound to your honor like beautiful suburbs."[180] Pliny the Younger takes pains to demonstrate that, although Egypt supplies Rome with much food (and that the Egyptians takes great pride in that fact), it is not Rome who needs Egypt but vice versa. In other words, although Egypt may be very successful in agricultural production, it is but one part of an imperial hinterland ultimately dependent on Rome. Praising Trajan's imperial food policies and his generosity in sending much needed grain shipments to Egypt during a famine, Pliny thus stresses:

> For long it was generally believed that Rome could only be fed and maintained with Egyptian aid, so that this vain and presumptuous nation used to boast that they must still feed their conquerors, that their river and their ships ensured our plenty or our want. Now we have returned the Nile its riches, sent back the corn we received; it has had to take home the harvests it used to dispatch across the sea. Let this be a lesson to Egypt; let her learn by experience that her business is not to allow us food but to pay proper tribute; let her realize that she is not

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178 Pliny *Letters* 8.24.9: longinqua provincia quam suburbana…

179 Tacitus *Annales* 3.47. Tiberius rejects Dolabella's request for an ovation after his success in Gaul by saying "he was not so bankrupt in fame as to court…a futile honor conferred for an excursion into the suburbs." (Jackson, transl.) …quibus se non tam vacuum gloria praedicabat ut […] peregrinationis suburbanae inane praemium peteret.

180 Aelius Aristides. *Roman Oration,* 94: νῦν ἅπασαι μὲν αἱ Ἑλληνικαὶ πόλεις ἐφ' ὑμῶν ἀνέχουσι καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀναθήματα καὶ τέχναι καὶ κόσμοι πάντες ὑμῖν ἔχουσι φιλοτιμίαν, ὥσπερ ἐν προαστίῳ κόσμος. (Oliver, transl.)

> indispensable to the people of Rome and let her yet be her servant. […] It might seem a miracle, Caesar, that the city's corn-supply had been unaffected by Egypt's shortcomings and the defection of the Nile, but thanks to your vigilance and bounty it has been dispensed so freely that two points are proved: we have no need of Egypt, but Egypt must always need us.[181]

Imagining the empire as Rome's *chora* allows provincial elites to cultivate a sense of place and purpose within the empire, while still reinforcing their subordination to the imperial capital.

In fact, this idea of "provinces as suburbs" is part of a larger shift in Greek thought (taking place from about the second century BC to second century AD) from conceptualizing Rome as an empire (with no more affective cohesion than a Hellenistic kingdom) to thinking of Rome as a single polis embracing innumerable fields, estates, villages, etc.[182] Thus, just as Aelius Aristides, in his *Roman Oration* (cited above), equates Greece with Rome's suburbs, so he imagines Rome as the polis of the empire: "What another city is to its own boundaries and territory, this city is to the boundaries and territory of the entire civilized world."[183] This shift in Greek thought parallels a burgeoning Roman interest, beginning in the late Republic, in unifying their empire on an emotive level.[184] Later, in 192 AD, Commodus, would describe Rome as "the immortal, fortunate colony of the whole earth"

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[181] Pliny *Panegyricus,* 31: Percrebruerat antiquitus urbem nostram nisi opibus Aegypti ali sustentarique non posse. Superbiebat ventosa et insolens natio, quod victorem quidem populum pasceret tamen quodque in suo flumine in suis navibus vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset. Refundimus Nilo suas copias: recepit frumenta quae miserat, deportatasque messes revexit. Discat igitur Aegyptus credatque experimento, non alimenta se nobis sed tributa praestare; sciat se non esse populo Romano necessariam, et tamen serviat [...] Mirum, Caesar, videretur, si desidem Aegyptum cessantemque Nilum non sensisset urbis annona; quae tuis opibus, tua cura usque illuc redundavit, ut simul probaretur et nos Aegypto posse et nobis Aegyptum carere non posse. (Radice, transl.)

[182] Ando 1999.

[183] Aelius Aristides. *Roman Oration,* 61: ὅπερ δὲ πόλις τοῖς αὑτῆς ὁρίοις καὶ χώραις ἐστίν, τοῦθ' ἥδε ἡ πόλις τῇ πάσῃ οἰκουμένῃ, ὥσπερ αὐτῆς [χώρας] ἄστυ κοινὸν ἀποδεδειγμένη. (Oliver, transl.)

[184] Ando 1999: 19. Or at least, it is in the Late Republic that Rome becomes interested in uniting Italy on an emotive level. Livy 1.45.3, for instance, describes Servius Tullius' interest in unifying Latium under Rome as making Rome "caput rerum."

(ἀθάνατον εὐτυχῆ κολωνίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης).[185] By the 5th century, Rutilius Namatianus would boast that Rome had created "from distinct and separate nations a single fatherland."[186] But forming this level of integration required a reevaluation of local political values. Thus, as Clifford Ando argues, "Describing Rome as a *polis* eventually required many Greeks—used to assuming a congruence between *polis*, *patris*, and *politeia*—to regard Rome as the polis of the empire. For such people […] Rome became their city, and her laws the laws of their homeland."[187] Utilizing Roman themes of agricultural nostalgia, i.e. the moral value of labor and the moral superiority of country living, aided this process, as Greeks were able to envision themselves as part of the productive suburban hinterlands of Rome. By implying that the Roman state was a polis, these authors at once make a forceful claim about the nature of Roman rule, while also inviting the empire's residents, as members of this polis, to take "symbolic possession" of the known world as their own.[188]

VI. Pausanias: exploring the countrysides of Roman Greece

In Pausanias, we can gain a clearer picture of how these different conceptual landscapes operated in conjunction to create meaning: Pausanias seamlessly shifts between a Roman political landscape of major metropoleis and suburban communities and a nostalgically Greek landscape of small poleis and numerous sanctuaries and sites of mythological significance. Thus, the memory of a pre-Roman countryside remained a rich component of Greek social consciousness—a part of creating regional

185 Hekster 2002: 95.
186 Rut. Namat. 1.63. (Ando, transl.)
187 Ando 1999: 9. See also Ando's reading of Diodorus: "nor could he use the vocabulary of empires. To speak of empires was to invoke a dichotomy of ruler and ruled. Rome had done far more than conquer men. Rather, Rome had united all men no less than the universal historians who connected them through their *syntaxeis*. Rome therefore crowned the succession of world empires precisely because it was not an empire: it was a polis." (25)
188 Hekster 2002: 95.

identities within the greater imperial landscape. The value in preserving this memory can be detected in Pausanias' detailed descriptions of the small-scale cultural differences between the different Greek regions and poleis. In creating a landscape that is both Roman and Greek, Pausanias creates a meaningful place for Achaea within the wider landscape of the Roman Empire. Using Dominic Head's approach to rural nostalgia as a way of promoting regional identities and nationalism simultaneously,[189] as well as sociological studies of displaced nostalgia in modern America,[190] we may begin to appreciate how Pausanias' nostalgia for a pre-Roman rural landscape could function as an appeal to both Greek and Roman readers, thus promoting Greek, as well as imperial, pride.[191]

The following offers a reading of Book II, where we can detect both the Corinthia as it was before the Romans, as well as the Roman Corinthia of Pausanias' own day. As outlined in the previous chapter, the evolution of the Corinthian countryside under Roman rule is representative of other regions of Greece where large metropoleis held extensive hinterlands and supported elaborate suburban communities (i.e. Patrae, Nicopolis, Athens, and Sparta). With the foundation of the Roman colony in 44 BC, the hinterland of Corinth grew, stretching from Sicyon to Cenchreae and south toward Cleonae.[192] Thus, by the close of the first century AD, Corinth boasted a hinterland far larger than its pre-Roman *chora*, encompassing Sicyon and Phlius within its social and agro-economic scope. On one level, Pausanias' presentation of Corinthia reflects this new reality, but on another, he

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[189] Head 2017; 2013. (See discussion above in section "Interwar Britain: rural nostalgia as a positive expression of national identity.")

[190] Stewart 1998 on "diffuse" nostalgia and Wilson and Markle 1996 on "displaced" nostalgia. (See discussion above concern modern America.)

[191] *contra* Hutton 1995: 24, arguing that Pausanias was not intended for non-Greek readers and that Pausanias is "far removed" from the literary circles of cosmopolitan Roman society. I do not make any assumptions about Pausanias' own intentions, but rather focus on how his work could have been read by both a Greek and non-Greek audience.

[192] Sanders 2014; James 2014; Romano 2003; Walbank 2002; Romano 1998; Walbank 1997; Doukellis 1994; Walbank 1986. See discussion in previous chapter.

insists on a pre-Roman Corinthia littered with independent poleis, each with their own distinct cultural histories.

Pausanias' organizational method has often been interpreted in terms of a "radial plan," an idea first developed by G. Hirschfield in 1882 and elaborated by James Frazer in 1898.[193] The radial plan describes the recurring route pattern by which Pausanias covers the outlying territory of a given polis: successive pathways that start from and return to the same urban center after visiting neighboring destinations, like spokes on a wheel. (**Fig. 3.1** depicts a simplified Radial Plan for the Corinthia.) Many have followed Frazer's lead, analyzing Pausanias' organization in terms of practical travel. By focusing on these routes and road systems, the Roman hierarchy of poleis and coloniae described above is evident: Sicyon and Phlius are both subsidiary urban centers to Corinth—or to use Hutton's terminology, Sicyon and Phlius are both "Secondary Hubs" within the radial plan of Corinth.[194]

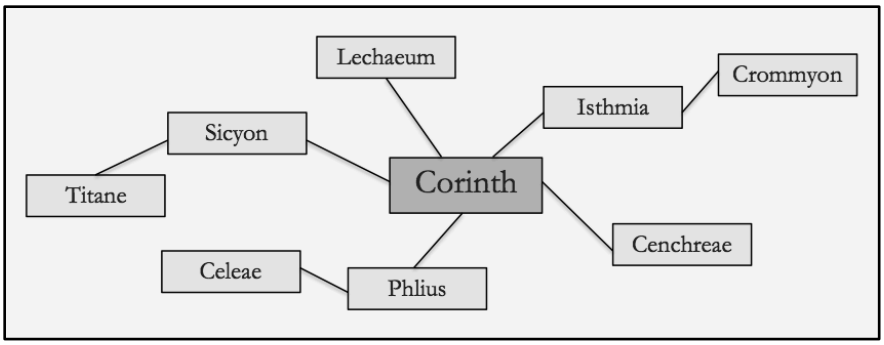

Figure 3.1 The "Radial Plan" of Pausanias' route in Corinthia

This travel pattern is not quite as straightforward as descriptions of the radial plan may at first make it out to be, and there are many "modifications" that Pausanias makes to this general trend.[195] Much

[193] Hirschfield; 1882; Frazer 1898: 1.23-4.
[194] Hutton 2005: 84-5.
[195] Hutton 2005: 83-85

ink has been spilt over when and why Pausanias breaks away from the radial pattern, and there are a number of potential reasons that might elucidate these variations in Pausanias' described routes. But insofar as this over-arching radial pattern can be taken as a reflection of the Roman hierarchy of metropoleis and poleis, I would argue that it is in the areas where there is no obviously dominant metropolis (such as Arcadia and Messenia), that this pattern is more heavily modified or abandoned.[196]

Alongside this radial plan, there is another important way in which Pausanias organizes the Greek landscape. By tracking how Pausanias assigns rural land to urban centers in conjunction with his presentation of Greek heritage, a different organization of the landscape emerges as an alternative to the world of dominant metropoleis represented by his radial plan of travel. Throughout, the *Periegesis* is essentially comprised of the following literary structure, which repeats itself for every polis that Pausanias encounters: a foundation story, followed by discrete descriptions of a polis' urban center, suburb and/or rural hinterland (although the latter might appear in varied order). We can imagine this literary structure with the following flexible formula:

Foundation Story + *City-Suburb-Hinterland*
Hinterland-Suburb-City
Hinterland-Suburb-City-Suburb-Hinterland

[196] Hutton 2005: 84 *ff*; Piéart 2001; Habicht 1985: 19-20. These arguments are often tied to an ongoing debate about whether or not Pausanias was intended to be used as an actual "travel guide" in the modern sense of that term (for summary, and fair assessment, of this debate see Hutton 1995: 39-50). In one of the earliest iterations of this argument (i.e. that the *Periegesis'* organization reflects its intended purpose as a travel guide), see Gurlitt 1890: 20: "The organization of his book makes patent his intention: the book was meant to be a guide for travelers who he hoped would follow the same route from point to point […] the author's aim of providing a guide very much like our Baedeker or Blue Guide is undeniable.") In Attica, perhaps the preponderance of sites with mythological and historical significance produced a more modified radial plan (see Gurlitt 1890: 12-13).

Under this organizing principle, the most striking difference between various urban centers in Pausanias' work is whether or not a town is treated with the literary structure described above, or as a mere outpost community within otherwise rural territory. Urban centers that do not receive this formulaic treatment are slotted into the hinterland of another, larger polis. In this light, it becomes clear that, although Sicyon and Phlius may function as "Secondary Hubs" in terms of travel to/from Corinth (see **Fig. 3.1**), these poleis are actually placed on equal footing with Corinth according to Pausanias' alternative mode of socio-political organization of the Greek landscape (see **Fig. 3.2** below).

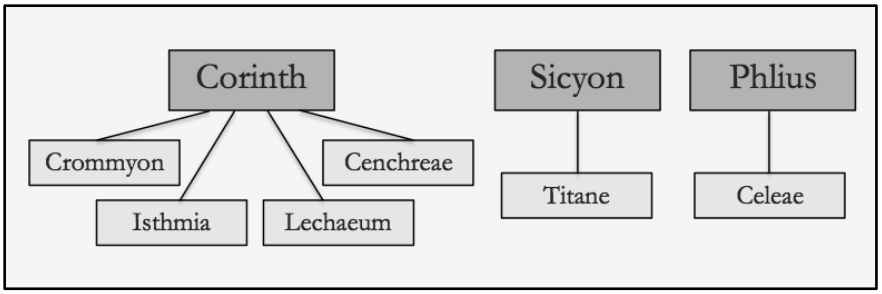

Figure 3.2 Pausanias' territorial organization

It thus becomes clear that Pausanias at once imagines Sicyon and Phlius as satellite communities within the rural hinterland of Corinth as well as autonomous poleis on a par with the Roman colony, as Corinth, Sicyon, and Phlius all receive the same literary structure. **Figure 3.3** (below) models this structure in Pausanias' organizational treatment of Corinthia: after a brief description of Corinth's mythical past and re-foundation, Pausanias then covers the northeastern hinterlands of Corinth (1-4), suburban and extramural sites, including the grove of Craneum (5), before describing the city itself (6). The southwestern side of Corinth's rural hinterland is then briefly outlined (7-8), before the structure begins anew to introduce Sicyon, and again for Phlius. In this way, Pausanias prioritizes

these places in a radically different way than his radial route of alleged travel would suggest: here, Sicyon and Phlius are actually placed on a par with Corinth, rather than as subsidiary urban centers.

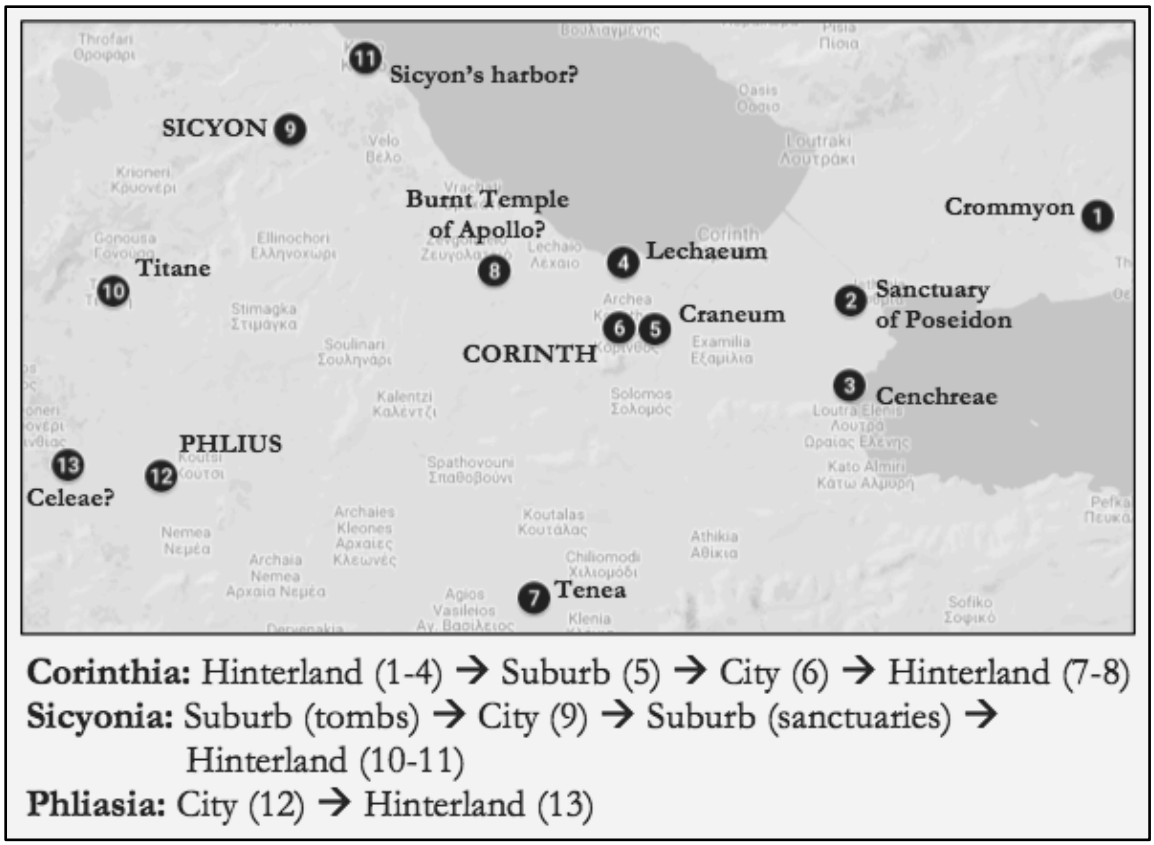

Figure 3.3 Pausanias' sequence of descriptions

It is notable that, throughout the *Periegesis,* Pausanias describes each polis in terms of its urban center, and then often describes both its suburban territory and its rural hinterland as discrete, self-contained sections of the local landscape. The inclusion of distinct suburban space reflects the nature of the Roman landscape; thus in the midst of Pausanias' conceptually Greek landscape is the phenomenon of the Roman suburb. By allowing this Roman suburban landscape resurface, while at the same time insisting upon old territorial boundaries and polis centers that were less politically

relevant in his own day, we can see how Pausanias' conceptual landscape includes features both from the present social landscape and the "lost" social landscape of the classical Greek world.[197]

Because the *Periegesis* is largely comprised of this repeated literary formula, which takes great care in outlining each polis' own mythical or historical foundation stories and its special ritual or cultural practices, distinct ethnic identities and local political autonomies are restored to poleis both big and small within Pausanias' conceptual landscape. This alternative "Greek" territorial organization thereby allows Pausanias to contextualize various monuments and temples, however world renowned or obscure, within highly specific Greek sub-cultures. The effect can be read either as a partial suppression of the reality of Roman Greece (a world where a few metropoleis dominated extensive rural terrain, and "Hellenism" was largely homogenized for elite consumption across the empire);[198] or as a celebration of the prolific diversity contained within the Roman provincial system (which could pique the interest or pride of any reader as a resident of the Roman Empire, like the brand of nostalgic regionalism that promoted national sentiment in Interwar Britain). In the *Periegesis,* Greek identity is premised, in part, upon the heterogeneity engendered by this former proliferation of independent, competing city-states; and Pausanias' work suggests that being Greek meant knowing these micro-differences between the various old poleis, which had now been lumped into a single province under the domain of a single metropolis. By reproducing a pre-Roman landscape of independent poleis with their smaller *chorai*, Pausanias offers his readers access to the micro-

[197] This takes a slightly different stance from Hutton 1995: 88, who argues that, because Pausanias takes care to point out border cities that have changed hands since the Roman conquest and mentions a few cities reorganized by Augustus, Pausanias is strictly relaying the current political boundaries of the second century.
[198] Hutton 2005: 37; Swain 1996; 65-100; Anderson 1993: 101-32; Bowie 1970.

differences in local custom and histories that lend Greek identity greater complexity and authenticity—which in turn, offers Greece greater political enablement within the imperial system.[199]

Interest in these micro-histories first arose in the Hellenistic period at a time of heightened instability and increasing interference from external powers. In this context, Rosalind Thomas has argued, these micro-histories simultaneously promoted local pride and panhellenic identity in the face of non-Greek hegemonic powers.[200] I would argue that this continued to be true in the Roman period as well, but that the patriotic sentiment, which these nostalgic regional histories promote, is not restricted to those who identify as Greek, but to anyone within the Empire. Having knowedge, for example, that the Sicyonians once built temple-like structures over their graves,[201] or that the original Corinthians dressed their children in black,[202] demonstrates an insider status that taps into a sense of shared identity, regardless of actual insider/outsider status.[203] In imagining the potential range of readership that Pausanias' work originally held, this is an important possibility to consider (which some have ignored in pursuing a strictly anti-Roman interpretation of this text).[204] In its attention to detail, describing the many Greek sub-cultural identities, the *Periegesis* furnishes its readership with the means to express Greek identity in an obsessively philhellenic age where being Greek had perhaps lost some of its meaning. This strategy of remembrance gets to the very heart of

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[199] Head 2013: 120. See also, Schmitz 1997: 18-26, for related objections to the above (n. 198) characterizations of "Hellenism" in the Second Sophistic.
[200] Thomas 2014: 257-9.
[201] Paus. 2.7.2.
[202] Paus. 2.3.7.
[203] See discussion above concerning the phenomenon of "displaced nostalgia."
[204] Elsner 1992: 13-14: "The major centres (political and sacred) and the movement between centres imitate the condition of Greece as a land of many *poleis* (city states), a multiplicity of conflicting and often contradictory identities […] The very conflicts of the *hellenika* become a cohesive factor, a shared myth which brings them together against the 'other' of Rome." For similar anti-Roman interpretations of Pausanias, see Swain 1996 and Bowie 1970. For interpretations of "indifference" to the Roman Empire, which imagine Pausanias' text having a wider readership, see Jones 2004; Arafat 1997: 213; Jacquemin 1996; Bowersock 1969: 710.

Pausanias' work: reaffirming a shared identity (to whomever wishes to share) by creating a conceptual landscape that shifts between present political "realities" and a "lost" world of Greek hegemony and independence,[205] a landscape that returns a sense of cultural distinction and autonomy to different Greek regions and subsidiary poleis—but all within the context of a very Roman terrain of metropoleis and suburbs.

VII. Conclusion

"The country and the past spoke the same fictional language."[206] So states John North in his work on the significance of "rusticity" in Roman religion. And indeed, the conflation of the past with the countryside appears to be part of the very power of rural nostalgia—as though the past were nearly still accessible in the rural corners of society. Because of the prevalence of these rural nostalgic themes, which claim the existence of a superior rural past, it may at first seem as if the countryside has suffered a continual process of decay throughout the entirety of Greek and Roman history.[207] Too often historians latch onto these themes as historical realities, especially in the case of Roman Greece. Recognizing not only the ubiquity, but, more importantly, the underlying social functions of rural nostalgia in Greco-Roman literature avoids making such errors in the reconstruction of a "historical" Greek countryside, while also illuminating the conceptual landscape in which these authors discussed the cultural and political changes that were taking places across the Mediterranean.

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[205] This is similar to Elsner's point about the myth of Greek freedom (but, of course, without the anti-Roman angle): "It was precisely the conquest of Greece by Rome which constituted the possibility for the myth of a free Greece in the past." (Elsner 1992: 19)
[206] North 1995: 137.
[207] Kourelis 2010.

Recent studies of nostalgia as a culturally and historically specific phenomenon demonstrate the intellectual flexibility and social value of nostalgic thinking, and thereby help us to recognize its functions in Greco-Roman literature. In psychological and sociological studies, nostalgia has proven to be an important emotional tool for positively shaping perceptions and identifying productive actions on both individual and collective levels. In the realm of literature, rural nostalgia can likewise operate as a mode of action-oriented social self-affirmation (as in the rural nostalgia of sixteenth century French poets), and moreover, pose as a unifying source of political enablement across a sub-culturally diverse landscape (as in the rural nostalgia of Interwar British novels). As sociologists have noted, collective expressions of nostalgia tend to intensify in pluralistic societies (like modern America), and we might consider how the Roman Empire provided just such a pluralistic cultural atmosphere for nostalgia to gain greater intensity and social relevance: the explosion of competing nostalgic *topoi* in Augustan literature seems to confirm this point.

In pre-Roman Greek literature, rural nostalgia is not a highly prominent theme, and its content is rather morally ambivalent. This is due, in part, to the enduring mythology of a pre-agricultural "Golden Age," a time characterized by the absence of greed and material possessions, when humans peacefully gathered the fruits of the earth. In Greek nostalgic imagination, pastoralism seems to serve as an intermediary stage, a time of relative simplicity and innocence following the Golden Age but before the Iron era of agriculture. The shepherd is therefore a transitional figure, fallen from the gods' close care during the Golden Age yet superior to the state of mankind in the agricultural present; his moral significance is thus rather ambiguous. Shepherds and goatherds constitute the main characters in Hellenistic bucolic poetry, and rural images frame the main action of these lyric poems, yet any sense of nostalgia for a bygone rural past is somewhat latent—and the historical

locus of bucolic poetry is rather vague. In later Greek prose history, the problem of ὀλιγανθρωπία (much more of a moral claim than a historical one), although not conceptualized as a rural issue *per se,* was often described using familiar tropes from Golden Age nostalgia and bucolic poetry (i.e. associated ideas of moral decline are premised on war and greed; the liminality of the shepherd as a representation of cultural transition). Because the problem of depopulation is typically placed at the doorstep of a greedy elite class, the shepherd is a fitting character to invoke, as an almost mythical character from a time before the extreme greed of agricultural societies. In this way, rural nostalgia framed the story of the late Hellenistic period (and Rome's eventual conquest of the Greek East) in ways that promoted shared experiences, spun political regression as potential moral progression, placed massive change in perceived historical perspective, and offered multiple self-preserving ways for Greek peoples to construe their relationship to Rome.

At Rome, the locus of rural nostalgia (or one very important strain of rural nostalgia) was placed in the historical, agricultural past. Its prescriptive implications were therefore much more accessible and urgent, suggesting that this lost rural life might be revisited.[208] Thus, this strain of nostalgia is more emphatically moralistic, especially in its focus on the value of land and labor. This agricultural mode of rural nostalgia became a powerful mode of shaping imperialist claims: Rome's moral right to rule was backed by agricultural productivity, and the moral superiority of the Roman people was premised on both their agricultural roots and their military prowess. In the late Republic, however, this emphasis on land and militaristic pursuits became socially problematic in a world torn apart by civil war and widespread land confiscations. By pivoting back toward Greek Golden Age tropes, Augustan poets created fictive rural landscapes that sometimes conflated Roman social values with

[208] See discussion of Purcell 2003.

Greek *topoi* in ways that removed the specter of warfare. Thus, for example, Ovid draws upon a blend of Greek and Roman nostalgic themes to create a pacifist prayer: "Let the hoe and the hard mattock, and the curved plough, the riches of the countryside, now shine; let decay pollute weapons, and let the man trying to draw his iron sword from its sheath feel that it is stuck fast after a long gap in use."[209] Moreover, Augustan poetry, by drawing upon Greek sources, often blurred the landscapes of Italy and Greece, effectively working to make these landscapes "whole" in this context of great political change and uncertainty.

This literary reach toward Greece, imagining an intact social landscape, parallels an ongoing development in both Greek and Roman thought in imagining Greece and other provinces as the hinterlands of an imperial polis. As a recent phenomenon in mainland Greece, the idea of the suburb not only entered Greek descriptions of their landscape, but also became a distinct way of imagining Greece's own particular relationship with Rome: picturing Achaea as a suburban community of elite leisure and agricultural productivity heightened its social value vis-à-vis other provinces, while still affirming its dependency on, and subordination to, the "polis" of Rome.

Pausanias blends these new landscapes with memories of the old—layering new Roman landscapes of metropoleis and suburbs with traditional Greek landscapes of small poleis and their distinct poliadic sub-cultures—demonstrating the complexity and depth of the conceptual landscape of Roman Greece. As Svetlana Boym has argued, nostalgia is a way of inhabiting multiple places at

[209] Ov. *Fast.* 4.927-30: (Evans, transl.)
sarcula nunc durusque bidens et vomer aduncus,
ruris opes, niteant; inquinet arma situs,
conatusque aliquis vagina ducere ferrum
adstrictum longa sentiat esse mora.

once,[210] and the way in which Pausanias maneuvers between different landscapes is a perfect example of nostalgia's capacity to accommodate historical plurality.

A testament to the power of these strains of rural nostalgia in Greco-Roman culture is their very endurance. Writing in the fifth century AD, Palladius created his own nostalgizing treatise on agriculture, à la Varro and Columella. But unlike his forebears, Palladius explicitly goes beyond Italy and considers lands stretching across the Mediterranean throughout his work—thus realizing the unifying capacity of his chosen theme.[211]

[210] See n. 35, pg. 197.
[211] Grey 2007: 364; Vera 1999: 286.

Conclusion

In Book III of the *Annals,* Tacitus relates Tiberius' response to the ongoing crisis of excessive consumption amongst the Italian elite,—the luxurious "accoutrements of the belly and eating-house"[1] in particular—fretting that not enough Italian land was actively under cultivation. "And, if the provinces' resources do not come to the aid of masters and slaves and fields, it is evidently our copses and our villas that will protect us!" He scoffs, and then continues, "This, conscript fathers, is the concern which a princeps undertakes; this, if neglected, will drag the state down to the ground."[2] Tacitus comments on this scene, stating that by his own day such luxurious indolence had been reigned in. Amongst the reasons to which he attributes this change in elite culture, Tacitus adds: "at the same time, new men, frequently enlisted into the senate from the municipalities and colonies and even the provinces, introduced a domestic frugality, and although by good fortune and industriousness many reached a moneyed old age, their former mind-set still remained."[3]

This section of of the *Annals* speaks to a number of the phenomena that this dissertation has sought to highlight: the strong link between food production and morality in Roman thought; the belief that the elite, including most of all the emperor himself, were responsible for securing the food supply as part of the moral economy of the empire; the importance of the provinces' agricultural contributions

[1] Tac. *Ann.* 3.52: ventris et ganeae paratus (Hackett, transl.)
[2] Tac. *Ann.* 3.54: ac nisi provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitiis et agris subvenerint, nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur. hanc, patres conscripti, curam sustinet princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet. (Hackett, transl.)
[3] Tac. *Ann.* 3.55: simul novi homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt, et quamquam fortuna vel industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit tamen prior animus. (Hackett, transl.)

not only in practical terms, but also within the Roman social imagination; and the role of agricultural nostalgia (and its associated social values of productivity and austerity) in the conceptual incorporation of the provinces into an imperial whole. Indeed, it is striking that frugality and industriousness, long the characteristics on which the Romans prided themselves in contradistinction to the peoples whom they conquered, are here awarded to provincials and other outsiders from the Roman-bred elite.

As noted at the outset of this dissertation, two parallel narratives form the story commonly told of Roman Greece: rural degradation and urban (elite) social continuity. By downplaying the role of agriculture in the allegedly declining rural sphere, the subtle changes that developed within urban society in relation to changing patterns of land tenure and agricultural production have been often overlooked. These ideas about food production and elite society are the type of social phenomena that we ought to consider, alongside changes occurring across the landscape, when contemplating how Roman rule impacted life in mainland Greece.

Before the Romans, Greek poleis and sanctuaries enjoyed extensive properties from which they derived revenue through long-term leases to members of the local elite, a practice that reaffirmed poliadic loyalty and local upper class relationships. Agricultural labor strategies in the private sphere, however, were more varied and perhaps more socially unstable: tenants on private property held short term leases and had little legal protections or recourse to legal redress. A more widespread, scattered investment in social display across the rural landscape (albeit largely in the form of fine wares alone) is *perhaps* indicative of a greater number of middling and upper class activities throughout greater segments of the countryside.

But from the late second century BC through the first century AD, the Greek countryside witnessed a substantial overhaul, as Roman land policies, provincial government, and the growth of metropoleis altered the way in which people interacted with the landscape. Centuriation, land reallocations, synoecism, the foundation of colonies, and other forms of population movement not only visibly altered the rural terrain, but changed who resided on Greek land—a challenge to traditional poliadic ideology, which conceptualized a polis' territory as a shared resource exlusive to the polis community and under the absolute authority of the polis' governing structures. Meanwhile, the spread of private tenancy as a structural labor strategy and the concentration of rural land into the hands of an elite class modified the practices employed to render Greek land productive. These trends in labor and land tenure reinforced multi-stranded, vertical relationships, which, in their most extended form, linked agricultural workers, through members of the landed provincial elite, all the way to the imperial capital. This process re-shaped the role of the elite within their local communties as guarantors of the food supply, a position which they frequently advertized by performing benefactions of foodstuffs and publicly expressing their dedication to agricultural pursuits in imitation of the emperor himself[4]—thereby creating a coherent imperial moral economy based around agricultural production.

Indicators of agricultural investment appear stable throughout this transitional period, showing, in agreement with palynological data, continuous, widespread cultivation of Greek land into the Roman period. Investments in social display, however, become much more concentrated in the suburban areas of metropoleis, coinciding with a proliferation of Roman villas. The material proxies for investment in social display also become much more varied at this time, which perhaps suggests increased wealth and wider access to luxury products amongst the elite classes of mainland Greece at

[4] Boatwright 2000: 204-9; Pont 2010.

this time. This also reflects the spread of Roman political mores. Villa residences that function as agricultural centers emphasize Roman social values through their juxtaposition of luxury and productivity. As private elite ostentation was pushed to the suburbs, these areas became spaces of communicating local political power (somewhat distinct from the modes of imperial power expressed in urban displays of wealth and munificence), and thus the urban political sphere extended much more deeply into the rural realm.

Meanwhile, the decline of inter-poleis warfare, the growth of regionalized agro-economic structures (spurred by imperial patronage, increased trade,[5] and agricultural extensification), and the insinuation of imperial government into local politics changed how people related to the land: shifting away from the poliadic framework that tied together land ownership with polis citizenship toward a new provincial approach to conceptualizing land and political identity, which reconstrued civic identities (partly on the basis of land and agriculture) in ways that encouraged imperial loyalty. One access point for detecting and understanding these conceptual changes is the expression of rural nostalgia in Greek and Roman literature. By appreciating the intellectual flexibility and social value of nostalgic thinking, we can see how rural nostalgia has been deployed by both Greek and Roman authors to create a sense of shared experience and identity through different conceptualizations of the Greek landscape and its place within the Roman Empire. From Greek authors such as Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom, we find rural nostalgia used to reframe the story of Rome's conquest in ways that promote allegiance both to the Roman state and to local political entities. From Roman authors such as Cato and Vergil, we find an increasingly fraught strain of highly moralizing agricultural nostalgia that served as a moral claim to empire abroad but also ideologically stoked social conflict at home. Many Augustan poets therefore turned toward Greek "Golden Age" themes of rural nostalgia

[5] Leidwanger 2017; Rizakis 2014; Bintliff 2013; Wilson 2009; Kokkorou-Alvera 2001.

to create fictive rural landscapes that blended Greek and Italian countrysides. In doing so, this poetry constitutes part of the mental re-mapping of Achaea as a Roman province—one iteration of the conceptual landscape of empire. In fact, at this same time in Greek and Roman thought, Greece and other provinces were often conceptualized as the hinterlands of an imperial "polis." The idea of the suburb, so recently developed in its Greek context, provided a way of construing Achaea's relationship to Rome as privileged and special—like a much loved suburban estate. This fluorescence of nostalgic thinking, rather than reflecting a backward-looking society withering away into social irrelevance, demonstrates not only the vitality, but the plurality of Greek culture under Roman rule.

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