

ROMAN CORINTH: THE FORMATION OF A COLONIAL ELITE

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ABSTRACT: This paper uses the duoviral coinage and epigraphy of Roman Corinth to define more closely the social and geographical origins of the group who, as holders of the highest offices in the colony, constituted its governing class in the period from Augustus to Nero. No apology is offered for this study of an élite: it seeks to make the best of what (little) evidence there is for Roman Corinth's social fabric in the formative—but still obscure—period which saw the transformation of Caesar's foundation from a building site into something approaching the opulent 'capital of Achaia' known to the novelist Apuleius. Its chief conclusions, based on the detailed study of proper names presented in the accompanying catalogue, are that (1) the veteran element in the early-colonial élite looks exiguous; (2) the servile element was marked, including men whose names point to social origins in the *familiae* of leading Romans of the triumviral and Augustan periods; (3) from the earliest date families of Roman businessmen (*negotiatores*) and their freedmen formed a much larger sub-group within the curial order than has been recognised; and (4), by and large, old Greece's notables avoided political engagement with the new colony before the reign of Claudius, which, with that of Nero, marks something of a watershed in the gradual integration of this Italian enclave into its greek surroundings.

This paper¹ is an attempt to characterise the social and geographical origins of those citizens of colonial Corinth who, as holders of high magistracies and liturgies, constituted the early colony's governing class. Its claim to historical value rests on colonial Corinth's importance as a Roman "bridgehead"² in Greece and the absence of any earlier study of this type. The primary materials used are the names of the 42 individual duovirs who "signed" the colony's 24 emissions of bronze (or, in the case of one series, brass) coinage over the century or so following Corinth's refoundation in 44 BC. After a series of specialist studies, above all that of Michel Amandry, this duoviral coinage is reasonably well dated³. The 47 terms of office

1. I am grateful to the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for a grant enabling me to attend the Athens colloquium at which an earlier version of this paper was read, to participants in the discussion (and subsequently, A.D. Rizakis) for their helpful comments, and, at a later stage, to Martin Price for bibliographic assistance. Shortcomings are mine solely.

Abbreviations:

Amandry = M. Amandry, *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens*, *BCH* suppl. 15 (1988).

Donati = A. Donati, "I Romani nell'Egeo. I documenti dell'età repubblicana", *Epigraphica* 27 (1965) 3–59.

Grant = M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (1946)

Hatzfeld = J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique* (1915; rep. 1975).

Kent = J. Kent, *Corinth VIII.3: The inscriptions 1926–1950* (1969).

Keppie = L. Keppie, *Colonisation and veteran settlement in Italy 47–14 BC* (1983).

Meritt = B. D. Meritt, *Corinth VIII.1: Greek inscriptions 1896–1927* (1931).

RPC1 = A. Burnett, M. Amandry and P. Ripolles, *Roman provincial coinage I* (1992).

Šašel-Kos = M. Šašel-Kos (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia repertae (Additamenta ad CIL III)* (1979).

West = A. B. West, *Corinth VIII.2: Latin inscriptions 1896–1926* (1931).

Wilson = A. J. N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the republican age of Rome* (1965).

Wiseman = T. P. Wiseman, *New men in the Roman Senate 139 BC - AD 14* (1971).

2. So S. Alcock, *Graecia capta* (1993) 116–119.

3. For suggested modifications to Amandry's chronology see C. J. Howgego, "After the colt has bolted: a review of Amandry on Roman Corinth", *NC* 149 (1989) 199–208, to which Amandry responded in his later treatment of Corinthian coinage in *RPC1*, 249–256.

which it records (counting individuals who held the *Ivirate* twice and those who coined as substitutes, *praefecti*, for honorary *Ivirs*) constitute 21% of the total number of duoviral terms (222) in our period - 44 BC to 68/9. Of course a sample of this size is not ideal, and some might be tempted to dismiss as a misleading veneer of cliometric precision the results summarised below. But this pool of duoviral names, unlike the epigraphic material from Corinth assigned (often on palaeographic grounds alone) to the same period, at least has the merit of resembling the archaeologist's "closed deposit": a discrete body of evidence complete on the terms on which it was first constituted in antiquity (it is highly unlikely that a hitherto unknown duoviral issue awaits identification⁴). It also offers a chronological cross-section, albeit one weighted in favour of the triumviral and Augustan ages, a 76-year period to which fourteen emissions are assigned, whereas only ten emissions are assigned to the fifty-year period from Tiberius to Galba⁵: six emissions (I-VI) are triumviral, eight are Augustan (VII-XIV), three Tiberian (XV-XVII), two (XVIII-XIX) Claudian, four Neronian (XX-XXIII), and one is Galban (XXIV).

METHODOLOGY

Prosopography is not an exact science. The basic method followed here has been to contextualise as far as possible the nomina of individual *Ivirs*: the more distinctive a nomen and the stronger the circumstantial evidence attending it, the more persuasive its attribution to a given social context. For instance, L. Castricius Regulus, quinquennial *Ivir* under Tiberius (Catalogue No. 9 [b]) bears a nomen well-known among Rome's eastern *negotiatores* and found—not least—in nearby Greek cities hosting communities of Roman residents (Chalcis and Thespieae): the case for seeing Regulus as a member of a family of E. *negotiatores* is therefore a strong one. Equally, a good case can be made for linking A. Vatronius Labeo, *Ivir* early in the first century, with the *Vatronii* of Praeneste, a city the Roman tribe of which (the *Menenia*) the Corinthian family shared, and other families from which are known to have engaged in E. *negotia*. The less distinctive the nomen, the more difficult its contextualisation: in particular a series of well-

known Roman nomina—*Acilius*, *Furius*, *Licinius*, *Octavius*, *Publicius*, *Publilius*, *Rutilius* and *Servilius*—not only evoke great families of the republican oligarchy, from whose ex-slaves these Corinthians might have descended, but in all but two cases (*Acilius*, *Publicius*) are also well-attested among the E. *negotiatores*; in a given case it is rarely possible to argue decisively for just one of these possibilities—and of course any of these nomina could have been borne by a legionary veteran of the period. This sizable "grey area" is frankly acknowledged here. Finally, even when proper names yield a specific context, the exact status of the bearer can remain a matter of debate, as with a group of duoviral homonyms or near-homonyms of Roman notables: Q. Caecilius Niger, the Q. Fulvii Flaccus and Nobilior, and P. Vipsanius Agrippa. One of these has been seen as a descendant of a consular family; here it is argued that in all these cases we have to do with an onomastic fashion whereby fathers named sons after political figures sharing the family-nomen (whether or not a personal connection existed)—a fashion found in a purely Greek milieu too in this period.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The results tabulated here are based on the detailed discussion of individuals arranged by nomen in the Catalogue⁶:

4. The last discovery of a new issue occurred in 1896–1929 (Amandry 3), since when the Americans have been excavating at Corinth more or less continuously.

5. See Amandry 89–93.

6. The results break down as follows: Uncertain: *Acilius*, *Furius*, *Licinius*, *Octavius*, *Publicius*, *Publilius*; *Rutilius* (a-b); *Servilius*. Of freedman stock: *Antonius* (a-c); *Caecilius*; *Claudius* (a); *Iulius* (a-c); *Ventidius*; *Vipsanius*. From veteran families: *Aebutius* (a-b); *Bellius*. From milieu of *negotiatores*: *Aeficius*; *Arrius*; *Castricius* (a-b); *Claudius* (b); *Heius* (a-c); *Mussius*; *Novius*; *Paconius*; *Pinnius*; *Tadius*; *Vatronius*. Provincial Greek notables: *Caninius* (a-b); *Iulius* (d); *Memmius*. Romans: (?) *Insteius*.

CATEGORY:	NO. OF INDIVIDUALS:	% OF TOTAL INDIVIDUALS:
Uncertain:	9	19
Probably of freedman stock:	9	19
Probably from veteran families	3	6
From milieu of negotiatores	14	29
Provincial Greek notables	4	8
Elite Roman	(?)1	(?)2

The following discussion concentrates on the four main groups of individuals identified above as (1) from probably freedman stock; (2) from probable veteran families; (3) from the milieu of the negotiatores; and (4) as outside Greek notables. Conclusions follow.

MAGISTRATES OF FREEDMAN STOCK

We have no precise figure for the number of Caesarian colonists sent to Corinth. Three thousand “Romans” were sent to Caesar’s colony at Carthage, as well as others “from the surrounding districts” (App., *Pun.* 136); for a colony 3000 seems to have been a “common total envisaged” (Keppie 98), and is accepted here as a working figure for Corinth. Notoriously, the majority of Caesar’s Corinthian colonists were “of freedman stock”, τοῦ ἀπελευθερωτικοῦ γένους τοὺς πλείστους (Str. VIII. 23 [=C381]). Most of the original freedmen would have been poor, the “men without means”, ἄποροι with whose demands for land Appian linked Caesar’s foundation of Corinth (*Pun.* 136). But the numismatic sample produces a significant number —19%— of wealthy and politically-successful individuals classified as probably or certainly of freedman stock. Although freedmen were not normally eligible for magistracies in Roman colonies, in Caesar’s colonies an exception was made⁷. Two of the earliest duoviral emissions were ‘signed’ by *C. Iulii*, who are best understood as prosperous freedmen of the late dictator (Catalogue No. 15a-b). Inscriptions add to this picture. For the early rise of a freedman’s family to high status in Caesar’s colony the best witness is Cn. Babbii Philinus, along with his descendants. Philinus is attested as a *Ivir* in the dedicatory inscription (West no.

132) from a circular *aedicula* at the W. end of the forum of which he was the donor, as he was of the adjacent fountain of Poseidon (West no. 131) — monuments now dated on archaeological grounds to the late-Augustan age⁸. West long ago pointed out that Philinus looks like a freedman, since none of the public inscriptions naming him gives a filiation⁹; he could have been one of the urban freedmen among the original colonists, by late middle age (under Augustus) achieving wealth and political and social success. In later generations the *Babbii* climbed into the provincial ‘aristocracy’, as evidence from Delphi, hitherto uncollected, shows. Cn. Babbii Maximus, honoured at Delphi by the Amphictyons as ἱερός παῖς of Apollo, was the donor of honours at Delphi (*SIG*³ 825C-D) for his Thessalian friend, L. Cassius Petraeus of Hypata, one of Plutarch’s circle, and was Delphic archon sometime after 120 (*F. Delphes* III no. 84); his father, Babbii Magnus, was Delphic archon ‘towards 105’ (refs. *ibid.*). The rarity of the nomen, along with that of his mother, Pacuvia (Gr. Παχοῦα¹⁰) Fortunata (*SIG*³ 825D), which is attested at Corinth in curial circles (Kent no. 175), as well as the other evidence for colonial Corinth’s ties with Delphi (Catalogue Nos. 13b and 17; *F. Delphes* III 4 nos. 80, 88 and 99), leaves in no doubt that father and son belonged to the socially mobile descendants of Philinus¹¹. Eventually the nomen appears in an even more exalted sphere with a Gellia Babbia of senatorial rank (λαμπροτάτη), *SEG* 22 (1967) 481 (note too her evident kinsman, Aurelius Babbii Nicobulus, *SEG* 16 (1959) 340 and 22 (1967) 482).

7. S. Treggiari, *Roman freedmen during the Late Republic* (1969) 63–4.

8. C. K. Williams II in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek renaissance in the Roman empire* (1989) 157–62; Kent 25 no. 20 dates the *Ivirate* to between 7/8 and 12/13.

9. Others: West nos. 99–100; Kent nos. 155, 241.

10. For the equivalence see O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 83–4.

11. For a possible son of Philinus see Kent no. 323, [Cn.] Babbii Cn. f. Aem(ilia) [I]tallic[us]; note too L. Babbii (H)O[- -], athletic victor at Thespieae, *SEG* 3 (1927) 335, 9 with L. Robert, *Hellenica* II, 9.

It is a fair surmise that colonial Corinth's reputation for being "freedman-friendly" continued to attract freedmen in the years after the foundation. Here the most striking evidence concerns freedmen of Roman public figures. As well as the *C. Iulii* who were Caesar's freedmen (Cat. No. 15a-c), three *M. Antonii* "signed" duoviral emissions under the triumvirs and Augustus; one, M. Antonius Theophilus, was Antony's freedman-agent in Corinth (Plut., *Ant.* 67); another, M. Antonius Hipparchus, was his son; the third, M. Antonius Orestes, whose office Amandry dated to 40 BC, is best seen as another Antonian freedman. P. Ventidius Fronto, who as *Ivir* signed coinage dated by Amandry to 67/8, presumably descended from a freedman of the Antonian P. Ventidius, suffect consul in 43 BC; [M.] Barbatius M.[f.] Celer, an epigraphically-attested *Ivir* (West no. 80), looks like the descendant of a freedman of M. Barbatius Pollio, Antony's quaestor in Asia in 41 BC¹²; P. Vipsanius Agrippa, finally, who "signed" as *Ivir* an issue dated by Amandry to 37/8 (Cat. No. 30), was named after the famous Agrippa, who was a patron of one tribe at Corinth and gave his name to another (the *Agrippia*) and from one of whose freedmen, presumably, the *Ivir* descended; another, 'Mithridates freedman of Agrippa', settled at Ephesus, where he amassed considerable wealth¹³. It is notable that the Roman patrons of this group of freedmen included prominent figures of the triumviral period, when unstable political conditions offered unusual opportunities in the provinces for freedmen of Roman dynasts, as the well-known case of Caesar's Aphrodisian freedman, C. Iulius Zoilus, exemplifies (J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* [1982] 158). That Corinth, Antony's headquarters in Greece, offered rich pickings in this period for his own and his partisans' freedmen is suggested by the notoriety won by Hipparchus as a war-profiteer¹⁴ (Plin., *Nat.* XXXV. 58, 200).

MAGISTRATES OF VETERAN STOCK

A mere 3 (6%) of the individuals in our sample can be assigned with any confidence to this category. In other ways the usual signs of a strong veteran presence are hard to detect at Corinth. Only one veteran's tombstone can be identified, that of M. Iulius Crispus, of the *legio II Adiutrix*

(*AEp.* 1957 No. 22; Šašel-Kos no. 125); and the sole witness so far to the martial spirit in later generations of colonists is the Corinthian centurion C. Maenius Haniochus of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, who heard the Colossus of Memnon in 127 (A. and E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* [1960] no. 25). However, even if¹⁵ Plutarch to some extent mythologised the origins of the colonists of his day by classing Corinth with Carthage as the "most distinguished" of the colonies with which Caesar "courted his soldiers" (*Caes.* 57), a veteran element certainly existed. Land was considered one of the two chief prizes of military service in the triumviral age (App., *BCIV.* 5, 128) and Corinthian territory was renowned for its fertility. But to detect this veteran element in the evidence for colonial magistrates is not easy. Here we have to bear in mind that the standard colonial land-grant was probably not large enough to qualify its owner for admission to the colony's *ordo*; veteran officers, who were entitled to a larger allocation of land than troopers and may anyway have had additional funds, were probably the only veteran element in an original *deductio* with sufficient property to qualify at the outset for admission into the curial order (Keppie 106). At Corinth the two *Aebutii* (uncle and nephew?) who reached the quinquennial duovirate in years dated by Amandry to 30 BC and 1/2 respectively (Cat. No. 2) may well have belonged to such an officer-family, along with M. Bellius Proculus, whose duoviral year Amandry assigned

12. Another possible freedman of Pollio appears on an Augustan emission of the Caesarian or Augustan colony of Parium (colony's origin: P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Parion* [1983] 73–5); see Grant 248–249.

13. Corinthian tribes: West nos. 16 and 110; J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (1984) 423 notes the possibility that M. Agrippa wintered at Corinth in 16/15 BC. Mithridates: *I. Ephesus* (IK 13, III) no. 851; *I. Ephesus* (IK 17, I) no. 3006.

14. For another instance of the privileged status available to well-connected freedmen in Greece note the freedman of Antonia 'minor', M. Antonius Tertius, enrolled in the Athenian citizen-tribe *Paeania*: *CIL* III 560.

15. As Costas Burazelis suggests to me.

to 37/8 (Cat. No. 6) —the only other name from the duoviral coinage with a strongly veteran ring, his rare nomen also attested in the Caesarian colony of Lugudunum (Lyon). This sparse showing of an identifiable veteran element in Corinth's early colonial élite also reflects the difficulties faced by ordinary veteran-families in Roman colonies in amassing large fortunes —the average allotment of perhaps 50 *iugera* or less (Keppie 106) was hardly a gateway to riches. At Corinth two other veteran families can be identified whose first visible mark on high office belongs only after our period. "Lucanius" the Corinthian high-priest of the Achaean League's imperial cult who entertained Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* V.3, 1), bears the same rare nomen as a senior centurion of Caesar in Gaul (*Caes., Gal.* V.35, 7; *RE* Lucanius 2) and may well have descended from another (or even the same?) member of this Italian family. The *P.* and *L. Vibullii*, although already resident in the colony under Augustus, are first attested in office only under the Flavians, when *L. Vibullius Pius* was an Isthmian conagonothete (Kent no. 212). As Ronald Syme noted long ago¹⁶, this family's nomen evokes a link with *L. Vibullius Rufus*, Pompey's *praefectus fabrum*; another member of this mid-first century BC military family, I suggest, was among Caesar's veteran colonists at Corinth¹⁷. If this view is right, the Corinthian *Vibullii* are of additional interest as an example of a veteran family which successfully extended its economic base by entrepreneurial activity in a neighbouring city —in their case by acquiring an interest in (as I have argued elsewhere¹⁸) fish-farming on Boeotia's Lake Hylice¹⁹.

ROMAN RESIDENTS IN THE EAST

The commercial attractions of Roman Corinth, eloquently described by Strabo (VIII. 6, 20 [=C 378]) and underlined by the resumption of interest in cutting a canal through the Isthmus in our period²⁰, prepare us for the early appearance of *negotiatores* in the new colony. The refoundation of Corinth squared the circle begun by the Roman sack of the Greek city in 146 BC, which displaced many merchants to Delos (*Str.* X. 4, [=C 486]), whence in turn they gradually departed after 88 BC to —among other places— the ports of the Greek mainland²¹. We can predict that the new

colony drew off eastern *negotiatores* from less well-located communities in Greece and the Aegean; an additional temptation would have been the chance to become a landowner, land in Greek provincial cities being (theoretically at least) available to Romans only by special grant²². Archaeology provides early evidence for commercial activity at Corinth: the major harbour works at Cencreae date to the first half of the first century; and Kathleen Slane's study of the colony's ceramic imports reveals strengthening trading links with the west by the end of the first century BC and, from then on, increasing commercial contact with the east as well²³. Specific evidence for colonists involved in trade is not easy to come by—but note the rare nomen 'Appalenus' borne beyond our period by a leading Corinthian family (in the second century) and also attested—in combination with the same praenomen—in the Apulian port of Barium, brought here, perhaps, by freedman-agents of the Corinthian family²⁴; westwards commerce

16. *JRS* 39 (1949) 17–18.

17. The presence of *M. Vibullii* at the Augustan veteran-colony of *Patrae* is worth noting: *CIL* III 526.

18. A. Spawforth, "Boeotia and the wealth of Herodes Atticus: a fishy business?", in *Papers of the 11nd International Congress of Boeotian Studies in Greece* (Livadhia 1992), forthcoming.

19. For other colonial families adopting this same strategy note *P. Licinius Anteros*, granted grazing rights on Methana in 43/4 (Cat. No. 16), and *L. Servilius Phaon*, whose benefaction to *Phlius* may indicate that he held property in this prosperous agricultural community (Alcock, *op. cit.*, 97–98); Cat. Nos. 16 and 26.

20. R. Baladié, *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon* (1980) 260–262.

21. D. van Berchem, "Les Italiens d'Argos et le déclin de Délos", *BCH* 86 (1962) 305–313; M. Hoff in Walker and Cameron, *op. cit.*, 1–8 esp. 7.

22. On this point: B. Levick, *Roman colonies in southern Asia Minor* (1967) 56–8.

23. Slane in Walker and Cameron, *op. cit.* 219–225. Cencreae: J. Shaw, in *Kenchreai* 1 (1978) 34.

24. A. Spawforth, "The Appaleni of Corinth", *GRBS* 15 (1974) 295–303, esp. 303 n. 45. The marine orientation of a grand Roman-period mausoleum at Cencreae may indicate the deceased's links with the sea (Cat. No. 9).

is indicated too by the Ostian links of the *T. Manlii* of Thespieae and Corinth (below). A pointer to the colony's eastwards commerce can be found in the residence at Corinth under Claudius of the "philolycian" Iunia Theodora, a wealthy Roman woman from the milieu of the *negotiatores* held in the highest esteem by the Lycian League and, since the League was a beneficiary of her will, probably the owner of property in Lycia²⁵.

The evidence of names throws up many links between leading Corinthian families and the milieu of the *negotiatores*. Quite apart from the marked showing of this milieu in our sample (29%), the chief *corpora* of Corinthian inscriptions (West, Meritt and Kent) contain the following nomina which recur in Hatzfeld's ageing but still basic index (383-407): *Aemilius*, *Arruntius*, *Baebius*, *Caelius*, *Cestius* ("Cestianus" West no. 56), *Clodius*, *Cornelius*, *Egnatius*, *Granius*, *Iunius*, *Marius*, *Munatius*, *Olius*, *Pontius*, *Saufeius*, *Stlaccius* ('*Stlaccianus*': West no. 56), *Terentius*, *Trebius*, *Turranius*, *Valerius* and *Vibius*. Two instructive examples from the duoviral coinage are the *Heii* and the *Castricii*. The coinage attests at least three *C. Heii* holding a total of five duovirates between c. 42 BC and 5/6 (Cat. No. 13); another, *C. Heius Aristio*, a *Iivir quinqu.*, is known from an honorific inscription which Kent (no. 151) dated to the Augustan age. These *Heii* ultimately take us back to *C. Heius Libo*, a prominent Delian *negotiator* in the years after 88 BC, whose home-town may well have been Messana. To judge from the dates of their duovirates, the Corinthian *C. Heii* were rich enough to establish themselves on arrival in the colony as one of its leading families. At least two of the four (the elder Pamphilus and Aristio) were freedmen: their patronus (if the same person) may himself have been an early colonist (e.g. the elder *C. Heius Pollio*); but it is possible that we have here a case of a leading family of Roman businessmen which sent freedmen to represent its interests in the new colony. The other instructive case from the coins is that of *L. Castricius Regulus*, a *Iivir quinqu.* under Tiberius and the first Isthmian agonothete following the colony's recovery of control of the festival in, it seems, 2 BC (Cat. No. 9); it is very tempting to see the *L. Cas(- -)* who as *Iivir* "signed" an issue dated by Amandry to 42

or 41 BC as his father. *Castricii* had been settled in Greece since at least the end of the second century BC; it is a reasonable hypothesis that *Regulus's* family moved to Corinth from elsewhere in the province; as the *Castricii* of Greece formed an early penchant for Greek games (a *L. Castricius* won at Chalcis c. 100 BC), *Regulus* was a fitting choice as the colony's first Isthmian agonothete. One possibility is that he came from Thespieae, easily reached by sea from Lechaenum, Corinth's W. port, and home to the nearest community of *negotiatores* at the time of Corinth's refoundation. The late Paul Roesch commented on the recurrence of the same nomina, "*Castricius*" among them, in both cities²⁶; it is not unlikely that the years after 44 BC saw the migration of many Thespian *negotiatores* to Corinth. Among them as well, I suggest, were freedmen of Cicero's well-connected Thespian client, *T. Manlius*; a descendant of these freedmen, who have also been recognised at Ostia, can probably be seen in the Tiberian *Iivir T. Manlius T. f. Col(lina) Iuvenus*, his tribe one of the four to which freedmen were normally confined (West no. 81; Kent no. 154)²⁷.

Among the new colony's business community, we should expect to find, as well as traders and shipowners, Roman moneylenders attracted by the prospect of making profitable "pump-priming" loans. Two of these can probably be recognised among the names on the earliest duoviral coinage. The *P. Tadius Chilo* who "signed" coinage dated by Amandry to 43 or 42 BC (Cat. No. 27) was long ago linked by Münzer (*RE Tadius* 1-2) with *P. Tadius*, a Roman of senatorial family living in

25. D. I. Pallas, S. Charitonidis, J. Venencie, *BCH* 83 (1959) 496-508 with the commentary of L. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960) 324-342.

26. *Études béotiennes* (1982) 176.

27. Collina: Treggiari, *op. cit.* 42 (citing Liv. *Ep.* 20). A friend of A. Terentius Varro Murena (cos. 23 B.C.), *T. Manlius* seems too grand a personage for his own descendants to have ended up as colonists. On him and his Ostian links: E. Deniaux, *Clientèles et pouvoir à l'époque de Cicéron*, *CÉFR* 182 (Rome 1993) 522-3 no. 66.

Athens in 79 BC, when his kinsman, C. Verres, placed a large sum of money (HS 40,000) with him (Cic., *Ver.* I 100); like his contemporary, Atticus, he was what Philippe Bruneau²⁸ has termed an “intermédiaire de crédit”, performing financial services for wealthy fellow-Romans without being a professional banker as such. The status of Chilo remains unclear — his cognomen, although Greek, was in vogue in first-century BC Rome (note the publican P. Vettius Chilo, Cic., *Ver.* III 167ff.) and need not in itself indicate servile origin. On the other hand, his duoviral colleague, the freedman C. Heius Pamphilus, seems an unlikely partner for a Roman of senatorial family; so Chilo was probably himself of freedman stock. Another “money-man” should be recognised, I suggest, in C. Pinnius (? - -), who as *Iivir* “signed” coinage dated by Amandry between 39 and 36 BC. The nomen is distinctive, and Amandry was probably right to link him with T. Pinnius, Cicero’s extremely rich friend to whom Bithynian Nicaea owed HS 8 million in 51 BC; the Corinthian Pinnius could have been an actual member of the Roman family (Cat. No. 22).

Worth noting too, finally, is the possibility that the colony’s first-known knight came from a hellenized family of Roman businessmen which had moved to Corinth. The epigraphically-attested Ti. Claudius P.f. Fab. Dinippus cannot have been an imperial enfranchisee and is unlikely either to have been of freedman stock (see Cat. No. 10 for detailed discussion); a simpler solution, not least in view of his Greek cognomen, is to place his family among the *Claudii* active in the Roman east as *negotiatores* since the second century BC; his ability to meet the equestrian census would then suggest that his family moved to the colony already possessing substantial funds.

PROVINCIAL GREEK NOTABLES

In our sample 6-8% of individuals are assigned to this group, which, in the period under discussion, leaves little discernible impression before the reign of Claudius. One obvious exception is P. Caninius Agrippa, *Iivir quinqu.* on coins assigned to 16/17 or 21/22 and almost certainly the same man as the homonymous procurator of Achaia under Augustus; in spite of his thoroughly Latin nomenclature,

his father’s name —Alexiades— betrays a provincial Greek origin, probably from the region of old Achaia (Cat. No. 8). His procuratorial office marks him out as a protégé of the Augustan régime. As with another of its protégés in Greece, the Spartan Eurycles, Agrippa may have owed the emperor’s favour to his family’s practical support for Octavian in the triumviral period. Given the family-ties with the Roman businessmen of Achaia and the Achaean coastal city of Aegira, it is conceivable that his father Alexiades provided help (supplies? transport?) to Octavian’s fleet, just as the Italian residents of Aegium, another Achaean coastal city, probably helped an earlier Roman fleet-commander, P. Rutilius Nudus²⁹. Since M. Agrippa, Octavian’s admiral, was active in the Corinthian gulf in the months prior to the battle, his personal tie with Alexiades (to be inferred from the latter’s naming of his son) may date back to 32/1 BC³⁰. At any rate, what seems certain is that P. Caninius Agrippa, whose cognomen and whose move to Caesar’s colony betokened his family’s warm support for the ruling power, was not typical of leading mainland Greeks of his time in his attitudes to Corinth. These attitudes, fuelled by social prejudice against the freedman origins of the new colonists, are reflected in an epigram penned by the Augustan Crinagoras and in a text which, although preserved in the corpus of Julian’s letters, is better seen as bearing on a dispute of Flavian date between Corinth and Argos, the colony’s leading Greek neighbour and her rival³¹. The text, suggesting the persistence of this hostility in some quarters of Greece until well into the second half of the first century, helps to explain

28. “A propos de la vie financière a Pouzzoles”, in *Les bourgeoisies municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* (1983) 9–20 at 15.

29. *AEp.* 1954, 31. For contacts between eastern *negotiatores* and Roman commanders see van Berchem, *op. cit.* (n. 21).

30. Roddaz, *op. cit.* (n. 13) 163–4.

31. A. Spawforth, “Argos, Corinth and the imperial cult: Ps.-Julian *Letters* 198 Bidez”, *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 211–232 with 522 and 64 (1995) 225.

why the earliest unequivocal evidence for office-holding at Corinth by Greeks from other cities belongs to the reign of Claudius. Within our period the following individuals can be recognised:

1. Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, Isthmian agonothete c. 41–47 (*SIG³* 802); member of the famous Epidaurian family; grandfather of the Roman knight Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, also a patron of Corinth (*PIR²* C 1424)³².
2. C. Iulius Laco, *Iivir quinqu.* and Isthmian agonothete under Claudius, the *Iivirate* probably falling in 41/2³³. Son of Eurycles of Sparta.
3. C. Iulius Spartiaticus, Laco's son, likewise *Iivir quinqu.* and Isthmian agonothete, holding the former post in 46/7³⁴.
4. C. Iulius Polyaeus, *Iivir* on coins assigned by Amandry to either 57/8 or 58/9 (Cat. No. 15d). In origin probably from Sicyon.
5. P. Memmius Cleander, *Iivir quinqu.* on coins assigned by Amandry to 66/7 (Cat. No. 17). His Roman names reveal a peregrine Greek whose family was enfranchised through P. Memmius Regulus, governor of Greece between 35 and 44. In origin almost certainly from Delphi.

To be discounted from this list are:

1. 'The Spartiate Eurycles' (Paus. II.3, 5), donor of baths to the colony, nowadays identified with the Trajanic senator, Eurycles Herculanus.
2. The Augustan *Iivir*, C. Iulius Herac(- - -), in the past misguidedly identified as another member of the family of Eurycles; presumably a colonist of freedman origin (for both see Cat. No. 15).

The fact that, under Claudius and Nero, no fewer than five Greeks from neighbouring cities can be identified as holders of the highest colonial offices is striking. Where they can be firmly identified, they belong to the provincial 'aristocracy': Laco and Spartiaticus belonged to a Roman client-dynasty; Cleander was epimelete of the Delphic Amphictyony; and Pulcher was the grandfather of a Roman knight. The wealth which notables of this rank were able and willing to put at the colony's disposal is indicated by the fact that the first two and the fourth were Isthmian agonothetes. Under

Claudius at the latest, then, the former hostility of the provincial Greek élite towards Caesar's colony began to thaw. Various explanations suggest themselves: families like those of Laco and Pulcher by this date were nursing ambitions for Roman office, which closer contact with colonial Corinth, seat of Roman officialdom in the province, might have seemed likely to advance. In this same period, Roman administrative initiatives promoted the colony's importance within the province: the recreation of a separate province of Achaia in 44 meant that the colony now saw far more of the Roman governor than in the previous nineteen years. In this period the colony also became a major centre for the Achaean League as the host of its imperial cult, instituted around 54³⁵; Spartiaticus, as we saw, was its first high-priest, and notables from other member-cities would now have been drawn to the colony for celebrations of cult-festivals.

CONCLUSIONS

The picture which emerges from this study is of a colony which in its early years was dominated socially and politically by wealthy men of freedman stock and by Roman families with business interests in the east, some no doubt of freedman stock themselves, and many probably already resident in the east—and in some cases partly hellenized—when Corinth was refounded. The under-representation of the veteran element reflects both its relative unimportance in the original foundation, as well as the failure of descendants of ordinary veteran soldiers to break into the upper ranks of the *ordo* (at any rate in the period studied). The preponderance in the sample of individuals from families with business interests is echoed in the epigraphic abundance of additional Corinthian nomina linked with *negotiatores*. This onomastic material emphasises the commercial bias rapidly

32. On Pulcher's patronage of Corinth see now M. Walbank, *AJN* 1 (1989) 79–87.

33. Spawforth, *op.cit.* (n.31).

34. *Ibid.*

35. Spawforth, *op. cit.* (n. 31).

acquired by the colonial economy, even if it gives no support to the widespread view, based on insufficient evidence, that Caesar's motives for re-founding Corinth were mainly commercial³⁶ (a confusing of aims with consequences). If his background has been correctly diagnosed, the local success of this group is signalled by Ti. Claudius Dinippus (Cat. 10b), to our knowledge the first Corinthian to pursue an equestrian career (excepting P. Caninius Agrippa, of course, a Corinthian by adoption). No easy inferences about the so-called hellenization of Roman Corinth (a misnomer anyway for a complex process of cultural interaction on the Roman-period Isthmus) can be drawn from this apparent preponderance of men of Roman freedman and businessman stock in the early colony's élite. Many freedman-colonists from Rome may indeed have been "Greeks returning home"³⁷, but their outlook could have been "Roman" for all that. Among the freedmen of Rome there was a recognised prejudice against Greek names in the second generation (Treggiari, *op. cit.* 231): this prejudice may well have been exported to Corinth, to judge from our sample, in which, out of 37 cognomina, all but eight are Latin. As for the posited influx of eastern *negotiatores*, even if some, like the *Castricii*, were partly hellenized when they moved to Corinth, for others an attraction of Caesar's colony may have been precisely the fact that it was a Roman, not a Greek, community —the colony's assertive *Romanitas* in the early Principate is one of its most striking features. Finally, the lapse of the best part of a century before Achaia's provincial "aristocracy" took a detectable interest in the colony suggests the strength of provincial Greek prejudice against Corinth's servile origins; the appearance of outside notables as office-holders from Claudius on marks a significant step in the integration of this enclave of *Romanitas* into the surrounding Greek world.

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CATALOGUE OF NOMINA:

1. *ACILIUS*. M. Aci(lius) Candidus, *Iivir* with Q. Fulvius Flaccus, dated 54/5 by Amandry (22-26; *RPCI* nos. 1189-1200). No other Corinthian *Acilii* attested.

2. *AEBUTIUS*. (a) P. Aebutius (?- - -), *Iivir* with C. Pinnius (?- - -), term dated between 39 and 36 BC (Amandry 36-8; *RPCI* nos. 1124-6), *Iivir quinqu.* with M. Antonius Theophilus, term dated 30 BC (Amandry 41-2; *RPC I* nos. 1129-31); (b) P. Aebutius Sp.f. (?- - -), *praefectus* with C. Heius Pamphilus on behalf of honorary *Iivirs*, term dated 17/16 BC by Amandry (54-55; *RPC I* no. 1133), between c. 27 BC and 14 by Howgego (Cat. No. 13), and *Iivir quinqu.* with C. Iulius Herac(- - -), term dated 1/2 (Amandry 51-2; *RPC I* no. 1138). *Origins*: C. Aebutius C.f. Rufus, a junior officer (*aquilifer*) from Caesar's 10th legion, was a veteran colonist at Ateste, "founded in or about 30 BC" (Keppie 196, 200, citing *CIL V* 2497). It is tempting to see the elder Corinthian Aebutius, a leading figure in the newly-founded colony, as another veteran officer from a Caesarian legion. Grant 268 goes beyond the evidence in seeing him as "a *cliens* of an ancient [Roman] family with a patrician branch".

3. *AEFICIUS*. Amandry's first emission (28-32; *RPCI* no. 1116), dated 44 or 43 BC, is 'signed' by an otherwise unknown 'L. Certus Aeficius'. *Other Corinthian Aeficii*: [P. Aefi]cius P.f. Aem. Firmus Sta[tia]nus, recipient of aedilician *ornamenta*, son and grandson of Aeficii Atimeti (West no. 12, dated 25-50 from letter forms; Kent 237); M. Aeficius Primigenianus, Corinthian hymnode at the sanctuary of Clarian Apollo, probably no later than 100, Th. Macridy, *JÖAI* 15 (1912) 54-5 no. 27 line 7³⁸. Like other *Aeficii* in the east, probably connected

36. So F. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus* (1951) 1302-1303; E. T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (1969) 135.

37. So G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek world* (1965) 71-2.

38. Macridy suggests no date for this list; one in the 1st century AD is provisionally proposed in the absence of imperial nomina in a group of 13 Corinthians (possible exception: Iulius Philetus, line 12).

with the equus praedives M. Aeficius Calvinus, although “the difference in praenomen [suggests] that we are dealing with another branch of the family” at Corinth: E. Rawson, *Roman culture and society* (Oxford 1990) 356–7.

4. *ANTONIUS*. (a) M. Antonius Orestes, *Iivir quinqu.* with Cn. Publilius, term dated 40 BC (Amandry 39–41; *RPC I* no. 1122–3); (b) M. Antonius Theophilus, *Iivir quinqu.* with P. Aebutius (?- - -), term dated 30 BC (Amandry 41–42; *RPC I* nos. 1129–31); Antony’s steward in Corinth (Plut., *Ant.* 67); (c) M. Antonius Hipparchus, son of the former and “the first of Antony’s freedmen to go over to Octavian after Actium” (Plut., *ibid.*), *Iivir* with M. Novius Bassus, term dated 10/9–5/4 BC (Amandry 49–50; *RPC I* nos. 1134–5); *Iivir* with C. Servilius Primus, coins dated 2–1 BC (Amandry 50–51; *RPC I* nos. 1136–7); included in a list of servile war-profiteers (Plin., *Nat XXXV*.200). Numerous other Corinthian *Antonii*: see West, Meritt, Kent, indices. *Origins*: Amandry saw Orestes as a “Greek enfranchised by Antony”; but it is at least as likely that he too was one of Antony’s freedman-agents (so too M. Walbank, *ABSA* 84 [1989] 371 n. 27).

5. *ARRIUS*. L. Arrius Peregrinus was *Iivir* with L. Furius Labeo, term dated 32/3–33/4 (Amandry 59–66; *RPC I* nos. 1151–71, “32–31[?]”) or in or shortly before 23 (Howgego 202–3). *Other Corinthian Arrii*: A. Arrius Aem. Proclus was *isagogeus* of imperial games for Tiberius (Kent no. 156, dated at pp. 30–31 no. 7 to 39). *Origins*: the tribe of Proclus, that of the colony, implies that his family only achieved full Roman citizenship after its arrival in the colony. The nomen has links with E. *negotia*: Wiseman s.v.; note too the C. Arrii in the *collegia* of Capua, which had a strongly mercantile character including ties with Delos: F. Coarelli, *Les bourgeois municipales italiennes aux Iie et Iers siècles av. J.-C.* (1983) 386–387; also the same combination of praenomen and nomen in a Thespian magistrate of 169–172, L. Arrius Alexander (*SEG* 34 [1984] 456) for the links of Thespieae’s *negotiatores* with colonial Corinth see above; and a C. Arri(us) A.f. who was *Iivir quinqu.* at colonial Dyme, coins dated 44–31 BC (*RPC I* nos. 1283–4).

6. *BELLIUS*. M. Bellius Proculus was *Iivir* with P. Vipsanius Agrippa, term dated 37/8 (Amandry 69–73; *RPC I* nos. 1172–9). *Origins*: the nomen is extremely rare. Apart from Rome, it is known in Roman Gaul, at Nemausus, a Latin colony of Caesarian or triumviral origin (*CIL XII* 3470), and at Lugudunum (Lyon), a full colony founded in 43 BC, “it is generally accepted, in accordance with [Caesar’s] plans” (J. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul* [1983] 19; Vittinghoff, *op.cit.* 68).

7. *CAECILIUS*. Q. Caecilius Niger, *Iivir* with C. Heius Pamphilus, term dated 34–31 BC (Amandry 38–9; *RPC I* nos. 1127–8) or c. 32–31 BC (Howgego: Cat. No. 13). *Origins*: an exact homonym of a Roman senator, the quaestor of Verres in Sicily in 72 BC (Wiseman 22). This coincidence has two possible explanations: the *Iivir* belonged to the same family; or he was deliberately named so as to evoke a Roman senatorial family. The second explanation seems preferable, not least because his duoviral colleague was a freedman: see Cat. No. 11 for other examples of this onomastic practice.

8. *CANINIUS*. (a) P. Caninius Agrippa, *Iivir quinqu.* with L. Castricius Regulus, term dated 21/22 (Amandry 57–9; *RPC I* nos. 1149–50) or 16/17 (Howgego: Cat. No. 13); (b) L. Caninius Agrippa, *Iivir*, term dated 68/9 (Amandry 75–6; *RPC I* nos. 1210–12). *Other Corinthian Caninii*: a family group of M. *Caninii* are known from a Latin epitaph (Kent no. 284). *Origins*: with reasonable certainty the elder Agrippa has been identified with P. Caninius Alexiadae f. Co[.] Agrippa, *procurator Caesa. Aug. provinc. Achaiae* sometime before 15 (West nos. 65–6) and with Poplio[s] Kaneinios Agrip[pa], honoured at Pellene by the cities and the resident Romans as their *ek progon[on euer]getes* (*SEG* 11 [1950] 1269; *PIR*² C 387; E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian* [1939] cols. 140–141; U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands* [1954] 256–257). As Groag saw, Agrippa’s father looks like a freeborn (provincial) Greek; evidently a senatorial Caninius³⁹ brokered the

39. L. Caninius Gallus, cos. 37 BC, had M. Agrippa as his colleague; but his praenomen is different from the Corinthian Agrippa (although the latter’s presumed descendant and homonym was a Lucius).

family's grant of Roman citizenship, Alexiades' son being named as well for M. Agrippa, with whom the family seems to have had a personal tie. As West saw, the son's Roman tribe, either the Co[l(lina)] or the Co[r(nelia)], shows that his enfranchisement was unconnected with his admission to the citizenship of Corinth; in fact the Co[l(lina)] should be recognised here, being "the tribe of many men in the East who were granted citizenship", L. Ross Taylor, *The voting districts of the Roman republic* (1960) 148. Alexiades may originally have come from Achaëa: apart from his son's 'ancestral' ties with Pellene, a P. Caninius Zeno, whom Kahrstedt saw as a freedman of the Corinthian family, was honoured by the nearby city of Aegira (Greek inscription, apparently lost, reported briefly by Frazer, *Pausanias* IV 177 [1]); and other instances of the uncommon name 'Alexiades' cluster around the Corinthian gulf⁴⁰. There is a cumulative case for linking the family with maritime *negotia*: Aegira as well as Corinth had harbour facilities (for possible colonial ties with Aegium, another Achaean port-city, see Cat. No. 30); Agrippa had been of service to Pellene's *negotiatores*; and at Corinth a Latin honorific inscription for him was set up by Grania Quinta (West no. 65), 'Granius' being a well-attested nomen among *negotiatores* (Hatzfeld 392–3), also appearing in Achaëa (*CIL* III Suppl. 14203¹³). The connection, if any, with the L. Caninii attested on Mytilene in the milieu of the island's resident Romans is unclear (L. Caninius Rufus, *IG* XII 2 88 and 375 with Hatzfeld 90–95; L. [K]aneinius Dion, S. Charitonidou, *Hai epigraphai tes Lesbou. Sumppleroma* (1988) no. 18 line 20).

9. *CASTRICIUS*. (a) L. Cas(---), *IIvir* with Insteius, term dated 42 or 41 BC (Amandry 33–6; *RPC* I nos. 1118–22). Kent 24 no. 3 suggests Cas(sius), Amandry Cas(tricius) — a more tempting expansion in view of (b) L. Castricius Regulus, *IIvir quinqu.* with P. Caninius Agrippa, term dated 21/22 (Amandry 57–9; *RPC* I nos. 1149–50) or 16/17 (Howgego: below No. 13). Regulus was the honorand of a Latin inscription (Kent no. 153, the nomen restored, [Castr]icius) recording that he was the first agonothete of the Isthmian games following their restoration to the cura of Corinth

(in 2 BC: Kent 30 no. 1), that he renovated the sanctuary buildings, *omni[bus aedificiis Cae]sareon novatis*, and that he hosted a banquet for the whole colony, *epulumq[ue] [omnibus co]llonis dedit*. On epigraphically somewhat tenuous grounds he has been identified as the occupant of an "elaborate Roman tomb" of the first century AD at Cenchreae, "its primary orientation towards the sea", with a fragmentary Latin epitaph made to yield the cognomen *Reg[ulus]*: W.W. Willson Cummer, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 205–31; Šašel-Kos no. 124 (with reservations about the identification). *Origins*: the *Castricii* were "one of the greatest of the Italian trading families in the Aegean area" (Wiseman 222–223 no. 109). For the well-documented presence of *Castricii* on Delos, at Athens, Chalcis and at Thespieae see Hatzfeld 388; Roesch, *op. cit.* 173–77 no. 26; they were already established in Greece, and becoming hellenized, by c. 100 BC, when L. Castricius L.f. was an agonistic victor at Chalcis (Hatzfeld 41 n. 2).

10. *CLAUDIUS*. (a) Ti. Claudius Optatus, *IIvir* with C. Iulius Polyaeus, term dated 57/8 or 58/9 (Amandry 22–26; *RPC* I nos. 1201–2); (b) Ti. Claudius Anaxilaus, *IIvir* with P. Ventidius Fronto, term dated 67/8 (Amandry 14–26 and *RPC* I nos. 1207–9, but note the reservations of M. Deissman, *Gnomon* 63 [1991] 32–3); also Isthmian agonothete (Kent no. 212, dated, p. 31 no. 14, to "Vespasian [?]"). *Origins*: Optatus was seen by Amandry as a provincial Greek enfranchised under Claudius (or Nero); but the Latin cognomen with its servile ring ['pleasing', 'dear': cf. Claudius Optatus Aug(usti) l(ibertus), *PIR*² C946] does not support this view. Certainly by no means all Corinthian Claudii owed their nomen (ultimately) to an emperor: the clear case in point is Ti. Cl. P. f. Fab. Dinippus, an eques who served as military tribune in Spain and three times as *praefectus fabrum* of the proconsul, as well as holding high colonial office, including that

40. Ambracia: *SEG* 35 (1985) 665A, 12 (after 167 BC); Naupactus: *IG* IX 1² (3) 619.3 (c. 200–180 BC); Buttus in W. Locris: *IG* IX 1² (3) 638.7.17 etc (c. 151–148 BC). I am extremely grateful to Richard Catling of the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Oxford, for providing this information.

of agonothete of imperial games for Nero (West nos. 86–90; Kent no. 158–163; H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrum etc* [1977] C 139); as West saw, his filiation excludes his identification as an imperial enfranchisee; he was presumably born early in the reign of Tiberius, whom his praenomen was meant to commemorate. His tribe was not that of Claudius (the *Quirina*, presumably Nero's too); nor is the Fabia an obvious indicator of freedman descent. His Greek cognomen made West (pp. 73–4) think of an ancestor's enfranchisement by one of the Claudii Pulchri; but no (P.) Claudius Pulcher can be closely linked with Greece in the Late Republic, and such a grant is not likely at an earlier date. He seems better linked with the Claudii established in the east since the second century BC (Wilson 109–110) as *negotiatores*—note the Ti. Claudii of Delos, *BCH* 36 (1912) 26–27, and the Tiberios Klaudios Boukkion among the Romans of Augustan Messene, *SEG* 23 (1968) 23. The same may be true of Ti. Claudius Anaxilaus, if Amandry is right (106–107) to redate West no. 54, a Latin honorific inscription for the proconsul L. Aquillius Florus Turcianus Gallus set up by a Ti. Cl. Anaxilaus and another Ti. Cl. [---], to the Augustan period, as most scholars prefer (see most recently B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* I [1984] cols. 189–90 no. 7); if so, this Anaxilaus was an earlier kinsman (Amandry suggests the grandfather) of his Neronian homonym. The elder Anaxilaus conceivably received a viritane grant from Tiberius as a privatus: cp. Ti. Claudius Apollonius of Elis, enfranchised between 20 and 10 BC, *Inschriften von Olympia*, no. 369. But Tiberius at this date had no known ties with Corinth, and it is preferable to see these Claudii Anaxilai as a family of hellenized *negotiatores*.

11. *FULVIUS*. Q. Ful(vius) Flaccus was *Iivir* with M. Acilius Candidus, his term dated to 54/5 or 55/6 (Amandry 22–26; *RPC* I nos. 1189–1200). *Other Corinthian Fulvii*: M. Fulvius Iulianus, Isthmian *hellanodices* in 127, Spawforth, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 298; West no. 164; also Q. Fulvius Q.f. [.] n. Ouf(entina) Nobilior, recipient of *ornamenta* (Kent no. 120). *Origins*: Kent saw Nobilior as a member of the famous Roman family. But the *Iivir* also bears the names of a consular family (the *Fulvii*

Flacci), and it is hard to credit that members of republican noble houses, however down on their luck (cp. *RE* Fulvius 94, the Catilinarian M. Fulvius Nobilior), would have migrated to Caesar's colony. The explanation rather lies in the same onomastic fashion which produced—e.g.—Corinth's P. Vipsanius Agrippa (below No. 30), Q. Caecilius Niger (above No. 7) and, further afield, the neaniscarch T. Flavius Sabinus of Elis (*AEp.* 1965, 207), the ephebe L. Sulpicius Galba of Calindoea in the Chalcidice (Greek inscription to be published by Louisa Loukopoulou) and Caecilius Iucundus Sextus Metellus of Pompeii (*CIL* IV 5788)⁴¹. The Corinthian *Fulvii*, to judge from their onomastic practices, were keen to stress their superior birth among fellow-colonists of predominantly servile origins. Their own probably derived from E. *negotiatores*: see *BCH* 36 (1912) 3; Hatzfeld 391–2; Wilson 119 (speculating a banking business). For M. *Fulvii* at Patrae and Dyme see Šašel-Kos nos. 60, 32.

12. *FURIUS*. L. Furius Labeo was *Iivir* with L. Arrius Peregrinus, term dated to 32/3 or 33/4 (Amandry 22–26; *RPC* I nos. 1151–71 (“32–3[?]”), or in or shortly before 23 (Howgego 202–203) *Origins*: the *Furii* are well-attested among E. *negotiatores*: *BCH* 36 (1912) 37; Hatzfeld 392; Donati 39 no. 7.

13. *HEIUS*. (a) C. Heius Pamphilus, *Iivir* with Q. Caecilius Niger, term assigned to 34–31 BC (Amandry 38–9; *RPC* I nos. 1127–8) or c. 42–31 BC, Howgego, *art. cit.*; *Iivir* a second time with C. Heius Pollio (I), coins dated ?27/6 BC (Amandry 47–9; *RPC* I no. 1132) or c. 31 BC to 1 (Howgego), and *praefectus* with P. Aebutius Sp.f., both for a second time, on behalf of unknown honorary *Iiviri*, coins dated 17/16 BC (Amandry 54–5; *RPC* I no. 1133) or c. 27 BC–14 (Howgego); subject of a Latin honorific inscription recording that he was Isthmian agonothete, Kent no. 150; (b) C. Heius Pollio (I), *Iivir* for the second time with C. Heius Pamphilus (above); (c) C. Heius Pollio (II), *Iivir* for the second time with C. Mussius Priscus, coins dated 4/5

41. I am grateful for helpful discussion of this fashion with Heikki Solin.

(Amandry 52–4; RPC I nos. 1139–44) or 4/5–5/6 (Howgego). *Other Corinthian Heii*: C. H. Aristio, *Iivir quinqu.* in a Latin text claimed as Augustan from its letter-forms, Kent no. 151; C. H. Magnus, athletic victor at Thespieae after 70, L. Robert *Hellenica* II (1946) 10–11; C. H. Magio, victorious wrestler at Sparta in 105/6, P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta* (1989) 232 no. 3 (where the date is incorrect); C. H. Nereus, recipient of Delphi's citizenship, *F. Delphes* III 4 no. 92; C. H. Eupaedeutus, architect working at Delphi in the 2nd century, *F. Delphes* III 4 no. 96. *Origins*: almost certainly the nomen was introduced into the Aegean area by *negotiatores*: C. Heius T. f. Libo helped pay for the post-88 BC rebuilding of the Italian Agora at Delos (*I. Délos* 2612; 1754) and was identified by Münzer with C. Heius of Messana, one of the Heii of that city and Lilybaeum victimised by Verres in 73–1 BC (*RE* Heius 1–2; Wiseman 234 no. 202). The *C. Heii* of Corinth seem to have descended from the family's freedmen, since inscriptions for Pamphilus and Aristio omit their filiation, an indicator of freedman status.

14. *INSTEIUS*. Inst(---), *Iivir* with L. Cas(---), term dated 42 or 41 BC (coinage: Amandry 33–6; RPC I nos. 1118–21), identified by Kent with M. Instei[um-] of a Latin fragment (no. 345), with [M.] Insti[eo] (*sic*) Tecto, *Iivir* and *Iivir quinqu.* (Kent no. 149), and in turn with Antony's partisan M. Insteius, *trib. pot. design.* for 42 BC, a commander at Actium, and now attested by a new inscription as Antony's legate in Macedonia in 39 or 38 BC. Pantelis Nigdelis, who is to publish this text (in *BCH* for 1994; I am grateful to him for kindly showing me his typescript) points to the existence of provincial *M. Insteii* in N. W. Macedonia, whose citizenship must have gone back to the legate. At Corinth we must either be dealing with Antony's man, as Kent believed, or else with someone whose names derived from him. Given the existence of prominent freedmen of Antony himself at Corinth, and of families descended from freedmen of his partisans, if the *Iivir* Inst(---) was not the senator he is more likely to have been one of his freedman than a peregrine Greek enfranchised *viritim* (especially given the initial hostility of Greeks to the new colony); the *M. Insteii* of the Corinthian

inscriptions might then have been — if not the same man — his descendants. It remains possible that the *Iivir* was indeed Antony's legate; but this now looks doubtful, and anyway it was always questionable whether a Roman senator would be found sharing a provincial *Iivirate* with a partner of lower social status (as L. Cas(---) must have been, whoever he was): compare Grant 248–9 on honorary senatorial *Iiviri* at colonial Parium.

15. *IULIUS*. (a) C. Iulius (---), *Iivir* with Aeficius Certus, term dated 44 or 43 BC (Amandry 28–32; RPC I no. 1116); (b) C. Iulius Nicep(horus), *Iivir* with P. Tadius Chilo, coins dated to 43 or 42 BC (Amandry 32–3; RPC I no. 1117); (c) C. Iulius Herac(---), *Iivir quinqu.* with P. Aebutius Sp. f., term dated 1/2 (Amandry 22–26); (d) C. Iulius Polyaenus, *Iivir* with Ti. Claudius Optatus, coins dated 57/8 or 58/9 (Amandry 22–4; RPC I nos. 1201–2). *Origins*: Polyaenus seems to have been Sicyonian: he coined in Nero's honour while a Sicyonian magistrate (Amandry 21 n. 51), and his nomenclature would suit a peregrine Sicyonian from a family enfranchised *viritim* (for Polyaenus as a Sicyonian name note *SIG³* 249B, 30, of 339 BC); his descendant, C. Iulius Polyaenus 'the younger', was an Isthmian hellanodices in 137, A. Spawforth, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 298. Of the earlier three, Amandry saw the first as a provincial Greek enfranchised by Caesar. But all three are best seen as freedmen, or descendants of freedmen, of the colony's founder, well-known for the number and wealth of his ex-slaves (App. *BCiv.* III.94). The modern view that C. I. Herac(---) was a Euryclid of Sparta ('C. Iulius Heraclanus'), begun by West, *AJA* 30 (1926) 391–2 and followed e.g. by Grant (268) and Amandry (51–2), needs scotching once and for all: to repeat, "there is no evidence for the occurrence at Augustan Sparta of the name Heraclanus in association with a member of the Euryclid family", A. Spawforth, *ABSA* 73 (1978) 257–8; and the 'Eurycles' who gave therms to Corinth was the Trajanic senator C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius, not the famous Eurycles. The cognomen of the Augustan *Iivir* could be expanded in a number of alternative ways.

16. *LICINIUS*. Licinius(---) was *Iivir* with Octavius (---), either he or both for the second time, term

dated between 42/3 and 45/6 (Amandry 72–3; *RPC* I nos. 1180–81). *Other Corinthian Licinii*: numerous, including the freedman P. Licinius P. l. [- -], bearing the title *philosebastos*, implying, like the cognate *philokaisar*, personal contact with the emperor, who may be Augustus, to whose reign West no. 15 dated the text on palaeographic grounds; P. L. Anteros, given grazing rights on Methana in 1/2, *IGIV* 853 with A. J. Gossage, *ABSA* 49 (1954) 56; L. Eucharistus, Isthmian victor, Meritt no. 15; P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, high-priest of the Achaean League, of disputed date, D. Geagan, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 349–60; the doctor L. Lupus, Macridy *art. cit.* (above, s.v. ‘Aeficius’) no. 27. *Origins*: *Licinii* are well attested as E. *negotiatores*: Hatzfeld 394–5 cites, as well as the Delian *Licinii*, a further ten *i.a.* from Athens, Chalcis and Thespieae.

17. *MEMMIUS*. P. Mem(mius) Cleander was *Iivir* *quinqu.* with L. Rutilius Piso, term dated to 66/7 (Amandry 14–22; *RPC* I nos. 1203–6). As Delphi’s priest of the Sebastoi and epimelete of the Delphic Amphictyony in 54/5 he set up a statue of Nero at Delphi, *SIG³* 808. With little doubt from one of the (apparently at least two) Delphic families owing their citizenship to the governor P. Memmius Regulus (35–44). For the colonial ties of these families note too the fragmentary text from Delphi for a local *eques* P. Memmius? Critolaus Theocles (Vespasianic), recording his post as *strategos* (= *Iivir*?) and grant of agonothetic *ornamenta* from an unknown city attractively identified as Corinth: *AEp.* 1966, 382; 1967, 454; Devijver, *op. cit.* (above, s.v. ‘Claudius’) II no. 40.

18. *MUSSIUS*. C. Mussius Priscus, *Iivir* with C. Heius Pollio (II), term assigned to 4/5 (Amandry 52–4; *RPC* I nos. 1139–44) or 4/5–5/6 (Howgego: Cat. No. 13). *Other Corinthian Mussii*: C. M. Corinthus, Isthmian hellanodices in 137, A. Spawforth, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 298; a Mussius in a Latin graffito from Upper Peirene, *Corinth* VIII.1 *Acrocorinth* (1930) 53 no. 7d. Hellenized *Mussii* are attested at Miletus in the late republic and early empire: Hatzfeld 397; Wilson 134.

19. *NOVIUS*. M. Novius Bassus, *Iivir* with M. Antonius Hipparchus, coins dated 10/9–5/4 BC (Amandry 49–50; *RPC* I nos. 1134–5). *Other*

Corinthian Novii: C. N. Felix, set up an honorific inscription for Q. Cispuleius Q. l. Primus and himself; presumably of servile origin (West no. 77). *Origins*: the Campanian Novii had E. *negotia* (*RENovius*), including Delian ties, which perhaps embraced banking (Wilson 119). The Athenian Ti. Claudius Novius, a wealthy *novus homo* prominent under Claudius and Nero, bears the nomen as a cognomen and probably was related to E. (Corinthian?) *Novii*, A. Spawforth, in S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek historiography* (1994) 233–247.

20. *OCTAVIUS*. ‘Octavius’ was *Iivir* with ‘Licinius’, perhaps for a second time, coins dated 42/3–45/6 (Amandry 72–3; *RPC* I nos. 1180–81). The nomen, admittedly common, occurs among E. *negotiatores*, Hatzfeld 397–398; Wilson 109–110.

21. *PACONIUS*. L. Paconius Flam(- -) was *Iivir* with Cn. Publicius Regulus, coins dated 50/51 (Amandry 73–4; *RPC* I nos. 1182–8). *Paconii* (the nomen is Oscan: Salomies, *op. cit.* [n.10] 27–8) are well-known among E. *negotiatores*: *RE* Paconius; Hatzfeld 399; Donati no. 14; Wilson 119 (speculating a banking business for the Delian Paconii). Latin-using *Paconii* turn up in Corinth’s vicinity at Athens (D. Paconius L. l. Dionysius, *CIL* III 7295) and Cleitor (Paconia Q. f. Gemin[a], *CIL* III 497).

22. *PINNIUS*. C. Pinnius [?- -], *Iivir* with P. Aebutius, term dated 39–36 BC (Amandry 36–8; *RPC* I nos. 1124–6). Amandry sees a link (“sans doute” perhaps goes too far) with T. Pinnius, the *familiarissimus* of Cicero, who was his *secundus heres*, Cic. *ad fam.* 13.61, and creditor of Bithynian Nicaea to the tune of HS 8 million, a sum which his son in 51 BC was trying to recover: Hatzfeld 134; *REP* Pinnius 3. The *Iiviris* presumably connected with C. Pinnius C. f. Fal(erna) Agrippa, known from a Latin tombstone of uncertain provenience in Greece, but perhaps Mantinea (*CIL* III 571), whose cognomen was popular in the colony. Pinnii at Thessalonice: *IGX* 2 no. 611, Pinnius Parthenius.

23. *PUBLICIUS*. Cn. Publicius Regulus was *Iivir* with P. Paconius Flam(- -), coins dated 50/51 (Amandry 73–4; *RPC* I nos. 1182–8). *Other Corinthian Publicii*: Cn. Publicius M. f. M. n. M. pron. Aem(ilia) Rusticus, recipient of *Iiviral*, quinquen-

nalian and agonothetic *ornamenta* and husband of a Babbia, Kent no. 176 (Latin text dated to the C2 AD from letter forms). *Origins*: The tribe of Rusticus, that of the colony, suggests that his family was one of freedman stock only admitted to full Roman citizenship after its arrival in the colony. In the late republic the nomen was commonly assumed by freed *servi publici* at Rome, Treggiari 18. n.7. *Publicii* also appear at Patrae: *AEp.* 1990, 888, a Publicia Optata married into a local curial family and conceivably herself Corinthian.

24. *PUBLILIUS*. Cn. Publilius (?- -) was *Iivir quinqu.* with M. Antonius Orestes, coins dated to 40 BC (Amandry 39–41; *RPC I* nos.1122–3). *Other Corinthian Publicii*: Kent no. 324. *Origins*: with the spelling *Poplilios* the nomen appears among E. *negotiatores*: Hatzfeld 85–6.

25. *RUTILIUS*. (a) L. Rutilius Plancus was *Iivir* with A. Vatronius Labeo, coins dated 12/13–15/16 (Amandry 67–9; *RPC I* nos.1145–8); (b) L. Rutilius Piso was *Iivir quinqu.* with P. Memmius Cleander, coins dated 66/7 (Amandry 14–22; *RPC I* nos. 1203–6). *Other Corinthian Rutilii*: L. Rutilius[---], donor of a public building, West ; [L.] Rutilius L.f. [---], Isthmian agonothete, and his son C. Rutilius L.f. Aem(ilia) Fuscus, his father’s isagogeus, West no. 82, dated to 51 by Kent 31 n.11; also *CIL III* 6100; Kent no. 251. Registration in the colony’s tribe suggests that the first Corinthian Rutilius was only admitted to full Roman citizenship after his family’s arrival in the colony. *Rutilii* are well-known as E. *negotiatores*: Hatzfeld 401; Wilson 109–110.

26. *SERVILIUS*. C. Servilius C.f. Primus, *Iivir* with M. Antonius Hipparchus, coins dated 2/1 BC (Amandry 50–51; *RIC I* nos.1136–7). *Other Corinthian Servilii*: L. Servilius Maximi f. Phaon, patron of building at Phlius, *IG IV* 442. *Origins*: Admittedly common, the nomen is well attested among E. *negotiatores*: Hatzfeld 402–3 (including Delos and Chalcis); Wilson 109–110.

27. *TADIUS*. P. Tadius Chilo was *Iivir* with C. Iulius Nicephorus, term dated 43 or 42 BC (Amandry 32–3; *RPC I* no. 1117). The nomen recurs doubtfully at Patrae: Tadia Q.l. Myrine, *CIL III* 7263 (after an emendation by Mommsen). See text for discussion.

28. *VATRONIUS*. A. Vatronius Labeo was *Iivir* with L. Rutilius Plancus, term dated 12/13–15/16 (Amandry 67–9; *RPC I* nos.1145–8). *Other Corinthian Vatronii*: A. Vatronius Men(enia) A.f.Q.n. [.] pron. [---], Latin text dated by Kent (no. 250) to 50–100. Of the same family almost certainly (Kent makes him the *Iivir*’s son). *Origins*: Connected beyond doubt with the *Vatronii* (using the praenomen C.) who were a leading family of late-republican Praeneste (*RE* Vatronius), a Latin city placed in the Menenia tribe after the Social War (Ross Taylor, *op. cit.* (n. above, s.v. ‘*Caninius*’) 111, 273). Wilson 110 has identified a group of nomina with Praenestine associations among E. *negotiatores*, speculating that republican Praeneste “had its own commercial life”; so too E. Rawson, *Roman culture and society* (Oxford 1990) 483 n. 75. Since Roman freedmen enfranchised in Italy were normally placed in one of the four urban tribes (Ross Taylor, *op. cit.* ch.10), the *Vatronii* of Corinth seem better taken as direct descendants of the Praenestine family, members of which seem to have become domiciled in the E. as *negotiatores*.

29. *VENTIDIUS*. P. Ventidius Fronto was *Iivir* with Ti. Claudius Anaxilaus, term dated 67/8 (Amandry 14–26; *RPC I* nos.1207–9). See text for discussion. *P. Ventidii* are known at Athens, M. Woloch, *Roman citizenship and the Athenian elite* (1973) 114–115, no doubt deriving their Roman names from the same source, if not necessarily in the same fashion.

30. *VIPSANIUS*. P. Vipsanius Agrippa was *Iivir* with M. Bellius Proculus, term dated 37/8 (Amandry 69–73; *RPC I* nos.1172–9). *Other Corinthian Vipsanii*: Kent no. 247 (Latin fragment); L. Vipsanius [---], athletic victor at Thespieae after 70, *SEG 3* (1927) 334, 6 with L. Robert, *Hellenica II* (1946) 10. *Origins*: the *Iivir* probably descended from a freedman of the famous Agrippa, settled at Corinth, his father giving his son the cognomen of the family’s *patronus* (above, Cat. No. 11). The nomen appears elsewhere on the Corinthian gulf, at Aegium (home to a community of ‘Italians’), where a marble entablature preserves the names [---]tios Soranos and Bipsania Louki [---], which perhaps should be restored to read *Louki[ou]*, i.e. Vipsania daughter of L. (Vipsanius), J. Bingen,

BCH 78 (1954) 82 n. 2. This woman may well be related to the Corinthian family. For Athenian Vipsanii, including a L. Vipsanius [?Lol]lianus, see Woloch, *op. cit.* 127. R. Syme, *Roman Papers*

(1979) 375 n. 2 makes the point that M. Agrippa's suppressed nomen "emerges with females and freedmen".