


Senatorial Estates in Imperial Asia Minor – State of the Question, Methodological Issues and Perspectives on Future Research

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I. Introduction

Sum quidem prope totus in praediis – “my property is indeed chiefly in land.”¹ With these words, written in a letter addressed to his old friend Calvisius Rufus and discussing his plans to purchase an estate adjacent to his property, Pliny the Younger discloses the typical property structures of Roman senators in the Imperial Age.² Their wealth consisted mainly of landed estates. This applies as much to the senators coming from Italy as to those from the provinces.³ Landholding offered a reliable and steady income, which was deemed more important than high, but risky profit from which, however, senators did not completely refrain⁴. Admittedly, they owned houses, cash and other goods, they had money lent out at interest and found other ways to invest capital profitably, but the focus on land ownership remains. Aside from the letters of Pliny and some other literary sources, it is mainly epigraphic documents that give us information about the location and sometimes extent of senatorial land ownership.

Especially in Asia Minor there is plenty of evidence. An older collection of the sources for private estates in the various regions of Asia Minor was presented by Robert Broughton, but it refers to all kinds of owners and is outdated.⁵ In his important treatise on ‘*The Senators from the Eastern Part of the Imperium Romanum*’ (1979) Helmut Halfmann compiled a considerable amount of this evidence, in order to draw conclusions about the senators stemming from the Roman east.⁶

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¹ Plin. epist. 3.19.8.

² For Pliny’s wealth and finances cf. Duncan-Jones 1982, 17-32, for the agricultural investments and profits of senators in general see *ibid.* 33-59. For republican times see Shatzman 1975, 9-109.

³ For Italy see Andermahr 1998; cf. for the composition of senatorial properties from Republican up to Augustan times Shatzman 1975; for known instances of wealth in the Roman Empire (not only of senators) see Mratschek-Halfmann 1993.

⁴ Cf. Kehoe 1988.

⁵ Broughton 1938, 663-676; cf. also Broughton 1934; Levick 1967, 215-226.

⁶ Halfmann 1979, 52-67; cf. also Halfmann 1982, *passim*.

Since then, research on Asia Minor and on landholding there (though with a certain emphasis on the imperial estates) has made notable progress and new testimonies have been discovered as well as published.⁷

Apart from that, further, earlier published evidence for the land ownership of senators whose origin was not in Asia Minor can be added. All in all, landholding in Asia Minor is not a new topic. A systematic and comprehensive study of senatorial land ownership in Asia Minor as a whole, however, is not yet at hand, let alone on senatorial properties in the whole Imperium Romanum.⁸

It is not my intent to deliver that here as this would afford much more space than one article could provide. Rather, I would like to present some prolegomena to such a study and thus highlight some key aspects and methodological issues that it will need to address.

II. From Republic to Empire

As soon as the Romans set foot in Asia Minor, Roman presence and land ownership followed on heels. This has been discussed in some detail by Robert Broughton and others, but some essential aspects should be mentioned here.⁹ In any case, there certainly were senatorial landowners in Asia Minor before there were senators from that part of the world, and those in turn were preceded by non-senatorial Roman landholders. However, evidence for the republic is scarce so that we cannot establish any Roman landowner before the Mithradatic Wars, let alone a senator. Nonetheless, as there were quite some Roman citizens resident in Asia Minor by that time, not only in Ephesus which gained tragic fame through the Asiatic Vespers,¹⁰ we can conjecture and sometimes even identify some Roman landholding there in the early first century BC.¹¹ Cicero, for instance, mentions a L. Genucilius Curvus who had holdings in the territory of Parium.¹² Not only those living

⁷ Cf. e.g. Mitchell 1993, I, 143-164; 1999, 37-46; Corsten 2005; Dalla Rosa 2014; 2016; 2017; Erdkamp et al. 2015 (though not specifically focused on Asia Minor). Cf. the short summary in Marek 2019, 461-2.

⁸ Mitchell 1993, I, 143-164, however, is a good starting point for Asia Minor. Mratschek-Halfmann 1993 presents interesting insights in the assets of many persons of the Imperial Age, but her study and prosopography rely heavily on literary sources whereas epigraphic evidence is only scarcely taken into account. Andermahr's comprehensive study on senatorial estates in Italy stands pretty much alone (Andermahr 1998).

⁹ Broughton 1934; Levick 1967; cf. now Kirbihler 2007 and Eberle – Le Quéré 2017 (with a focus on the whole Greek East in Republican times); see also Tan 2017, 68-90.

¹⁰ The numbers of the Romans victims given by the sources range from 80,000 (Val. Max. 9.2 ext. 3) to 150,000 (Plut. Sulla 24.4) and are likely to be exaggerated (which already Cass. Dio fr. 109.8 seems to imply); the death count will still have been high, though, as the killing of Romans occurred in the whole province of Asia, cf. Liv. per. 78.1; Tac. ann. 14.4; App. Mithr. 5(22-23).

¹¹ See Eberle – Le Quéré 2017, 4-6 (= Table 1-2) listing individual and anonymous groups of Italian landowners in the Greek East, not only in Asia Minor; the list ends in Augustan times, but is neither free of errors (for instance, Livia is still mentioned as landowner near Thyateira, for this see here below) nor complete (add for example Appuleia Concordia who owned an estate in Galatia, see I.North Galatia 324 and the remarks by Calder 1908, 215).

¹² Cic. fam. 13.53: *negotia eius, quae sunt in Hellesponto, primum ut obtineat id iuris in agris, quod ei Pariana civitas decrevit et dedit et quod semper obtinuit sine ulla controversia.*

in the Asian provinces acquired land; there were some non-resident landholders as well, from Sullan times at least.¹³

This is not to say that Romans supplanted domestic landowners.¹⁴ There continued to be many local magnate families some of which rose to senatorial rank in later times, mostly from the Flavian emperors onwards.¹⁵ A certain shift is to be assumed in the aftermath of Caesar's death, however. The proscriptions of 43 BC might not have yielded a noteworthy effect on Asia Minor.¹⁶ At least we cannot establish how many Roman assets in Asia Minor were affected by this harsh measure of the triumvirs, and it is equally uncertain how they could enforce it, as these lands were not yet under their control. But the exactions of Brutus and Cassius as well as the aftermath with Antony establishing his control certainly resulted in quite some property changing hands.¹⁷ Antony probably sold much of the land, though he may well have kept some share to himself which later fell to Octavian after the battle of Alexandria, but the extent is much debated.¹⁸

But it was not only the latter who benefitted from this expropriation as he probably offered for sale or passed on a lot of land to his close associates. It might be this way that Agrippa acquired the Thracian Chersonese as property which was inherited by Augustus, though there are other possible explanations.¹⁹ And strictly speaking, the Chersonese does not belong to Asia Minor. Yet that there were imperial properties in Asia Minor is beyond doubt, although the extent has been somewhat debated and the sources are again scarce.²⁰ In any case, Augustus seems to have inherited at least some of the properties owned by King Amyntas.²¹ However, the long-assumed landholding of Livia near Thyateira arouses many doubts, and the same applies to Agrippa's alleged ownership of the marble quarries at Dokimeion in Phrygia.²² Both are inferred from epigraphical finds and that leads us to the center of my discussion.

In the case of Livia, the main grounds on which the assumption was made are two texts mentioning an ἐπίτροπος (τοῦ) Σεβαστοῦ ἄρκης Λιουιανῆς, i.e. *procurator Augusti arcae Livianae*, named

¹³ Cf. Broughton 1934, 20-210; see also Eberle – Le Quééré 2017, 11.

¹⁴ That is, Romans not originating from Asia Minor.

¹⁵ See Halfmann 1979; 1982.

¹⁶ For the proscriptions and their impact cf. Syme 1952, 187-201; Bengtson 1972; Hinard 1985, 259-318.

¹⁷ As argued by Broughton 1934, 213-215.

¹⁸ Cf. Frank 1927, 156-157; Broughton 1934, 213-217; Shatzman 1975, 365-366.

¹⁹ Cf. Cass. Dio 54.29.5 who declares his ignorance about the origins of Agrippa's ownership: τῶν τε γὰρ πλείστων αὐτοῦ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ Χερρόνησος ἢ πρὸς τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐλθοῦσα; for the properties of Agrippa cf. Roddaz 1984, 238-244.

²⁰ We know for instance Lucilius Capito, *procurator patrimonii provinciae Asiae* under Tiberius, see PIR² L 381.

²¹ Cf. Shatzman 1975, 361 with fn. 519; Mratschek-Halfmann 1993, 259-260. On the development of the imperial properties see now Lo Cascio 2015.

²² Dalla Rosa 2017, 111.

T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus.²³ Of course, the term *procurator* could refer to an administrator of an estate, but there are good arguments against that notion in the present case.²⁴ What matters is not the dating of the texts to the Severan period which might be explained by happenstance of transmission. Rather, the *procurator* in question was an *eques Romanus* whereas we would expect a freedman in connection with a private estate, even if it belonged to the ‘first lady’ of the empire as in case of Livia. In addition, there is the term ‘*arca*’ which may indeed refer to the ‘treasure’ or ‘cash’ of an estate, but its administration by a *procurator* instead of an *arcarius* or a *dispensator*, the latter rendered οἰκονόμος in Greek, seems odd.²⁵ And again, these were posts held by freedmen, not *equites Romani*. As a matter of fact, the alternative reading ἀρχῆς (instead of ἄρκης) is not at all ruled out. That reading, in the sense of pertaining to some district or the like, not necessarily in Lydia or Asia Minor at all,²⁶ would even make more sense as the post of *procurator Augusti arcae Livianae* seems to be the highest and most important function that Alfenus Arignotus had reached.²⁷ And the notion that the responsibility for the treasure of an imperial estate is so important to an *eques Romanus* is better set aside.

As for the Phrygian quarries ascribed to Agrippa, this assumption rests solely on a column found in Rome that was made of the corresponding marble and bore his name in the genitive.²⁸ However, that does not say much more than that the column belonged to Agrippa and the inscription is not to be taken as a quarry mark, hence it is better to assume Augustan ownership of the quarries from the very beginning.²⁹

III. Sources and types of evidence

It may seem somewhat surprising that I undertook to explain two examples illustrating what cannot be confirmed. But that is just the point – knowledge about senatorial landholding does not grow on trees. It is not easily attained and mostly involves combining various items of information. We do, of course, get some clues from literary sources. For instance, we learn from Tacitus that Rubellius Plautus had ‘*avitos agros*’ in Asia Minor, because Emperor Nero – viewing the young senator as a threat to his rule – strongly advised him to take a retreat there “*where he could*

²³ TAM V.2, 913, 935.

²⁴ See Dalla Rosa 2017, 112-113.

²⁵ Cf. Dalla Rosa 2017, 112 with fn. 59.

²⁶ There are two geographic entities called ‘Liviana’ named on the Tabula Peutingeriana, one in Gaul and one in Africa; the question arises if a third one could be inferred for western Asia Minor, but this might not be necessary, cf. Dalla Rosa 2017, 113 with fn. 61. The copper mine in Gaul named after Livia is by all probability to be ruled out as Pliny the Elder states the copper deposits there were almost exhausted in his times, nat. 34.4.

²⁷ For his career cf. Pflaum 1960, I, 576-579 no. 218 ter; Petolescu 1996. Pflaum *ibid.* suggested that he might have been a fiduciary for the confiscated properties of a senator named Livius, but there is no senator of that name known from the Severan period.

²⁸ Bruzza 1870, no. 255. That this pertained to Agrippa as owner of the quarry was suggested first by Hirschfeld 1905, 147 fn. 1.

²⁹ Cf. Dalla Rosa 2016, 318 with fn. 56.

*enjoy his youth safely and undisturbed*³⁰. Yet, this safety did not last for long as Nero had Plautus killed two years later; Plautus' properties he then gave to Octavia as “*unfavorable gift*” after he had divorced her.³¹ It is uncertain where exactly in Asia Minor these lands were located, but one might think of the region around Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia. The name ‘Rubellius’ occurs there in one inscription, the only epigraphically attested instance of that name in Asia Minor.³² This Rubellius in all probability owed his name to Rubellius Plautus, especially as his was not common a name.³³

In any case, that leads to the heart of the problem: How do we find out about senatorial estates and their location in Asia Minor? The information from literary sources does not account for many instances. To Rubellius Plautus add e.g. Rufus of Perinthus whose family is said to have produced several consuls and who was allegedly the richest man in the region of the Hellespont and the Propontis.³⁴ Most information comes from epigraphic evidence, however, on which I will focus in the following. Dealing with this material is not without challenges, though, as can be seen in the examples just presented.

1. Land registers

Rarely is senatorial property so clearly indicated as in the land register of Magnesia (I.Magnesia 122). There, we find at least three senators and two women of senatorial status.³⁵ Additionally, there is a senator named [---]nus owning the huge estate of more than 75 *iuga*.³⁶ This land register – like the most other samples³⁷ – dates to Late Antiquity, though, and will thus not be part of my discussion.³⁸ The foundation of a new senate in Constantinople by Constantine and the fact that senatorial status was no longer necessarily connected with membership in the senate or attendance at its meetings let the number of senators grow significantly.³⁹ Many of these lived away from

³⁰ Tac. ann. 14.22: *esse illi per Asiam avitos agros, in quibus tuta et inturbida iuventa frueretur*. – For Rubellius see PIR² R 115; Klingenberg 2011, 148.

³¹ Tac. ann. 14.57-60; for the citation see *ibid.* 60: *praedia Plauti infausta dona accipit*. Andermahr 1998, 415 fn. 3 is skeptical about the Asian estate being part of this gift to Octavia.

³² Marek, Pontus-Bithynia Nord-Galatia, Cat. Pompeiopolis, no. 14.

³³ For the Rubellii cf. Syme 1982 (= Syme 1982, 177-198), especially 78 noting the rarity of the name.

³⁴ Philostr. soph. 2.17 (597-598). For Rufus see PIR² R 203; Ameling 1985.

³⁵ I.e. Priscillianus (a 12-13: Πρισκιλλιανού λαμ(προτάτου)); Capitolinus (d 6: Καπετωλίνου λαμ(προτάτου)); Eutyclus (d 15: Εὐτύχου λαμ(προτάτου)); Aristokleia (b 3: Ἀριστοκλείης λαμ(προτάτης)); Hermonaktiane (d 9: Ἑρμωνακτιανῆς λαμ(προτάτης)).

³⁶ I.Magnesia 122 c 2. He might be identical with Priscillianus or Capitolinus, though not necessarily so; cf. Jones 1953, 53 fn. 34 who considers the identification with Capitolinus.

³⁷ SEG 42, 1001 (Mylasa) could be a fragment of an imperial cadaster; the three remaining lines are not very informative, though. Cf. also SEG 47, 1806 (Dereköy): this regulation regarding the cult of Zeus contains a longer list of plots which presupposes the existence of a cadaster.

³⁸ For a collection of the cadaster lists see Harper 2008, 83 fn. 1, to which add I.Mylasa II 282. As for the question of their exact date see Harper 2008, 84-88 and Huttner 2018, 10-11 who argue for a date about AD 350; Thonemann 2007, 438-9 advocates a dating of these inscriptions to c. AD 310.

³⁹ On the late antique senatorial order see Arnheim 1972; Schlinkert 1996; Heather 1998.

the capitals in the provinces of the empire which is the most plausible explanation for the findings in Magnesia.⁴⁰

The conditions in the Imperial Age were somewhat different. Not only are census inscriptions of this kind missing for earlier time, but senators were much fewer in numbers, about 600 men. And these spent much of their time in Rome and Italy where they were supposed to concentrate a certain share of their assets in land.⁴¹ But senators from the provinces often kept many of their properties in their home regions and others either invested there or obtained property by other means. The revenues were transferred at large shares to their 'center of life' in Italy and thus taken away from the local economy.⁴² Of course, all these men kept precise records of their properties, but unfortunately none of these records survived the course of time.⁴³

But we do get at least some hints of such records: A certain Iulius Serentius Aemilianus honored his benefactor, the *libertus Augusti* [---]enus, with a statue in Laodikeia Katakekaumene.⁴⁴ According to the fragmentary inscription belonging to this monument the freedman served – among other posts – as ἐπίτροπος καλενδαρίου Οὐηλιανοῦ, i.e. as *curator calendarii Veliani*. The *calendarium Velianum* is to be understood as the account book of someone named Velius. It may well be that this Velius left some property as a legacy to the emperor as Calder suggested.⁴⁵ But another possibility seems more plausible. The Velian property and thus the *calendarium* in question certainly pertained to an estate, by all means a large one. Otherwise no procurator just for this *calendarium* would have been necessary. Therefore, this estate will have belonged to a senator, who in all probability is to be identified with D. Velius Rufus, *consul ordinarius* in AD 178, who was executed in AD 182 or 183 in the aftermath of the conspiracy of Lucilla and whose properties were confiscated consequently.⁴⁶ The erection of the monument at Laodikeia could suggest a location near that city for the properties which were now in imperial possession and administrated by the freedman procurator.⁴⁷ Other reconstructions are also possible, though.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Cf. Harper 2008, 88.

⁴¹ This was expected from senators throughout the principate and will have applied to the minimum wealth of 1,000,000 HS at least; Trajan then specified a share of one third of all assets (Plin. epist. 6.19.4) which was later reduced by Marcus Aurelius to one quarter (SHA Aur. 11.8).

⁴² See Eck 2016, 103-107.

⁴³ Cf. Klingenberg 2011, 36-37.

⁴⁴ Calder 1910, 235-237 no. 5 = ILS 9470.

⁴⁵ Cf. Calder's comments to the inscription; see also Mitchell 1993, I, 153.

⁴⁶ SHA Comm. 4.10; cf. PIR² V 349 (the second cognomen Iulianus attributed to him on the basis of CIL VI 2382, l. 48, seems to be an error of the stonemason); cf. already Zucker 1911, 83.

⁴⁷ Cf. Mitchell 1993, 153.

⁴⁸ Boulvert 1974, 137 and 166-167 argues for the procuratorship of Cappadocia as the highest post of the anonymous procurator; if that is true, he probably held that post at the time of his honouring in Laodikeia. The responsibility for the *calendarium Velianum* would in this case date to earlier times; the Velian properties could thus be located elsewhere, for instance near Heliopolis in Syria, where the senatorial Velii originated, cf. PIR² V 343 (D. Velius Fidus). 346 (Velius [R]ufus). 347 (Velius Rufus). 349 (D. Velius Rufus) and 348 (C. Velius Rufus, procurator of equestrian rank).

A similar case can be made for the Quintilii brothers, Sex. Quintilius Condianus and Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus, who served together as *consules ordinarii* in AD 152.⁴⁹ Later they were put to death by Commodus in 182 or 183, allegedly because their erudition, military prowess, fraternal accord and wealth raised the emperor's suspicion.⁵⁰ And the latter was of course confiscated; the possessions were then administrated by a freedman ἐπίτροπος τάξεως Κυντιλιανῆς honoured in the early 3rd century by the Asiarch Aur. Gaius in Pergamon.⁵¹ Though this does not prove they had estates in Asia Minor, that inference is still reasonable, as the brothers stemmed from Alexandria Troas and – being famous for their riches – will have kept at least part of their paternal properties there.

2. Boundary stones

Boundary stones were used to mark the limits of all kinds of territories, including imperial and even private estates.⁵² They are found in Asia Minor in great numbers, but in regard to senators they are mostly inconclusive.⁵³ Stephen Mitchell makes some case for one such stone which was found in southern Pisidia between the ancient cities of Poglā and Andeda.⁵⁴ It is inscribed on all four faces:

- a Ὅρ-
- οος
- b Ἄν(δήδων)
- c Πώ(γλων)
- d Πλ(- - -).

Whereas the southwestern and southeastern as well as the northwestern faces are easily read, the face to the north-east cannot be connected with the name of a settlement. Yet it can be explained as an indication of an estate whose owners are to identified with the senatorial family of the Plancii from Perge, some 60 kilometers south-east. Hence, the inscription should be read as Πλ(ανκίου) or Πλ(ανκιανῶν).⁵⁵ The name Plancius is documented in that region several times.⁵⁶ Since it was not very common at all, its bearers must have been freedmen of the senatorial family of the Plancii

⁴⁹ See PIR² Q 21 and 27 as well as Halfmann 1979, 163 nos. 75-76.

⁵⁰ Thus Cass. Dio 72.5.3; SHA Comm. 4.9 gives another explanation.

⁵¹ I.Perg. III 44; cf. Christol – Demougin 1990 with some corrections to the reading (cf. also AE 1990, 939).

⁵² Cf. for instance the boundary stones demarcating the borders of an imperial estate and the territory of Sagalassos (SEG 19, 765a-c; 48, 1550; 65, 1373-1374) and a boundary stone now at İğdecik in Pisidia (CIL III 6872 = AE 2012, 1695): *finis Caesaris n(ostri)*.

⁵³ But note MAMA VII 320 = I.North Galatia 357.

⁵⁴ Mitchell 1974.

⁵⁵ See Mitchell 1974, 33-34.

⁵⁶ M. Plancius Lelex (Sibidounda: Sayce – Ramsay 1887, 254 no. 35-36; Andeda: Ramsay 1888a, 14 no. 5-6); M. Plancius Cornelianus Gaius (Andeda: IGR III 417). The attestations in Northern Galatia are connected with another estate, for which see section III.5 below. – Note also the Plancii Magniani of Selge (I.Selge 15-17. 56-57; cf. PIR² P 440) who were most probably descendants of Plancia Magna (PIR² P 444), the daughter of M. Plancius Varus (PIR² P 443).

whose most distinguished members were M. Plancius Varus (PIR² P 443) and C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus (PIR² I 470).⁵⁷ This definitely secures the reading as suggested by Mitchell. Some more assertions regarding the extent of the estate can be made: It was situated north-east of Andeda, south-east of Pogla and south of Comama; the villages of Phyle and Akreina were part of this estate, as it seems.⁵⁸

To the west lay another estate, the so-called *choria Considiana*. This estate was in the times of Marcus Aurelius in imperial possession, administrated by the *oikonomos* Eutyches,⁵⁹ but the name refers to its former owner. Likewise, another boundary stone from Kusura in the territory of Koptiaion demarcating the limits of an imperial estate reveals the name of the former owner, at least partially (MAMA X 255, ll. 4-5): *termini [---]cianorum*.⁶⁰ Whether this is to be restored as *[Plan]cianorum*, remains unsecure, but is by any means a possible solution.⁶¹

3. Toponymy and property names

It was in fact not uncommon that estates retained the name of their former proprietors even if they had been sold or bequeathed to someone else or had fallen to the imperial *patrimonium* as we have perceived the case of the Velian estate above. Thus, toponymy could offer some insight into senatorial landholding.

As for the Considian estate, we can conjecture a senator as a previous possessor. The name Considius is a rather rare one, borne by a praetor in AD 31 who is mentioned by Tacitus as accuser of Pomponius Secundus; a Considius Proculus was accused of a *crimen maiestatis* by the brother of the latter, so Proculus may very well be identical with or was at least a relative of the praetor Considius.⁶² He was executed and his sister Sancta was banished.⁶³ Thus the properties of the family were by all certainty confiscated which could – and probably does – explain the name of the Galatian estate, though there are no known links between this family and Galatia⁶⁴. But senators and their relatives often owned properties in several parts of the empire, even in Egypt which they

⁵⁷ Cf. Jameson 1965, 55 with fn. 12; Mitchell 1974, 31.

⁵⁸ See the discussion by Mitchell 1974.

⁵⁹ I.North Galatia 34. This estate was in imperial possession at least since the reign of Hadrian as is demonstrated by the presence of a *libertus Augusti* named P. Aelius Fortunatus, I.North Galatia 35. Cf. Mitchell 1980, 1074-1075.

⁶⁰ For the imperial properties in this region see now Takmer 2018.

⁶¹ Cf. MAMA p. xxxiv-xxxv and the commentary to no. 255; Takmer 2018, 431-432. Christol 2018 considers a restoration to *[Ani]cianorum*. Another boundary stone found some kilometers away gives at least some clue about its extent, MAMA X 259 = CIL III 7004. Cf. also CIL III 7002 naming a *dispensator*, in all probability of this estate.

⁶² Tac. ann. 5.8; 6.18.

⁶³ Tac. ann. 6.18; cf. PIR² C 1281; S 172.

⁶⁴ Cf. Dalla Rosa 2014, 338; Mitchell 1993, 153 thus prefers “to assume that the estate-owning Considius was another Italian emigrant to the East”.

were not even allowed to visit.⁶⁵ Some recently found inscriptions shed some light on the inhabitants and cults of the *choria Considiana*, but do not add to our knowledge about its original owner.⁶⁶

Another example are the *'praedia Quadratiana'* attested at Laodikeia which were in imperial possession in the early 3rd century.⁶⁷ These lands must have belonged to a private owner named Quadratus before whom we may identify with C. Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus from Pergamon, twice consul (94 and 105) and who was a member of a very distinguished and propertied family from Asia Minor.⁶⁸ This is further corroborated by additional evidence as there are several attestations of Aulii Iulii in Laodikeia and at some other places nearby.⁶⁹ As the combination of Aulus and Iulius is quite rare, it is obvious that we are dealing with freedmen of Quadratus or their descendants.⁷⁰ Freedmen can indeed themselves be an indicator for estates of certain persons or families.⁷¹ A dedication to 'Meter Quadratene', found at Ikonion, is to be viewed in the same light as the name of the goddess certainly refers to the *'praedia Quadratiana'*.⁷²

4. Estate managers, members of the household and tenants

Members of the *ordo senatorius* are otherwise occasionally mentioned directly as estate owners or at least in a way that their land ownership is more or less obvious. Especially with certain functions such as ἐπίτροπος/*procurator* or οἰκονόμος/*dispensator* or other indicators such as tenants (μισθωτάι/*conductores*) pertaining to the management of an estate in direct connection with a person from the *ordo senatorius*, the matter is usually quite simple (for a compilation of known instances see Appendix I at the end of this paper). Nonetheless, some examples should be discussed to illustrate this point.

In the Lydian city of Hyrkamis in the province of Asia the freedman Mopsos made a dedication to the *genius* of Atratina.⁷³ Mopsos was a *procurator* and thus a financial administrator of a private fortune which obviously was that of Atratina or her family. Her name is quite interesting, the female version of the *cognomen* Atratinus borne by the senatorial *gens* of the Sempronii Atratini. And to this family Atratina, better to be called by her full name Sempronia Atratina, belonged without doubt, given her rare name. The final clue is given by another inscription securing the

⁶⁵ For Egypt cf. L. Annaeus Seneca (see the evidence listed by Parassoglou 1978, 82) or Calvia Crispinilla (PIR² C 363; P.Aberd. 151).

⁶⁶ Güney 2016; 2018; 2019; 2022; Uzunoğlu 2021.

⁶⁷ MAMA I 24.

⁶⁸ Cf. PIR² I 507; Halfmann 1979, 112-115 no. 17.

⁶⁹ Laodikeia: A. Iulius Onesiphoros (MAMA I 47); A. Iulius Sergianus (MAMA XI 258); Ikonion: A. Iulius Hermes (SEG 6, 425); A. Iulius Philemon (SEG 6, 427); Derbe: A. Iulius Hieronymos and A. Iulius Sestullianus (Lamingier-Pascher 1992, 64 no. 59).

⁷⁰ Cf. the commentary to MAMA XI 258.

⁷¹ See the next sections.

⁷² I.Mus. Konya 6; cf. SEG 6, 407.

⁷³ SEG 49, 1581: *Iunoni Atratinae | n(ostrae) Mopsus l(ibertus) [et] | procurator | Τύχη Ἀτρατείνης | ἡμετέρας Μόψος | ἀπελεύθερος | καὶ ἐπίτροπος.*

supposition. In nearby Thyateira, only about 30 kilometers away, we find the *grammateus* Polycletus, a freedman of L. Sempronius Atratinus, *consul suffectus* in 34 BC (PIR² S 347).⁷⁴ Sempronius Atratinus probably came to Asia together with or by order of Marc Antony some time before his consulship, where he minted some coins⁷⁵ and apparently acquired some property. As for this Sempronia Atratina, she has to be identified with his daughter rather than with his sister.⁷⁶ It is not certain that she ever visited the family lands in Asia. In any case, the estate likely became part of the imperial *patrimonium* as Sempronius Atratinus is reported to have bequeathed all his property to Augustus.⁷⁷ We don't know whether Atratina survived her father and kept some share of the family properties which is in fact possible, since Augustus did not accept an inheritance if children of the testator were still alive.⁷⁸

Methodologically speaking, in the case of Atratinus it is the combination of a specific name, of the existence of a *procurator*, of evidence for the presence of a senator bearing that name in the respective area and of his freedman living there that yields a clear indication of senatorial landholding in Western Asia Minor. These are quite indicative clues, especially taken together.

Sometimes we can even get a grasp of the internal organization of an estate, for example in the case of the estate of M. Calpurnius Longus which is attested by several inscriptions in the Kibyris in southern Asia Minor; he seems to be no other than the governor of Achaia and *consul suffectus* of AD 144, L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus.⁷⁹ We know one of his estate managers, the ἐπίτροπος L. Calpurnius Salvius, who happened to be a “*tenant of the lands of M. Calpurnius Longus*” as well; telling by his name, he was surely a freedman.⁸⁰ Given the fragmentary state of the inscription it cannot be discerned whether he had leased the whole estate (i.e. as a *conductor*) or only some parts of it. There was another freedman of Longus named M. Calpurnius Epineikos who made a dedication to Zeus Megistos for the well-being and career advancement (or recovery?) of his patron and styled himself “*tenant of the lands around the Alassos*” (μισθωτῆς τῶν περὶ

⁷⁴ TAM V.2, 1031.

⁷⁵ RPC I 2226/2226a; cf. *ibid.* p. 380.

⁷⁶ Thus, the estate belonged to Sempronia Atratina, PIR² S 375, and not to her aunt Sempronia (Atratina), PIR² S 374.

⁷⁷ Eus.-Hier. chron. ad a. 21 (BC): *Atratinus, qui septemdecim natus annos Caelium accusaverat, clarus inter oratores habetur et ad extremum morborum taedio in balneo voluntate exanimatus heredem reliquit Augustum.*

⁷⁸ Suet. Aug. 66.4: *legata vel partes hereditatum a quibuscumque parentibus relicta sibi aut statim liberis eorum concedere aut, si pupillari aetate essent, die virilis togae vel nuptiarum cum incremento restituere consueverat*; Cass. Dio 56.32.3: καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ὧν μικρῶν ἔτι ὄντων τοὺς πατέρας τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐκεκληρονομήκει, προσέταξε πάντα μετὰ τῶν προσόδων, ἐπειδὴν ἀνδρωθῶσιν, ἀποδοθῆναι. ὅπερ που καὶ ζῶν ἐποίησεν· εἰ γὰρ τινα τέκνα ἔχοντα διεδέξατο, τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ πάντως, εἰ μὲν ἤδη τότε τέλειοι ἦσαν, εὐθύς, εἰ δὲ μὴ, μετὰ τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεδίδου.

⁷⁹ For L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus cf. PIR² M 221 and Eck 1991.

⁸⁰ Milner – Hall, Kibyris Olbasa 111 = Corsten et al. 1998, 59–60 no. 7 = Corsten 2005, 41 No. 11 = SEG 48, 1609 = AE 1998, 1380: Λ • Καλπούρνη|ος Σάλουιος [ἐ]πίτροπος κα[ι] | μισθωτῆς | τῶν τόπων | Μ • Καλπούρνη[ι]ου Λόνγου [---] (the rest is mostly illegible).

Ἀλασσον τόπων) in the corresponding inscription.⁸¹ It seems reasonable to consider Epineikos a tenant of another part of the (apparently) quite large estate, but the possibility that he was a sub-tenant to Salvius is not ruled out. In any case, as procurator, leasing out parts of the property will have been part of the latter's responsibilities. Two or even three inscriptions also reveal a subordinate to this procurator, the *oikonomos* Artemon, a slave of the estate owner.⁸² It is interesting that the senator's freedmen did not only perform duties on the estates, but were also tenants (whether of the whole lands or only parts of it does not make a significant difference). Overall, tenants as such could be an indicator for senatorial landholdings, that is, if an owner of senatorial status can be identified.⁸³

In the mentioned cases of the Atratina and Calpurnius Longus the evidence is quite clear and allows us to establish their landholdings in specific regions of Asia Minor. However, things are not always so evident. For instance, in Phrygian Pentapolis a funerary *bomos* was dedicated to Eutropios by his wife Kyrilla; he had been honoured by a senatorial family with the highest honours on account of his trustworthiness (διὰ πίστιν).⁸⁴ The latter is a trait often praised in estate managers.⁸⁵ Phrygia was his home where he had returned after an apparently strenuous life in the service of the senatorial family which unfortunately is not mentioned by name and thus cannot be identified. Though Eutropios by all probability had acted as their estate manager, it is unfortunately not certain that this had been in Phrygia or in Asia Minor at all.

Whereas an isolated testimony of a senator's freedman like the just mentioned Eutropios may yield no secure information, the existence of a '*collegium* of the *familia*' (κολλήγιον φαμιλίας) of C. Iulius Quadratus in the village of Thermai Theseos is indicative enough to infer an estate there. However, it is not certain in what way this Quadratus was related to the famous Pergamene family which produced several senators.⁸⁶ In other instances we enter safer territory in connecting the

⁸¹ Corsten et al. 1998, 55-58 no. 5 = SEG 48, 1605 = AE 1998, 1379 correcting older readings (for which cf. IGR IV 894): [Υπ]έρ σωτηρίας καὶ | προκοπῆς • Μ(άρκου) • Καλ|πουρνίου Λόγγου | πάτρωνος ιδίου | Μ(ἄρκος) • Καλπούρνιος | Ἐπίνεικος, μισθω|τῆς τῶν περι Ἀλασσον | τόπων, Δι Μεγίστω. Note M. Calpurnius Epineikos the Younger who made several dedications: Corsten et al. 1998, 60-61 no. 8 = SEG 48, 1607 (together with his wife Calpurnia Mystica) and Corsten et al. 1998, 61-63 no. 9 = SEG 48, 1608 = Milner – Hall, Kibyra Olbasa 106 (where the interpretation as a grave stone is probably not correct).

⁸² Corsten et al. 1998, 51-53 no. 3 = SEG 48, 1604: dedication to 'Meter Alassene' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ προκοπῆς Μ(άρκου) Καλπουρνίου Λόγγου τοῦ δεσπότου αὐτοῦ; IGR IV 895, see now Corsten et al. 1998, 58 no. 6 = SEG 48, 1606: dedication to the god Dionysos. In another inscription, a dedication to Zeus by an *oikonomos* of Longus, the name of the dedicant is lost, but it was probably Artemon again, see Milner – Hall, Kibyra Olbasa 101; cf. SEG 48, 1593.

⁸³ For another example see section IV below. No senatorial owner can for instance be established for the χωρίον Ἀραλλείων (MAMA I 292) or for I.North Galatia 325 (Yurtbeyci); in some cases we are dealing with tenants of imperial domains or estates, e.g. in TAM V.2, 860 (Thyateira) or in IGR III 477. 478 and IV 927 (Kibyra).

⁸⁴ MAMA XI 145, ll. 4-6: μ[έ]γα τειμάς τε ἀρίστους | ὄν τείμησε συνκλητικῶν | γένος διὰ πίστιν (the translation is based on that given in MAMA).

⁸⁵ Cf. Robert 1965, 36.

⁸⁶ Cf. Thonemann 2022, 334-335 who is skeptical and prefers a connection to C. Iulius Quadratus Machairion of Sardis who is known from some recently published inscriptions, I.Sardis II 339-341.

attestation of freedmen with senatorial landholdings, even if no direct mention is made of an estate or administrative functions connected to that. A fragmentary funerary inscription from the territory of Chalketor may illustrate this:⁸⁷

[- - - - - εἰ δέ τις]
 ἕτερος θήσει τινά, δώσει τῇ κυρίᾳ αὐτῶν
 Ἀππία Ἀλεξάνδρα *vacat* X *vacat* ἀφ'· τούτων
vacat τῶν γρα-
 [μάτων τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη - - - - -]

The first part of the text including the name of the buried persons is lost, but the fine for violation of the grave makes its purpose obvious. This fine was to be paid to τῇ κυρίᾳ αὐτῶν Appia Alexandra, thus the buried were her slaves or freedmen. In another inscription from the same place Appia is styled 'ἡ κρατίστη' which could both refer to members of the senatorial and the equestrian order.⁸⁸ In her case it was the *ordo senatorius* into which her father, the famous philosopher and *equus Romanus* Appius Alexander, was adlected at some stage of his life.⁸⁹ Appia herself was married to another senator, Pompeius Faustinus, and is called '*clarissima femina*' in an inscription from Thugga.⁹⁰ Their son Pompeius Appius Faustinus eventually became *praefectus urbi* in AD 300.⁹¹ Though originating from Asia Minor, she was no longer resident there, when the funerary inscription of her freedmen or slaves was erected. Therefore, these household members indicate landholdings of Appia Alexandra near Chalketor.⁹² Paying a fine to absent persons with no firm connection to the place where the graves were constructed makes absolutely no sense; and the most obvious connection would consist in landholdings in the same area. This is substantiated and confirmed by a similar provision in the grave inscription erected at Teos by the slave Dionysios for himself and his family. In this case a fine of 50,000 denarii should be paid to his δέσποινα Fl. Demetria Flaccilla (PIR² F 414) who was a ὑπατική.⁹³ That she owned an estate there is made clear by the fact that Dionysios served as her *pragmateutes* at the time the inscription was written.

⁸⁷ I.Mylasa 920; but see now Boulay – Pont 2014, 131-132 no. 13 with some corrections to the reading of this text, cf. SEG 64, 940.

⁸⁸ I.Mylasa 921 = Boulay – Pont 2014, 132-133 no. 14. – For the title and its somewhat confusing application for denoting members of both the higher orders see Arjava 1991, 31-34; Heil 2015, 52-54; Demougin 2015, 65-72.

⁸⁹ SEG 53, 1329.

⁹⁰ CIL VIII 26578 = ILTun 1421 – for Pompeius Faustinus see PIR² P 604.

⁹¹ PIR² 591; PLRE I Faustinus 7; Chastagnol 1962, no. 10.

⁹² Cf. Boulay – Pont 2014, 115-122.

⁹³ IGR IV 1576 = CIG 3104 (Teos): Διονύσιος, δ(οῦλος) πραγματευτῆς Φλ(αβίας) Δημητρίας Φλακίλλης | ὑπατικῆς, ζῶν τὴν καμάραν κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Θαλλούση καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις. εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος θε|λήσ(ει) κηδευθῆναι, δώσει τῇ δεσποίνῃ μου ἢ τοῖς κληρονόμοις αὐτῆς δηνάρια χεῖλια πεντακόσια. Flaccilla was married to the consular Cornelius Aurelius Theodorus (PIR² C 1328) with whom she had a son, M. Cornelius Aurelius Zeno (PIR² C 1329), see I.Ephesos 659 = AE 1982, 871.

By the way, fines for violating the grave of subordinate persons to be paid to the owners of an estate are variously attested in Asia Minor.⁹⁴

A special case can be made for the estate of the Sergii Paulli which can be established by several different testimonies.⁹⁵ We know, for instance, Sergius Carpus, a *procurator* of someone called 'Paullus'.⁹⁶ As such procurators were mostly freedmen, we can easily infer the *nomen gentile* Sergius for that Paullus. That we are indeed dealing with a member of the famous senatorial family of the Sergii Paulli is revealed by a gravestone set up by Sergia Paullina for the *decurialis viator* Cn. Cornelius Severinus.⁹⁷ Paullina was the daughter of the senator L. Sergius Paullus, but moreover she was married to Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus, suffect consul in AD 112.⁹⁸ Obviously, Cornelius Severinus was a freedman of the latter and served as his *apparitor*.⁹⁹ He probably died while accompanying the senator or his wife, rather, to Asia Minor where they stayed on the estate of her family. There are many Sergii and Sergiani attested in this area which are doubtless connected to this estate and findspots of those inscriptions may very well indicate its extent.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the Sergii Paulli owned many lands near Vetissos in an area which stretched over 60 km.¹⁰¹

5. Onomastics as evidence

So far, I have touched upon onomastic evidence several times. In fact, in many instances senatorial landholding is inferred merely from specific names showing up in the epigraphic record. However, onomastics might be deceiving if used incautiously. For example, the onomastic material drawn from epigraphic evidence might thus lead to the conclusion that the famous senator and writer L. Annaeus Seneca owned an estate in southern Galatia, as the names Annaeus and Seneca occur there.¹⁰² This is at first glance a possible deduction. Admittedly, Seneca was one of the richest men of his times and did own estates spread all over the empire.¹⁰³ And the vast plateau between Ancyra in the north and Iconium in the south was an area divided mostly in larger estates.¹⁰⁴ We find some senatorial owners of property there, above all the already mentioned Plancii, Iulii

⁹⁴ Cf. SEG 35, 1272 (Lydia); AE 2004, 1466 = SEG 55, 1462 (Kibyra). In both cases, we don't know the names of the owners receiving the fines.

⁹⁵ See Ramsay 1926, 202-206; Calder 1931; Mitchell 1993, I, 151-152.

⁹⁶ MAMA VII 321 (Sinanlı).

⁹⁷ MAMA VII 319 = I.North Galatia 355 (Yağcıoğlu).

⁹⁸ PIR² S 529; C 1453.

⁹⁹ Cf. Purcell 1983, 152-154 on the *viatores* as one of the main grades of the *apparitores*.

¹⁰⁰ Vetissos: Sergius Carpus, his wife Sergia Tryphena, their son Sergius Carpus and his wife Sergia Bella (MAMA VII 321); L. Sergius Corinthus (MAMA VII 486); Emirler: Sergianus and his brother Sergius (MAMA VII 330 = I.North Galatia 358 = Waelkens 1986, no. 617); another Sergianus (MAMA VII 331 = Waelkens 1986, no. 616); Laodikeia Katakekaumene: Eros, son of Sergianus (MAMA I 108); Sergianus (Ramsay 1888b, 246 no. 40); A. Iulius Sergianus (MAMA XI 258); Kindyria: C. Calpurnius Sergius (MAMA VII 14).

¹⁰¹ Cf. Mitchell 1993, I, 151-152.

¹⁰² Cronin 1902, 357 No. 114 (Ikonion): [---]ος Ἀνναῖος Ροῦφος; MAMA VII 511 (Kelhasan): Σενέκα.

¹⁰³ Cf. Mratschek-Halfmann 1993, 307-308 no. 128.

¹⁰⁴ Mitchell 1974, 33; Mitchell 1993, I, 157.

Quadrati and Sergii Paulli.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, Ramsay, who brought up the possibility of Seneca owning lands in Galatia, was probably right in his assertion that quite some share of these lands had formerly belonged to king Amyntas and were later part of the *patrimonium* of Augustus and his successors.¹⁰⁶ It is quite likely that some of the senatorial estates were bought from the *patrimonium* or were received as imperial gift. Seneca who according to Tacitus owed “countless riches” (*innumeram pecuniam*, ann. 14.53) to Nero might thus have been awarded with an estate there as well. However, this assumption remains conjectural as the evidence is far from being conclusive. Neither of the names were rare enough to decisively point solely to their most famous bearer and they do not appear in combination which would provide a much safer basis. At close view we find quite some people named Seneca in Asia Minor for whom no connection with Nero’s teacher can be assumed, let alone established, e.g. the *evocatus* Aur. Seneca who saw for the burial of his colleague C. Severius Albanus in Ancyra or the *primipilaris* L. Pontius Seneca buried at the same place.¹⁰⁷

But there still remains enough onomastic evidence that allows for valid arguments. One might say, the rarer the name, the safer the conclusion. For that I would like to refer to the case of Atratinia. And, again, the combination of *nomen gentile* and *cognomen* as borne by one or more senators makes a stronger case than their occurrence in separate instances. The same applies to unusual combinations of given and family names as we have observed in the case of the many Auli Iulii around Laodikeia Katakekaumene (see section III.3). Returning to those, there is one name which incites special interest, i.e. Aulus Iulius Sergianus. As stated above, the combination of Aulus and Iulius is quite rare and must be connected with the Iulii Quadrati, whereas the cognomen Sergianus hints at the Sergii Paulli. Most probably this person owed his name to an intermarriage of freedmen (or their descendants) of those two famous senatorial families who both owned lands in this very region.¹⁰⁸

To the north of the Colonia Germa we find attestations of the names Plancia and M. Plancius.¹⁰⁹ Again, these persons were by any means connected with the Plancii of Perge, as the *nomen gentile* is quite rare.¹¹⁰ At the site of Germa itself, M. Plancius Varus was honored by a certain P. Cornelius Pro[culus], the latter being probably a friend of the former.¹¹¹ As there could be no other connection established between Plancius Varus and Germa, the conclusion that he owned land there is

¹⁰⁵ Above, sections I.2, I.3 and I.4.

¹⁰⁶ Ramsay 1926, 205; cf. Broughton 1934, 207. 220-221.

¹⁰⁷ I.Ancyra I 160. 166.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the commentary to MAMA XI 258, plausibly suggesting an Aulus Iulius as father and a Sergia as mother.

¹⁰⁹ I.North Galatia 40 (Gökçeayva): Plancia; 82 (Beyköy): M. Plancius Va[---], son of M. Plancius Valens. Cf. also Pl(ancia?) Victorina (Andeda: SEG 19, 846); Plancius Cratinus (Ankyra: I.Ancyra I 206); C. Planc[ius ---] Ancyranus (Troesmis: I.Ancyra II L15). Plancia Magna Aquillia (honoured at Tavium by the demos of Ankyra: I.North Galatia 416) was the daughter of C. Iulius Severus (PIR² I 573; see also section IV below) and Claudia Aquillia (PIR² C 1072); she was obviously adopted into the family of the Plancii and she consequently took the name of Plancia Magna (PIR² P 444), but retained her natural mother’s cognomen.

¹¹⁰ See above fn. 57.

¹¹¹ I.North Galatia 90. Cf. Mitchell 1974, 33.

reasonable and seems in fact inevitable.¹¹² So, honorary monuments for senators at places with no discernable connection with the honored can be indicate landholdings, especially if there is corroborative evidence such as freedmen bearing the same names. In the case of the Plancian estate near Germa we even get a clue to the dating of the acquisition. The inscription mentioning Plancia was erected in AD 59, and the the Plancii will certainly have acquired the lands before that time.¹¹³

IV. Acquisition, fate and use of senatorial estates

Mostly we can establish the mere existence of estates owned by persons of senatorial status; only rarely we can make some statement about their acquisition or track their history over a longer period. As regards the exploitation of the land, we have to rely mostly on inferences from climatic conditions, soil characteristics and general information on ancient land use; only in a few cases do we learn something directly.

Yet, there are examples to the contrary. Thus, I would like to draw the attention to an estate in the Kibyrtis, belonging to a family from the highest echelon of the senatorial order, located in the territory of the 'Ormeleis', between Kibyra and Olbasa.¹¹⁴ The fate of this estate can be reconstructed from six epigraphical texts, all were found in that area and erected for the safety of certain prominent people from the same family and of the *demos* of the Ormeleis. The first inscription commemorates the heirs of Ummidia Cornificia Faustina (PIR² V 911), the niece of Marcus Aurelius.¹¹⁵ But the text does not say what these were heirs of, but the obvious conclusion is that it was a piece of land, and five other documents from the same place prove that correct. All these texts mention *pragmateutai*, two of them also refer to *epitropoi*.¹¹⁶ In one text there is also reference made of leaseholders (*misthotai*).¹¹⁷ So, there is no doubt about the land being an estate, and the control of the land included the settlements there.

The interesting insights into the administration of such an estate that we can gather from these texts set aside,¹¹⁸ there is one aspect that I would like to point out in particular. To be specific, the estate was passed on in the female line, through several generations (cf. Fig. 1 below). Ummidia is thus the first owner that we can identify. One of the heirs mentioned in the first text was her daughter Annia Faustina (PIR² A 705) as can be deduced from two inscriptions, a vow for her and

¹¹² Mitchell 1974, 31-34.

¹¹³ I.North Galatia 40, l. 5: ἔτους δπ' (following the Galatian era); cf. Mitchell 1974, 34.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Ramsay 1895, 280-293; Broughton 1934, 224-225; Mitchell 1993, I, 163-164; Corsten 2005, 6-17.

¹¹⁵ Corsten 2005, 40 no. 9 = IGR IV 887 = Ramsay 1895, 287 no. 124.

¹¹⁶ Milner – Hall, Kibyra Olbasa 114 = Corsten 2005, 32-33 no. 3 = CCIS II 43 = IGR IV 889 = Ramsay 1895, 290 no. 127, ll. 6-10: ἐπὶ ἐπιτρόπου Κριτοβούλου· ἐπὶ | πραγματευτῶν Ἀβασκάν|του καὶ Ἀνθίνου καὶ Μαρ|κελλίωνος; Corsten 2005, 29-32 no. 2 = IGR IV 888 = Ramsay 1895, 291 no. 128, ll. 3-4: ἐπὶ Ἀβασκάν|του πραγματευτοῦ; Corsten 2005, 33-34 no. 4 = IGR IV 890 = Ramsay 1895, 291-292 no. 129, ll. 6-7: ἐπὶ Ἀειθαλ|οῦς πραγματευτοῦ; Corsten 2005, 28-29 no. 1 = IGR IV 891 = Ramsay 1895, 289 no. 126, ll. 5-7: ἐπὶ ἐπιτρόπου | [. . . .]ος κὲ πραγματευ|τοῦ; SEG 65, 1462, ll. 6-8: ἐπὶ| Αἰθαλοῦ|ς καὶ ---πρα|γματ[ευτῶν ----].

¹¹⁷ Milner – Hall, Kibyra Olbasa 114 = Corsten 2005, 32-33 no. 3 = CCIS II 43 = IGR IV 889 = Ramsay 1895, 290 no. 127, ll. 10-13: ἐπὶ μισθωτῶν | [Κλαυδ(?)|ίου Ἀβασκάντου καὶ | Μήνιδος Νεικάδου Ἡρα|κλείδου καὶ Νεικάδου δίς.

¹¹⁸ For which cf. Corsten 2005, 11-13.

her husband's safety as well as a second one only for hers.¹¹⁹ She was married to Ti. Claudius Severus Proculus (PIR² C 1028), *cos. ordinarius* in AD 200, with whom she had a daughter, Annia Aurelia Faustina (PIR² A 710). Hardly surprising, the latter is the next owner in line.¹²⁰ And the last owner we know by name was Pomponia Ummidia (PIR² P 781) whose second name reveals her kinship with the women just mentioned.¹²¹ In fact she was in all probability the daughter of Annia Aurelia Faustina and her first husband Pomponius Bassus (PIR² P 700).¹²² The inscription stating her ownership, or rather her former ownership, seems to date to the year 279/280.¹²³ Pomponia was already dead by then as can be reasoned from the words τῆς ἀεμνήστου μητρὸς αὐτῶν, 'their ever remembered mother', αὐτῶν referring to the actual addressees of the vow, her children. That makes them the owners of the estate. Their father, Pomponia's husband Flavius Antiochianus, by the way, was still alive and probably in Rome at that time, having acted as *praefectus urbi* some years before.¹²⁴ What became of the property later is unknown so far, however.

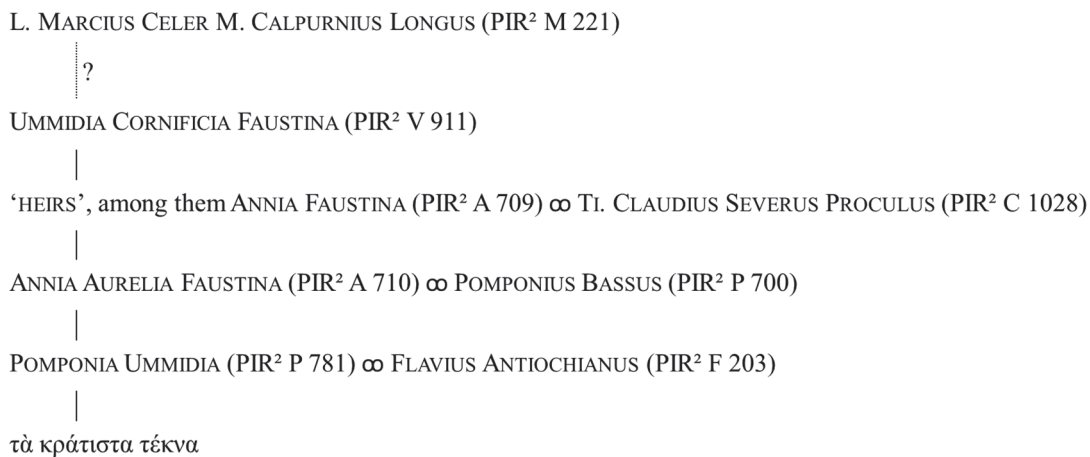


Fig. 1) *The succession of owners of the Ormelean estate in the Kibyrtis*

Let's draw some further conclusions from this example. The history of this estate can be traced for over a century. From the information we gather through the inscriptions it belonged to the personal assets of the female members of the family and changed ownership through inheritance, from mother to daughter. The question arises, however, how Ummidia came into the possession

¹¹⁹ 1) Milner – Hall, Kibyra Olbasa 114 = Corsten 2005, 32-33 no. 3 = CCIS II 43 = IGR IV 889 = Ramsay 1895, 290 no. 127; 2) Corsten 2005, 29-32 no. 2 = IGR IV 888 = Ramsay 1895, 291 no. 128.

¹²⁰ Corsten 2005, 28-29 no. 1 = IGR IV 891 = Ramsay 1895, 289 no. 126; cf. Corsten 2005, 33-34 no. 1 = IGR IV 890 = Ramsay 1895, 291-292 no. 129 and the dedication of a temple ὑπὲρ σ[ω]τηρίας | Ἀννί[ας] Αὐρηλίας Φαυστείνης] (SEG 65, 1462).

¹²¹ Corsten 2005, 34-35 no. 5 = IGR IV 893 = Ramsay 1895, 288 no. 125.

¹²² This is much more likely than her being their granddaughter.

¹²³ Cf. Ramsay 1895, 288 with fn. 4.

¹²⁴ PIR² F 203; PLRE I Antiochianus; Wojciech 2010, 344-345 no. 62.

of the estate. We could perhaps assume that she also inherited it from her mother, Annia Cornificia Faustina who died some time before her brother Marcus became emperor.¹²⁵ Marcus arranged that part of his sisters' properties were left to her son M. Ummidius Quadratus.¹²⁶ The other part – potentially including the estate in question – must then have gone to Ummidia. Perhaps we can follow the history of the estate even a little further back in time. As Thomas Corsten has argued, and I think he made a strong case, the lands had been previously owned by L. Marcus Celer M. Calpurnius Longus, *cos. suff.* in AD 144 (PIR² M 221).¹²⁷ In any case the latter owned an estate there.¹²⁸ As he was a member of an elite family from Attaleia, some 90 kilometers southeast, the estate had probably not been acquired by himself, but was in possession of his family for quite some time.¹²⁹ As to how the property changed hands from the Calpurnii to the Ummidii Corsten can offer no explanation, but the overall inference is reasonable. However, there might be a solution to this, even though it rests on some conjectures. Ummidia Cornificia Faustina could have been married to M'. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus, *cos. ord.* in AD 152, as argued by Champlin and supported by Syme with further arguments.¹³⁰ And the family of this “*eccentric patrician*” as Syme called Acilius Glabrio had relations to Asia Minor that went back to the late 2nd century BC and most probably owned land there as well.¹³¹ So it might be him who advised Ummidia Faustina to acquire some property in that region.¹³² In any case, we can note that there were transfers of property from one senatorial family to another and that we can sometimes get a glimpse of that.

There is another aspect that may shed some light on senatorial landholdings. As is well-known, the estates were not idle possessions but exploited for agriculture and pasture by their owners or tenants.¹³³ The products of these lands will thus – for the most part – have been sold. However, sometimes they were used in another way.

An inscription from Ankyra gives an account of the functions and benefactions of C. Iulius Severus in AD 113-114, when the army for the Parthian campaign passed through Galatia and took their winter quarters in Ankyra.¹³⁴ Severus was a member of the highest aristocracy in Galatia, descendant of kings Deiotarus and Amyntas and related to many senators, among them C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (*cos. suff.* in AD 105) and Claudius Severus (*cos. suff.* in AD 112).¹³⁵ He himself entered the senate under Hadrian who adlected him *inter tribunicios*.¹³⁶ The mentioned text states

¹²⁵ Cf. SHA Aur. 4,7.

¹²⁶ SHA Aur. 7,4.

¹²⁷ Corsten 2005, 20.

¹²⁸ For Longus' estate see section III.4 above.

¹²⁹ Cf. Halfmann 1979, 105-107 no. 10 and 142-143 no. 52 for the family connections.

¹³⁰ Champlin 1979, 293; Syme 1980, 444-445.

¹³¹ Syme 1980; PIR² A 73.

¹³² Cf. MAMA IX p. xxxv.

¹³³ Cf. Mitchell 1993, vol. I, 145-147; see in general the contributions in Erdkamp et al. 2015.

¹³⁴ I.Ancyra I 72 = IGR III 173.

¹³⁵ I.Ancyra I 72 = IGR III 173, ll. 7-11. See PIR² I 508; Halfmann 1979, no. 26; PIR² C 1023; Halfmann 1979, no. 39.

¹³⁶ See I.Ancyra I 74 (IGR III 174) and 75 (IGR III 175).

that he provided oil for the city and for the emperor cult which he was a priest in (*sebastophant*)¹³⁷, instead of using public funds.¹³⁸ Additionally, he hosted the army for the whole winter.¹³⁹ It is of course possible that Iulius Severus spent his money to buy the supply of oil and rations for the hibernating army; but there is more reason to assume that he provided these goods directly from his estates.¹⁴⁰ Those were in the vicinity, therefore, given the weather conditions in Ankyra during the winter which would make transporting provisions for a whole army difficult. One might consider that he offered his land as a camping ground to the army as well.

As challenging as it often is to infer senatorial landholding, it is in most cases very difficult if not utterly impossible to give more than assumptions on the exploitation and use of the land, sometimes based on modern agriculture or pasture in the regions in question. Examples like the one just discussed are rare and valuable. But sometimes we can draw somewhat more founded conclusions. For instance, A. Claudius Charax was a senator from Pergamon where he acted as a benefactor, donating for the erection of the Propylon of the Asklepieion and for another building.¹⁴¹ Brick stamps from Pergamon reveal that he must have maintained a brickyard.¹⁴² The clay necessary for the production was in all probability mined at his own lands and the bricks may very well have been used for his buildings as well.¹⁴³

V. Perspectives and Chances

Let me conclude with some further perspectives on the whole matter of senatorial landholding. I could by no means present all the material here nor explain all possible ways by which senatorial landholdings can be asserted from the epigraphical record. But I hope that a reasonably lucid picture has emerged. It is not always easy to reconcile the pieces of evidence to ascertain senatorial landholdings in one place or the other. But overall, we can say that there were a lot of estates

¹³⁷ For the function of the *sebastophant* cf. Strubbe 2006, especially 116-119.

¹³⁸ I.Ancyra I 72 = IGR III 173, ll. 18-24: ἐλαιοθετήσαν|τα διηνεκῶς ἐν τῆι τῶν ὄχλων παρό|δωι καὶ σεβαστοφαντήσαντα κὲ μόνο|ν | καὶ πῶτον τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος σεβαστοφα|ν|τικὰ χρήματα εἰς ἔργον τῆι πόλει | χαρισάμενον καὶ μὴ συνχρησάμε|νον εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον τούτῳ τῶι πόρ|φ ὡς | [οἱ] πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντες καὶ ἄρξαντα.

¹³⁹ I.Ancyra I 72 = IGR III 173, ll. 29-31: ἀποδεξάμεν|όν | τε στρατεύματα τὰ παραχειμάσα|ν|τα ἐν τῆι πόλει. The skepticism regarding this interpretation expressed by Schwarz – Stauner 2007, 13 is not justified: Though there is no reference made to the fact that Severus provided everything 'ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων', this can be safely inferred from the praise of his donations (ll. 15-17: ὑπερβαλόντα ἐπιδόσεις | καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς φιλοτιμίαις το|ύς | πῶποτε πεφίλοτ|ιμ|ημένους). However, they are right in distinguishing these provisions from the obligations connected to the *parapompe*, which is in fact supported by the inscription where a clear distinction is made (see ll. 31-33: καὶ προπέμψαντα [τὰ] | παροδεύοντα ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πά|ρ|θους πόλεμον).

¹⁴⁰ On oil production in Roman Asia Minor cf. Mitchell 2005.

¹⁴¹ I.Pergamon III 141; I.Pergamon II 294 (improved reading by Habicht 1959-1960, 118-119, cf. SEG 19, 723); his *cursus* is given by AE 1961, 320; cf. Halfmann 1979, 161-162 no. 73.

¹⁴² I.Pergamon II 734: Χαρακ[ιαναί]; Jacobsthal 1908, 419 no. 68: Χαρακιαν[αί]; Hepding 1910, 490 no. 93: [Χαρ]ακιαναί.

¹⁴³ The statement of Strocka 1988, 302-303 that there are no imperial age brick stamps from Asia Minor is thus in any case wrong; but he correctly supposes that there will have been quite some elite families producing bricks on their estates just like their counterparts in Italy did.

owned by senatorial families, not only those originating from Asia Minor. Others made investments there or by other means came into the possession of land.

It is obvious that landed property was not merely a status requirement¹⁴⁴, but the only socially accepted form of wealth. It provided a safe and stable income, but besides being a foundation for financial independence and economic strength it was especially a source of social capital and political influence. There is still a lot to find out about the ties of senators with their homelands for which retaining properties there played an important part.¹⁴⁵ And the investments of senators in regions outside Italy which were not their home raise questions, not only about their interests there but also about the outcome and consequences of the investment made. Thus, by studying the distribution of wealth of senators and their business interests in certain regions such as Asia Minor (or parts of it) as well as in other parts of the empire we gain insights not only in their financial and economic dealings.¹⁴⁶ Rather, we can also assess their personal and commercial networks by which we can yield more knowledge about their influence and on their part in the economic structures of the Roman provinces.

Coming back to Asia Minor, I have touched in this paper especially on Lydia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Galatia as regions where senatorial estates were to be found – add to these Bithynia, Pamphylia, Lycia and Lycaonia. About the regions further east, there seems at first glance not that much to say – we know of a senator from Tyana in Cappadocia, Ti. Claudius Gordianus, but remarkably we know him through inscriptions from Northern Africa.¹⁴⁷ He may have owned lands near his hometown, but there is no clear evidence for that. The same holds true for another senator from Cilician Magarsos.¹⁴⁸ For the members and descendants of the Commagenian dynasties who were adorned with senatorial rank estates are to be assumed in any case.¹⁴⁹ And a closer look may well reveal more evidence.

There seem to be certain clusters in central Anatolia nonetheless. A more in-depth investigation will provide a more differentiated picture concerning senatorial landholding in Asia Minor, especially the relationships between the elite families, the fate of their properties, and on the other hand, it will add to our knowledge of the economic structures of this vast, but important region

¹⁴⁴ The required minimum assets of 1,000,000 HS had to be shown in the form of land holdings already in Augustan times; by all probability these landholdings had to be in Italy already in the early Empire (see also note 42 above). Cf. in general Klingenberg 2011, 35-37 and 50-51.

¹⁴⁵ But cf. Kriekhaus 2006 who examines this aspect on the basis of selected case studies, among which are two Asian senatorial families, the Cuspii of Pergamon and the Caristanii of Antiocheia in Pisidia.

¹⁴⁶ Of course, these have been repeatedly addressed, besides the literature given in the introduction above cf. eg. Duncan-Jones 1982, 17-32, though not based on a really comprehensive study of their assets. In fact, a study comparable to Shatzman's valuable analysis for the Republican senators (Shatzman 1975) has yet to be written.

¹⁴⁷ See Halfmann 1979, 197-198 no. 130; AE 1954, 138 reveals his origins, ll. 1-3: *Ti. Claudio Ti. fil. | Quir. Gordiano | Tyana ex Cappad.*

¹⁴⁸ IGR III 889: [---]lius [---]avianus, probably a [Iu]lius [Fla]vianus, see Halfmann 1979, 208, but cf. PIR² I 442: [C. Iul]ius [Oct]avianus.

¹⁴⁹ For the dynasty of Commagene cf. Sullivan 1978.

in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Yet, this can be only part of a series of studies addressing senatorial wealth in all parts of the Empire.

As it is often the case when dealing with epigraphic material, one is dependent on single texts. The number of inscriptions is increasing constantly and new documents can offer new perspectives as well as new challenges.

Appendix 1: Estate managers of senators or senatorial families

The following table lists – in chronological order – managers of estates belonging undoubtedly or at least probably to persons of senatorial status.

Source	Name and function	Estate owner	Date	Place	Region
SEG 49, 1581	Mopsus, <i>procurator/epitropos</i>	SEMPRONIA ATRATINA (PIR ² S 375)	early imp.	Hyrkanis	Lydia
MAMA XI 48	Trophimos, <i>oikonomos</i>	Iulia Iuliana, perhaps related to IULIA IULIANA (PIR ² I 673)	imp.	Eumeneia	Phrygia
MAMA XI 378	[...]tor, <i>oikonomos</i>	La[e]nilla, perhaps MUMMIA LAENILLA (PIR ² M 713) or a relative, cf. also LAENILLA (PIR ² L 61)	imp.	Anbar	Lycaonia
IGR IV 152	Metrodoros, <i>pragmateutes</i>	Aulus Claudius Caecina Pausanias was probably a relative of the senator TI. CLAUDIUS PAUSANIAS (PIR ² C 956)	imp.	Kyzikos	Mysia
I.Kyzikos 369	Myrinos, <i>pragmateutes</i>	Cl. Bassa ¹⁵⁰ (PIR ² C 1082), possibly related to the consul CLAUDIUS BASSUS CAPITOLINUS (PIR ² C 814)	2 nd cent.	Zeleia	Mysia
I.Aphrodisias 2007, 12.908	Achilleus, <i>pragmateutes</i>	TI. CL. ATTALUS, συνκλητικός (PIR ² C 798)	2 nd cent.	Aphrodisias	Caria
I.Tralleis 194	Daduchos, <i>pragmateutes</i>	C. IULIUS PHILIPPUS, συνκλητικός (PIR ² I 458)	late 2 nd cent.	Tralles	Caria

¹⁵⁰ The editions of this inscription write Καβάσσης which is to be emended to Κλ. Βάσσης, see PIR and BE 1980, 412.

TAM V,2 1213	Eutychianos, <i>pragmateutes</i>	FL. POLLITTA, ύπατική (PIR ² F 434; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, no. 374)	2 nd – 3 rd cent.	Apollonis	Lydia
IGR IV 1576 = CIG 3104	Dionysios, <i>pragmateutes</i>	FL. DEMETRIA FLACILLA, ύπατική (PIR ² F 414)	3 rd cent. (?)	Teos	Ionia
I. Ephesos 3082-3083	Trophimos, <i>pragmateutes</i>	T. FL. VEDIUS ANTONINUS, consul in Severan times (PIR ² F 392); (FLAVIA?) PASINIKE was his wife (PIR ² F 432)	3 rd cent.	Ephesus	Ionia
I.Tralleis 54	Gaius, <i>pragmateutes</i>	DAUGHTER (?) of C. IULIUS PHILIPPUS (PIR ² I 458), relative of the senators T. FLAVIUS VEDIUS ANTONINUS (PIR ² F 392), FLAVIUS DAMIANUS (PIR ² F 252), FLAVIUS PHAEDRUS (PIR ² F 329); MENYLLIUS ATTALUS (PIR ² M 499); C. CLAUDIUS ATTALUS PATERCULIANUS (PIR ² C 800)	3 rd cent.	Tralles	Caria
I.Tralleis 72	[---], <i>epitropos</i>	[CLAUDIA CAPITOLINA] (PIR ² C 1085)	3 rd cent.	Tralles	Caria
SEG 35, 1099	[---], <i>pragmateutes</i>	L. VALERIUS PUPUS IULIANUS (PIR ² V 184), his wife ACILIA FRONTINA and their sons L. VALERIUS LAETUS (PIR ² V 108) and L. VALERIUS FRONTINUS (PIR ² V 86)	3 rd cent.	Didyma	Ionia
Milner – Hall, Kibyra Olbasa 114 = Corsten 2005, 32-33 no. 3 = Ramsay 1895, 290 no. 127	Kritoboulos, <i>epitropos</i> Abascantus, Anthinos, Markellion, <i>pragmateutai</i>	ANNIA FAUSTINA (PIR ² A 709)	3 rd cent.	Karamanlı (Alassos)	Pisidia

Corsten 2005, 29-32 no. 2 = Ramsay 1895, 291 no. 128	Abascantus, <i>pragmateutes</i>	ANNIA FAUSTINA (PIR ² A 709)	3 rd cent.	Tefenni (Alasos)	Pisidia
Corsten 2005, 33-34 no. 4 = Ramsay 1895, 291-292 no. 129	Aeithales, <i>pragmateutes</i>	ANNIA AURELIA FAUSTINA (PIR ² A 710)	3 rd cent.	Karamanlı (Alassos)	Pisidia
Corsten 2005, 28-29 no. 1 = Ramsay 1895, 289 no. 126	[...]us, <i>epitropos</i> and <i>pragmateutes</i>	ANNIA AURELIA FAUSTINA (PIR ² A 710)	3 rd cent.	Karamanlı (Alassos)	Pisidia
SEG 65, 1462	Aithale[s] ¹⁵¹ and [---], <i>pragmateutai</i>	ANNIA AURELIA FAUSTINA (PIR ² A 710)	3 rd cent.	Karamanlı (Alassos)	Pisidia

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**İmparatorluk Dönemi Küçük Asya'sında Senatörlere Ait Mülkler - Sorunun Durumu,
Metodolojik Sorunlar ve Gelecekteki Araştırmalara İlişkin Perspektifler**

Özet

Genç Plinius'un da vurguladığı gibi (epist. 3.19.8), İmparatorluk Çağı'nda Romalı senatörlerin servet ve mülkleri ağırlıklı olarak toprak mülkiyetinden oluşuyordu. Senatoryal toprak mülkiyetinin yeri ve bazen kapsamı hakkında bize bilgi veren esas olarak epigrafik belgelerdir. Özellikle Küçük Asya'da, Helmut Halfmann'ın 1979 yılında bir kısmını derlediği çok sayıda kanıt vardır. O zamandan beri birçok yeni belge ortaya çıkarılmış ve yayımlanmıştır. Bunun dışında, kökenleri Küçük Asya'da olmayan senatörlerin toprak sahipliğine dair daha önce yayımlanmış veriler de

eklenebilir. Bununla birlikte, Küçük Asya'daki senatoryal toprak mülkiyetinin bir bütün olarak sistematik bir çalışması henüz mevcut değildir.

Bu makale böyle bir çalışmaya ön hazırlık niteliindedir. Böylece Küçük Asya'daki senatoryal toprak mülkiyetinin kapsamı, dağılımı ve arka planı hakkında genel bir bakış sunulmaktadır. Bu mülkiyet nadiren Magnesia arazi kayıtlarında (I.Magnesia 122, c2) olduğu kadar açık bir şekilde belirtilmiştir. Genellikle sadece farklı yazıtların kombinasyonu senatoryal toprak sahiplerinin kimliğini doğrulamaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu tür bilgilerden nasıl güvenilir bulgular elde edilebileceğine dair metodolojik ilkeler özetlenmektedir. Toprak mülkleri sahip değiştirebilir, senatoryal mülkler genellikle imparatorların mülkiyetine geçer ve bu da çok daha iyi araştırılmıştır. Önemli sorular, bir aile içinde mülkiyetin devamlılığı ve mülkiyet değişikliklerinin koşullarıyla ilgilidir. Bu bağlamda, senatörlerin mülklerine nasıl sahip olduklarını da tartışıyorum. Özellikle Roma İmparatorluğu'nun diğer bölgelerinden gelen senatörler söz konusu olduğunda, Küçük Asya'da neden ve nasıl toprak mülkiyeti edindikleri sorusu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küçük Asya; Roma senatörleri; senatoryal mülkler; metodolojik konular; epigrafik kanıtlar; onomastik.

Senatorial Estates in Imperial Asia Minor – State of the Question, Methodological Issues and Perspectives on Future Research

Abstract

The wealth and possessions of Roman senators in the Imperial Age consisted predominantly in land property, as emphasized by Pliny the Younger (epist. 3.19.8). It is mainly epigraphic documents that give us information about the location and sometimes extent of senatorial land ownership. Especially in Asia Minor there is plenty of evidence, of which Helmut Halfmann already compiled quite some in 1979. Since then, many new testimonies have been discovered and published. Apart from that, further, earlier published evidence for the land ownership of senators whose origin was not in Asia Minor can be added. However, a systematic study of senatorial land ownership in Asia Minor as a whole is not yet at hand.

The paper provides prolegomena to such a study. I thus give an overview of the extent, distribution and background of senatorial land ownership in Asia Minor. Rarely is this property so clearly indicated as in the land register of Magnesia (I.Magnesia 122, c2). Usually only the combination of different inscriptions confirms the identification of senatorial landowners. Therefore, I outline methodological guidelines on how to obtain reliable findings from such information. Landed properties could change owners, senatorial estates often passed into the possession of the emperors, which is much better researched. Important questions relate to continuity of ownership within a family and to the circumstances of changes of possession. In this context, I also discuss how the senators came to their property. Especially in the case of senators from other parts of the Roman Empire, the question arises as to why and how they acquired landed property in Asia Minor.

Keywords: Asia Minor; Roman senators; senatorial estates; methodological issues; epigraphic evidence; onomastics.